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THE "CHANDOS CLASSICS."

BACON'S ESSAYS

INCLUDING HIS

MORAL AND HISTORICAL WORKS.

NAMELY

THE ESSAYS.	ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.
THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.	WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.
ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA, OR ELEGANT SENTENCES.	NEW ATLANTIS.
SHORT NOTES FOR CIVIL CONVERSATION.	APOPHTHEGMS.
	HISTORY OF HENRY VII.
	" " HENRY VIII.
	" " ELIZABETH.

WITH MEMOIR, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY.



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PREFACE.



IN this volume are combined with Bacon's world-famous Essays his summary of learning as it was in his day—its then possessions and its needs—a treatise which awoke the learned of Europe to an earnest desire of improvement, and widely extended the reign of knowledge; his Wisdom of the Ancients, in which he finds a new and remarkably ingenious sense (chiefly political) in the myths of the old world; his Atlantis, a dream of a new world; his Life of Henry VII. and historical fragments.

The Editor is indebted to Mr. Wright's edition for the reference to St. Augustine (p. 2, note 2), and for a reference to Juvenal in Essay 2, p. 4, note 5.

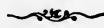
The Scripture references are always given, as they vary from our own translation, being taken from the Vulgate. Our present Bible was published only in 1611, while the Essays appeared (1st edition) in 1597, and the Advancement of Learning in 1605. Slight differences in the translation therefore appear, which make reference to both versions desirable; the Douay Bible is referred to as the translation of the Latin Vulgate.

A large glossary has been added to the volume for those who may wish to know the exact meaning of all Bacon's words, though, like Shakespeare, he is always intelligible by the context.



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A BRIEF MEMOIR
OF
LORD BACON.



FRANCIS BACON was born January 22, 1560 (old style), at York House, which stood at the end of Buckingham Street, Strand, on the banks of the Thames. One last vestige of it is still to be seen : the fine water gate by Inigo Jones, which still stands by the gardens of the Embankment. He was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first Lord Keeper of the Seals invested with the dignity and power of a Lord Chancellor. Sir Nicholas was a learned and excellent man, of remarkable prudence and integrity. Bacon's mother (Ann Cooke) was also a woman of remarkable intelligence. She was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, who had been preceptor to Edward VI., and who was celebrated for his ability as a classical scholar. His daughter shared the erudition which the ladies of her period possessed ; could read Greek, and ably translated from the Latin Bishop Jewel's Apology for the Church of England. She also spoke and wrote well both Italian and French.

Her sons were worthy of her. Anthony, though not possessed of his brother's genius, appears to have been a clever and very excellent person ; morally, perhaps Bacon's superior.

Francis gave early signs of his future turn for philosophical research. He broke his drums and trumpets "to look for the sound" ; he left some ordinary out-of-door sport to discover the cause of an echo ; and at twelve years old, Macaulay tells us, "he busied himself with ingenious speculations on the art of legerdemain."

Sir Nicholas Bacon was a favourite with Queen Elizabeth. His son relates that when Queen Elizabeth came to his house at Gormanbury, she exclaimed—very rudely, we should say—"My lord, what a little house you have gotten !" "Madam," replied the Lord Keeper, "my house is well ; but it is you that have made me too great for my house."

The Queen distinguished the Lord Keeper's gifted boy by her especial notice, and asked him various questions, all of which he answered so intelligently that she called him, laughing, her young Lord Keeper. She asked him his age. The boy promptly replied

that he was two years younger than her Grace's happy reign. Here was the readiness of wit and the apt flattery of the future Chancellor.

Bacon entered Trinity College, Cambridge, towards the close of his thirteenth year, but as his father intended him for the diplomatic profession he was removed from Cambridge at the age of sixteen without having taken a degree, and was placed with Sir Amyas Paulet, the Queen's ambassador at Paris. He was occasionally employed in offices of trust, and finally settled at Poitiers, where he devoted three years to study. He was recalled to England by the sudden death of his father, who perished, as a certain king of Spain is said to have died, through the over-reverent scruples of his attendant. He had been under the hands of his barber, and the weather being very warm, sat by an open window, where he fell asleep. He awoke chilled and shivering.

"Why," said he to his servant, "did you suffer me to sleep thus exposed?"

The man answered that he durst not disturb him.

"Then," said the Lord Keeper, "by your civility I lose my life." He retired to his bed-chamber, and died in a few days.

Sir Nicholas had set apart a considerable sum for his youngest and favourite son, to purchase an estate for him; but he had not willed it to Francis, and in consequence of this sudden demise Bacon had only his share of a sum left between him and his four brothers—the younger children of Sir Nicholas's first marriage, and his own brother.

Bacon was now nineteen, and it became imperative on him to adopt a profession for his support. He chose, rather from necessity than preference, that of the law, and placed himself as a student in Gray's Inn. For ten or twelve years he studied assiduously, and was named by Elizabeth her counsel extraordinary. About this time he published a sketch of his philosophical ideas, called the "Greatest Birth of Time," but it fell silently from the press and proved an actual injury to his future prospects.

His uncle, Lord Burleigh, was then Minister, and his influence ruled his royal mistress. To him Bacon continually applied for some appointment, which would help him, or open the door of advancement to him. But Burleigh was utterly incapable of understanding his gifted nephew; and his son, Sir Robert Cecil, was probably jealous of him, for both he and his father did their worst to injure him. Burleigh assured the Queen that the "Greatest Birth of Time" was full of the wildest dreams, and that Bacon was utterly unfit for business. Perhaps, however, to silence his continued importuning, Burleigh soon after gave his nephew the reversion of the office of Registrar of the Star Chamber; but as the place did not fall due till after the expiration of twenty years, Bacon had small cause to be grateful for it.

Bacon, unfortunately, helped his kinsmen in their endeavour to bring him into disfavour with Elizabeth. He had been elected member for Middlesex in 1593, and his first speech on the assembling of Parliament was in favour of law reform. The applause bestowed on it seems to have incited him to further efforts; and in a debate on the subsidy demanded by the Queen he eloquently denounced it, and declaimed upon the sufferings which such exactions must cause to the inferior gentry. He carried his motion for an enquiry, and the anger of his imperious sovereign at this thwarting of her will may be imagined. She desired that Bacon might be told he should never receive favour or preferment from her, nor should he enter her presence. In reply, the too facile orator promised amendment, and humbly craved pardon.

The Solicitor-General's place becoming vacant some time after, Bacon applied for his uncle's influence to obtain it; but Burleigh was resolved never to advance so formidable a rival to his son, and, on Bacon's bringing his case before the Queen, he was met by her anger at his speech, and the prejudice instilled into her mind against him by the Cecils.

Bacon then turned to the favourite of Elizabeth, and the enemy of the Cecils—the Earl of Essex, who with generous ardour endeavoured to assist him against them. But the Queen was jealous of the great popularity of the young Earl after his expedition to Cadiz, and refused obstinately to give the place to Bacon. Essex, vexed and mortified, then resolved to bestow an independence on his friend out of his own fortune, and insisted on his accepting Twickenham Park and its Garden of Paradise, then worth more, Bacon tells us, than £1,800—a large sum in those days—the same land in the present time has been valued at £100,000.

Bacon, thus set at ease in money matters—he was deeply in debt—determined to show the world how false the Cecils's estimate of his legal knowledge was, and wrote a treatise on the “Elements and Use of Common Law,” which at once answered its intended purpose.

In 1597 Bacon published his most celebrated and immortal work, “The Essays,” and “The Colours of Good and Evil,” and at once his genius became known to the world. “In Bacon's Essays,” says Dugald Stewart, “the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage, the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of the subject. The volume may be read from beginning to end in a few hours, and yet, after the twentieth one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before.”

But, like his first unsuccessful work, this successful one was destined to have an evil influence on his fortunes. He was a suitor to the beautiful widow of Sir Christopher Hatton, and had, perhaps, some hopes of success; but, unluckily, the Essays fell into her hands, and

she read the fatal words, "Great spirits and great businesses do keep out this weak passion, *i.e.*, love." Whether this tradition be true or not, it is certain that anyone reading the Essays must have seen how little Bacon knew of the passion he professed.

The lady rejected him, and added to his mortification by marrying his rival and enemy, old Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney-General.

Bacon now devoted himself to his legal work, and had soon won the reputation of a great lawyer by his celebrated argument on perpetuities, which he published as a tract.

① ✓ But now came the first of Bacon's great moral failures.

His generous friend, the Earl of Essex, had been sent to Ireland by Elizabeth to conduct the war against Tyrone. His conduct in this position incurred blame from his sovereign (he had made an unjustifiable treaty with the Irish Rebel), and (betrayed, it is said, by a stratagem of Cecil's), he left his post without the Queen's permission, and rushed, unsummoned, into her presence. At that very time he found his sovereign a visitor at the house at Twickenham which he had given to Bacon—who by his legal successes, his writings, and the death of Burleigh, had regained Elizabeth's favour. Thus it was in *his* house that the impetuous Earl came into the startled presence of Elizabeth. The Queen received him coldly, and after some apparent consideration ordered him to confine himself to his own house, and the Star Chamber to examine into his conduct. Bacon was retained as council-extraordinary against his friend. At first he endeavoured earnestly to effect a reconciliation between the favourite and the Queen; but both of them distressed him, apparently, and, Lord Macaulay says, "the reconciliation which Bacon had laboured to effect appeared utterly hopeless." The stubborn pride of the Earl, and the jealousy of Elizabeth, rendered all his efforts vain.

"A thousand signs," goes on the great essayist, "legible to eyes far less keen than his, announced that the fall of his patron was at hand. He [Bacon] shaped his course accordingly. When Essex was brought before the Council to answer for his conduct in Ireland, Bacon, after a faint attempt to excuse himself from taking part against his friend, submitted to the Queen's pleasure, and appeared at the bar in support of the charges."

Essex was sentenced to be removed from his place at the Council board, to be suspended from his offices of Earl Marshal and Master of the Ordnance, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. But Elizabeth, having thus humiliated him, would not fully carry out the sentence. She continued him as Master of the Horse, and gave him full liberty, but warned him, significantly, to "be his own keeper."

But Essex was the victim of evil counsellors and mischief-makers of all kinds. He had petitioned the Queen for the monopoly of sweet

wines, and Elizabeth refused, saying (it was reported) "that an unmanageable beast must be stinted in his provender." These cruel words were repeated to the fallen favourite, who, driven to fury, devised a mad scheme of rebellion against his Sovereign, meaning to secure the Queen's person, and banish from about her all whom he considered his enemies.

The absurd attempt at exciting a rising in London failed: he was taken prisoner, and tried for high treason, the prosecution being managed by Sir Edward Coke as Attorney-General, and Bacon as one of the Queen's Counsel.

At the trial Sir Edward Coke treated the fallen Earl with great insolence and scurrility; Bacon was moderate and decent, but ought never to have been placed in such a position. The crime was easily proved, and the favourite was sentenced to death. His fate is too well known to be repeated here.

But he was the idol of the people. The murmurs at his untimely end were bold and universal, and the Queen herself was severely blamed.

The Administration therefore found it necessary to defend its conduct by an appeal, or sort of apology, to the people, and Bacon was the writer selected to execute this painful task. If it was really (as is said) imposed on him by the contrivance of Cecil, it was indeed a masterpiece of malignity on the part of his envious cousin, for it brought on Bacon the hatred and contempt of the nation. He was everywhere condemned as an ungrateful traitor to his benefactor for murdering his good name as the Ministry had his body; his life even was threatened, and he was in daily peril of assassination. This obliged him to publish, in his own defence, the "Apology" found amongst his writings, in which he labours to clear himself of blame, asserting that he had never done the Earl any ill offices with the Queen (though she had insinuated that he had); that on the contrary he had always given Lord Essex good advice, and that he had wished and tried to secure his preservation.

But no apology could excuse his conduct in this instance.

In the following reign Sir Henry Yelverton ventured on the displeasure of James and Villiers, rather than plead against the wicked Earl of Somerset; because he (Somerset) had made him Solicitor-General.

Grief and remorse for Essex's death caused that of his royal mistress. She survived him scarcely a year, and was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland.

Bacon at once sought to ingratiate himself with the new king, who received him favourably, and made him (at his request) a knight in a batch of three hundred on whom he conferred that title! James sowed honours broadcast. Soon after Bacon, who was then seeking to win

the daughter of a rich alderman, married her. She was a Miss Alice Barnham.

Bacon soon after appeared as counsel for the Crown on the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh for being engaged in a conspiracy to place the Lady Arabella Stuart, James's cousin, on the throne; but his old enemy, Coke, would not allow him to examine the witnesses, or address the jury.

The following year Bacon published his treatise on the "Advancement of Learning," which greatly recommended him to the King, to whom it was dedicated. The aim of the treatise was to survey accurately the whole state and extent of the intellectual world at that period—so short a time (comparatively) after the revival of learning; to show what parts of it had been successfully cultivated; those that lay still neglected; and by what methods learning might be improved and advanced. This work had a wonderful effect in awaking the attention and calling forth the powers of all the students and learned men of Europe, and vast results probably proceeded from it, though some blame has been attached to Bacon for ignorance of many "proficiencies," as he would have called them, where he found "deficiencies."

In 1607 Bacon became Solicitor-General. He had, meantime, been busy again with his pen, and published the first sketch of his "Novum Organum," his "De Sapientia Veterum," and an enlarged edition of his "Essays." He also wrote valuable treatises to explain and improve the law.

In 1613 he succeeded to the Attorney-Generalship, about three months after the death of his cousin and enemy Cecil—the Lord Treasurer Salisbury. He was now a wealthy man. This office brought him in £6,000 a year, and, as his office of Registrar of the Star Chamber was now his, he had £1,600 a year more from that—large sums in that age.

The trial of the guilty Earl of Somerset was the next great case which occupied the Attorney-General, and in this there was much mystery. Bacon had become the subservient creature of James, and James evidently feared the exposure by Somerset of some secret of his own; and he gave his Attorney-General immense trouble, and many perplexing cautions and directions in that miserable trial.

A new favourite had taken Somerset's place—George Villiers, shortly to be Duke of Buckingham, and to him the Attorney-General now paid court, giving him, however, it must be allowed, good and prudent advice.

It was by the influence of Buckingham that, in 1617, Bacon became Chancellor, with the title of Lord Keeper. Shortly afterwards he was created Viscount St. Albans.

And now Bacon had reached the height of his ambition. He had

the house where he was born, York House, on the Thames, fitted up splendidly: he had a villa at Kew; a small dwelling at Gormanbury. His retinue was princely: according to Mr. Spedding it consisted of two chaplains, six gentlemen-of-the-chamber, six gentlemen-waiters, four pages, two gentlemen ushers, three yeomen of the wardrobe, three yeomen of the pantry, and four butlers (see note at p. 88), not to mention the inferior servants.

These followers seem to have managed their Master's property very much as they pleased, and thus wrought his ruin.

The philosopher who wrote "It is a strange desire to seek power and lose liberty; or, to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self," had bartered away his liberty for pomp, show, and wealth. He had said, "Men in great place are thrice servants; servants of the sovereign or state; servants of fame, and servants of business:" he was destined to find himself also the servant of an imperious, grasping, unprincipled favourite.

His old enemy, Coke, who had been dismissed from the Chief Justiceship, perceived that his only means to restore his fortune was to please the Duke of Buckingham, who (amidst all his selfishness) was devotedly fond of his relatives. He therefore offered his daughter by his second wife, Lady Hatton, to the brother of the Duke, the needy Sir John Villiers, this young lady being a great heiress. Lady Hatton, who had long been separated from the old Judge, opposed this marriage, and even ran off with her daughter, and hid her near Hampton Court; but Coke pursued them, and brought back his daughter. Bacon, fearing the renewed ascendancy of his old enemy, opposed this marriage in every way. He wrote to the king against it, and thus incurred the wrath both of the favourite and the sovereign. James, enraged, wrote severely to his Chancellor, and Bacon perceived his danger, and, with his usual moral cowardice, shrank from it. He bowed before the tempest, and apologised humbly for having mistaken the king's wishes, and again he and Buckingham were friends: but henceforward Bacon was the slave of the capricious favourite. The king was always in need of money. To fill his purse he resumed the old system (which Elizabeth had given up) of monopolies and patents.

These were charters under the Great Seal conferring on certain persons the power of being the only dealers in any article of merchandize, or the only pursuers of any manufacture, and permitting them to enter to search any house which might be suspected of invading their patent or monopoly. Bacon had, on his first acquaintance with Villiers, urged him to put an end to this mode of plundering the people. But now he found that he must pass under the Great Seal whatever patents or monopolies the favourite chose to send him; con-

sequently, an infamous number of them were thus endorsed, Buckingham receiving a portion of the profits.

Ultimately, the people's sense of justice was roused, and when James (himself in utter need of money) summoned a Parliament, which met Jan. 20, 1621, in order to fill his purse, the Commons, after voting the king two entire subsidies, went into a strict enquiry into the patents, which for seven years had oppressed the people. Among the monopolies were two equally grievous : one which set an annual fine on inns and alehouses throughout England ; another, a patent for making gold and silver lace, which had been granted to two infamous agents of Buckingham—Mompesson and Michel. They shamefully abused their power by selling counterfeit lace for real gold and silver at the full price, and whoever presumed to sell any other was punished by fine and imprisonment.

Buckingham was warned that there were secret meetings of members also to enquire into his (Buckingham's) share in these oppressions ; and the duke, alarmed, persuaded the king to frustrate their plans by dissolving Parliament immediately. James would certainly have done so if Williams, dean of Westminster, had not interfered. This man, an astute politician, advised the king to "swim with the current ;" to "cancel by proclamation all monopolies and vexatious grants ; to sacrifice inferior criminals to the public anger ; and to tell the Parliament that these reforms were made at the instigation of his favourite."

But the Commons had carried their search up to the prime cause of all these grievances. They sought to discover by whose influence these patents had passed the Great Seal, and either Bacon or Buckingham must be sacrificed. James did not hesitate. He had an interview with his Chancellor, as the favourite also had, and it seems that Bacon was persuaded or cajoled into becoming the scapegoat of Buckingham.

Bacon could scarcely have defended himself against the charge of criminal subserviency to the favourite ; but he might have found something to extenuate his faults, as to receiving bribes perhaps, since they had been taken often, probably without his knowledge, by his servants ; but the king positively forbade his speaking at all in his own defence, and ordered him not even to be present at his trial, probably fearing what he might say in his own justification.

Bacon submitted to the sovereign who treated him so unworthily, and sacrificed even his honour to the exaggerated loyalty he evidently entertained for James, or perhaps to his own moral cowardice.

A Committee for inspecting into the abuses of the Courts of Justice was appointed by the Commons. Some days after Sir Robert Phillips reported from it that complaints had been brought before them by two

persons against the Chancellor for bribery and corruption. This report he made, not only without bitterness, but in terms of great regard and tenderness for the accused.

The Lords, at a conference with the Lower House, agreed to take the subject into consideration. No sooner did the matter become public than a crowd of accusers appeared to charge the unfortunate Chancellor with bribery. Many who had courted him (probably through his servants) with gifts, and yet had received an unfavourable judgment on their case, were eager now to take their revenge on him who had, they considered, betrayed them; and they were listened to; though the mere fact of such bribes or gifts *not* having influenced his judgments, ought to have shown that he knew nothing of them, or did not consider them bribes.

Bacon's great crime, assuredly, was his criminal subserviency to Buckingham, in having put the Great Seal to his patents and monopolies; the bribery—since it did not taint his judgments—must surely have been his followers' fault, not his own.

Meantime he was confined to his bed by real or pretended illness—he was very ill mentally, without a doubt!

The Houses met again, after a recess of six weeks; and their indignation then fell wholly on the Chancellor. It was *he* who had sealed the patents—doubtless for a consideration!—it was he who had issued the monopolies, and who had taken bribes.

They refused to receive a general confession—which was delivered for him by Charles, Prince of Wales, himself—in which he renounced all justification for himself, and sued for no other favour “but that his penitent submission might be his sentence, the loss of the seals his punishment.” He was compelled to put in a particular answer to each point of his accusation. He acknowledged all, and threw himself on the mercy of his judges.

He was sentenced to “pay a fine of £40,000; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the Commonwealth; and never to sit again in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court.”

The secret agreement between him and his king was manifested at once. He passed only one day in the Tower; then James set him free, and in three years' time granted him a full and entire remission of his sentence. Accordingly, he was summoned to the first Parliament of Charles I. The king also allowed him a pension of £1,800 a year.

Thenceforward Bacon withdrew into retirement, and devoted himself to study. The first fruits of his leisure was a work suggested to him by the king who had sacrificed him—a “History of Henry VII.”

King James greatly preferred this memoir to the “*Novum Organum*,”

of which he said "It was like the peace of God, it passed all understanding." He vouchsafed to correct Bacon's MS. himself! and allowed him to come to London to pass it through the press.

This Memoir was immediately followed by his "History of Life and Death," and another edition of his Essays.

King James died in 1625. His unfortunate and ill-requited Chancellor survived him for a little more than a year.

Always in feeble health from his youth, his life was finally sacrificed to an experiment. He believed that decomposition might be prevented by freezing (then an original idea), and he determined to ascertain, experimentally, if he was right. Therefore, one cold, spring morning, he drove to Highgate, alighted, bought a fowl at a neighbouring cottage, and stuffed it with snow which lay on the ground around him. By the time his operation was finished he felt greatly chilled, and sought warmth and shelter at Lord Arundel's house, which was near at hand. Here he was gladly welcomed by the household, given warm cordials, &c., but was put into a damp bed!

From this fatal hospitality he never recovered; and he seems to have been aware that he was in great danger, for he wrote to his absent host, comparing himself to the elder Pliny, who lost his life by too near an approach to Vesuvius, when watching a terrible eruption, but adding that his own experiment had ended "excellently well."

A fever and cold on the lungs closed the career of one of the greatest of Englishmen, one week afterwards. He died on Easter morn, April 9, 1626, at the age of 66.

His will contained this remarkable passage:—"My name and memory I leave to foreign nations, and to mine own countrymen after some years."

Among his own countrymen his genius has been long acknowledged, and his faults little remembered. Among his followers were Boyle, Locke, Newton, and all the long list of scientific discoverers since his time.

Bacon was of middle stature; his forehead spacious and open, and early impressed with the marks of age; his eyes lively and penetrating; his whole appearance pleasing.

His scientific, political, and law works were numerous, and remarkable for great ability.

ESSAYS.

DEDICATION

To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM his Grace, Lord High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LORD,

SOLOMON says, *A good name is as a precious ointment*; and I assure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your fortune and merit both have been eminent, and you have planted things like to last. I do now publish my Essays, which, of all my works, have been most current, for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them both in English and in Latin. For I do conceive that the Latin Volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. My Instauration I dedicated to the King; my History of Henry the Seventh (which I have now also translated into Latin) and my portions of Natural History, to the Prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace, being of the best fruits that, by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

I.

OF TRUTH.

What is Truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness,¹ and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And, though the sects of philosophers² of that kind be gone,

¹ Changing their opinions.

² Sects. Bacon alludes to the disciples of Pyrrho—the Sceptics, or Pyrrhonists. Pyrrho was a philosopher of Elis, who accompanied Alexander the Great to India, and there studied the Brahminical learning. He was himself doubtful of all things as the word sceptic implies. He died 288 B.C. The philosophers of the New Academy were also sceptics. The question they agitated was "What criterion is there of the truth of our knowledge?" "What," in fact, "is Truth?" And it was this question that Pilate repeated—in his perplexity—not, we think, in jest. See S. John's Gospel, xviii. 38. From Pyrrho's name, the term Pyrrhonism

yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins¹; though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth—nor, again, that, when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts—that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. [But I cannot tell:] this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masques and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. [Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves?] One of the fathers, in great severity, called² poesy *vinum demonum*, because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt such as we spake of before. [But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth (which is the love-making, or wooing of it) the knowledge of truth (which is the presence of it) and the belief of truth (which is the enjoying of it) is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and His Sabbath work, ever since, is the illumination of His spirit. First He breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then He breathed light into the face of man: and still He breatheth and inspireth light into the face of His chosen. The poet,³ that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well, *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see the battle, and the adventures thereof below; but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth* (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below; so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride.* Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's

is used now for all doubtful facts or questions. Voltaire has written on the "Pyrrhonism of History."

¹ Veins—turns of thought, opinion.

² St. Augustine, Confessions, 1—16—29. See Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 103.

³ Lucretius, one of the greatest of the Roman poets, born B.C. 95, died B.C. 55. His poem *De Rerum Natura* expounds the philosophy of Epicurus. Bacon styles the Epicureans "inferior to the rest," because the sect degenerated into self-indulgence and indifference to the public virtues. Epicurus himself was a man of simple and abstemious habit. He admitted the existence of the gods, but declared that they took no part in the creation or preservation of man.

mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round¹ dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne² saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge—saith he *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards man; for a lie faces God, and shrinks from man.* *aphorism*

Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *He shall not find faith upon the earth.*³

implicit that man are false.

II.

OF DEATH.

- orthodox finale.

MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as *the wages of sin* and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes a mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb, for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense: and by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said,⁴ *Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa.* Groans, and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible.

It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death: and therefore Death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many

¹ Straightforward. "Roundly" is "plainly, straightforwardly." Still used in the dialect of the peasantry—"I told her roundly what I thought," &c.

² Michel Montaigne, born 1533, died 1592. His essays are extremely witty, and rank very highly amongst the memorable books of the world. They have been translated into all languages, and have passed through eighty editions in Europe. A copy of the essays is one of the two books which we know were in Shakespeare's possession; the copy, Florio's translation of them, has the great poet's autograph in it.

³ St. Luke, xviii. 8.

⁴ At that period rooms in which the dead lay were hung with black. Mourning garments may also be alluded to by Bacon; and the black horses and plumes of hearses.

attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear preoccupateth¹ it; nay, we read, after Otho the Emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers; nay, Seneca adds niceness² and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men up to the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment.³ *Livia conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.* Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, *jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant.* Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio.* Galba with a sentence, *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,* holding forth his neck. Septimius Severus in dispatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.* And the like.

Certainly the Stoics⁴ bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat Naturæ.*⁵ It is as natural to die as to be born: and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood: who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death. But, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis,* when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy.

—*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

III.

OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band⁶ of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath

¹ Anticipates.

² Fastidiousness.

“Fear and niceness,
The handmaids of all women, or more truly
Woman its pretty self.”—*Shakespeare.*

³ See Pope's Epistle to Lord Cobham on the “ruling passion strong in death.”

⁴ The Stoics, a sect of Greek philosophers founded by Zeno. They placed happiness in endurance and ascetic virtue, and were thus the opposite of the Epicureans.

⁵ Juvenal, Sat. x.

⁶ Religion is derived from the Latin religo—to bind back the hands; and means, of course, a restraint.

this attribute that He is a jealous God; and therefore His worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; what are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; and what the Means.

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the Church, the other towards those that are within. For the former; it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals, yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the Church, and drive men out of the Church, as breach of unity. And, therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, *Ecce in deserto*, another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*,—that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a Church—that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *Nolite exire*. The Doctor¹ of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, *If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it doth avert² them from the Church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of the scornors. It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity; there is a Master³ of scoffing, that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, *The Morris Dance⁴ of Heretics*. For, indeed, every sect of them have a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves; which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics,⁵ who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the Fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings. It establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the Bonds of Unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes; for to certain zelants⁶ all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.* Peace is not the matter,⁷ but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans⁸ and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by

¹ St. Paul. "Doctor" is for teacher.

² Avert, to turn away.

³ Rabelais, the greatest scoffer known, perhaps. He was born in Touraine about 1487 and died 1558. His "Life of Gargantua and Pantagruel" is a satire on the monks and the Pope. It is very witty, but coarse.

⁴ The Morris dance, or moresco, is thought to have been brought from Spain, but was nationalised in England by the introduction of Robin Hood, Maid Marian, Friar Tuck, the Hobby Horse, &c., into it. Though thought by some to have been brought to this country by John of Gaunt there are few notices of it in writing till Henry 7th's time. (See Douce's illustrations of Shakespeare.)

⁵ Politicians.

⁶ Zealots.

⁷ Is not that for which they seek.

⁸ "Neither hot nor cold." See Rev. iii. 14.

middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour Himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: *He that is not with us is against us*; and again, *He that is not against us is with us*; that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's Church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the fathers, *Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the Church's vesture was of divers colours*; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*; they be two things, Unity and Uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same,¹ *Devita profanas vocum novitates et oppositiones falsi nominis scientia*. Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false Peaces, or Unities, the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance (for all colours will agree in the dark); the other when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image: they may cleave but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the Means of procuring Unity, men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting² of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and the temporal, and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it—that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences (except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state), much

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

² Defending or fortifying.

less to nourish seditions, to authorise conspiracies and rebellions, to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table¹ against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon,² that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:—

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France,³ or the powder treason of England?⁴ He would have been seven times more Epicure⁵ and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people.⁶ Let that be left to the Anabaptists⁷ and other furies. It was a great blasphemy when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest*; but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring Him in saying, *I will descend and be like the prince of darkness*. And what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian Church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the Church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings—both Christian and moral—as by their Mercury rod,⁸ do damn and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed,⁹ *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*. And it was a notable observation of a wise father and no less ingeniously confessed, that *those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends*.

IV.

OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it does but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the

¹ Of the Decalogue.

² For a favourable wind to waft the Greek armament to Troy he sacrificed Iphigenia to Diana.

³ The Massacre of the St. Bartholomew, in which 60,000 persons perished, Aug. 24, 1572.

⁴ Gunpowder Plot.

⁵ Epicurean.

⁶ As in the following reign.

⁷ Anabaptists, a sect who began a civil war in Germany in defence of their wild and immoral opinions. They were defeated in Saxony, and then seized the town of Munster. They were guilty of great crimes and excesses, but were finally conquered and nearly exterminated.

⁸ The Caduceus, or serpent-wreathed rod, with which Mercury, the messenger of the gods, was wont to summon the souls of the dead, and send them to their final destination.

⁹ James i. 20.

law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy, but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon,¹ I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.*

That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other.

The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy: but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish; else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one.

Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh. This is the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt, as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark.

Cosmus, Duke of Florence,² had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. *You shall read (saith he) that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.* But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: *Shall we (saith he) take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green,³ which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar;⁴ for the death of Pertinax;⁵ for the death of Henry the Third of France;⁶ and many more. But in private revenges it is not so. Nay rather, vindicative persons live the life of witches,⁷ who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

V.

OF ADVERSITY.

It was an high speech of Seneca⁸ (after the manner of the Stoics), that *the good things which belong to Prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to Adversity are to be admired. Bonu*

¹ The discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression. Prov. xix. 11.

² Cosmo de Medici, the founder of the greatness of the House of Medici.

³ Green—unhealed.

⁴ For which the chief conspirators suffered, Brutus and Cassius both falling at Philippi.

⁵ Pertinax, Roman Emperor, was assassinated in 193 A. D. by the Prætorian guards, who were put to death by Septimius Severus, his successor.

⁶ Friar Clement, who murdered Henry III. of France, was put to death by Henri Quatre.

⁷ Bacon shared the general belief in witchcraft, then punished with death.

⁸ A Roman philosopher, the tutor of the Emperor Nero. His moral teachings were so excellent that he has been thought to have had some knowledge of the Christian doctrines.

rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia. Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in Adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it. For it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery, nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian: that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher*;¹ lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world.

But to speak in a mean. The virtue of Prosperity is temperance; the virtue of Adversity is fortitude: which in morals is the more heroic virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New: which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes;² and Adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed;³ for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI.

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom. For it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted⁴ well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son*; attributing arts of policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus⁵ encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against*

¹ See for this myth the Wisdom of the Ancients, following.

² Disgusts.

³ This sentence probably suggested to Moore the lines:

But Thou wilt heal the broken heart,
Which, like the plants that throw
Their fragrance from the wounded part,
Breathes sweetness out of woe.

⁴ Agreed.

⁵ A famous intriguing general under Otho and Vitellius.

the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius. These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation and closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half-lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and variest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. [Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity. But then they were like horses well managed; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn: and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion, spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.]

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy,—when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second, Dissimulation, in the negative,—when a man lets fall signs and arguments that he is not that he is; and the third, Simulation, in the affirmative,—when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy; it is indeed the virtue of a confessor.¹ And assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open. And, as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so, secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to Secrecy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile² persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, that *an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral.* And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying; by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is Dissimulation, it followeth many times upon Secrecy, by a necessity. So that he that will be secret, must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man

¹ A priest who hears confessions.

² Talkative.

with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is Simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare matters. And, therefore, a general custom of Simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults, which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.¹

The great advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse, but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *tell a lie and find a troth*: as if there were no way of discovery but by Simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, that Simulation and Dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which, in any business, doth spoil the feathers of round² flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits³ of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action; which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

VII.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears. They cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men. And surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of posterity is most in them

¹ Practice.

² Straight, uninterruptedly—a metaphor from archery.

³ Conceptions, ideas.

↓
dissimulation -
not parallel

that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.*¹ A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons;² but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best.

The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is a harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort³ with mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty. And therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood; which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families.

The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolk; but, so they be of the lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter: insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own parent, as the blood happens.

Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take; for then they are most flexible. And let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true that, if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, *Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo.* Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

HE that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times; unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges.

¹ Prov. x. i.

² Spoiled children—idle, worthless persons.

³ Associate—from consort.

Some there are, who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinencies. Nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay, more, there are some foolish rich covetous men that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For, perhaps, they have heard some talk, *Such a one is a great rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children*, as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles.

Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects. For they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen; for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile¹ and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives,² put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base.

Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses,³ *Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*. Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she thinks her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous.

Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel⁴ to marry, when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the question when a man should marry⁵—*A young man not yet, an elder man not at all*. It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience. [But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.]

] Mack twist

¹ Easily influenced.

² Exhortations.

³ Ulysses refused to remain with Calypso and become immortal, for the sake of his wife Penelope.

⁴ A good argument, a good reason on which to argue.

⁵ This was a saying of Thales, one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece. It is recorded by Plutarch.

IX.

OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but Love and Envy. They both have vehement wishes ; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions, and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects : which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy *an evil eye* ;¹ and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects* : so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye.² Nay, some have been so curious as to note that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph. For that sets an edge upon envy ; and, besides, at such time, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place) we will handle *what persons are apt to envy others ; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves ; and what is the difference between public and private envy.*

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil ; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other ; and whoso is out of hope to attain another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand,³ by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious. For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate. Therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure⁴ in looking upon the fortunes of others. Neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy. For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home : *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise. For the distance is altered : and it is like a deceit of the eye that, when others come on, they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious. For he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's : except these defects light upon a very brave and heroic nature, which thinketh to make his natural

¹ Prov. xxiii. 6, xxviii. 22.

² The Evil Eye is devoutly believed in still in Italy and the East. In Italy charms are worn to avert its influence. When the Editor was in India a strong evidence of this superstition was given by a woman carrying a beautiful baby. The writer admired its delicate little feet and ancles : the mother appeared very uneasy ; and the next time the child was seen its small feet and ancles were tied up in rags to cover them from the evil eye. Precious things, we were told, are never willingly exposed in the East to the general gaze, on account of the malignant effect of admiration or envy in the evil eye.

³ At even hand—to be even with him—to get on an equality.

⁴ The pleasure of a spectator at a play.

wants part of his honour; in that it should be said that an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters; affecting the honour of a miracle; as it was in Narses the eunuch,¹ and Agesilaus² and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes. For they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious. For they cannot want work³; it being impossible but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them. Which was the character of Adrian the emperor,⁴ that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth⁵ likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy: and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre: for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising. For it seemeth but right done to their birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a flat. And, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy. For men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy. Wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of

¹ Narses, a great general, the rival of Belisarius and the conqueror of the Goths. Gibbon says of him: "A feeble, diminutive body concealed the soul of a statesman and a warrior. As soon as he approached the person of the Emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the many counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer."—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Warne's Edition, chap. 43, p. 18.

² Agesilaus, King of Sparta, had one leg shorter than the other. Tamerlane or Timour Beg, the great Tartar or Mongol Sultan and conqueror. He defeated the Ottoman Sultan Bajazet at Angora. As he was about to set out on the conquest of China he died at 70 years of age. Tamerlane was lame and slightly deformed.

³ Want cause for it

⁴ Of Rome, 117 A. D.

⁵ To come under observation.

politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a *quanta patimur*. Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business. And nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places. For, by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition. Whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding, so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogance and vain-glory), doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part: as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is to remove the lot¹ (as they call it), and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive² the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like. And, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy. There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For public envy is as an ostracism,³ that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *discontentment*; of which we shall speak in handling Sedition. It is a disease in a State like to infection. For, as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so, when envy is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more; as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to bear chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this

¹ Spell or charm.

² To pass over.

³ A banishment by the Athenians by writing the person's name on an oyster shell. A mode of restraining or rendering powerless is meant here.

is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small, or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the State itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual. For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit*. For it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the Devil, who is called *The envious man that soweth tares among the wheat by night*; as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X.

OF LOVE.

[THE stage is more beholding¹ to Love than the life of man.] For, as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury. You may observe that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love: which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half-partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and law-giver;² whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate, but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance, not only in an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept.

It is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus*: as if Man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things, by this: that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase. For, whereas it hath been well said, that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self: certainly the lover is more. For there was never a proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved. And

Rare
Suggested to
hair on side
Bargi

7 ides

changes

sub-
divid
which
contra
dictio
above

¹ Or beholden—i.e., obliged.

² And tyrant of Virginia. He was one of the framers of the "Laws of the Twelve Tables."

therefore it was well said, that *it is impossible to love and be wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved; but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque. For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque, or with an inward or secret contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them: that he¹ that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts² of Juno and Pallas; for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom.

This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are great prosperity and great adversity (though this latter hath been less observed); both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter,³ and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life. For if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures.

There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

 XI.

OF GREAT PLACE.

MEN in Great Place are thrice servants; servants of the Sovereign or State, servants of fame, and servants of business. So as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty⁴ or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious; and by pains men come to greater pains: and it is sometimes base; and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere*. Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason, but are impatient of privatness, even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door,⁴ though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy. For if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it; but if they think with

¹ Paris.³ Keep in its place.² Power and knowledge and wisdom.⁴ A common custom of that age.

themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business, they have no time to tend their health, either of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*

In place there is license to do good and evil, whereof the latter is a curse; for in evil, the best condition is not to will, the second not to can.¹ But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion, and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man can be a partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;*² and then the Sabbath.

In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example, and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery,³ or scandal of former times and persons: but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated: but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time, what is best; and of the latter time, what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory, and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence, and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places, and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers, but accept of them in good part.

The vices of authority are chiefly four: delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays: give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption: do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the fault but the suspicion. Whosoever is found

¹ To be able.² Gen. i. 31.³ Boasting.

variable and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change: and do not think to steal¹ it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness; it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility,² it is worse than bribery. For bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Solomon saith, *To respect persons it is not good, for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*³

It is most true that was anciently spoken, *A place showeth the man.* And it showeth some to the better, and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu, capax imperii, nisi imperasset,* saith Tacitus of Galba⁴; but of Vespasian⁵ he saith, *Solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends. For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue: and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm.

All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed.

Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will surely be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, *When he sits in place he is another man.*

XII.

OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration: question was asked of Demosthenes, *What was the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *Action: What next? Action:*

¹ To hide the change, like a theft.

² Easiness of yielding.

³ Proverbs xxviii. 21.

⁴ Servius Sulpicius Galba was successively prætor, pro-consul, and general of the Roman armies in Germany and Spain. Condemned to death by the jealousy of Nero, he revolted against the Emperor in A. D. 68; and Gaul declaring for him, Nero killed himself, and Galba was proclaimed Emperor; but he gave himself up to the government of favourites, and was deposed and slain by the Pretorian bands. Had he never reigned he would always have been thought worthy to have been Emperor.

⁵ Vespasian was the only one of the Roman Emperors who was improved by wearing the Imperial purple. He was born of a poor family of the Sabines A. D. 9, and became Emperor in A. D. 69.

What next again? Action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts, of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay, almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like¹ is the case of boldness in civil business; What first? boldness: What second and third? boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular States; but with senates and princes less: and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action, than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise.

Surely, as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so there are mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled; Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.* So these men, when they have promised great matters, and failed most shamefully, yet, if they have the perfection of boldness, they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado.²

Certainly to men of great judgment bold persons are sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous. For, if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture: as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come, but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation.

This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind, for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution. So that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

¹ Wonderfully like oratory.

² Bacon's knowledge of human nature is for all time.

XIII.

OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE Goodness in this sense—the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia ; and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity ; and without it, man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue, Charity, and admits no excess, but error.

The desire of power, in excess, caused the angels to fall ; the desire of knowledge, in excess, caused man to fall ; but in charity there is no excess ; neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man ; insomuch that, if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures : as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who, nevertheless, are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds ; insomuch as Busbechius¹ reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging, in a waggishness, a long-billed fowl.

Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente : So good that he is good for nothing.* And one of the doctors² of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, that *the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those who are tyrannical and unjust.* Which he spake because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal, and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies : for that is but facility or softness ; which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly : *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and the un-*

¹ The Latin name of Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, a celebrated diplomatist, born in Flanders, 1522. He was Ambassador from Ferdinand, King of the Romans, to the Sultan. He stayed in Constantinople seven years, and left an admirable account of the Ottoman Empire, which was translated into all the European languages. Lady Mary Montagu, writing from Adrianople in April, 1717, says : "Here are some little birds held in a sort of religious reverence, and for that reason multiply prodigiously ; turtles on account of their innocence, and storks because they are supposed to make every winter the pilgrimage to Mecca. To say truth they are the happiest subjects under the Turkish government, and are so sensible of their privileges that they walk the streets without fear, and generally build in the low parts of the houses. Happy are those whose houses are so distinguished, as the vulgar Turks are perfectly persuaded that they will not be attacked either by fire or pestilence. I have the happiness to have one of their sacred nests under my chamber window."—Letters, vol. 1, p. 396, Ed. 1837.

² Doctors—learned men. Machiavelli, a celebrated Florentine statesman and historian, author of a famous book called "Il Principe," the teaching of which has given the name of "Machiavellian" to everything insincere and perfidious. He was born 1469, died 1527. He was the guide of the infamous Cæsar Borgia, for whom he wrote his book.

just; but He doth not rain wealth nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how, in making the portraiture, thou breakest the pattern. For divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern, the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me*; but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me: that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain.

Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity; for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficilness,¹ or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men, in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw: *Misanthropi*, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet never have a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon² had. Such dispositions are the very errors of human nature; and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politicks of: like to knee-timber,³ that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm.

The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the affliction of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm.⁴ If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an *anathema* from Christ, for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ Himself.

¹ Difficult to get on with.

² *Tim.* I have a tree, which grows here in my close,
That mine own use invites me to cut down,
And shortly must I fell it: tell my friends,
Tell Athens, in the sequence of degree,
From high to low throughout, that whoso please
To stop affliction, let him take his haste,
Come hither, ere my tree hath felt the axe,
And hang himself: I pray you, do my greeting.

Shakespeare, Timon of Athens, Act 5, Scene 2.

³ Part of a tree that has grown gnarled and crooked, and forms an angle.
• The myrrh tree.

XIV.

OF NOBILITY.

WE will speak of Nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks. For nobility attempts sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition than where there are stirps¹ of nobles. For men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or, if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of Cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The United Provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel. For where there is an equality, the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty, nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a State; for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons: it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. But it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay² when others rise can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide³ into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

¹ As was shown in the case of Warwick the king maker, and the Wars of the Roses.

² Stand still.

³ Smooth progress.

XV.

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars¹ of tempests in State ; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality, as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia. And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in States :

*Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et aperta tumescere bella.*²

Libels and licentious discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open ; and in like sort, false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith, she was sister to the giants :

*Illam terra parens, irâ irritata deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progenit.*³

As if fames were the relics of seditions past. But they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames⁴ differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine : especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and traduced. For that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *Conflata magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best ; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected : *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi.* Disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience : especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, that is, as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side : as was well seen in the time of Henri III. of France ; for, first himself entered League⁵ for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after, the same League was turned upon himself. For wher

¹ Alluding to the weather predictions in almanacks.

² *Æneid*, 4, 179—181.

³ *Georgics*, 1, 465.

⁴ Rumours.

⁵ The Holy League, headed by the Guises, which was afterwards turned against himself.

the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum mobile*¹ (according to the old opinion), which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof:² *Solvam cingula regum*.

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light might be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the Materials of seditions. It is a thing well to be considered: for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds—much poverty, and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

*Hinc usura vorax rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*³

This same *multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a State disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat, and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust (for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good), nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, timendi non item*. Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience do withal mate⁴ the courage; but in fears it is

¹ *Primum mobile* was the "first movement," the outermost or tenth heaven, which, pure, starless, and excessively swift in movement, was supposed by Ptolemy and the early astronomers to carry round with it all the stars and planets in 24 hours.

² Isaiah, xlv. 1.

³ Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 1, 181.

⁴ *Mate* is to check, as in chess, or literally to stupify or deaden.

not so. Neither let any prince, or State, be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued. For as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last. And, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The Causes and Motives of seditions are innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers,¹ dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate, and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease, and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we speak, which is want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes; and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number. For a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live low and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over-proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a State to necessity; and so doth likewise an over-grown clergy; for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferences can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity as nature yieldeth it, the manufacture, and the vecture, or carriage. So that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus*, that the work and carriage is worth more than the material, and enricheth a State more; as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.²

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasures and monies in a State be not gathered into few hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great stock, and yet starve; and money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by sup-

¹ Prosperous foreigners.

² These mines were their successful commerce and prudent trading.

pressing, or at the least keeping a strait hand upon, the devouring trades of usury, engrossing,¹ great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them : there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great : for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort ; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter ; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good-will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malin ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus mought² well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments ; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid,³ and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction ; and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope : which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or, at least, to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereupon discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular ; which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner, or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies.⁴ For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the State be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

¹ Monopolies.

² Might.

³ Of Pandora's box, containing all evils, but with Hope at the bottom.

⁴ It was that of Catherine de Medici. "Divisez pour regner" was her motto and policy.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*: for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship.¹ Galba undid himself by that speech, *legi a se militem, non emi*:² for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus*; a speech of great despair for the soldiers.³ And many the like. Surely princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For, as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings. For, without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of trouble than were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith⁴—*Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*. But let such military persons be assured and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the State: or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI.

OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the Legend,⁵ and the Talmud,⁶ and the Alcoran,⁷ than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought miracles to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true that a little philosophy inclineth Man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion. For while the mind of Man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism, doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus,⁸ and Demo-

¹ Cæsar punned upon the word "dictate"—as both meaning to dictate by writing—to reign as a dictator.

² Galba, for saying "he would not buy soldiers, he would levy them," was murdered by the Prætorian Guards A. D. 69.

³ Probus was Emperor A. D. 276 to 282, when, for saying "If I live there will be no more need of soldiers in the Roman Empire," he was murdered by the troops.

⁴ Tacitus' History, i. 28.

⁵ The Golden Legend, a volume containing biographies of the saints and the miracles wrought by them, written by Jacobus Voragine in the 13th century.

⁶ The collection of Rabbinical traditions and expositions of the Law.

⁷ The "Book" of the Mahometan Faith and Law.

⁸ Leucippus was a Greek philosopher, the originator of the atomic theory—or the creator of things by the fortuitous coming together and blending of atoms.

critus,¹ and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds, unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal.

The Scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;*² it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart*; so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh³ that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay, more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects. And, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant: whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were Blessed Natures, but such as enjoy themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced; for his words are noble and divine: *Non deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones diis applicare profanum.* Plato could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the West have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God (as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., but not the word Deus), which shews that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare: a Diagoras,⁴ a Bion,⁵ a Lucian⁶ perhaps, and some others. And yet they seem to be more than they are, for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling

¹ Democritus was born at Abdera of a noble and wealthy family, who entertained Xerxes on his return from Asia. In recompense the King of Persia left some of his magi to instruct the young Democritus. He adopted the atomic theory of Leucippus. He travelled much, and was one of the most celebrated of the philosophers, an experimental one also. He was called the laughing philosopher.

² Psalm xiv. 1.

³ To whose interest it would be that there should be no God.

⁴ An Athenian philosopher, who, seeing that a man who perjured himself when making a false claim as to the authorship of one of Diagoras's poems, remained unpunished by the gods, turned Atheist. The Areopagus, on account of his impieties and blasphemies, set a price on his head, and he had to fly from Athens. He lived 416 B.C.

⁵ Not the Greek poet, but a Scythian philosopher of atheistic opinions—a scoffer and satirist, but who before his death acknowledged the existence and power of Providence. He died 241 B.C.

⁶ He was a Greek writer of Samosata, who was born in the reign of Trojan, and was patronised by the Emperor Aurelius. He ridiculed alike the superstitions of the heathen and Christianity.

holy things, but without feeling, so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.

The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if there be many (for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism); another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard¹ saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos*; a third is, a custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and lastly, learned times, especially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion.

They that deny a God destroy Man's nobility, for certainly Man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and if he be not of 'kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature. For take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura*: which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations. Never was there such a State for magnanimity as Rome. Of this State hear what Cicero saith: *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hæc una sapientiâ, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*

XVII.

OF SUPERSTITION.²

IT were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him. For the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: *Surely, saith he, I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such a man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born; as the poets speak of Saturn.* And as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not. But superstition dis-

¹ The celebrated Abbot of Clairvaux, who preached the second Crusade.

² Dr. Johnson calls superstition "Religion without morals."

mounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb States; for it makes men weary of themselves, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to atheism, as the time of Augustus Cæsar, were civil times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many States, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*,¹ that ravisheth all the spheres of government.

The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen² bare great sway, that *the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles,³ and such engines of orbs, to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things;* and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems to save the practice of the Church.

The causes of superstition are pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the Church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters.

Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances.

There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII.

OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education: in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what

¹ Cause of motion. See Essay 15, note, p. 26.

² The men who adopted and taught the Scholastic Divinity in the Universities during the middle ages. The chief of these was the celebrated Duns Scotus.

³ Excentrics and Epicycles. By the Ptolemaic astronomy the sun and moon both were said to revolve round the earth: but as the earth (they asserted) was not in the centre of these circles, or the velocity would not vary, they were called Eccentrics, or Excentric Circles. Epicycles were the small circles in one of which each planet moved: the centre of it described a larger circle about the earth.

things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded,¹ and look abroad little.

It is a strange thing that, in sea-voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries;² but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it: as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries, therefore, be brought in use.

The things to be seen and observed are the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes, and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins; libraries, colleges; disputations and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines; exchanges, burses, warehouses; exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like; comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which, the tutor or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not be put in mind of them; yet they are not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth. Then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town: more or less, as the place deserveth, but not long. Nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another; which is a great adamant³ of acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth. Let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit.

As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors. For so, in travelling in one country, he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame. For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided. They are commonly

¹ Blindfold—as a falcon is hooded.

² The log.

³ The magnet or loadstone (*i.e.* a great attraction).

for mistresses, healths,¹ place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse, than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts, but only prick in² some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XIX.

OF EMPIRE.

IT is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case with kings; who, being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which make their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, that *the king's heart is inscrutable*,³ for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an Order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat of the hand: as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots; and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that *the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great*. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great,⁴ Dioclesian,⁵ and in our memory Charles V.;⁶ and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire: it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction.

¹ Drinking toasts.

² Plant.

³ Proverbs v. 3.

⁴ Alexander towards the close of his life became greatly depressed.

⁵ Dioclesian abdicated the Empire of Rome, and retired to private life.

⁶ Charles V. abdicated the Empire of Germany and Crown of Spain, and died in the Monastery of St. Just, Estramadura.

Vespasian asked him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof; but this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared. For no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great, but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories: *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ*: for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours; there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing councils to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry VIII. of England, Francis I., king of France, and Charles V., emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war, and would not in anywise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini¹ saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzious Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation. For there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of war.

For their wives; there are cruel examples of them. Livia is imputed for the poisoning of her husband²; Roxolana,³ Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward II. of England, his queen,⁴ had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the

¹ A Florentine historian. He wrote "The History of Italy during his own time."

² Augustus.

³ Roxolana, a European slave, was married by Solyman the Magnificent, the greatest of the Ottoman Sultans. She persuaded him to have his son Mustapha strangled.

⁴ Isabella of Anjou.

wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children; the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of the fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was fatal to Solymans line, as the succession of the Turks from Solymans until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus II. was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus,¹ a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house. for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better; who died, indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip II. of Macedon,² turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust: except it were where the sons were in open arms against them, as was Selymus I. against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry II. king of England.

For their prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus³ and Thomas Beckett, archbishops of Canterbury, who, with their crosiers, did almost try it with the king's sword: and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry I., and Henry II. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority, or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance, it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my history of King Henry VII. of England, who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass, that his times were full of difficulties and troubles. For the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles; there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high; but that doth little hurt. Besides, they are a counterpoise to the high nobility, that they grow not too potent. And, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*,⁴ and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's

¹ The son of Constantine the Great, falsely accused by his step-mother Fausta, and poisoned by his father.

² Accused falsely of compassing his father's dethronement by his own brother Perseus, B.C. 180.

³ Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. He was constantly contending with those Sovereigns for the rights of the Church.

⁴ An important vein; in Bacon's time it was supposed to convey the chyle taken up by it to the liver. Bacon means that merchants gather to distribute.

revenue. For that that he wins in the hundred he loseth in the shire : the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons ; there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads ; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war ; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a Body, and are used to donatives ; whereof we see examples in the Janizaries,¹ and pretorian bands of Rome. But trainings of men, and arming them, in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times,² and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances : *Memento quod es homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei*. The one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX.

OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair ; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole : by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God Himself is not without, but hath made it one of the names of His blessed Son : *The Counsellor*. Solomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*.³ Things will have their first or second agitation. If they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son⁴ found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it ; for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel. Upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned : that it was young counsel, for the persons, and violent counsel, for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by Kings : the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel, whereby they intend that Sovereignty is married to Counsel ; the other in that which followeth,

¹ The Janizaries were the guards of the Ottoman Sultans, and were instituted in 1326. They attained great power, and dethroned or made sultans much as the famous Prætorian bands did, who actually sold the Roman Empire by auction to Didius. The Janizaries were slain or disbanded in 1826. The Prætorian cohorts were abolished by Constantine.

² Alluding to astrology, *i.e.*, the influences of the planets.

³ Proverbs xx. 18.

⁴ Rehoboam, who, taking the bad advice of the young men, lost ten tribes from his kingdom.

which was thus : They say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him, and was with child : but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but ate her up ; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire how kings are to make use of their counsel of state : that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation ; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their counsel, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their counsel to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them, but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves, and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel are three. First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret ; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves ; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils, a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy ; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, *Plenus rimarum sum*. One futile¹ person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king. Neither are those counsels unprosperous. For, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction ; but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill.² And those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends : as it was with King Henry VII. of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.³

For weakening of authority ; the fable showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel : neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his counsel ; except where there hath been either an

¹ Talkative.

² To act alone—on his own judgment.

³ Morton was made Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry VII. He was an old servant of that king : Fox was Bishop of Winchester, who had been attached to Henry VII. when he was Earl of Richmond. He was the patron of Wolsey, and founded Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers : which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves : certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved ; let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another, so that if any counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them :

*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.*¹

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative² into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in his master's business, than in his nature, for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together, for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours, and, in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours. Therefore it is good to take both ; and of the inferior sort, rather in private, to preserve freedom ; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons. For all matters are as dead images ; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera* (as in an idea, or mathematical description), what the kind and character of the person should be. For the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *Optimi consiliarii mortui : Books will speak plain when counsellors blanch.*³ Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated, and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that, in causes of weight, the matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to till the next day ; *in nocte consilium.*⁴ So was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions, for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions ; as, for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces ; for

¹ Martial Epigrams.

² Inquisitive.

⁴ "It is best to sleep on it," we say.

³ Flinch.

where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like) be first heard before committees, and then, as occasion serves, before the council. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious¹ manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table, a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth. For else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of *placebo*.

XXI.

OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market; where, many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer;² which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken*; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches. For if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low, and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time, or to teach dangers to come on by over-early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus³ with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus⁴ with his hundred hands: first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto,⁵ which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution. For when things are once

¹ Like the seditious tribunes of Rome.

² The Sibyl who increased the price of the books she offered to Tarquin the more she diminished their numbers.

³ The spy of Juno appointed to watch Io. When he was slain by Jupiter's order she is said to have changed him into a peacock.

⁴ A giant said to have fifty heads and a hundred hands. He assisted the Titans in their war against the gods.

⁵ Pluto's helmet rendered its wearer invisible. Perseus borrowed it to slay the Gorgon.

come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity—like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII.

OF CUNNING.

WE take Cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom. And certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards,¹ and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters. For many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley:² turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*, doth scarce hold for them. And because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye; as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I know a counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate,³ that she mought the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving⁴ things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what

¹ Arrange them so as to get a good hand—cheat.

² Groove—an allusion to the game of skittles or bowls. An alley was a bowling green or walk,

³ State.

⁴ Proposing.

the matter is of the change ; as Nehemiah did, *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*¹

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech ; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world ; as to say, *The world says, or, There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that he intended most, and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as a thing he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be apposed² of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business ; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary *in the declination of a monarchy* was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it. The other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary *in the declination of a monarchy*. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen ; who, hearing of a *declination of a monarchy*, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call *the turning of the cat in the pan* ; which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. And, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives ; as to say, *This I do not* ; as Tigellinus³ did towards Burrhus, saying, *Se non diversas spes, sed involuntatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate but they can wrap it into a tale ; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure. It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions ; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat

¹ Nehemiah ii. 1.

² Questioned on. See King Lear, Act I., Scene 2.

³ The minister and creature of Nero. Burrhus was commander of the Prætorian guards.

they desire to say, and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it; it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use. A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's,¹ another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true name; whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a State than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses² in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing³ of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon the soundness of their own proceedings. But Solomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos; stultus divertit ad dolos.*⁴

 XXIII.

OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

AN ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd⁵ thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, *himself*. It is right earth. For that only stands fast upon its own centre;⁶ whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they benefit.

The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends; which must needs be often eccentric⁷ to the ends of his master or State. Therefore, let princes or States choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessory.

That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion

¹ The Cathedral. At that time the centre aisle in St. Paul's was an ordinary walk for idlers.

² Good hits. A "loose" was the act of loosing the arrow from the bow. "To make a shot at a thing" is still said.

³ To abuse meant to deceive.

⁴ Ecclesiastes xiv. 2.

⁵ Mischievous.

⁶ According to the old Ptolemaic astronomy, to which Bacon adhered.

⁷ Out of the straight course.

is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's ; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants ; which set a bias¹ upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune ;² but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune.³ And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers as they will set a house on fire and⁴ it were but to roast their eggs. And yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves ; and⁴ for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes sine rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune ; whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

 XXIV.

OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all Innovations, which are the births of time. Yet, notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For Ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance ; but Good has a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils. For time is the greatest innovator ; and if time of course alters things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end ?

It is true that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit ; and those things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate with themselves ; whereas new things piece not so well ; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still ; which contrariwise moveth so round that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent

¹ A bias is the weight at the side of a bowl to regulate its course. The bias of self-seekers is to turn all to their own advantage. ² Small. ³ Great. ⁴ If.

a thing as an innovation ; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself ; which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived ; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for : and ever it mends some, and pairs¹ others ; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time ; and he that is hurt, for a wrong and imputeth it to the author.

It is good also not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident ; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation : and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect ; and, as the Scripture saith, that *we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*²

XXV.

OF DISPATCH.

AFFECTED Dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed, so in business the keeping close to the matter and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off ; and business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise³ man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

□ On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares ; and business is bought at a dear hand⁴ where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch : *Mi venga la muerte de Sfagna* ; Let my death come from Spain ; for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business ; and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches ; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory than he could have been if he had gone on in

¹ Impairs—injures.

² Admirable counsel for the present age. The passage is probably Jeremiah vi. 16.

³ Sir Amyas Paulet, with whom Bacon lived 1576. See his Apophthegms. ⁴ Dearly.

his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time. But there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for a race. Prefaces, and passages,¹ and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.² Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle. For he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business: the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch. For, though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI.

OF SEEMING WISE.

IT hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For, as the Apostle saith of godliness, *Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof,*³ so, certainly there are, in point of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly, *Magno conatu mugas*. It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives,⁴ to make superficies to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat: and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio; crudelitatem tibi non placere*. Some think

¹ From authors, *i.e.*, quotations.

² Ostentation.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 5.

⁴ Perspective glasses—probably magnifying glasses only.

to bear¹ it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory ; and go on, and take by admittance² that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of it, as impertinent or curious ; and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtlety, blanch³ the matter ; of whom A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kind also Plato, in his *Protagoras*, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end.

Generally, such men, in all deliberations, find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties ; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them ; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work : which false point of wisdom is the bane of business.

To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion ;⁴ but let no man choose them for employment ; for, certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

 XXVII.

OF FRIENDSHIP.

IT had been hard for him⁵ that spake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god.* For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society, in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast ; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation : such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathens, as Epimenides⁶ the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana, and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive

¹ To carry it off.

² Others permitting them.

³ Avoid, or gloss over.

⁴ Be thought wise.

⁵ Aristotle—*Politica*. Book I.
⁶ Epimenides was an Epic poet of Crete, contemporary with Solon. While tending his flocks he entered a cave and fell asleep in it. His sleep was fabled to have lasted fifty-seven years.

Numa, second King of Rome, sought solitude on pretence of consulting the nymph Egeria. Empedocles, a philosopher, said to have thrown himself into Etna in order to be taken for a god, but the mountain threw up one of his sandals.

Apollonius of Tyana, a Pythagorean well skilled in magic. He practised asceticism, and performed pretended miracles.

what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd¹ is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: *Magna civitas, magna solitudo*; because in a great town friends are scattered; so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness. And, even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind. You may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain: but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend; to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak, so great as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes; as if it were matter of grace or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *Participes curarum*; for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned: who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla,² when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey, after sur-named the Great, to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match. For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun*

¹ But midst the crowd, the hum, the shock of men,
To hear, to see, to feel, and to possess,
And roam along, the world's tired denizen,
With none who bless us, none whom we can bless
Minions of splendour shrinking from distress!
None that, with kindred consciousness endued
If we were not, would seem to smile the less,
Of all that flattered, followed, sought and sued;
This is to be alone: this, this, is solitude.—*Byron*.

² The cruel Dictator of Rome.

rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and especially a dream of Calphurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter, which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, called him *venefica, witch*, as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa,¹ though of mean birth, to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas² about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, that *he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, *Hæc pro amicitia nostra non occultavi*; and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus. For he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: *I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.* Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth, most plainly, that they found their own felicity, though as great as ever happened to mortal men, but as a half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire. And yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus³ observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and, least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.* Surely Comineus mought have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis XI., whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, *Cor ne edito: Eat not the heart.* Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend, works two contrary effects: for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that im-

¹ A celebrated Roman general, who fought for Augustus at Actium and Philippi.

² The favourite of Augustus, and friend and patron of Virgil.

³ Philip de Comines, the historian of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and Louis XI. of France.

parteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature; but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action, and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression: and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts; neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another: he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself: and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, that *speech was like cloth of Arras,¹ opened and put abroad, whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.* Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel. They indeed are best: but, even without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus² saith well, in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best.* And certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive. Reading good books of

¹ Themistocles could have known nothing of cloth of Arras, which was not made till the middle ages. His words were: "A man's discourse is like a rich Persian carpet, the beautiful figures and patterns of which can only be shown by spreading and extending it out; when it is contracted and folded up they are obscure and lost."—Clough's Plutarch, p. 83.

² Heraclitus was a Greek philosopher of the Ionian school. He took a severe and melancholy view of life, and was styled the weeping philosopher. He thought fire the chief element of creation.

morality is a little flat and dead ; observing our faults in others is sometimes unproper for our case ; but the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend.

It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend to tell them of ; to the great damage both of their fame and fortune. For, as St. James saith, they are as men, *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*.¹ As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one ; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on ; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four-and-twenty letters ; or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest ;² and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces ; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man ; it is well (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all), but he runneth two dangers. One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled : for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy. Even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of but is unacquainted with your body, and therefore, may put you in a way for present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient. But a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels, for they will rather distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels : I mean, aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here, the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself ; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, that *a friend is another himself* ; for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart ; the bestowing³ of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him. So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place ; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy. For he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man

¹ James i. 23. ² The musket of Bacon's time was fixed on a stand, called a rest, to be fired.

³ Settling, providing for, placing.

cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself! A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes stoop to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like; but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So, again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless: I have given the rule: where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

 XXVIII.

OF EXPENSE.

Personal

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard as it be within his compass and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand,¹ his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other. As, if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable, and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds, will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest.² Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair may not despise small things: and commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which, once begun, will continue; but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

¹ His accounts equally balanced.

² He speaks of freeing an estate from mortgages, or selling it.

XXIX.

OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

THE speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.*¹ These words, holpen a little with a metaphor, may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small State great and yet cannot fiddle : as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small State great, as their gift lieth the other way, to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling ; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient *negotiis pares*, able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences ; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work ; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand : to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises ; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure ; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters ; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not anything, amongst civil affairs, more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard seed ; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command ; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet are apt to be the foundation of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like : all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth

¹ Clough's Plutarch, p. 78.

not much, where the people are of weak courage ; for, as Virgil saith, *It never troubles the wolf how many the sheep be.* The army of the Persians, in the plains of Arbela, was such a vast sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army ; who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night ; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory :* and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage and too few for a fight.*¹ But, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage ; so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness, in any State, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing. For Solon said well to Cræsus (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.* Therefore, let any prince or State think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that, whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew*² *them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar³ will never meet ; that the same people, or nation, should be both the *lion's whelp*, and the *ass between burdens* : neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less ; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries ; and in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse. So that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent, or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states, that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast. For that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swine, driven out of heart, and in effect, but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods ; if you leave your staddles⁴ too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base ; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for an helmet ; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army ; and so there will be great population, and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no

¹ Lucullus, Clough's Plutarch, p. 36r.

² Mowl.

³ Gen. xlix. 9, 14, 15.

⁴ Young trees left when woods are cut down, or brushwood cleared.

where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of King Henry VII. (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ.

Neither is the state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen: which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen, received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness. Whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy¹ be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the Crown, or State, bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion—it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization: whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any State was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their Body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest degree: that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus hæreditatis*, but also *jus suffragii* and *jus honorum*: and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this, their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations, and putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards: but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And

¹ Daniel iv. 10.

les, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, they have that which is next to it: that is, to employ, almost instantly, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers, yea, and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sanction,¹ now published, appeareth.

It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail. Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient States of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves; which commonly did rid those manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c.; not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we have formerly spoken of are but habilitations towards arms: and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend² arms; and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the State of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash.³ The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards. But it is so plain that *every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done), do wonders. And those that have professed arms but for an age, have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a State to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions, as may be pretended, of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars, whereof so many calamities do ensue, but upon some, at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk

¹ Philip the 4th's decree, which gave certain privileges to persons who married, and immunity to those who had six children.

² Attend to, study

³ A short time.

hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect ; a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this ; that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers ; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest¹ and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates ; as it ever was with the Romans ; insomuch as, if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other States, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of state, I do not see how they may be well justified ; as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia ; or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made war to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies ; or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic : and certainly, to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever : but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health ; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms : and the strength of a veteran army, though it be a chargeable business, always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or, at least, the reputation, amongst all neighbour States ; as may be well seen in Spain ; which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment² of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est ; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri* ; and without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium³ decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto⁴ arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war : but this is when princes, or States, have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he

¹ Quick—in general, ready.

² An epitome.

³ Fought between Augustus and Antony, B.C. 31. By Antony's defeat the Empire of the World became Augustus's.

⁴ Fought 1571, when the combined fleets of Spain, Venice, Genoa, Malta, and the Pope Pius V., commanded by Don John of Austria, defeated the Turkish fleet, and completely ruined their maritime power and checked their course of conquest. Trafalgar is another of these decisive naval victories.

that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon;¹ and some hospitals for maimed soldiers; and such like things. But in ancient times, the *Trophies* erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of *Emperor*, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the *Triumphs* of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses, upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the *Triumph* amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things, honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons: as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude. No man can by *care-taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature*, in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms. For by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance

XXX.

OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say,

¹ An augmentation of honour.

This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it, than this, I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret, both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like, and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so as, if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and sleep and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger, fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes; mirth rather than joy; variety of delights rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom. For those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus¹ could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep: sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like. So shall nature be cherished and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort, and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

¹ A Roman physician of the time of Tiberius. He wrote eight books on medicine; only the last survives, but is valuable.

XXXI.

OF SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds,—they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded. For they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain ; for they take place in the stoutest natures : as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England. There was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout. And in such a composition they do small hurt ; for commonly they are not admitted but with examination whether they be likely or no. But in fearful natures they gain ground too fast.

There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little ; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have ? Do they think those they employ and deal with are Saints ? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them ? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide as, if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt.

Suspitions that the mind of itself gathers, are but buzzes ; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects. For thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before ; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done to men of base natures. For they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licencia fede*,¹ as if Suspicion did give a passport to Faith ; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII.

OF DISCOURSE.

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true. As if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain commonplaces and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety : which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous.

¹ Suspicion discharges or dismisses faith.

The honourablest part of the talk is to give the occasion ;¹ and again to moderate, and pass to somewhat else : for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary, and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments ; tales with reasons ; asking of questions with telling of opinions ; and jest with earnest ; for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it ; namely, religion, matters of State, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant and to the quick. That is a vein which would be bridled :

Parce puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris.²

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.

He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much ; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh. For he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome ; for that is fit for a poser :³ and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on ; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards.⁴

If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not.

Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself* : and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with a good grace ; and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth.

Speech of touch⁵ towards others should be sparingly used ; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the West part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house ; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout⁶ or dry blow given?* To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed.* The lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good dinner.*

Discretion of speech is more than eloquence : and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order.

¹ Start the subject.

² Ovid Met. ii. 127.

³ One who asks puzzling questions.

⁴ A French dance of that period, resembling a hornpipe.

⁵ Talking at people.

⁶ An insult or contemptuous speech—"a snub" in modern phraseology.

A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness ; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn ; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome ; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII.

OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young, it begat more children ; but now it is old, it begets fewer. For I may just account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms.

I like a plantation in a pure soil, that is, where people are not dis- planted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extir- pation than a plantation.

Planting of countries is like planting of woods. For you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as it may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther.

It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men,² to be the people with whom you plant. And not only so, but it spoileth the plantation. For they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers.

In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand ; as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like ; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year : as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like. For wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour : but with peas and beans you may begin ; both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest : as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like.

The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a

¹ Colonies—long called plantations.

² He alludes to the transportation of criminals to colonies which began in 1619.

besieged town, that is, with certain allowance; and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn be to a common stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private.

Consider likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation: so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business; as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay salt,¹ if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground. For the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things.

For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always and His service before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number. And let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain.

Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength, and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution.

Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably: but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury.

It hath been a great endangering to health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish² and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the stream than along it. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary.

If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles,³ but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard, nevertheless. And do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies; but for their defence, it is not amiss. And send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return.

¹ Salt obtained from sea-water by evaporation in the heat of the sun.

² Marshy.

³ Jingles, or rattles.

When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men, that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute¹ a plantation once in forwardness. For, beside the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV.

OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the Baggage of Virtue. The Roman word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to Virtue. It cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march. Yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory.

Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution ; the rest is but conceit. So saith Solomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it ; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes ?*² The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches : there is a custody of them, or a power of dole, and a donative of them, or a fame of them, but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities, and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches ? But then, you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles ; as Solomon saith, *Riches are as a stronghold in the imagination of the rich man.*³ But this is excellently expressed, that it is *in imagination*, and not always in fact. For certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out.

Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them : but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus. *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.* Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches : *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.*⁴ The poets feign that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly, but when he is sent from Pluto,⁵ he runs, and is swift of foot ; meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly, but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man. But it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Devil. For when riches come from the Devil (as by fraud, and oppression, and unjust means) they come upon speed.

The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet it is not innocent ; for it withholdeth men

¹ Leave without supplies as had been done to the first settlers in Virginia.

² Ecclesiastes v. 11.

³ Prov. x. 15, and xviii. 11.

⁴ Prov. xxviii. 22.

⁵ The god of the dead.

from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing the earth's: but it is slow; and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman of England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber-man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to little riches, and very easily to great riches; for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome¹ those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly.

The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things chiefly; by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity; broke² by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen; and the like practices, which are crafty and naught. As for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultus alieni* and, besides, doth plough upon Sundays; but yet, certain though it be, it hath flaws: for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men, to serve their own turn.

The fortune in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar-man in the Canaries. Therefore if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters; especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies,³ and coemption of wares for resale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand.

Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet wher they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worse. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *Testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi*,) it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service.

¹ Master— or get the best of a bargain.

² Broke— by servants—diminished by the brokerage of servants who negotiate or "draw them on."

³ Monopolies—exclusive rights of trading in any merchandise or article—often given to their favourites by the Tudor Sovereigns.

Believe not much them that seem to despise riches: for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse, when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more.

Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great estate left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment. Likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt,² and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure. And defer not charities till death. For, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV.

OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa³ to Saul, *To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me.*⁴ Virgil hath these verses from Homer:

*At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis,*

a prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

————— *Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingen.
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule:*

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him. And it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren: but Aristander the sooth-sayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis.* Tiberius said to Galba: *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium.* In Vespasian's time

¹ Ostentatious.

² Lacking the true spirit.

³ Or Pythoness, because of having the spirit of Python or Apollo, which was divination,

⁴ They were the words of Samuel, but perhaps repeated by the witch of Endor to Saul.

1 Sam. xxviii., 19.

there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world ; which, though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck ; and, indeed, the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry VI. of England said of Henry VII. when he was a lad, and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.*¹ When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king² her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name, and the astrologer gave a judgment that he should be killed in a duel ; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels : but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver.³ The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was :

*When hempe is spun,
England's done :*

whereby it was generally conceived that, after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion : which, thanks be to God, is verified in the change of the name ; for that the king's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand :

*There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,⁴
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.*

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight ; for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus

¹ Henry 6, Act 4, scene 6.

K. Hen. My lord of Somerset, what youth is that
Of whom you seem to have so tender care ?
Som. My liege, it is young Henry, earl of Richmond.
K. Hen. Come hither. England's hope : [*Lays his
hand on his head.*] If secret powers
Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,
This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss
His looks are full of peaceful majesty :
His head by nature framed to wear a crown,
His hand to wield a sceptre ; and himself
Likely in time to bless a regal throne.
Make much of him, my lords ; for this is he
Must help you more than you are hurt by me.
Shakespeare.

² Henry the Second.

³ 1559.

⁴ There is an Isle of May in the Firth of Forth ; the prophecy was most probably meant to refer to the real Norwegian fleet which had once been the dread of Scotland, but which never came again in war after James's 1st marriage with Anne of Denmark

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology; but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example.

My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fireside. Though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief: for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised. For they have done much mischief, and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do, generally, of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of Man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's *Timæus* and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event passed.

 XXXVI.

OF AMBITION.

AMBITION is like choler; which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped; but if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or State. Therefore, it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them.

But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit to speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken,

be they never so ambitious ; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest ; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy ; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled¹ dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops ; as Tiberius² used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus.

Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble : and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular ; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted³ by some a weakness in princes to have favourites, but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors to keep things steady ; for without that ballast, the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures it may do well ; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood.

Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other, to appear in everything ; for that breeds confusion, and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependencies. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great task, but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst cyphers, is the decay of a whole age.

Honour hath three things in it ; the vantage ground to do good, the approach to kings and principal persons, and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man ; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and States choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery³ ; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

¹ Seeling was fastening the dove's eyelids down by a fine thread passed through them

² Emperor of Rome. Sejanus was his too powerful minister. Macro was the tool of Tiberius for destroying him, but was afterwards an accessory to the Emperor's murder by Nero.

³ Ostentation.

XXXVII.

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

THESE things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations. But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost.

Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft,¹ and accompanied with some broken² music, and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace—I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing)—and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly (a bass and a tenor, no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthemwise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity. And generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down, are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alteration of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings. Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show best by candlelight are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and oes,³ or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off, not after examples of known attires, Turks, soldiers, mariners. and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men. antiques,⁴ beasts, sprites, witches, Æthiopes, pigmies, turquets,⁵ nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statuas moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company, as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers; the glories of them are chiefly

¹ In the music gallery then placed at the end of the hall in great houses

² Music in parts; harmony.

³ Spangles—then of recent invention.

⁴ Figures in old fashioned costumes.

⁵ Turkish figures.

In the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry, especially if they be drawn with strange beasts, as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or, in the devices of their entrance, or in bravery¹ of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII.

OF NATURE IN MEN.

NATURE is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune;² but custom only doth alter and subdue nature.

He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failing, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And, at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use.

Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time (like to him that would say over the four-and-twenty letters when he was angry); then to go less in quantity (as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal); and, lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

*Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.*

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand, to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice.

Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance; but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both: and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's³ end till a mouse ran before her. Therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it.

A man's nature is best perceived in privateness; for there is no

¹ Show.
² Table.

³ Importunate.

affectation: in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts: and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him.

They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times: for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice.

A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX.

OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

MEN'S thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth, though in an evil-favoured instance, there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement,¹ nor a Ravallac,² nor a Jaureguy,³ nor a Baltazar Gerard.⁴ Yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood⁵ are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary⁶ resolution is made equipollent⁷ to custom, even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom.

We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men)⁸ lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands.⁹ The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching.¹⁰ I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel cou

¹ He assassinated Henry III. of France in 1589 A.D.

² He assassinated Henry IV. of France, 1610 A.D.

³ Jaureguy attempted to assassinate William, Prince of Orange, 1582 A.D.

⁴ Shot William the Silent, Prince of Orange in 1584 A.D.

⁵ Who have only once shed blood, or never before shed blood.

⁶ The resolution springing from a vow.

⁷ Having equal power or force.

⁸ The Brahmins.

⁹ The suttee—abolished by the English.

¹⁰ Flinching—crying out.

demned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe,¹ and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice.

Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body : therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years ; this we call education ; which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see in languages, the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply ; except it be in some minds, that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare.

But if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined, and collegiate, is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth ; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined ; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

 XL.

OF FORTUNE.

IT cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune ; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hand. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*, saith the Poet. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco.*

Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise ; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune, certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name *disemboltura*² partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds³ nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, *in illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturum videretur*) falleth upon that, that he had *versatile ingenium*. Therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune ; for, though she be blind, yet she is

¹ A willow-twig—a band of twigs twisted together.

² Turning inside out.

³ Hindrances.

not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky : which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto* :¹ and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties than to have *a little of the fool*, and not too much of the honest ; therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate ; neither can they be, for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way.

A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*) ; but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two felicity breedeth ; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him.

All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune. For so they may the better assume them ; and besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus*. So Sylla chose the name of *felix*, and not of *magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian,² after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *And in this fortune had no part*, never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards.

Certainly there be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and an easiness more than the verses of other poets ; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune,³ in respect of that of Agesilaus, or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt, it is much in a man's self.

¹ A little of the fool.

² The son of Conon and friend of Plato. He was a successful general.

³ " Although Greece in his time produced several persons of extraordinary worth and much renowned for their achievements, such as Timotheus, and Agesilaus, and Pelopidas, and (Timoleon's chief model) Epaminondas, yet the lustre of their best actions was obscured by a degree of violence and labour, insomuch that some of them were matter of blame and of repentance, whereas there is not any one act of Timoleon's, setting aside the necessity he was placed under in reference to his brother, to which, as Timeus observes, we may not fully apply that exclamation of Sophocles :—

O, gods ! what Venus or what Grace divine
Did here with human workmanship combine.

Clough's *Plutarch*, p. 188.

XLI.

OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against Usury. They say, that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe:¹ that the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday: that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was *In sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*, not *In sudore vultus alieni*: that usurers should have orange-tawny² bonnets, because they do judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis*: for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks,³ discovery of men's estates, and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out or culled out; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but it would in great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the *vena portæ*⁴ of wealth in a State. The second, that it makes poor merchants. For, as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or estates, which ebb or flow with merchandising. The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or State into a few hands. For the usurer being at certainties, and the other at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a State flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandising, or purchasing; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates; which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respects hindereth merchandising, yet in some

¹ The legal interest on borrowed money was then 10 per cent.

² Orange-tawny or dark-yellow caps were worn by compulsion by the Jews.

³ The Goldsmiths—men of substance, as George Heriot—kept money for its possessors then as bankers do now; but there was a bank in Amsterdam in 1650, which failed.

⁴ Chief vein.

other it advanceth it ; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest, so as, if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot ; and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter, for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, *The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeiture of mortgages and bonds.* The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit, and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle ; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.¹

To speak now of the reformation and reiglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled ; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much ; the other that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater. For if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money ; and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandise being the most lucrative, many bear usury at a good rate ; other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus : that there be two rates of usury, the one free and general for all, the other under licence only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current, and let the State shut itself out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness. This will ease infinite borrowers in the country. This will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five. This, by like reason, will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following : let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay : for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whosoever. Let it be no bank, or

¹ The land of imaginary perfection in Sir Thomas More's political romance.

common stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether mislike banks; but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered¹ some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender. For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over this trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandise. For then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country, so as the licence of nine will not suck away the current rate of five. For no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorise usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

 XLII.

OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second, for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely.

Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus, of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam*; and yet he was the ablest emperor almost of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix,² and others.

On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them, but in new things abuseth³ them.

The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this—that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some

¹ Paid.

² Nephew of Louis XII. of France. He fell at the battle of Ravenna, 1512.

³ Deceives.

few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly ; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences ; use extreme remedies at first ; and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them ; like an unready horse that will neither stop nor turn.

Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success.

Certainly it is good to compound employments of both ; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both ; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors ; and, lastly, good for externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain Rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth ; and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections.

There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes. These are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned ; such as was Hermogenes¹ the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age ; such as is a fluent and luxurious speech, which becomes youth well, but not age. So Tully saith of Hortensius,² *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*. The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold ; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*.

XLIII.

OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set ; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignity of presence than beauty of aspect ; neither is it almost seen that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue ; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency ; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit ; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always ; for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward IV. of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael¹ the

¹ He lived in the second century after Christ, and lost his memory very young.

² The rival of Cicero.

³ He made himself master of Persia in 1473.

Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour¹ is more than that of colour, and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express, no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles² or Albert Durer³ were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions, the other by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was, but he must do it by a kind of felicity (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music), and not by rule. A man shall see faces that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good, and yet all together do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable: *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*. For no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth, as to make up the comeliness.

Beauty is as summer-fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

 XLIV.

OF DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature, for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection*; and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one she ventureth in the other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign (which is more deceivable) but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect.

Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn. Therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold,

¹ Features.

² Apelles flourished from 340 B.C. to 323 B.C. He was patronised by Alexander the Great. But it was Zeuxis who, as Campbell wrote—

“Mingled in his piece,
Each look that charmed him in the fair of Greece.”

³ Albert Durer, who asserted the geometrical proportions of the human form in his Treatise, *De symmetria partium humani corporis*.

first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also, it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession. So that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising.

Kings in ancient times (and at this present, in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials and good whisperers than good magistrates and officers; and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice. And therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus,¹ Zanger the son of Solyman,² Æsop,³ Gasca,⁴ president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them; with others.

XLV.

OF BUILDING.

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who built them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat,⁵ committeth himself to prison; neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap⁶ of ground, environed with higher hills round about it; whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs: so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures, want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business, or too near them, which

¹ King of Sparta, 398 B.C. to 361 B.C.

² The magnificent Sultan of the Turks. He was an excellent person.

³ The writer of Fables. He lived in the sixth century B.C.

⁴ He lived in 1547 A.D., and put down the rebellion of Pizarro.

⁵ A bad situation.

⁶ A rising ground.

lurcheth¹ all provisions, and maketh everything dear ; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted : all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can ; and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and light-some in one of his houses, said, *Surely, an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter ?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter ?*²

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator* ; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof ; for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escorial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides ; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Hester,³ and a side for the household ; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front ; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within ; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that as it were joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty feet high ; and under it a room for a dressing, or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel (with a partition between) both of good state and bigness ; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair. And under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground ; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a-piece above the two wings ; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed ; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair and open newel,⁴ and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour, and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants. For otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own ; for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front. Only, I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen feet, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front ; and^d in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within

¹ Carries off.

³ Esther, i. 5.

⁴ The pillar to which winding-stairs are attached.

² See "Lucullus" in Clough's *Plutarch*.

the rows of buildings themselves. But those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter, but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries; in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household side, chambers of presence¹ and ordinary entertainments with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become² to be out of the sun or cold. For embowed³ windows, I hold them of good use (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street) for they be pretty retiring places for conference, and, besides, they keep both the wind and sun off. For that which would strike almost through the room, doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story; on the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation⁴; and only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of the court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, *antecamera*⁵ and *recamera*⁶ joining to it. This upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst, and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts—a green court, plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square

¹ Chambers of presence.—Reception rooms in which one was brought into the presence of the host.

³ Bay windows.

⁵ An ante-chamber.

² To go.

⁴ A sort of summer-house.

⁶ A back-chamber

with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides, and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI.

OF GARDENS.

GOD ALMIGHTY first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which building and palaces are but gross handyworks: and a man shall ever see, that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter; holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pine-apple trees, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flag, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set.¹ There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris,² frettellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the early daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree³ in blossom, sweetbriar. In April, follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures, rosemary flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene,⁴ and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus,⁵ cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower, herba muscaria, liliun convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, ginnitings,⁶ quadlins.⁷ In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks,⁸ barberries, filberds, musk melons, monkshoods of all colours. In September come grapes,

¹ In a hot-bed.

³ The cornel-tree.

⁵ The African Marigold.

⁶ Jennitings, an apple; well known in Hampshire by that name still.

⁷ Codlings—another apple.

² Dwarf flag, or Iris.

⁴ Damson.

⁸ The old way of spelling apricots.

apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones,¹ nectarines, cornelians,² wardens,³ quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; ⁴ so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness, yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram. That which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet; ⁵ especially the white double violet, which comes twice a-year, about the middle of April and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk rose; then the strawberry leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell. Then the flower of the vines: it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweetbriar. Then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window. Then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink and clove gilliflowers. Then the flowers of the lime-tree. Then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints. Therefore, you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are, indeed, prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But, because the alley will be long, and in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenters' work, about twelve feet in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures, with

¹ A kind of quince.

² Cornelians were the cherry-like fruit of the Cornel tree.

³ Wardens were pears, used in pies. See *Winter's Tale*, Act iv. Scene 2.

"I must have saffron to colour the warden pies."

⁴ Retain their smell in the blossoms.

⁵ Surely the sweetbriar is more diffused.

divers-coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side on which the garden stands, they be but toys : you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge ; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenters' work, of some ten feet high, and six feet broad ; and the spaces between, of the same dimensions with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenters' work ; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds : and over every space between the arches, some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also, I understand that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you ; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure—not at the hither end, for letting¹ your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green, nor at the further end, for letting¹ your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device ; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busy, or full of work ; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff : they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well ; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenters' work. I would also have the alleys² spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast ; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments : and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment ; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures, the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water ; the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without any fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well : but the main matter is so to convey the water as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern ; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves : as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images ; the sides likewise ; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such

¹ Hindering.

² Walks.

things of lustre, encompassed also with fine rails of low statues. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain, which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wished it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweetbriar and honeysuckle, and some wild vines amongst, and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade, and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander,¹ that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with liliun convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses, juniper, holly (berberries but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweetbriar, and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys; private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that, when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep, and set with fine flowers; but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive² the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides with fruit-trees; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden, so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side-grounds, there to walk, if you feel disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account, that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and,

¹ Ox-heel or setter wort.

² Steal the nourishment from.

in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness, as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them, that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear on the floor of the aviary.

So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII.

OF NEGOTIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter, and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow or to expound.

In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed (for that quickeneth much), and such as are fit for the matter; as, bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them. For that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite,¹ than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other

¹ Who are hungry for success.

party that he shall still need him in some other thing ; or else that he be counted the honestest man.

All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of necessity—when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him ; or, his ends, and so persuade him ; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him ; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends to interpret their speeches ; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once, but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII.

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.¹

COSTLY followers are not to be liked ; lest, while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other ; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious² followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconveniences. For they taint business through want of secrecy ; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed espials ; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others. Yet such men many times are in great favour ; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great man himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies ; so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But

¹ The followers or servants of noblemen and gentlemen in James I.'s reign were very numerous. In fact, the pomp of feudalism still lingered in the old halls and manors of England. The Earl of Dorset's household consisted of 220 servants ; and the father of John Evelyn, when sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, "had a hundred and sixteen servants in liveries of green satin doublets, besides gentlemen and persons of quality who waited on them in the same costume. The chief of these followers of nobles were still the younger sons of gentle or noble families who sought preferment in their patron's service." Mr. Spedding, in his *Life of Bacon*, gives the following list (from an imperfect Roll) of Bacon's followers and servants, *i.e.*, Two chaplains, six gentlemen of the chamber, twenty-six gentlemen-waiters, four pages, two gentlemen ushers, three yeomen of the wardrobe, three yeomen of the pantry, and four butlers.

² Vain-glorious : boastful.

the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable than with the more able. And, besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election, is good: for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious; because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe, for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many, is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends, is ever honourable; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vail best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

 XLIX.

OF SUITORS.

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds: I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the meantime of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when the turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit: either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour

the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving¹ or disabling² the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour; but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses,³ that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place. So far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that, if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means, and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience.

Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person who should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras* is a good rule where a man hath strength of favour; but otherwise, a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour.

Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L.

OF STUDIES.

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience; for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need prouning⁴ by study;

¹ Slandering.

⁴ Pruning.

² Disparaging.

³ Deceptions.

and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men condemn studies; simple men admire them; and wise men use them. For they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation.

Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. That is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously;¹ and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books: else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things.

Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not.

Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtle; natural philosophy deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend: *Abunt studia in mores*; nay, there is no stound² or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies, like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises: bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; so, if a man's wits be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are *cymini sectores*.³ If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI.

OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy. Whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and

¹ With earnest research.

² We say now "Splitters of hairs."

³ Stand.

neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a greater number that are more moderate.

When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the Senate (which they called *optimates*) held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the Senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavius Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then, soon after, Antonius and Octavius brake, and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions; and, therefore, those that are seconds in factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals. But many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition, and, when that faileth, he groweth out of use.

It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking, belike, that they have their first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth, *Padre commune*; and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house.

Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the State are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis*; as was to be seen in the league of France.¹ When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.

LII.

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

HE that is only real had need have exceeding great parts of virtue, as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains; for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy*

¹ Henry III.'s adhesion to the League of the Guises against the Huguenots.

purses, for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then ; so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note, whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella¹ said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms.²

To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them ; for so shall a man observe them in others, and let him trust himself with the rest ; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations ? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again, and so diminisheth respect to himself ; especially they are not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures ; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks ; and certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity, and therefore it is good a little to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others is good ; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own ; as, if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction ; if you will allow his motion, let it be with condition ; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason.

Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments : for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious³ in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.*⁴ A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device,⁵ but free for exercise or motion.

LIII.

OF PRAISE.

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue ; but it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is

¹ Wife of Ferdinand of Arragon and Queen of Castile.

² Manners.

³ Careful.

⁴ Ecclesiastes xi. 4.

⁵ Fastidiously exact. There was a lace of very fine pattern called *point-de-vice*, but whether named from this manner or the manner from the lace is not known.

commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues; the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shows, and *species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid. But if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*¹; it filleth all round about, and will not easily away²; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers.

There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect.³ Some praises proceed merely of flattery: and if it be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, *spretū conscientiā*. Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere*; when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*; insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push⁴ rise upon his nose*; as we say, that *A blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie*. Certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doeth the good. Solomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be no better to him than a curse*.⁵ Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self, cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business: for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is *under-sheriffries*, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles⁶; though many times those undersheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool*;⁷ but speaking of his calling, he saith, *Magnificabo apostolatum meum*.⁸

¹ Ecclesiastes vii. 1.

³ In suspicion.

⁶ Bailiff's assistant.

² Go away.

⁴ A pimple.

⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 23.

⁵ Proverbs xxvii. 15.

⁸ Rom. xi. 13.

LIV.

OF VAIN GLORY.

IT was prettily devised of Æsop—the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, *What a dust do I raise!* So are there some vain persons, that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious¹ must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret; and therefore not effectual: but, according to the French proverb, *beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit: much bruit, little fruit.* Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as, if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against a third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other; and sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either; and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance.

In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure a composition² of glorious³ natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus,⁴ borne her age so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes sealings⁵ not only shine, but last.

But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus⁶—*Omnium quæ, dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator;* for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and in some persons it is not only comely but gracious; for excusations,⁷ cession

¹ Vain-glorious; absurdly proud of themselves.

² A mixture.

³ Vain-glorious.

⁴ Pliny the younger.

⁵ Sealings—wainscottings, also ceilings and floors of rooms

⁶ Mucianus, a general of the Emperors Otho and Vitellius.

⁷ Excuses.

modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For, saith Pliny, very wittingly, *In commending another, you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.*

Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

 LV.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired; and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it, so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband¹ of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another² hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and, therefore, let a man contend³ to excel any competitors of his honour in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.*⁴ Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self, in his ends rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy.

The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these. In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of States and commonwealths; such as were Romulus,⁵ Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers; which are

¹ An ill husband—a bad economist—which is the meaning of "husband."

"To husband" is to take care.

² Won at another's expense by surpassing theirs—an allusion to "breaking a spear" in the lists.

³ Contend; endeavour; strive.

⁴ We have a contrary proverb—"No man is a hero to his valet."

⁵ Romulus, founder of Rome, 753 B.C. Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, 559 B.C. Ottoman or Othman I., founder of the Turkish Empire, born 1299. Ismael, founder of the second Persian Kingdom.

also called second founders, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the *Siete partidas*.¹ In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*; such as compound the long miseries of civil wars or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar,² Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *propagatores*, or *propugnatores imperii*; such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ*, which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number.

Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, *participes curarum*, those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands as we may call them. The next are *duces belli*, great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, favourites; such as exceed not this scantling,³ to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotiiis pares*; such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus,⁴ and the two Decii.⁵

LVI.

OF JUDICATURE.

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*; to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law, else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which, under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all

¹ Lycurgus, Spartan law-giver, nine centuries before Christ. Solon, law-giver of Athens, B.C. 594. Justinian, Emperor and law-giver of the Romans, A.C. 536. Edgar, a great Saxon legislator (See Green's Short History of England). Alphonso of Castile, the Spanish law-giver, 1252. His laws consisted of *siete partidas*, seven parts.

² Augustus closed the Civil Wars by his defeat of Antony. Vespasian delivered Rome from the civil wars following the death of Nero. Aurelian, 270 A.D., was the conqueror of Zenobia and settled the Empire in peace. Theodoric freed Italy from Odoacer, 493 A.D. Henry VII. ended the Wars of the Roses. Henry IV., those of the League in France at Ivry.

³ Limit—Favourites were established facts in Bacon's time, Buckingham being at this time in the ascendant.

⁴ Regulus was sent by the Carthaginians (to whom he was prisoner) to Rome with terms of peace. If they were accepted, he was to be exchanged for a Carthaginian prisoner. He advised the Romans strongly against the peace, and returning to Carthage in compliance with his promise given to return, was tortured to death by his enemies, 257 B.C.

⁵ The Decii during a doubtful battle devoted themselves to the infernal gods, i.e. resolved to die—a sacrifice supposed to insure victory to the army, and thus, by raising the spirit of their soldiers, won the day. One died 340 B.C., the other 295 B.C.

things, integrity is their portion, and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.*¹ The mislayer of a mere-stone² is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Solomon, *Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario.*³

The office of judges may have a reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood;*⁴ and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence as God useth to prepare His way, by raising valleys and taking down hills; so, when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent persecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit elicit sanguinem;*⁵ and where the wine-press is hard-wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone.

Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws; specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care, that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour: and that they bring not upon people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluēt super eos laqueos.*⁶ For penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: *Judicis officium est ut res ita tempora rerum &c.* In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar, or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and pro-

¹ Deu. xxvii. 17.

⁴ Amos v. 7.

² A boundary-stone.

⁵ Prov. xxx. 33.

³ Prov. xxv. 25.

⁶ Psalm xi. 6.

judicis
suet

ceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest; but it is more strange that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well-handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop¹ with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew, after the judge hath declared his sentence: but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half-way, nor give occasion to the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard.

3. Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is a hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the footpace and precincts and purprise² thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption. For, certainly, *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles*; ³ neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching⁴ and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell, and the country pine; the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantages; the third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths; and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees: which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceedings, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

4. Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables, *Salus populi suprema lex*; and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges: and again, when judges do often consult with the king and State; the one, where there

¹ Bandy words.

² S. Matthew vii. 16.

³ A close, or enclosure.

Bailiffs and bailiffs' assistants.

is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other when there is some consideration of State intervenient in matter of law : for many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate. I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people ; and let no man weakly conceive that just laws, and true policy, have any antipathy ; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides : let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne, being circumspect they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right as to think there is not left them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws : for they may remember what the Apostle saith of a greater law than theirs, *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*¹

 LVII.

OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles : *Be angry, but sin not ; let not the sun go down upon your anger.*² Anger must be limited and confined, both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit *to be angry* may be attempered and calmed ; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief ; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first ; there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles Man's life ; and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, that *Anger is like rain, which breaks itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us *to possess our souls in patience* : whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees :

—*animasque in vulnere ponunt.*³

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness ; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear, so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it ; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point ; the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt ; for no man is angry that feels

¹ Tim. i. 8

² Ephes. iv. 26.

³ Georgics, 4, 238.

not himself hurt ; and, therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt. For contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself, and therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch¹ of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger, wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Gonsalvo² was wont to say, *telam honoris crassiozem*. But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate³ and proper (for *communia maledicta* are nothing so much); and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets: for that makes him not fit for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger: but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt; and the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

 LVIII.

OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

SOLOMON saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.*⁴ So that as Plato had an imagination that *All knowledge was but remembrance*, so Solomon giveth his sentence, that *All novelty is but oblivion*. Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below.⁵ There is an abstruse astrologer that saith: *If it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment.*

¹ Of an injury to.

² A famous Spaniard called the Great Captain, born 1483, died 1515.

³ Pointed and stinging.

⁴ Ecclesiastes i. 9, 10.

⁵ As well as in Hades; as fabled.

Certain it is that Matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes; as for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople but destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought, in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive; as for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely, that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that *it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather, that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But, on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Afric and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things, traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities, I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian,¹ who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitudes or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year,² if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fume³ of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have), but in gross.

Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects, especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part), that every five-and-thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again; as, great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the prime; it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

¹ Sabinian of Volaterra was elected Bishop of Rome on the death of Gregory, 604 A.D.

² The great year of the mathematicians: it was supposed to occur after a period of 12,954 years, and was to be of 25,920 years duration.

³ Fancy.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men is the vicissitude of sects and religions; for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof, all which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life; for as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians), though they work mightily upon men's wits, they do not produce any great alteration in states, except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects. By the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature; and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from East to West; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders), were all eastern people. It is true the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs, the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the East or West, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far Southern people have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the Northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere; or of the great continents that are upon the north (whereas the South part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea); or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the Northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great State and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have

subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey. So was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Al-maigne,¹ after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break.² The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars. For when a State grows to an over power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow, as it hath been seen in the States of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people. But when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations; which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike State grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war; for commonly such States are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation; yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India, and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons and their improvements are, first, the fetching³ afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations⁴ and ancient inventions; the third is, the commodious use of them, as, that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After, they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. But it is not good to look too

¹ Germany after Charlemagne's death.

² At the time Bacon wrote, Spain was a great power.

³ Striking.

⁴ Assaults by battering-rams. The word is probably derived from *Aries* a ram.

long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

LIX.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY ON FAME.

THE poets make Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath; so many tongues; so many voices; she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent parables: as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities. But that which passeth all the rest is: they do recount that the earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame: for certain it is that rebels (figured by the giants) and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine. But now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner: there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame. We will therefore speak of these points; what are false fames, and what are true fames, and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to move the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not, and, being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continually giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment: and it is a usual thing with the bashaws to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, King of Persia, post apace out of Grecia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships, which he had made athwart the Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples;

and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them everywhere. Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames,¹ as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

[*The rest was not finished.*]

LX.

ON DEATH.

I HAVE often thought upon death, and I find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mothers, until we return to our grandmother the earth, are part of our dying days, whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others.

Physicians in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome. But these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

I know many wise men that fear to die; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides, the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death; and such are my hopes, that if heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning, that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go *per alta*; this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend (who cannot be counted within the number of movables), unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the uncertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehension of Lucian,² who says of Menippus, that in his travels through hell, he knew not the kings of the earth from other men but only by their louder cryings and tears, which were fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they

¹ Rumours.

² See p. 30, last note.

so unwillingly left behind them : he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forsake his farm ; and others, either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet : they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens' rule, *memento mori*, and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy it as men prepared to lose, and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune : he that is not slackly strong (as the servants of pleasure), how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shows what finger hath enforced her ; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault, and this good guest of ours takes soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from showing her wonders ; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

But see how I am swerved, and lose my course, touching at the soul that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act ; his style is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This ruler of monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward, in token that he is contrary to life, which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts, can I compare men more fitly to anything than to the Indian fig-tree, which, being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth, whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man, having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant, and made ripe for death, he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration ; yet there are some men (I think) that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome ; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken ; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment-day, which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that (for the most part) they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather, that death is unagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate ; this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before : now they,

out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny, from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world (accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils): their fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire (if it be possible) to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burthened with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley¹; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings; to them whose fortune runs back, and whose spirits mutiny: unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others to see his star, that they might be led to his place; wooing the remorseless sisters² to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

But death is a doleful messenger to a usurer, and fate untimely cuts his thread; for it is never mentioned by him, but when rumours of war, and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one (broken in thoughts of his moneys abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house) can be content to think of death, and (being hasty of perdition) will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off; remembering always, that he have time and liberty, by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity. I am not of those, that dare promise to pine away myself in vain glory, and I hold such to be but feat³ boldness, and them that dare commit it, to be vain.⁴ Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience: nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come (the perfectest virtue being tried in action): but I would (out of a care to do the best business well) ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted⁵ by the violence of pain.

¹ A prisoner to the Moors.

² The Fates.

³ Affected.

⁴ Foolish.

⁵ Tried.

Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion, that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just, and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours; and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to fore-flow the tide; I have but so to make my interest of it as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great Dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffer for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy: so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, "Such an age is a mortal evil." And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold; but before my friends. The night was even now: but that name is lost; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.

ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA :

OR

ELEGANT SENTENCES.

ALEATOR, quanto in arte est melior, tanto est nequior—A gamester, the greater master he is in his art, the worse man he is.

Arcum intensio frangit ; animum, remissio—Much bending breaks the bow ; much unbending, the mind.

Bis vincit, qui se vincit in victoria—He conquers twice, who restrains himself in victory.

Cum vitia prosint, peccat qui recte facit—If vices were profitable, the virtuous man would be the sinner.

Bene dormit, qui non sentit quod male dormiat—He sleeps well, who is not conscious that he sleeps ill.

Deliberare utilia, mora est tutissima—To deliberate about useful things is the safest delay.

Dolor decrescit, ubi quo crescat non habet—The flood of grief decreaseth, when it can swell no higher.

Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor—Pain makes even the innocent man a liar.

Etiam celeritas in desiderio, mora est—In desire, swiftness itself is delay.

Etiam capillus unus habet umbram suam—Even a single hair casts a shadow.

Fidem qui perdit, quo se servat in reliquum ?—He that has lost his faith, what staff has he left ?

Formosa facies muta commendatio est—A beautiful face is a silent commendation.

Fortuna nimium quem fovet, stultum facit—Fortune makes him fool, whom she makes her darling.

Fortuna obesse nulli contenta est semel—Fortune is not content to do a man but one ill turn.

Facit gratum fortuna, quem nemo videt—The fortune which nobody sees makes a man happy and unenvied.

Heu ! quam miserum est ab illo lædi, de quo non possis queri—O ! what a miserable thing it is to be injured by those of whom we cannot complain.

Homo toties moritur quoties amittit suos—A man dies as often as he loses his friends.

Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est—The tears of an heir are laughter under a mask.

Jucundum nihil est, nisi quod reficit varietas—Nothing is pleasant to which variety does not give relish.

Invidiam ferre, aut fortis, aux felix potest—He may be envied, who is either courageous or happy.

In malis sperare bonum, nisi innocens, nemo potest—In adversity, only the virtuous can entertain hope.

In vindicando, criminosa est celeritas—In revenge, haste is criminal.

In calamitoso risus etiam injuria est—In misfortune, even to smile is to offend.

Improbe Neptunum accusat, qui iterum naufragium facit—He accuseth Neptune unjustly, who makes shipwreck a second time.

Multis minatur, qui uni facit injuriam—He that injures one, threatens many.

Mora omnis ingrata est, sed facit sapientiam—All delay is unpleasant, but we are the wiser for it.

Mori est felicis antequam mortem invocet—Happy he who dies ere he calls on death.

Malus ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus—A bad man is worst when he pretends to be a saint.

Magno cum periculo custoditur, quod multis placet—Lock and key will scarce keep that secure which pleases everybody.

Male vivunt qui se semper victuros putant—They live ill, who think to live for ever.

Male secum agit æger, medicum qui hæredem facit—That sick man does ill for himself, who makes his physician his heir.

Multos timere debet, quem multi timent—He of whom many are afraid, ought himself to fear many.

Nulla tam bona est fortuna, de qua nil possis queri—There's no fortune so good, but it bates an ace.

Pars beneficii est quod petitur, si bene neget—That is half granted which is denied graciously.

Timidus vocat se cautum, parcum sordidus—The coward calls himself a cautious man ; and the miser says, he is frugal.

O vita ! misero longa, felici brevis—O life ! an age to the miserable, a moment to the happy.

The following are sentences extracted from the writings of Lord Bacon :—

It is a strange desire which men have, to seek power and lose liberty.

Children increase the cares of life : but they mitigate the remembrance of death.

Round dealing is the honour of man's nature ; and a mixture of falsehood is like alloy in gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it debaseth it.

Death openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more a man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out.

He that studieth revenge, keepeth his own wounds green.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished ; but the good things which belong to adversity are to be admired.

He that cannot see well, let him go softly.

If a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery ; as the more close air sucketh in the more open.

Keep your authority wholly from your children, not so your purse.

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise. For the distance is altered ; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

As in nature things move more violently to their place, and calmly at their place : so virtue in ambition is violent ; in authority, settled and calm.

Boldness in civil business, is like pronounciation in the orator of Demosthenes ; the first, second, and third thing.

Boldness is blind : whereof 'tis ill in counsel, but good in execution. For in counsel it is good to see dangers, in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

Without goodnature, man is but a better kind of vermin.

God never wrought miracles to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it.

The great atheists indeed are hypocrites, who are always handling holy things, but without feeling, so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.

The master of superstition is the people. And in all superstition, wise men follow fools.

In removing superstitions, care should be had, that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad ; which commonly is done, when the people is the physician.

He that goeth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel.

It is a miserable state of mind (and yet it is commonly the case of kings) to have few things to desire, and many to fear.

Depression of the nobility may make a king more absolute, but less safe.

All precepts concerning kings are, in effect, comprehended in these remembrances: Remember thou art a man; remember thou art God's vicegerent. The one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

Things will have their first or second agitation. If they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune.

The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilled in his master's business than his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.

Fortune sometimes turneth the handle of the bottle, which is easy to be taken hold of; and after the belly, which is hard to grasp.

Generally it is good to commit the beginning of all great actions to Argus with an hundred eyes; and the ends of them to Briareus with an hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed.

There is a great difference betwixt a cunning man and a wise man. There be that can pack the cards, who yet cannot play well; they are good in canvasses and factions, and yet otherwise mean men.

Extreme self-lovers will set a man's house on fire, though it were but to roast their eggs.

New things, like strangers, are more admired and less favoured.

It were good that men, in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived.

They that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new.

The Spaniards and Spartans have been noted to be of small despatch. *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna*—Let my death come from Spain; for then it will be sure to be long a-coming.

You had better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than over-formal.

Those who want friends to whom to open their griefs, are cannibals of their own hearts.

Number itself importeth not much in armies, where the people are of weak courage; for (as Virgil says) it never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.

Let states, that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentry multiply too fast. In coppice woods, if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.

A civil war is like the heat of a fever ; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health.

Suspitions among thoughts are like bats among birds, they ever fly by twilight.

Base natures, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true.

Men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.

Discretion in speech is more than eloquence.

Men seem neither well to understand their riches, nor their strength ; of the former they believe greater things than they should and of the latter much less. And from hence fatal pillars have bounded the progress of learning.

Riches are the baggage of virtue ; they cannot be spared nor left behind, but they hinder the march.

Great riches have sold more men than ever they have bought out.

He that defers his charity till he is dead, is (if a man weighs it rightly) rather liberal of another man's, than of his own.

Ambition is like choler ; if he can move, it makes men active ; if it be stopped, it becomes adust, and makes men melancholy.

To take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs.

Some ambitious men seem as screens to princes in matters of danger and envy. For no man will take such parts, except he be like the seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him.

Princes and states should choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than rising ; and should discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds ; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

If a man look sharp and attentively, he shall see fortune ; for though she be blind, she is not invisible.

Usury bringeth the treasure of the realm or state into a few hands : for the usurer being at certainties, and the others at uncertainties ; at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box.

Virtue is best in a body that hath rather dignity of presence than beauty of aspect. The beautiful prove accomplished, but not of great spirit ; and study, for the most part, rather behaviour than virtue.

The best part of beauty is that which a picture cannot express.

He who builds a fair house upon an ill seat commits himself to prison.

If you would work on any man, you must either know his nature

and fashions, and so lead him ; or his ends, and so persuade him ; or his weaknesses and disadvantages, and so awe him ; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him.

Costly followers (among whom we may reckon those who are importunate in suits) are not to be liked ; lest, while a man maketh his train longer, he maketh his wings shorter.

Fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid.

Seneca saith well, that anger is like rain, that breaks itself upon that it falls.

Excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation.

High treason is not written in ice ; that when the body relenteth, the impression should go away.

The best governments are always subject to be like the fairest crystals, when every icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived.

In great place ask counsel of both times : of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest.

The virtue of prosperity is temperance, of adversity fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer revelation of God's favour.

SHORT NOTES FOR CIVIL CONVERSATION.

To deceive men's expectations generally (with cautel¹) argueth a staid mind, and unexpected constancy ; viz., in matters of fear, anger, sudden joy or grief, and all things which may affect or alter the mind in public or sudden accidents, or such like.

It is necessary to use a steadfast countenance, not wavering with action, as in moving the head or hand too much, which showeth a fantastical light and fickle operation of the spirit, and consequently like mind as gesture : only it is sufficient, with leisure, to use a modest action in either.

In all kinds of speech, either pleasant, grave, severe, or ordinary, it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly, than hastily ; because hasty speech confounds the memory, and oftentimes (besides unseemliness) drives a man either to a nonplus or un-

¹ Caution.

seemly stammering, harping upon that which should follow ; whereas a slow speech confirmeth the memory, addeth a conceit of wisdom to the hearers, besides a seemliness of speech and countenance.

To desire in discourse to hold all arguments is ridiculous, wanting true judgment ; for in all things no man can be exquisite.¹

To have common-places to discourse, and to want variety, is both tedious to the hearers, and shows a shallowness of conceit² ; therefore it is good to vary, and suit speeches with the present occasions ; and to have a moderation in all our speeches, especially in jesting, of religion, state, great persons, weighty and important business, poverty, or anything deserving pity.

A long continued speech, without a good speech of interlocation, showeth slowness : and a good reply without a good set speech, showeth shallowness and weakness.

To use many circumstances, ere you come to matter, is wearisome : and to use none at all, is but blunt.

Bushfulness is a great hindrance to a man, both of uttering his conceit,³ and understanding what is propounded unto him ; wherefore it is good to press himself forwards with discretion, both in speech and company of the better sort.

Usus promptos facit.

¹ Perfect or without fault.

² In this sense, "idea."

³ Here conceit means opinion.

OF THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

To the LORD MOUNTJOYE.

I SEND you the last part of the best book of Aristotle of Stagira, who, as your Lordship knoweth, goeth for the best author. But saving the civil respect which is due to a received estimation, the man, being a Grecian, and of a hasty wit, having hardly a discerning patience, much less a teaching patience, hath so delivered the matter, as I am glad to do the part of a good house-hen, which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasant's eggs. And yet, perchance, some that shall compare my lines with Aristotle's lines will muse by what art, or rather by what revelation, I could draw these conceits out of that place. But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge that I had my light from him; for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent. Wherein as I do him right, being myself a man that am as free from envying the dead in contemplation as from envying the living in action or fortune: so yet nevertheless still I say, and I speak it more largely than before, that in perusing the writings of this person so much celebrated, whether it were the impediment of his wit, or that he did it upon glory and affection to be subtile, as one that, if he had seen his own conceits clearly and perspicuously delivered, perhaps would have been out of love with them himself; or else upon policy, to keep himself close, as one that had been a challenger of all the world, and had raised infinite contradiction: to what cause soever it is to be ascribed, I do not find him to deliver and unwrap himself well of that he seemeth to conceive; nor to be a master of his own knowledge. Neither do I for my part also, though I have brought in a new manner of handling this argument, to make it pleasant and lightsome, pretend so to have overcome the nature of the subject, but that the full understanding and use of it will be somewhat dark, and best pleasing the taste of such wits as are patient to stay the digesting and soluting unto themselves of that which is sharp and subtile. Which was the cause, joined with the love and honour which I bear your lordship, as the person I know to have many virtues, and an excellent order of them, which moved me to dedicate this writing to your lordship after the ancient manner; choosing both a friend, and one to whom I conceived the argument was agreeable.

OF THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

A FRAGMENT.

IN deliberatives the point is what is good and what is evil, and of good what is greater, and of evil what is the less.

So that the persuader's labour is to make things appear good or evil, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be performed by true and solid reasons, so it may be represented also by colours, popularities, and circumstances, which are of such force, as they sway the ordinary judgment either of a weak man, or of a wise man, not fully and considerately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the subject in appearance, and so to lead to error, they are of no less use to quicken and strengthen the opinions and persuasions which are true: for reasons plainly delivered, and always after one manner especially with fine and fastidious minds, enter but heavily and dully; whereas if they be varied and have more life and vigour put into them by these forms and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddenly win the mind to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe judgment, nothing can be of greater use and defence to the mind than the discovering and reprehension of these colours, showing in what cases they hold, and in what they deceive; which as it cannot be done, but out of a very universal knowledge of the nature of things, so being performed, it so cleareth man's judgment and election, as it is the less apt to slide into any error.

A TABLE OF THE COLOURS, OR APPEARANCES OF GOOD AND EVIL, AND THEIR DEGREES, AS PLACES OF PERSUASION AND DISSUASION; AND THEIR SEVERAL FALLAXES,¹ AND THE ELENCHES² OF THEM.

- I. *Cui cetera partes vel secta secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singula principatum sibi vendicent melior reliquis videtur, nam primas quaque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero et merito tribuere.*

So Cicero went about to prove the Sect of *Academics* which suspended all asseveration, for to be the best, for, saith he, ask a *Stoic* which philosophy is true, he will prefer his own. Then ask him which approacheth next the truth, he will confess the *Academics*. So deal with the *Epicure*³ that will scarce endure the *Stoic* to be in

¹ Fallacies.

² Refutations.

³ Epicureans

sight of him, as soon as he hath placed himself, he will place the *Academics* next him.

So if a prince took divers competitors to a place, and examined them severally whom next themselves they would rather commend, it were like the ablest man should have the most second votes.

The fallax of this colour happeneth oft in respect of envy, for men are accustomed after themselves and their own faction to incline to them which are softest, and are least in their way, in despite and derogation of them that hold them hardest to it. So that this colour of meliority and pre-eminence is oft a sign of enervation and weakness.

2. *Cujus excellentia vel exuperantia melior, id toto genere melius.*

Appertaining to this are the forms; *Let us not wander in generalities: Let us compare particular with particular, &c.* This appearance, though it seem of strength and rather logical than rhetorical, yet is very oft a fallax.

Sometimes because some things are in kind very casual, which, if they escape, prove excellent, so that the kind is inferior, because it is so subject to peril, but that which is excellent being proved is superior; as the blossom of March and the blossom of May, whereof the French verse goeth,

*Bourgeon de Mars, enfant de Paris,
Si un eschape, il en vaut dix.*

So that the blossom of May is generally better than the blossom of March; and yet the best blossom of March is better than the best blossom of May.

Sometimes, because the nature of some kinds is to be more equal and more indifferent, and not to have very distant degrees, as hath been noted in the warmer climates, the people are generally more wise, but in the Northern climate the wits of chief are greater. So in many armies, if the matter should be tried by duel between two champions, the victory should go on one side, and yet if it be tried by the gross, it would go of the other side; for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kinds go by a more certain nature, as by discipline in war.

Lastly, many kinds have much refuse which countervail that which they have excellent; and therefore generally metal is more precious than stone, and yet a diamond is more precious than gold.

3. *Quod ad veritatem refertur majus est quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem et probatio ejus quod ad opinionem pertinet, hæc est, quod quis si clam putaret fore, facturum non esset.*

So the Epicures say of the Stoic's felicity placed in virtue, that it is like the felicity of a player, who if he were left of his auditory and their applause, he would straight be out of heart and countenance, and

therefore they call virtue *Bonum theatrale*. But of riches the poet saith :

Populus me sibilat, At mihi plaudo.

And of pleasure :

*Grata sub imo
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem.*

The fallax of this colour is somewhat subtle, though the answer to the example be ready, for virtue is not chosen *propter auram popularum*, but contrariwise, *Maxime omnium teipsum reverere* ; so as a virtuous man will be virtuous in *solitudine*, and not only in *theatro*, though perchance it will be more strong by glory and fame, as an heat which is doubled by reflexion. But that denieth the supposition, it doth not reprehend the fallax whereof the reprehension is ; allow that virtue such as is joined with labour and conflict would not be chosen but for fame and opinion, yet it followeth not that the chief motive of the election should not be real and for itself, for fame may be only *causa impulsiva*, and not *causa constituens*, or *efficiens*. As if there were two horses, and the one would do better without the spur than the other : but again, the other with the spur would far exceed the doing of the former, giving him the spur also ; yet the latter will be judged to be the better horse. And the form as to say, *Tush, the life of this horse is but in the spur*, will not serve as to a wise judgement : for since the ordinary instrument of horsemanship is the spur, and that it is no manner of impediment nor burden, the horse is not to be accounted the less of, which will not do well without the spur, but rather the other is to be reckoned a delicacy than a virtue. So glory and honour are as spurs to virtue : and although virtue would languish without them, yet since they be always at hand to attend virtue, virtue is not to be said the less chosen for itself, because it needeth the spur of fame and reputation : and therefore that position, *Nota ejus rei quod propter opinionem et non propter veritatem eligitur, hæc est ; quod quis, si clam putaret fore facturum non esset* is reprehended.

4. *Quod rem integram servat bonum ; quod sine receptu est malum : nam se recipere non posse, impotentiae genus est ; potentia autem bonum.*

Hereof *Esop* framed the fable of the Two Frogs¹ that consulted together in time of drought (when many plashes² that they had repaired to were dry) what was to be done, and the one propounded to go down into a deep well, because it was like the water would not fail there, but the other answered, Yea, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again? And the reason is, that human actions are so uncertain and subject to perils, as that seemeth the best course which hath most passages out of it. Appertaining to this persuasion the forms are,

¹ Fable 38.

² Ponds, or puddles.

you shall engage yourself. On the other side. *Non tantum quantum voles sumes ex fortuna,* you shall keep the matter in your own hands. The reprehension of it is, *That proceeding and resolving in all actions is necessary:* for as he saith well, *Not to resolve, is to resolve,* and many times it breeds as many necessities, and engageth as far in some other sort as to resolve.

So it is but the covetous man's disease translated into power, for the covetous man will enjoy nothing because he will have his full store and possibility to enjoy the more, so by this reason a man should execute nothing because he should be still indifferent and at liberty to execute anything. Besides necessity and this same *facta est alea* hath many times an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the mind, and strengtheneth endeavour. *Cæteris pares necessitate certe superiores estis.*

5. *Quod ex pluribus constat et divisibilius est majus quam quod ex paucioribus et magis unum: nam omnia per partes considerata majora videntur; quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert; fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti et impedit comprehensionem.*

This colour seemeth palpable, for it is not plurality of parts without majority of parts that maketh the total greater, yet nevertheless it often carries the mind away, yea, it deceiveth the sense, as it seemeth to the eye a shorter distance of way if it be all dead and continued, than if it have trees or buildings or any other marks whereby the eye may divide it. So when a great monied man hath divided his chests and coins and bags, he seemeth to himself richer than he was; and therefore a way to amplify any thing is to break it, and to make an anatomy of it in several parts, and to examine it according to several circumstances. And this maketh the greater show if it be done without order, for confusion maketh things muster more, and besides, what is set down by order and division doth demonstrate that nothing is left out or omitted, but all is there; whereas if it be without order, both the mind comprehendeth less that which is set down, and besides it leaveth a suspicion, as if more might be said than is expressed.

This colour deceiveth, if the mind of him that is to be persuaded do of itself over-conceive or prejudge of the greatness of any thing, for then the breaking of it will make it seem less, because it maketh it appear more according to the truth, and therefore if a man be in sickness or pain, the time will seem longer without a clock or hour-glass than with it, for the mind doth value every moment, and then the hour doth rather sum up the moments than divide the day. So in a dead plain, the way seemeth the longer, because the eye hath pre-conceived it shorter than the truth: and the frustrating of that maketh it seem longer than the truth. Therefore if any man have an overgreat opinion of any thing, then if another think by breaking it into several considerations he shall make it seem greater to him, he will be deceived, and therefore in such cases it is not safe to divide, but to extol the entire still in general.

Another case wherein this colour deceiveth is, when the matter broken or divided is not comprehended by the sense or mind at once in respect of the distracting or scattering of it, and, being entire and not divided, is comprehended; as a hundred pounds in heaps of five pounds will show more than in one gross heap, so as the heaps be all upon one table to be seen at once, otherwise not; or flowers growing scattered in divers beds will show more than if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot that they be object to view at once, otherwise not; and therefore men whose living lieth together in one shire are commonly counted greater landed than those whose livings are dispersed though it be more, because of the notice and comprehension.

A third case wherein this colour deceiveth, and it is not so properly a case or reprehension as it is a counter colour, being in effect as large as the colour itself, and that is, *Omnis compositio indigentia cujusdam in singulis videtur esse particeps*, because if one thing would serve the turn it were ever best, but the defect and imperfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them up as it is said, *Martha Martha attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit*.¹ So likewise hereupon *Esope* framed the fable of the Fox and the Cat,² whereas the Fox bragged what a number of shifts and devices he had to get from the hounds, and the Cat said she had but one, which was to climb a tree, which in proof was better worth than all the rest, whereof the proverb grew,

Multa novit Vulpes sed Felis unum magnum.

And in the moral of this fable it comes likewise to pass, that a good sure friend is a better help at a pinch than all the stratagems and policies of a man's own wit. So it falleth out to be a common error in negociating, whereas men have many reasons to induce or persuade, they strive commonly to utter and use them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth, as was said, a neediness in every of the reasons by itself, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself only with that.

Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant.

Indeed in a set speech in an assembly it is expected a man should use all his reasons in the case he handleth, but in private persuasions it is always a great error.

A fourth case wherein this colour may be reprehended is in respect of that same *vis unita fortior*, according to the tale of the French King, that when the Emperor's Ambassador had recited his master's style at large which consisteth of many countries and dominions: the French King willed his Chancellor or other minister to repeat and say over France as many times as the other had recited the several dominions, intending it was equivalent with them all, and beside more compacted and united.

There is also appertaining to this colour another point, why breaking of a thing doth help it, not by way of adding a show of magnitude unto it, but a note of excellency and rarity; whereof the forms are, *Wher*

¹ St. Luke x. 41.

² Fable 50.

shall you find such a concurrence? Great but not complete, for it seems a less work of nature or fortune to make any thing in his kind greater than ordinary, than to make a strange composition.

Yet if it be narrowly considered, this colour will be reprehended or encountered by imputing to all excellencies in compositions a kind of poverty or at least a casualty or jeopardy, for from that which is excellent in greatness somewhat may be taken, or there may be decay; and yet sufficiency left, but from that which hath his price in composition if you take away any thing, or any part do fail, all is disgraced.

6. *Cujus privatio bona, malum; cujus privatio mala, bonum.*

The form to make it conceived that that was evil which is changed for the better are, *He that is in hell thinks there is no other heaven. Satis quercus, Acorns were good till bread was found, etc.* And of the other side the forms to make it conceived that that was good which was changed for the worse are, *Bona magis carendo quam fruendo sentimus, Bona à tergo formosissima*, Good things never appear in their full beauty till they turn their back and be going away, &c. The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or evil which is removed may be esteemed good or evil comparatively and not positively or simply. So that if the privation be good, it follows not the former condition was evil, but less good; for the flower or blossom is a positive good, although the remove of it to give place to the fruit be a comparative good. So in the tale of Esop; when the old fainting man in the heat of the day cast down his burthen and called for Death, and when Death came to know his will with him, said it was for nothing but to help him up with his burthen again: it doth not follow that because death which was the privation of the burthen was ill, therefore the burthen was good. And in this part the ordinary form of *Malum necessarium* aptly reprehendeth this colour, for *Privatio mali necessarii est mala*, and yet that doth not convert the nature of the necessary evil, but it is evil.

Again it cometh sometimes to pass that there is an equality in the change or privation, and as it were a *Dilemma boni* or a *Dilemma mali*, so that the corruption of the one good is a generation of the other.

Sorti pater æquus utrique est:

And contrary the remedy of the one evil is the occasion and commencement of another, as in *Scylla* and *Charybdis*.

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

Such is the nature of things, that things contrary and distant in nature and quality are also severed and disjoined in place, and things like and consenting in quality are placed, and as it were quartered together; for partly in regard of the nature to spread, multiply, and infect in similitude, and partly in regard of the nature to break, expel, and alter that which is disagreeable and contrary, most things do

either associate and draw near to themselves the like, or at least assimilate to themselves that which approacheth near them, and do also drive away, chase, and exterminate their contraries, And that is the reason commonly yielded why the middle region of the air should be coldest, because the sun and stars are either hot by direct beams or by reflection. The direct beams heat the upper region, the reflected beams from the earth and seas heat the lower region. That which is in the midst being furthest distant in place from these two regions of heat are most distant in nature, that is coldest; which is that they term cold or hot, *per antiperistasin*, that is environing by contraries; which was pleasantly taken hold of by him that said that an honest man in these days must needs be more honest than in ages heretofore, *propter antiperistasin* because the shutting of him in the midst of contraries must needs make the honesty stronger and more compact in itself.

The reprehension of this colour is, first many things of amplitude in their kind do as it were ingross to themselves all, and leave that which is next them most destitute, as the shoots or underwood that grow near a great and spread tree are the most pined and shrubby wood of the field, because the great tree doth deprive and deceive them of sap and nourishment. So he saith well, *Divitis servi maximè servi*: and the comparison was pleasant of him that compared courtiers attendant in the courts of princes, without great place or office, to fasting days, which were next the holy days, but otherwise were the leanest days in all the week.

Another reprehension is, that things of greatness and predominancy, though they do not extenuate the things adjoining in substance, yet they drown them and obscure them in show and appearance. And therefore the astronomers say, that whereas in all other planets conjunction is the perfectest amity, the sun contrarywise is good by aspect, but evil by conjunction.¹

A third reprehension is because evil approacheth to good sometimes for concealment, sometimes for protection, and good to evil for conversion and reformation. So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for covert and hiding itself:

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni,

and sanctuary men, which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be nearest to priests and prelates and holy men, for the majesty of good things is such, as the confines of them are revered. On the other side our Saviour charged with nearness of Publicans and rioters said, *The physician approacheth the sick, rather than the whole.*²

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

The reason is because the sting and remorse of the mind accusing itself doubleth all adversity: contrariwise the considering and record-

¹ An allusion to astrology.

² Bacon does not quote from our present version, as will be observed all through his works. In fact, it had not been published when he began writing. "Of the Colours of Good and Evil" was first published in 1597. with the first edition of the *Essays*. The verse to which he alludes is St. Matthew ix. 12.

ing inwardly that a man is clear and free from fault and just imputation, doth attemper outward calamities. For if the evil be in the sense and in the conscience both, there is a germination of it, but if evil be in the one and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compensation. So the poets in tragedies do make the most passionate lamentations, and those that forerun final despair, to be accusing, questioning, and torturing of a man's self.

Seque unum clamat causamque caputque malorum.

And contrariwise the extremities of worthy persons have been annihilated in the consideration of their own good deserving. Besides when the evil cometh from without, there is left a kind of evaporation of grief; if it come by human injury, either by indignation and meditating of revenge from ourselves, or by expecting or foreconceiving that *Nemesis* and retribution will take hold of the authors of our hurt, or if it be by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kind of expostulation against the divine powers.

Atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.

But where the evil is derived from a man's own fault there all strikes deadly inwards and suffocatheth.

The reprehension of this colour is first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faults is in *nostra potestate*, but amendment of our fortune simply is not. Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his orations saith thus to the people of *Athens*. *That which having regard to the time past is the worst point and circumstance of all the rest, that as to the time to come is the best: What is that? Even this, that by your sloth, irresolution, and misgovernment, your affairs are grown to this declination and decay. For had you used and ordered your means and forces to the best, and done your parts every way to the full, and notwithstanding your matters should have gone backwards in this manner as they do, there had been no hope left of recovery or reparation, but since it hath been only by your own errors, etc.* So *Epictetus* in his degrees saith, *The worst state of man is to accuse external things, better than that to accuse a man's self, and best of all to accuse neither.*

Another reprehension of this colour is in respect of the well bearing of evils, wherewith a man can charge nobody but himself, which maketh them the less.

Leve fit quod bene fertur onus.

And therefore many natures, that are either extremely proud and will take no fault to themselves, or else very true, and cleaving to themselves (when they see the blame of anything that falls out ill must light upon themselves) have no other shift but to bear it out well, and to make the least of it; for as we see when sometimes a fault is committed, and before it be known who is to blame, much ado is made of it, but after if it appear to be done by a son or by a wife, or by a near friend, then it is light made of; so much more when a man must take it upon himself. And therefore it is commonly seen that women that marry husbands of their own choosing against their friends' consents,

if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldom see them complain but to set a good face on it.

9. *Quod opera et virtute nostra partum est majus bonum; quod ad alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortunæ delatum est minus bonum.*

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

The forms be: *You have won this by play: you have not only this water, but you have the receipt; you can make it again if it be lost, etc.*

Next because these properties which we enjoy by the benefit of others carry with them an obligation, which seemeth a kind of burthen, whereas the other which derive from ourselves, are like the freest patents *absque aliquo inde reddendo*, and if they proceed from fortune or providence, yet they seem to touch us secretly with the reverence of the divine powers whose favours we taste, and therefore work a kind of religious fear and restraint, whereas in the other kind, that comes to pass which the Prophet speaketh, *Lætantur et exultant, immolant plagis suis, et sacrificant reli suo.*¹

Thirdly because that which cometh unto us without our own virtue yieldeth not that commendation and reputation; for actions of great felicity may draw wonder, but praise less, as *Cicero* said to *Cæsar*: *Quæ miremur habemus, quæ laudemus expectamus.*

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

On the other side there be four counter colours to this colour rather than reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour itself. First because felicity seemeth to be a character of the favour and love of the divine powers, and accordingly worketh both confidence in ourselves and respect and authority from others. And this felicity extendeth to many casual things, whereunto the care or virtue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good, as when *Cæsar* said to the sailor, *Cæsarem portus et fortunam ejus*, if he had said, *et virtutem ejus*, it had been small comfort against a tempest, otherwise than if it might seem upon merit to induce fortune.

Next, whatsoever is done by virtue and industry seems to be done by a kind of habit and art, and therefore open to be imitated and followed, whereas felicity is inimitable: so we generally see that things of nature seem more excellent than things of art, because they be inimitable, for *quod imitabile est potentia quadam vulgatum est.*

Thirdly, felicity commendeth those things which cometh without our own labour, for they seem gifts, and the other seem pennyworths: whereupon *Plutarch* saith elegantly of the acts of *Timoleon*, who was so fortunate, compared with the acts of *Agesilaus* and *Ephaminondas*

¹ Habukuk i. 13, 16.

That they were like Homer's verses, they ran so easily and so well, and therefore it is the word we give unto poesy, terming it a happy vein, because facility seemeth ever to come from happiness.

Fourthly, this same *præter spem, vel præter expectatum*, doth increase the price and pleasure of many things, and this cannot be incident to the se things that proceed from our own care and compass.

10. *Gradus privationis major videtur quam gradus diminutionis; et rursus gradus inceptiois major videtur quam gradus incrementi.*

It is a position in the Mathematics that there is no proportion between somewhat and nothing, therefore the degree of nullity and quiddity or act seemeth larger than the degrees of increase and decrease, as to a monocolos it is more to lose one eye, than to a man that hath two eyes. So if one have lost divers children, it is more grief to him to lose the last than all the rest, because he is *spes gregis*. And therefore *Sybilla* when she brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, because the burning of that had been *gradus privationis*, and not *diminutionis*. This colour is reprehended first in those things the use and service whereof resteth in sufficiency, competency, or determinate quantity; as if a man be to pay one hundred pounds upon a penalty, it is more for him to want twelve pence, than after that twelve pence supposed to be wanting, to want ten shillings more; so the decay of a man's estate seems to be most touched in the degree when he first grows behind, more than afterwards when he proves nothing worth. And hereof the common forms are, *Sera in fundo parsimonia*, and as good never a whit, as never the better, &c. It is reprehended also in respect of that notion, *Corruptio unius, generatio alterius*, so that *gradus privationis* is many times less matter, because it gives the cause and motive to some new course. As when *Demosthenes* reprehended the people for harkening to the conditions offered by King Philip, being not honourable nor equal, he saith they were but aliments of their sloth and weakness, which, if they were taken away, necessity would teach them stronger resolutions. So Doctor *Hector* was wont to say to the dames of London, when they complained they were they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine, he would tell them, Their way was only to be sick, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this colour may be reprehended, in respect that the degree of decrease is more sensitive than the degree of privation; for in the mind of man, *gradus diminutionis* may work a wavering between hope and fear, and so keep the mind in suspense from settling and accommodating in patience, and resolution; hereof the common forms are, *Better eye out than always ache, make or mar, &c.*

For the second branch of this colour, it depends upon the same general reason: hence grew the common place of extolling the beginning of everything,

Dimidium facti qui bene cœpit habet.

This made the astvologers so idle as to judge of a man's nature and

destiny by the constellation of the moment of his nativity or conception. This colour is reprehended, because many inceptions are but as *Epicurus* termeth them, *tentamenta*, that is, imperfect offers and essays, which vanish and come to no substance without an iteration, so as in such cases the second degree seems the worthiest, as the body-horse in the cart, that draweth more than the fore-horse. Hereof the common forms are, *The second blow makes the fray, The second word makes the bargain. Alter malo principium dedit, alter modum abstulit, etc.* Another reprehension of this colour is in respect of defatigation,¹ which makes perseverance of greater dignity than inception,² for chance or instinct of nature may cause inception, but settled affection or judgment maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this colour is reprehended in such things which have a natural course, and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the inception is continually evacuated and gets no start, as in the common form. *Non progredi, est regredi, Qui non proficit, deficit*: Running against the hill: Rowing against the stream, &c. For if it be with the stream or with the hill, then the degree of inception is more than all the rest.

Fourthly, this colour is to be understood of *gradus inceptiois a potentia, ad actum comparatus; cum gradu ab actu ad incrementum*: for otherwise, *major videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quam a potentia ad actum.*

¹ Weariness.

² Beginning.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE PROFICIENCE AND ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

To the KING.

THERE were under the law, excellent king, both daily sacrifices, and freewill offerings: the one proceeding upon ordinary observance, the other upon a devout cheerfulness: in like manner there belongeth to kings from their servants, both tribute of duty, and presents of affection. In the former of these, I hope I shall not live to be wanting, according to my most humble duty, and the good pleasure of your majesty's employments: for the latter, I thought it more respective to make choice of some oblation, which might rather refer to the propriety and excellency of your individual person, than to the business of your crown and state.

Wherefore representing your majesty many times unto my mind, and beholding you not with the inquisitive eye of presumption, to discover that which the Scripture telleth me is inscrutable, but with the observant eye of duty and admiration: leaving aside the other parts of your virtue and fortune, I have been touched, yea, and possessed with an extreme wonder at those your virtues and faculties, which the philosophers call intellectual: the largeness of your capacity, the faithfulness of your memory, the swiftness of your apprehension, the penetration of your judgment, and the facility and order of your elocution: and I have often thought, that of all the persons living, that I have known, your majesty were the best instance to make a man of Plato's opinion, that all knowledge is but remembrance, and that the mind of man by nature knoweth all things, and hath but her own native and original notions (which by the strangeness and darkness of this tabernacle of the body are sequestered) again revived and restored: such a light of nature I have observed in your majesty, and such a readiness to take flame, and blaze from the least occasion presented, or the least spark of another's knowledge delivered. And as the Scripture saith of the wisest king,¹ "That his heart was as the sands of the sea;"² which though it be one of the largest bodies, yet it consisteth of the smallest and finest portions: so hath God given your majesty a composition of understanding admirable, being able to compass and comprehend the greatest matters, and nevertheless to touch and apprehend the least; whereas it should seem an impossibility in nature for the same instrument to make itself fit for great

¹ Solomon.

² 1 Kings iv. 29: "Largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore."

and small works. And for your gift of speech, I call to mind what Cornelius Tacitus saith of Augustus Cæsar: "*Augusto profluens, et quæ principem deceret, eloquentia fuit.*" For, if we note it well, speech that is uttered with labour and difficulty, or speech that savoureth of the affectation of art and precepts, or speech that is framed after the imitation of some pattern of eloquence, though never so excellent; all this has somewhat servile, and holding of the subject. But your majesty's manner of speech is indeed prince-like, flowing as from a fountain, and yet streaming and branching itself into nature's order, full of facility and felicity, imitating none, and inimitable by any. And as in your civil estate there appeareth to be an emulation and contention of your majesty's virtue with your fortune; a virtuous disposition with a fortunate regiment; a virtuous expectation, when time was, of your greater fortune, with a prosperous possession thereof in the due time; a virtuous observation of the laws of marriage, with most blessed and happy fruit of marriage; a virtuous and most Christian desire of peace, with a fortunate inclination in your neighbour princes thereunto: so likewise in these intellectual matters, there seemeth to be no less contention between the excellency of your majesty's gifts of nature, and the universality and perfection of your learning. For I am well assured, that this which I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth; which is, that there hath not been since Christ's time any king, or temporal monarch, which hath been so learned in all literature and erudition, divine and human. For let a man seriously and diligently revolve and peruse the succession of the emperors of Rome, of which Cæsar the dictator, who lived some years before Christ, and Marcus Antoninus, were the best learned; and so descend to the emperors of Græcia, or of the West; and then to the lines of France, Spain, England, Scotland, and the rest, and he shall find this judgment is truly made. For it seemeth much in a king, if, by the compendious extractions of other men's wits and labours, he can take hold of any superficial ornaments and shows of learning, or if he countenance and prefer learning and learned men; but to drink indeed of the true fountains of learning, nay, to have such a fountain of learning in himself, in a king, and in a king born, is almost a miracle. And the more, because there is met in your majesty a rare conjunction, as well of divine and sacred literature, as of profane and human; so as your majesty standeth invested of that triplicity, which in great veneration was ascribed to the ancient Hermes:¹ the power and fortune of a king, the knowledge and illumination of a priest, and the learning and universality of a philosopher. This propriety, inherent and individual attribute in your majesty, deserveth to be expressed, not only in the fame and admiration of the present time, nor in the history or tradition of the ages succeeding; but also in some solid work, fixed memorial, and immortal monument, bearing a character or signature, both of the power of a king, and the difference and perfection of such a king.

Therefore I did conclude with myself, that I could not make unto your majesty a better oblation, than of some treatise tending to that

¹ Hermes Trismegistus, a priest and philosopher of Egypt in the age of Osiris.

end, whereof the sum will consist of these two parts ; the former concerning the excellency of learning and knowledge, and the excellency of the merit and true glory in the augmentation and propagation thereof ; the latter, what the particular acts and works are, which have been embraced and undertaken for the advancement of learning : and again, what defects and undervalues I find in such particular acts : to the end, that though I cannot positively or affirmatively advise your majesty, or propound unto you framed particulars ; yet I may excite your princely cogitations to visit the excellent treasure of your own mind, and thence to extract particulars for this purpose, agreeable to your magnanimity and wisdom.

In the entrance to the former of these, to clear the way, and, as it were, to make silence, to have the true testimonies concerning the dignity of learning to be better heard, without the interruption of tacit objections ; I think good to deliver it from the discredits and disgraces which it hath received, all from ignorance, but ignorance severally disguised ; appearing sometimes in the zeal and jealousy of divines, sometimes in the severity and arrogancy of politicians, and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of learned men themselves.

I hear the former sort say, that knowledge is of those things which are to be accepted of with great limitation and caution ; that the aspiring to overmuch knowledge, was the original temptation and sin, whereupon ensued the fall of man ; that knowledge hath in it somewhat of the serpent, and therefore where it entereth into a man it maketh him swell ; *Scientia inflat* : that Solomon gives a censure, " That there is no end of making books, and that much reading is weariness of the flesh ;"¹ and again in another place, " That in spacious knowledge there is much contristation, and that he that increaseth knowledge increaseth anxiety ;"² that St. Paul gives a caveat, " That we be not spoiled through vain philosophy ;"³ that experience demonstrates how learned men have been arch-heretics, how learned times have been inclined to atheism, and how the contemplation of second causes doth derogate from our dependence upon God, who is the first cause.

To discover, then, the ignorance and error of this opinion, and the misunderstanding in the grounds thereof, it may well appear these men do not observe or consider, that it was not the pure knowledge of nature and universality, a knowledge by the light whereof man did give names unto other creatures in paradise, as they were brought before him, according unto their proprieties, which gave the occasion to the fall ; but it was the proud knowledge of good and evil, with an intent in man to give law unto himself, and to depend no more upon God's commandments, which was the form of the temptation. Neither is it any quantity of knowledge, how great soever, that can make the mind of man to swell ; for nothing can fill, much less extend the soul of man but God, and the contemplation of God ; and therefore Solomon, speaking of the two principal senses of inquisition, the eye and ear, affirmeth that the eye is never satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with

¹ Ecclesiastes xii. 12.² Col. ii. 8.³ Ecclesiastes i. 18.

hearing; and if there be no fulness, then is the continent greater than the content: so of knowledge itself, and the mind of man, whereto the senses are but reporters, he defineth likewise in these words, placed after that calendar or ephemerides, which he maketh of the diversities of times and seasons for all actions and purposes; and concludeth thus: "God hath made all things beautiful, or decent, in the true return of their seasons: Also he hath placed the world in man's heart, yet cannot man find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end:"¹ declaring, not obscurely, that God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror, or glass, capable of the image of the universal world, and joyful to receive the impression thereof, as the eye joyeth to receive light: and not only delighted in beholding the variety of things, and vicissitude of times, but raised also to find out and discern the ordinances and decrees, which throughout all those changes are infallibly observed. And although he doth insinuate, that the supreme or summary law of nature, which he calleth, "The work which God worketh from the beginning to the end, is not possible to be found out by man;" yet that doth not derogate from the capacity of the mind, but may be referred to the impediments, as of shortness of life, ill conjunction of labours, ill tradition of knowledge over from hand to hand, and many other inconveniencies, whereunto the condition of man is subject. For that nothing parcel of the world is denied to man's inquiry and invention, he doth in another place rule over, when he saith, "The spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of all secrets."² If then such be the capacity and receipt of the mind of man, it is manifest, that there is no danger at all in the proportion or quantity of knowledge, how large soever, lest it should make it swell or out-compass itself; no, but it is merely the quality of knowledge, which, be it in quantity more or less, if it be taken without the true corrective thereof, hath in it some nature of venom or malignity, and some effects of that venom, which is ventosity or swelling. This corrective spice, the mixture whereof maketh knowledge so sovereign, is charity, which the apostle immediately addeth to the former clause; for so he saith, "knowledge bloweth up, but charity buildeth up;"³ not unlike unto that which he delivereth in another place: "If I spake," saith he, "with the tongues of men and angels, and had not charity, it were but as a tinkling cymbal;"⁴ not but that it is an excellent thing to speak with the tongues of men and angels, but because, if it be severed from charity, and not referred to the good of men and mankind, it hath rather a sounding and unworthy glory, than a meriting and substantial virtue. And as for that censure of Solomon, concerning the excess of writing and reading books, and the anxiety of spirit which redoundeth from knowledge; and that admonition of St. Paul, "That we be not seduced by vain philosophy;" let those places be rightly understood, and they do indeed excellently set forth the true bounds and limitations, whereby human knowledge is confined and circumscribed; and yet without any such contracting or coarctation.

¹ Ecclesiastes iii. 11.

² Prov. xx. 27.
³ 1st Corinthians xiii. 1.

⁴ 1st Corinthians viii. 1

but that it may comprehend all the universal nature of things : for these limitations are three : the first, that we do not so place our felicity in knowledge, as we forget our mortality. The second, that we make application of our knowledge, to give ourselves repose and contentment, and not distaste or repining. The third, that we do not presume by the contemplation of nature to attain to the mysteries of God. For, as touching the first of these, Solomon doth excellently expound himself in another place of the same book, where he saith ; “ I saw well that knowledge recedeth as far from ignorance, as light doth from darkness ; and that the wise man’s eyes keep watch in his head, whereas the fool roundeth about in darkness ; but withal I learned, that the same mortality involveth them both.”¹ And for the second, certain it is, there is no vexation or anxiety of mind which resulteth from knowledge, otherwise than merely by accident ; for all knowledge and wonder (which is the seed of knowledge) is an impression of pleasure in itself : but when men fall to framing conclusions out of their knowledge, applying it to their particular, and ministring to themselves thereby weak fears, or vast desires, there groweth that carefulness and trouble of mind which is spoken of: for then knowledge is no more *Lumen siccum*, whereof Heraclitus the profound² said, “ *Lumen siccum optima anima* ;” but it becometh *Lumen maddam*, or *maceratum*, being steeped and infused in the humours of the affections. And as for the third point, it deserveth to be a little stood upon, and not to be lightly passed over ; for if any man shall think by view and inquiry into these sensible and material things to attain that light, whereby he may reveal unto himself the nature or will of God, then indeed is he spoiled by vain philosophy : for the contemplation of God’s creatures and works produceth (having regard to the works and creatures themselves) knowledge ; but, having regard to God, no perfect knowledge, but wonder, which is broken knowledge. And therefore it was most aptly said by one of Plato’s school, “ That the sense of man carrieth a resemblance with the sun, which, as we see, openeth and revealeth all the terrestrial globe ; but then again it obscureth and concealeth the stars and celestial globe : so doth the sense discover natural things, but it darkeneth and shutteth up divine.” And hence it is true, that it hath proceeded, that divers great learned men have been heretical, whilst they have sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses :³ and as for the conceit, that too much knowledge should incline a man to atheism, and that the ignorance of second causes should make a more devout dependence upon God, who is the first cause : First, it is good to ask the question which Job asked of his friends :⁴ “ Will you lie for God, as one man will do for another, to gratify him ?” For certain it is, that God worketh nothing in nature but by second causes ; and if they would have it otherwise believed, it is mere imposture, as it were in favour towards God ; and nothing else but to offer to the Author of Truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie. But farther, it is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of

¹ Ecclesiastes ii. 13, 14.

² See Wisdom of the Ancients—Icarus.

³ See Essay 27, p. 50, note a.

⁴ Job xiii. 7, 9.

philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a farther proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion ; for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause ; but when a man passeth on farther, and seeth the dependence of causes and the works of providence ; then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair. To conclude therefore : let no man, upon a weak conceit of sobriety, or an ill-applied moderation, think or maintain, that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works ; divinity or philosophy ; but rather let men endeavour an endless progress, or proficiency in both. Only let men beware that they apply both to charity, and not to swelling ; to use, and not to ostentation ; and again, that they do not unwisely mingle, or confound these learnings together.

And as for the disgraces which learning receiveth from politicians, they be of this nature ; that learning doth soften men's minds, and makes them more unapt for the honour and exercise of arms ; that it doth mar and pervert men's dispositions for matter of government and policy, in making them too curious and irresolute by variety of reading, or too peremptory or positive by strictness of rules and axioms, or too immoderate and overweening by reason of the greatness of examples, or too incompatible and differing from the times, by reason of the dissimilitude of examples ; or at least, that it doth divert men's travails from action and business, and bringeth them to a love of leisure and privateness ; and that it doth bring into states a relaxation of discipline, whilst every man is more ready to argue than to obey and execute. Out of this conceit, Cato, surnamed the Censor, one of the wisest men indeed that ever lived, when Carneades the philosopher came in embassy to Rome, and that the young men of Rome began to flock about him, being allured with the sweetness and majesty of his eloquence and learning, gave counsel in open senate, that they should give him his dispatch with all speed, lest he should infect and inchant the minds and affections of the youth, and at unawares bring in an alteration of the manners and customs of the state. Out of the same conceit, or humour, did Virgil, turning his pen to the advantage of his country, and the disadvantage of his own profession, make a kind of separation between policy and government, and between arts and sciences, in the verses so much renowned, attributing and challenging the one to the Romans, and leaving and yielding the other to the Grecians ; "*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento, Hæ tibi erunt artes,*" etc. So likewise we see that Anytus, the accuser of Socrates, laid it as an article of charge and accusation against him, that he did, with the variety and power of his discourses and disputations, withdraw young men from due reverence to the laws and customs of their country ; and that he did profess a dangerous and pernicious science, which was, to make the worse matter seem the better, and to suppress truth by force of eloquence and speech.

But these, and the like imputations, have rather a countenance of gravity, than any ground of justice : for experience doth warrant, that,

both in persons and in times, there hath been a meeting and concurrence in learning and arms, flourishing and excelling in the same men, and the same ages. For, as for men, there cannot be a better, nor the like instance, as of that pair, Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar the dictator; whereof the one was Aristotle's scholar in philosophy, and the other was Cicero's rival in eloquence: or if any man had rather call for scholars, that were great generals, than generals that were great scholars, let him take Epaminondas the Theban, or Xenophon the Athenian; whereof the one was the first that abated the power of Sparta, and the other was the first that made way to the overthrow of the monarchy of Persia. And this concurrence is yet more visible in times than in persons, by how much an age is greater object than a man. For both in Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Græcia, and Rome, the same times that are most renowned for arms, are likewise most admired for learning;¹ so that the greatest authors and philosophers, and the greatest captains and governors have lived in the same ages. Neither can it otherwise be: for as, in man, the ripeness of the strength of body and mind cometh much about an age, save that the strength of the body cometh somewhat the more early; so, in states, arms and learning, whereof the one correspondeth to the body, the other to the soul of man, have a concurrence or near sequence in times.

And for matter of policy and government, that learning should rather hurt, than enable thereunto, is a thing very improbable. We see it is accounted an error to commit a natural body to empiric physicians, which commonly have a few pleasing receipts, whereupon they are confident and adventurous, but know neither the causes of diseases, nor the complexions of patients, nor peril of accidents, nor the true method of cures: we see it is a like error to rely upon advocates or lawyers, which are only men of practice, and not grounded in their books, who are many times easily surprised, when matter falleth out besides their experience, to the prejudice of the causes they handle: so, by like reason, it cannot be but a matter of doubtful consequence, if states be managed by empiric statesmen, not well mingled with men grounded in learning. But contrariwise, it is almost without instance contradictory, that ever any government was disastrous that was in the hands of learned governors. For howsoever it hath been ordinary with politic men to extenuate and disable learned men by the names of pedants; yet in the records of time it appeareth, in many particulars, that the governments of princes in minority (notwithstanding the infinite disadvantage of that kind of state) have nevertheless excelled the government of princes of mature age, even for that reason which they seek to traduce, which is, that by that occasion the state hath been in the hands of pedants: for so was the state of Rome for the first five years, which are so much magnified, during the minority of Nero, in the hands of Seneca, a pedant: so it was again for ten years space or more during the minority of Gordianus the younger, with great applause and contentation in the hands of Misiheus, a pedant: so was

¹ The truth of this was proved also in England in the time of Elizabeth, Anne, and in the last years of Geo. III., and the early Regency, when we were at war with Napoleon.

it before that, in the minority of Alexander Severus, in like happiness, in hands not much unlike, by reason of the rule of the women, who were aided by the teachers and preceptors. Nay, let a man look into the government of the bishops of Rome, as by name, into the government of Pius Quintus, and Sextus Quintus, in our times, who were both at their entrance esteemed but as pedantical friars, and he shall find that such popes do greater things, and proceed upon truer principles of state, than those which have ascended to the papacy from an education and breeding in affairs of state and courts of princes; for although men bred in learning are perhaps to seek in points of convenience, and accommodating for the present, which the Italians call *ragioni di stato*, whereof the same Pius Quintus could not hear spoken with patience, terming them inventions against religion and the moral virtues; yet on the other side, to recompense that, they are perfect in those same plain grounds of religion, justice, honour, and moral virtue, which if they be well and watchfully pursued, there will be seldom use of those other, no more than of physic in a sound or well dieted body. Neither can the experience of one man's life furnish examples and precedents for the events of another man's life: for as it happeneth sometimes that the grandchild, or other descendant, resembleth the ancestor, more than the son; so many times occurrences of present times may sort better with ancient examples, than with those of the later or immediate times: and lastly, the wit of one man can no more countervail¹ learning, than one man's means can hold way with a common purse.

And as for those particular seducements, or indispositions of the mind for policy and government, which learning is pretended to insinuate; if it be granted that any such thing be, it must be remembered withal, that learning ministereth in every of them greater strength of medicine or remedy, than it offereth cause of indisposition or infirmity: for if, by a secret operation, it make men perplexed and irresolute, on the other side, by plain precept, it teacheth them when, and upon what ground, to resolve; yea, and how to carry things in suspense without prejudice, till they resolve: if it make men positive and regular, it teacheth them what things are in their nature demonstrative, and what are conjectural; and as well the use of distinctions and exceptions, as the latitude of principles and rules. If it mislead by disproportion, or dissimilitude of examples, it teacheth men the force of circumstances, the errors of comparisons, and all the cautions of application: so that in all these it doth rectify more effectually than it can pervert. And these medicines it conveyeth into men's minds much more forcibly by the quickness and penetration of examples. For let a man look into the errors of Clement the seventh, so lively described by Guicciardine,² who served under him, or into the errors of Cicero, painted out by his own pencil in his epistles to Atticus, and he will fly apace from being irresolute. Let him look into the errors of Phocion,³ and he will beware how he be obstinate or inflexible. Let him but read the fable of Ixion, and it will hold him from being vapor-

¹ Outvie.

² An Italian historian, born 1482, at Florence, died 1562.

³ A celebrated Athenian statesman, died about 318 B.C.

ous or imaginative.¹ Let him look into the errors of Cato the second, and he will never be one of the Antipodes, to tread opposite to the present world.

And for the conceit, that learning should dispose men to leisure and privateness, and make men slothful; it were a strange thing if that, which accustometh the mind to a perpetual motion and agitation, should induce slothfulness; whereas contrariwise it may be truly affirmed, that no kind of men love business for itself, but those that are learned: for other persons love it for profit; as an hireling, that loves the work for the wages; or for honour, as because it beareth them up in the eyes of men, and refresheth their reputations, which otherwise would wear; or because it putteth them in mind of their fortune, and giveth them occasion to pleasure and displeasure; or because it exerciseth some faculty wherein they take pride, and so entertaineth them in good humour and pleasing conceits towards themselves; or because it advanceth any other their ends. So that, as it is said of untrue valours, that some men's valours are in the eyes of them that look on: so such men's industries are in the eyes of others, or at least in regard of their own designments. Only learned men love business, as an action according to nature, as agreeable to health of mind, as exercise is to health of body, taking pleasure in the action itself, and not in the purchase: so that of all men they are the most indefatigable, if it be towards any business which can hold or detain their mind.

And if any man be laborious in reading and study, and yet idle in business and action, it groweth from some weakness of body, or softness of spirit; such as Seneca speaketh of: "*Quidam tam sunt umbratiles, ut putent in turbido esse, quicquid in luce est;*" and not of learning: well may it be, that such a point of a man's nature may make him give himself to learning, but it is not learning that breedeth any such point in his nature.

And that learning should take up too much time or leisure: I answer; the most active or busy man, that hath been or can be, hath, no question, many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business (except he be either tedious and of no dispatch, or lightly and unworthily ambitious to meddle in things that may be better done by others:) and then the question is but, how those spaces and times of leisure shall be filled and spent; whether in pleasures, or in studies; as was well answered by Demosthenes to his adversary Æschines, that was a man given to pleasure, and told him, "that his orations did smell of the lamp:" "Indeed," said Demosthenes, "there is a great difference between the things that you and I do by lamp-light." So as no man need doubt, that learning will expulse business, but rather it will keep and defend the possession of the mind against idleness and pleasure; which otherwise, at unawares, may enter to the prejudice of both.

Again, for that other conceit, that learning should undermine the reverence of laws and government, it is assuredly a mere depravation² and calumny, without all shadow of truth. For to say, that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation, than duty taught

¹ Ixion mistook a cloud for Juno.

² Slander.

and understood ; it is to affirm, that a blind man may tread surer by a guide, than a seeing man can by a light. And it is without all controversy, that learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, maniable, and pliant to government ; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwarting, and mutinous ; and the evidence of time doth clear this assertion, considering that the most barbarous, rude, and unlearned times, have been most subject to tumults, seditions, and changes.

And as to the judgment of Cato the Censor, he was well punished for his blasphemy against learning, in the same kind wherein he offended ; for when he was past threescore years old he was taken with an extreme desire to go to school again, and to learn the Greek tongue, to the end to peruse the Greek authors, which doth well demonstrate, that his former censure of the Grecian learning was rather an affected gravity, than according to the inward sense of his own opinion. And as for Virgil's verses, though it pleased him to brave the world, in taking to the Romans the art of empire, and leaving to others the arts of subjects ; yet so much is manifest, that the Romans never ascended to that height of empire, till the time they had ascended to the height of other arts. For in the time of the two first Cæsars, which had the art of government in greatest perfection, there lived the best poet, Virgilius Maro ; the best historiographer, Titus Livius ; the best antiquary, Marcus Varro ; and the best or second orator, Marcus Cicero, that to the memory of man are known. As for the accusation of Socrates, the time must be remembered when it was prosecuted : which was under the thirty tyrants, the most base, bloody, and envious persons that have governed ; which revolution of state was no sooner over, but Socrates, whom they had made a person criminal, was made a person heroical, and his memory accumulate with honours divine and human ; and those discourses of his, which were then termed corrupting of manners, were after acknowledged for sovereign medicines of the mind and manners, and so have been received ever since, till this day. Let this therefore serve for answer to politicians, which, in their humorous severity, or in their feigned gravity, have presumed to throw imputations upon learning ; which redargution,¹ nevertheless, (save that we know not whether our labours may extend to other ages) were not needful for the present, in regard of the love and reverence towards learning, which the example and countenance of two so learned princes, Queen Elizabeth and your majesty, being as Castor and Pollux, *lucida sidera*, stars of excellent light and most benign influence, hath wrought in all men of place and authority in our nation.

Now therefore we come to that third sort of discredit, or diminution of credit, that groweth unto learning from learned men themselves, which commonly cleaveth fastest : it is either from their fortune, or from their manners, or from the nature of their studies. For the first, it is not in their power ; and the second is accidental ; the third only is proper to be handled : but because we are not in hand with true measure, but with popular estimation and conceit, it is not amiss to

¹ Refutation.

speaking somewhat of the two former. The derogations, therefore, which grow to learning from the fortune or condition of learned men, are either in respect of scarcity of means, or in respect of privateness of life, and meanness of employments.

Concerning want, and that it is the case of learned men usually to begin with little, and not to grow rich so fast as other men, by reason they convert not their labours chiefly to lucre and increase: it were good to leave the common place in commendation of some friar to handle, to whom much was attributed by Machiavel in this point; when he said, "that the kingdom of the clergy had been long before at an end, if the reputation, and reverence towards the poverty of friars had not borne out the scandal of the superfluities and excesses of bishops and prelates." So a man might say, that the felicity and delicacy of princes and great persons had long since turned to rudeness and barbarism, if the poverty of learning had not kept up civility and honour of life: but, without any such advantages, it is worthy the observation, what a reverend and honoured thing poverty of fortune was, for some ages, in the Roman state, which nevertheless was a state without paradoxes; for we see what Titus Livius saith in his introduction: "*Cæterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam tam seræ avaritia luxuriæque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit.*" We see likewise, after that the state of Rome was not itself, but did degenerate, how that person, that took upon him to be counsellor to Julius Cæsar, after his victory, where to begin his restoration of the state, maketh it of all points the most summary to take away the estimation of wealth: "*Verum hæc et omnia mala pariter cum honore pecuniæ desinent, si neque magistratus, neque alia vulgo cupienda, venalia erunt.*" To conclude this point, as it was truly said, that "*rubor est virtutis color,*" though sometimes it comes from vice: so it may be fitly said, that "*paupertas est virtutis fortuna,*" though sometimes it may proceed from misgovernment and accident. Surely Solomon hath pronounced it both in censure, "*Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons,*"¹ and in precept; "Buy the truth and sell it not;"² and so of wisdom and knowledge; judging that means were to be spent upon learning, and not learning to be applied to means. And as for the privateness, or obscureness (as it may be in vulgar estimation accounted) of life of contemplative men; it is a theme so common, to extol a private life, not taxed with sensuality and sloth, in comparison, and to the disadvantage of a civil life, for safety, liberty, pleasure, and dignity, or at least freedom from indignity, as no man handleth it, but handleth it well: such a consonancy it hath to men's conceits in the expressing, and to men's consents in the allowing. This only I will add, that learned men, forgotten in states, and not living in the eyes of men, are like the images of Cassius and Brutus in the funeral of Junia; of which not being represented, as many others were, Tacitus saith, "*Eo ipso præfulgebant, quod non visebantur.*"

And for the meanness of employment, that which is most traduced

¹ Prov. xxviii. 20.

² Prov. xxiii. 23.

to contempt, is, that the government of youth is commonly allotted to them; which age, because it is the age of least authority, it is transferred to the disesteeming of those employments wherein youth is conversant, and which are conversant about youth. But how unjust this traducement is (if you will reduce things from popularity of opinion to measure of reason) may appear in that we see men are more curious what they put into a new vessel, than into a vessel seasoned; and what mould they lay about a young plant, than about a plant corroborate;¹ so as the weakest terms and times of all things use to have the best applications and helps. And will you hearken to the Hebrew Rabins? "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams;"² say they, youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams. And let it be noted, that howsoever the condition of life of pedants hath been scorned upon theatres, as the ape of tyranny; and that the modern looseness or negligence hath taken no due regard to the choice of schoolmasters and tutors; yet the ancient wisdom of the best times did always make a just complaint, that states were too busy with their laws, and too negligent in point of education: which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort revived, of late times, by the colleges of the Jesuits; of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say "*quo meliores, eo deteriores;*" yet in regard of this, and some other points concerning human learning and moral matters, I may say, as Agesilaus said to his enemy Pharnabasis, "*Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses.*" And thus much touching the discredits drawn from the fortunes of learned men.

As touching the manners of learned men, it is a thing personal and individual: and no doubt there be amongst them, as in other professions, of all temperatures; but yet so as it is not without truth, which is said, that "*abunt studia in mores;*" studies have an influence and operation upon the manners of those that are conversant in them.

But upon an attentive and indifferent review, I, for my part, cannot find any disgrace to learning can proceed from the manners of learned men not inherent to them as they are learned; except it be a fault (which was the supposed fault of Demosthenes, Cicero, Cato the second, Seneca, and many more) that, because the times they read of are commonly better than the times they live in, and the duties taught better than the duties practised, they contend sometimes too far to bring things to perfection, and to reduce the corruption of manners to honesty of precepts, or examples of too great height. And yet hereof they have caveats enough in their own walks. For Solon, when he was asked whether he had given his citizens the best laws, answered wisely, "Yea, of such as they would receive." And Plato, finding that his own heart could not agree with the corrupt manners of his country, refused to bear place or office; saying, "That a man's country was to be used as his parents were, that is, with humble persuasions, and not with contestations." And Cæsar's counsellor put in the same caveat, "*Non ad vetera instituta revocans, quæ jampridem corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt:*" and Cicero noted this error directly in Cato the second,

¹ Strengthened, confirmed; here, well rooted.

² Joel ii. 28.

when he writes to his friend Atticus: "*Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum reipublicæ; loquitur enim tanquam in republica Platonis, non tanquam in fæce Romuli.*" And the same Cicero doth excuse and expound the philosophers for going too far, and being too exact in their prescripts, when he saith, "*Isti ipsi præceptores virtutis et magistri videntur fines officiorum paulo longius, quam natura vellet, protulisse, ut cum ad ultimum animo contendissemus, ibi tamen, ubi oportet consisteremus:*" and yet himself might have said, "*Monitis sum minor ipse meis;*" for it was his own fault, though not in so extreme a degree.

Another fault likewise much of this kind hath been incident to learned men; which is, that they have esteemed the preservation, good, and honour of their countries or masters, before their own fortunes or safeties. For so saith Demosthenes unto the Athenians: "If it please you to note it, my counsels unto you are not such, whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians: but they be of that nature, as they are sometimes not good for me to give, but are always good for you to follow." And so Seneca, after he had consecrated that *Quinquennium Neronis* to the eternal glory of learned governors, held on his honest and loyal course of good and free counsel, after his master grew extremely corrupt in his government. Neither can this point otherwise be; for learning endueth men's minds with a true sense of the frailty of their persons, the casualty of their fortunes, and the dignity of their soul and vocation; so that it is impossible for them to esteem that any greatness of their own fortune can be a true or worthy end of their being and ordainment; and therefore are desirous to give their account to God, and so likewise to their masters under God (as kings and the states that they serve) in these words: "*Ecce tibi lucrifeci,*" and not "*Ecce mihi lucrifeci:*" whereas the corrupter sort of mere politicians, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor ever look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes; never caring, in all tempests, what becomes of the ship of state, so they may save themselves in the cock-boat of their own fortune; whereas men that feel the weight of duty, and know the limits of self-love, use to make good their places and duties, though with peril. And if they stand in seditious and violent alterations, it is rather the reverence which many times both adverse parts do give to honesty, than any versatile advantage of their own carriage. But for this point of tender sense, and fast obligation of duty, which learning doth endue the mind withal, howsoever fortune may tax it, and many in the depth of their corrupt principles may despise it, yet it will receive an open allowance, and therefore needs the less disproof or excusation.

Another fault incident commonly to learned men, which may be more probably defended than truly denied, is, that they fail sometimes in applying themselves to particular persons: which want of exact application ariseth from two causes; the one, because the largeness of their mind can hardly confine itself to dwell in the exquisite observation or examination of the nature and customs of one person: for it

is a speech for a lover, and not for a wise man : “ *Satis magnum alteri theatrum sumus.*” Nevertheless I shall yield, that he that cannot contract the sight of his mind, as well as disperse and dilate it, wanteth great faculty. But there is a second cause, which is no inability, but a rejection upon choice and judgment : for the honest and just bounds of observation, by one person upon another, extend no farther, but to understand him sufficiently, whereby not to give him offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful counsel, or whereby to stand upon reasonable guard and caution, in respect of a man’s self. But to be speculative into another man, to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven, and not entire and ingenuous ; which, as in friendship, it is want of integrity, so towards princes or superiors, is want of duty. For the custom of the Levant, which is, that subjects do forbear to gaze or fix their eyes upon princes, is in the outward ceremony barbarous, but the moral is good : for men ought not, by cunning and bent observations, to pierce and penetrate into the hearts of kings, which the Scripture hath declared to be inscrutable.

There is yet another fault, with which I will conclude this part, which is often noted in learned men, that they do many times fail to observe decency and discretion in their behaviour and carriage, and commit errors in small and ordinary points of actions, so as the vulgar sort of capacities do make a judgment of them in greater matters, by that which they find wanting in them in smaller. But this consequence doth often deceive men, for which I do refer them over to that which was said by Themistocles, arrogantly and uncivilly, being applied to himself out of his own mouth ; but, being applied to the general state of this question, pertinently and justly ; when being invited to touch a lute, he said, “ He could not fiddle, but he could make a small town a great state.” So, no doubt, many may be well seen in the passages of government and policy, which are to seek in little and punctual occasions. I refer them also to that which Plato said of his master Socrates, whom he compared to the gallpots of apothecaries, which on the outside had apes and owls, and antiques, but contained within sovereign and precious liquors and confections ; acknowledging, that to an external report, he was not without superficial levities and deformities, but was inwardly replenished with excellent virtues and powers. And so much touching the point of manners of learned men.

But in the mean time I have no purpose to give allowance to some conditions and courses base and unworthy, wherein divers professors of learning have wronged themselves, and gone too far ; such as were those trencher philosophers, which in the latter age of the Roman state were usually in the houses of great persons, being little better than solemn parasites ; of which kind Lucian maketh a merry description of the philosopher that the great lady took to ride with her in her coach, and would needs have him carry her little dog, which he doing officiously, and yet uncomely, the page scoffed, and said, “ That he doubted, the philosopher of a Stoic would turn to be a Cynic.” But above all the rest, the gross and palpable flattery, whereunto many, not unlearned, have abased and abused their wits and pens, turning, as Du Bartas saith, Hecuba into Helena, and Faustina into Lucretia,

hath most diminished the price and estimation of learning. Neither is the modern dedication of books and writings, as to patrons, to be commended: for that books, such as are worthy the name of books, ought to have no patrons but truth and reason. And the ancient custom was, to dedicate them only to private and equal friends, or to intitle the books with their names; or if to kings and great persons, it was to some such as the argument of the book was fit and proper for: but these and the like courses may deserve rather reprehension than defence.

Not that I can tax or condemn the morigeration¹ or application of learned men to men in fortune. For the answer was good that Diogenes made to one that asked him in mockery, "How it came to pass that philosophers were the followers of rich men, and not rich men of philosophers?" He answered soberly, and yet sharply, "Because the one sort knew what they had need of, and the other did not." And of the like nature was the answer which Aristippus made, when having a petition to Dionysius, and no ear given to him, he fell down at his feet; whereupon Dionysius stayed, and gave him the hearing, and granted it; and afterwards some person, tender on the behalf of philosophy, reproved Aristippus,² that he would offer the profession of philosophy such an indignity, as for a private suit to fall at a tyrant's feet. But he answered, "It was not his fault, but it was the fault of Dionysius, that he had his ears in his feet." Neither was it accounted weakness, but discretion in him that would not dispute his best with Adrianus Cæsar; excusing himself, "That it was reason to yield to him that commanded thirty legions." These and the like applications, and stooping to points of necessity and convenience, cannot be disallowed: for though they may have some outward baseness, yet in a judgment truly made, they are to be accounted submissions to the occasion, and not to the person.

Now I proceed to those errors and vanities, which have intervned amongst the studies themselves of the learned, which is that which is principal and proper to the present argument; wherein my purpose is, not to make justification of the errors, but, by a censure and separation of the errors, to make a justification of that which is good and sound, and to deliver that from the aspersion of the other. For we see, that it is the manner of men to scandalize and deprave that which retaineth the state and virtue, by taking advantage upon that which is corrupt and degenerate; as the heathens in the primitive Church used to blemish and taint the Christians with the faults and corruptions of heretics. But nevertheless I have no meaning at this time to make any exact animadversion of the errors and impediments in matters of learning, which are more secret and remote from vulgar opinion, but only to speak unto such as do fall under, or near unto, a popular observation.

There be therefore chiefly three vanities in studies, whereby learning hath been most traduced. For those things we do esteem vain, which are either false or frivolous, those which either have no truth, or no use: and those persons we esteem vain, which are either credulous or

¹ Obsequiousness.

² A philosopher of Cyrene. He was a base, selfish person.

curious ; and curiosity is either in matter, or words : so that in reason, as well as in experience, there fall out to be these three distempers, as I may term them, of learning : the first, fantastical learning ; the second, contentious learning : and the last, delicate learning ; vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affectations ; and with the last I will begin.

Martin Luther, conducted no doubt by an higher providence, but in discourse of reason, finding what a province he had undertaken against the bishop of Rome, and the degenerate traditions of the church, and finding his own solitude being no ways aided by the opinion of his own time, was enforced to awake all antiquity, and to call former times to his succour, to make a party against the present time. So that the ancient authors, both in divinity, and in humanity, which had long time slept in libraries, began generally to be read and revolved. This by consequence did draw on a necessity of a more exquisite travail in the languages original, wherein those authors did write, for the better understanding of those authors, and the better advantage of pressing and applying their words. And thereof grew again a delight in their manner and style of phrase, and an admiration of that kind of writing ; which was much furthered and precipitated by the enmity and opposition, that the propounders of those primitive, but seeming new, opinions had against the schoolmen, who were generally of the contrary part, and whose writings were altogether of a differing style and form ; taking liberty to coin, and frame new forms of art to express their own sense, and to avoid circuit of speech, without regard to the pureness, pleasantness, and, as I may call it, lawfulness of the phrase or word. And again, because the great labour then was with the people, of whom the Pharisees were wont to say, "*Execrabilis ista turba, quæ non novit legem ;*" for the winning and persuading of them, there grew of necessity in chief price and request, eloquence and variety of discourse, as the fittest and forciblest access into the capacity of the vulgar sort : so that these four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affectionate study of eloquence and *copia* of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily into an excess : for men began to hunt more after words than matter ; and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the flowing and watery vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop, to be in price. Then did Sturm¹ spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero the orator, and Hermogenes² the rhetorician, besides his own books of periods, and imitation, and the like. Then did Car of

¹ Johann Sturm, an eminent German classical scholar and theologian, born 1507. He wrote so elegantly in Latin, that he has been called the German Cicero. He died in 1589.

² A distinguished rhetorician, born at Tarsus about the middle of the 2nd Century after Christ. He was remarkable for extraordinary precocity, and the rapid extinction of his talents. At seventeen he published his great work on rhetoric. At twenty-four, he sank into imbecility.

Cambridge, and Ascham,¹ with their lectures and writings, almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, and allure all young men, that were studious, unto that delicate and polished kind of learning. Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo; "*Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone.*" and the echo answered in Greek 'Ove, Asine. Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous. In sum, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards *copia* than weight.

Here therefore is the first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter: whereof though I have represented an example of late times, yet it hath been, and will be *secundum majus et minus* in all time. And how is it possible but this should have an operation to discredit learning, even with vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent, or limned² book; which though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter? It seems to me that Pygmalion's frenzy³ is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity; for words are but the images of matter, and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture.

But yet, notwithstanding, it is a thing not hastily to be condemned, to clothe and adorn the obscurity, even of philosophy itself, with sensible and plausible elocution. For hereof we have great examples in Xenophon, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and of Plato also in some degree; and hereof likewise there is great use; for surely, to the severe inquisition of truth, and the deep progress into philosophy, it is some hindrance; because it is too early satisfactory to the mind of man, and quencheth the desire of farther search, before we come to a just period; but then, if a man be to have any use of such knowledge in civil occasions, of conference, counsel, persuasion, discourse or the like; then shall he find it prepared to his hands in those authors which write in that manner. But the excess of this is so justly contemptible, that as Hercules, when he saw the image of Adonis, Venus's minion, in a temple, said in disdain, "*Nil sacri es;*" so there is none of Hercules's followers in learning, that is, the more severe and laborious sort of inquirers into truth, but will despise those delicacies and affectations, as indeed capable of no divineness. And thus much of the first disease or distemper of learning.

The second, which followeth, is in nature worse than the former: for as substance of matter is better than beauty of words, so, contrariwise, vain matter is worse than vain words. Wherein it seemeth the reprehension of St. Paul was not only proper for those times, but prophetic for the times following; and not only respective to divinity, but extensive to all knowledge: "*Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ.*"⁴ For he assigneth two marks and badges of suspected and falsified science: the one, the novelty and strangeness of terms; the other, the strictness of positions, which of necessity doth induce oppositions, and so questions and altercations. Surely, like as many substances in nature which

¹ Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth, born 1515, died 1568.

² Painted—illustrated.

³ Pygmalion fell in love with his own work—a statue.

⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 20; 11 Tim. iv. 7.

are solid, do putrify and corrupt into worms; so it is the propriety of good and sound knowledge, to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and, as I may term them, vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness, and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter, or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen, who, having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator), as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did, out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning, which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby: but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit.

This same unprofitable subtilty or curiosity is of two sorts; either in the subject itself that they handle, when it is fruitless speculation or controversy, whereof there are no small number both of divinity and philosophy; or in the manner or method of handling of a knowledge, which amongst them was this; upon every particular position or assertion to frame objections, and to those objections, solutions; which solutions were for the most part not confutations, but distinctions: whereas indeed the strength of all sciences is, as the strength of the old man's faggot, in the band. For the harmony of a science, supporting each part the other, is and ought to be the true and brief confutation and suppression of all the smaller sorts of objections. But, on the other side, if you take out every axiom, as the sticks of the faggot, one by one, you may quarrel with them and bend them, and break them at your pleasure: so that as was said of Seneca, "*Verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera:*" so a man may truly say of the schoolmen, "*Questionum minutiis scientiarum frangunt soliditatem.*" For were it not better for a man in a fair room, to set up one great light, or branching candlestick of lights, than to go about with a small watch candle into every corner? And such is their method, that rests not so much upon evidence of truth proved by arguments, authorities, similitudes, examples, as upon particular confutations and solutions of every scruple, cavillation, and objection; breeding for the most part one question, as fast as it solveth another; even as in the former resemblance, when you carry the light into one corner, you darken the rest: so that the fable and fiction of Scylla seemeth to be a lively image of this kind of philosophy or knowledge, which was transformed into a comely virgin for the upper parts: but then, "*Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus:*" so the generalities of the schoolmen are for a while good and proportionable; but then, when you descend into their distinctions and decisions, instead of a fruitful womb, for the use and benefit of man's life, they end in monstrous altercations, and barking questions. So as it is not possible but this quality of knowledge must fall under popular contempt, the

people being apt to contemn truth upon occasion of controversies and altercations, and to think they are all out of their way which never meet: and when they see such digladiation¹ about subtilties, and matters of no use or moment, they easily fall upon that judgment of Dionysius of Syracusæ, "*Verba ista sunt senum otiosorum.*"

Notwithstanding, certain it is, that if those schoolmen, to their great thirst of truth, and unwearied travail of wit, had joined variety and universality of reading and contemplation, they had proved excellent lights, to the great advancement of all learning and knowledge; but as they are, they are great undertakers indeed, and fierce with dark keeping. But as in the inquiry of the divine truth, their pride inclined to leave the oracle of God's word, and to vanish in the mixture of their own inventions; so in the inquisition of nature, they ever left the oracle of God's works, and adored the deceiving and deformed images, which the unequal mirror of their own minds, or a few received authors or principles, did represent unto them. And thus much for the second disease of learning.

For the third vice or disease of learning, which concerneth deceit or untruth, it is of all the rest the foulest; as that which doth destroy the essential form of knowledge; which is nothing but a representation of truth; for the truth of being, and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam, and the beam reflected. This vice therefore brancheth itself into two sorts; delight in deceiving, and aptness to be deceived; imposture and credulity; which, although they appear to be of a diverse nature,—the one seeming to proceed of cunning, and the other of simplicity,—yet certainly they do for the most part concur: for as the verse noteth,

Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est :

an inquisitive man is a prattler: so upon the like reason, a credulous man is a deceiver: as we see it in fame, that he that will easily believe rumours, will as easily augment rumours, and add somewhat to them of his own; which Tacitus wisely noteth, when he saith, "*Fingunt simul creduntque:*" so great an affinity hath fiction and belief.

This facility of credit, and accepting or admitting things weakly authorized or warranted, is of two kinds, according to the subject: for it is either a belief of history, or, as the lawyers speak, matter of fact; or else of matter of art and opinion. As to the former, we see the experience and inconvenience of this error in ecclesiastical history, which hath too easily received and registered reports and narrations of miracles wrought by martyrs, hermits, or monks of the desert, and other holy men, and their relics, shrines, chapels, and images; which though they had a passage for a time, by the ignorance of the people, the superstitious simplicity of some, and the politic toleration of others, holding them but as divine poesies: yet after a period of time, when the mist began to clear up, they grew to be esteemed but as old wives' fables, impostures of the clergy, illusions of spirits, and badges of antichrist, to the great scandal and detriment of religion.

So in natural history, we see there hath not been that choice and

¹ Sharp combats—crossing of swords.

judgment used as ought to have been, as may appear in the writings of Plinius,¹ Cardanus,² Albertus,³ and divers of the Arabians, being fraught with much fabulous matter, a great part not only untried, but notoriously untrue, to the great derogation of the credit of natural philosophy with the grave and sober kind of wits: wherein the wisdom and integrity of Aristotle is worthy to be observed, that, having made so diligent and exquisite a history of living creatures, hath mingled it sparingly with any vain or feigned matter; and yet, on the other side, hath cast all prodigious narrations, which he thought worthy the recording, into one book: excellently discerning that matter of manifest truth, such whereupon observation and rule was to be built, was not to be mingled or weakened with matter of doubtful credit; and yet again, that rarities and reports, that seem incredible, are not to be suppressed or denied to the memory of men.

And as for the facility of credit which is yielded to arts and opinions, it is likewise of two kinds, either when too much belief is attributed to the arts themselves, or to certain authors in any art. The sciences themselves, which have had better intelligence and confederacy with the imagination of man, than with his reason, are three in number: astrology, natural magic, and alchemy; of which sciences, nevertheless, the ends or pretences are noble. For astrology pretendeth to discover that correspondence, or concatenation, which is between the superior globe and the inferior. Natural magic pretendeth to call and reduce natural philosophy from variety of speculations to the magnitude of works; and alchemy pretendeth to make separation of all the unlike parts of bodies, which in mixtures of nature are incorporate. But the derivations and prosecutions to these ends, both in the theories and in the practices, are full of error and vanity; which the great professors themselves have sought to veil over and conceal by enigmatical writings, and referring themselves to auricular traditions and such other devices, to save the credit of impostors: and yet surely to alchemy this right is due, that it may be compared to the husbandman whereof Æsop makes the fable; that, when he died, told his sons, that he had left unto them gold buried under ground in his vineyard; and they digged over all the ground, and gold they found none; but by reason of their stirring and digging the mould about the roots of their vines, they had a great vintage the year following: so assuredly the search and stir to make gold hath brought to light a great number of good and fruitful inventions and experiments, as well for the disclosing of nature, as for the use of man's life.

And as for the overmuch credit that hath been given unto authors in sciences, in making them dictators, that their words should stand; and not consuls to give advice; the damage is infinite that sciences have received thereby, as the principal cause that hath kept them low, at a stay, without growth or advancement. For hence it hath come,

¹ Pliny the elder, the naturalist.

² Cardanus, the name Latinised after the fashion of Bacon's name, was Jerome Cardan, an Italian physician and mathematician, born in Pavia, practised at Rome, 1571. He made important discoveries in algebra, and wrote an immense number of books. Died 1576.

³ Albertus Magnus was one of the greatest of the scholastic philosophers and theologians, born in Swabia, 1205. He was supposed to be a magician.

that in arts mechanical the first deviser comes shortest, and time addeth and perfecteth : but in sciences, the first author goeth farthest, and time loseth and corrupteth. So we see, artillery, sailing, printing, and the like, were grossly managed at the first, and by time accommodated and refined : but contrariwise the philosophies and sciences of Aristotle,¹ Plato, Democritus, Hippocrates, Euclides, Archimedes, of most vigour at the first, and by time degenerate and embased ; whereof the reason is no other, but that in the former many wits and industries have contributed in one ; and in the latter, many wits and industries have been spent about the wit of some one, whom many times they have rather depraved than illustrated. For as water will not ascend higher than the level of the first spring-head from whence it descendeth, so knowledge derived from Aristotle, and exempted from liberty of examination, will not rise again higher than the knowledge of Aristotle. And therefore, although the position be good, "*Oportet discentem credere ;*" yet it must be coupled with this, "*Oportet edoctum judicare :*" for disciples do owe unto masters only a temporary belief, and a suspension of their own judgment till they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation, or perpetual captivity : and, therefore, to conclude this point, I will say no more ; but so let great authors have their due, as time, which is the author of authors, be not deprived of his due, which is, farther and farther to discover truth. Thus I have gone over these three diseases of learning ; besides the which, there are some other rather peccant humours than formed diseases, which nevertheless are not so secret and intrinsic, but that they fall under a popular observation and traducement, and therefore are not to be passed over.

The first of these is the extreme affecting of two extremities : the one antiquity, the other novelty ; wherein it seemeth the children of time do take after the nature and malice of their father. For as he devoureth his children, so one of them seeketh to devour and suppress the other, while antiquity envieth there should be new additions, and novelty cannot be content to add, but it must deface. Surely, the advice of the prophet is the true direction in this matter, "*Stare super vias antiquas, et videte quænam sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea.*"² Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way : but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression. And to speak truly, "*Antiquitas seculi juvenus mundi.*" These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backward from ourselves.

Another error, induced by the former, is a distrust that anything should be now to be found out, which the world should have missed and passed over so long time ; as if the same objection were to be made to time, that Lucian maketh to Jupiter and other the heathen gods, of which he wondereth, that they begot so many children in old

¹ Aristotle, Plato, and Democritus—philosophers of Greece. Hippocrates, a physician. Euclid and Archimedes, mathematicians ; the latter great at mechanics. The devotion of the learned of the Middle Ages to the Aristotelian philosophy tended to prevent anything like originality or progress in learning till Bacon's time.

² Jeremiah vi. 16.

time, and begot none in his time; and asketh, whether they were become septuagenary, or whether the law Papia, made against old men's marriages, had restrained them. So it seemeth men doubt, lest time is become past children and generation; wherein, contrariwise, we see commonly the levity and unconstancy of men's judgments, which, till a matter be done, wonder that it can be done; and, as soon as it is done, wonder again that it was no sooner done; as we see in the expedition of Alexander into Asia, which at first was prejudged as a vast and impossible enterprise: and yet afterwards it pleaseth Livy to make no more of it than this; "*Nil aliud, quam bene ausus est vana contemnere:*" and the same happened to Columbus in the western navigation. But in intellectual matters, it is much more common; as may be seen in most of the propositions of Euclid, which till they be demonstrated, they seem strange to our assent; but being demonstrated, our mind accepteth of them by a kind of relation, as the lawyers speak, as if we had known them before.

Another error that hath also some affinity with the former, is a conceit, that of former opinions or sects, after variety and examination, the best hath still prevailed, and suppressed the rest: so as, if a man should begin the labour of a new search, he were but like to light upon somewhat formerly rejected, and by rejection brought into oblivion; as if the multitude, or the wisest, for the multitude's sake, were not ready to give passage, rather to that which is popular and superficial, than to that which is substantial and profound: for the truth is, that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream, which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid.

Another error, of a diverse nature from all the former, is the over-early and peremptory reduction of knowledge into arts and methods; from which time, commonly, sciences receive small or no augmentation. But as young men, when they knit, and shape perfectly, do seldom grow to a farther stature, so knowledge, while it is in aphorisms and observations, it is in growth; but when it once is comprehended in exact methods, it may perchance be farther polished and illustrated, and accommodated for use and practice; but it increaseth no more in bulk and substance.

Another error which doth succeed that which we last mentioned, is, that after the distribution of particular arts and sciences, men have abandoned universality, or *philosophia prima*; which cannot but cease, and stop all progression. For no perfect discovery can be made upon a flat or a level: neither is it possible to discover the more remote, and deeper parts of any science, if you stand but upon the level of the same science, and ascend not to a higher science.

Another error hath proceeded from too great a reverence, and a kind of adoration of the mind and understanding of man: by means whereof, men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of nature, and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits. Upon these intellectualists, which are, notwithstanding, commonly taken for the most sublime and divine philosophers, Heraclitus gave a just censure, saying, "Men sought truth in their own little worlds, and not in the

great and common world ;” for they disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volume of God’s works ; and contrariwise, by continual meditation and agitation of wit, do urge and as it were invoke their own spirits to divine, and give oracles unto them, whereby they are deservedly deluded.

Another error that hath some connexion with this latter, is, that men have used to infect their meditations, opinions, and doctrines, with some conceits which they have most admired, or some sciences which they have most applied ; and given all things else a tincture according to them, utterly untrue and unproper. So hath Plato intermingled his philosophy with theology, and Aristotle with logic ; and the second school of Plato, Proclus, and the rest, with the mathematics. For these were the arts which had a kind of primogeniture with them severally. So have the alchemists made a philosophy out of a few experiments of the furnace ; and Gilbertus,¹ our countryman, hath made a philosophy out of the observations of a loadstone. So Cicero, when reciting the several opinions of the nature of the soul, he found a musician, that held the soul was but a harmony, saith pleasantly, “*Hic ab arte sua non recessit,*” etc. But of these conceits Aristotle speaketh seriously and wisely, when he saith, “*Qui respiciunt ad pauca, de facili pronuntiant.*”

Another error is an impatience of doubt, and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgment. For the two ways of contemplation are not unlike the two ways of action, commonly spoken of by the ancients: the one plain and smooth in the beginning, and in the end impassable: the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, but after a while fair and even. So it is in contemplation ; if a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts ; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties.

Another error is in the manner of the tradition and delivery of knowledge, which is for the most part magistral and peremptory ; and not ingenuous and faithful, in a sort, as may be soonest believed, and not easiest examined. It is true, that in compendious treatises for practice, that form is not to be disallowed. But in the true handling of knowledge, men ought not to fall either, on the one side, into the vein of Velleius the Epicurean: “*Nil tam metuens, quam ne dubitare aliqua de re videretur.*” nor, on the other side, into Socrates his ironical doubting of all things ; but to propound things sincerely, with more or less asseveration, as they stand in a man’s own judgment proved more or less.

Other errors there are in the scope that men propound to themselves, whereunto they bend their endeavours : for whereas the more constant and devote kind of professors of any science ought to propound to themselves to make some additions to their science, they convert their labours to aspire to certain second prizes ; as to be a profound interpreter or commentator ; to be a sharp champion or defender ; to be a methodical compounder or abridger ; and so the

¹ William Gilbert, a celebrated physician and natural philosopher. He wrote the first classical treatise on Magnetism ; which is asserted to contain all the principal facts on that subject. Galileo and Erasmus greatly admired Gilbert. Born 1540, died 1603.

patrimony of knowledge cometh to be sometimes improved, but seldom augmented.

But the greatest error of all the rest, is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or farthest end of knowledge: for men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men. As if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit, or sale; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate. But this is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been; a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action. Howbeit, I do not mean, when I speak of use and action, that end before-mentioned of the applying of knowledge to lucre and profession; for I am not ignorant how much that diverteth and interrupteth the prosecution and advancement of knowledge, like unto the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which "while she goeth aside and stoopeth to take up, the race is hindered;"¹

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Neither is my meaning, as was spoken of Socrates, to call philosophy down from heaven to converse upon the earth: that is, to leave natural philosophy aside, and to apply knowledge only to manners and policy. But as both heaven and earth do conspire and contribute to the use and benefit of man; so the end ought to be, from both philosophies to separate and reject vain speculations, and whatsoever is empty and void, and to preserve and augment whatsoever is solid and fruitful: that knowledge may not be, as a courtesan, for pleasure and vanity only, or, as a bond-woman, to acquire and gain to her master's use; but, as a spouse, for generation, fruit, and comfort.

Thus have I described and opened, as by a kind of dissection, those peccant humours, the principal of them, which have not only given impediment to the proficience of learning, but have given also occasion to the traducement thereof: wherein if I have been too plain, it must be remembered, "*Fidelia vulnera amantis, sed dolosa oscula vialignantis.*"

This, I think, I have gained, that I ought to be the better believed in that which I shall say pertaining to commendation; because I have proceeded so freely in that which concerneth censure. And yet I

¹ See fable of Atalanta in Wisdom of the Ancients.

have no purpose to enter into a laudative of learning, or to make a hymn to the Muses, though I am of opinion that it is long since their rites were duly celebrated: but my intent is, without varnish or amplification, justly to weigh the dignity of knowledge in the balance with other things, and to take the true value thereof by testimonies and arguments divine and human.

First therefore, let us seek the dignity of knowledge in the archetype or first platform, which is the attributes and acts of God, as far as they are revealed to man, and may be observed with sobriety; wherein we may not seek it by the name of learning; for all learning is knowledge acquired, and all knowledge in God is original; and therefore we must look for it by another name, that of Wisdom or sapience, as the Scriptures call it.

It is so then, that in the work of the creation we see a double emanation of virtue from God; the one referring more properly to power, the other to wisdom; the one expressed in making the subsistence of the matter, and the other in disposing the beauty of the form. This being supposed, it is to be observed, that, for anything which appeareth in the history of the creation, the confused mass and matter of heaven and earth was made in a moment; and the order and disposition of that chaos, or mass, was the work of six days; such a note of difference it pleased God to put upon the works of power, and the works of wisdom: wherewith concurrerth, that in the former it is not set down that God said, "Let there be heaven and earth," as it is set down of the works following; but actually, that God made heaven and earth: the one carrying the style of a manufacture, and the other of a law, decree, or council.

To proceed to that which is next in order, from God to spirits. We find, as far as credit is to be given to the celestial hierarchy of that supposed Dionysius the senator of Athens, the first place or degree is given to the angels of love, which are termed Seraphim; the second to the angels of light, which are termed Cherubim; the third, and so following places, to thrones, principalities, and the rest, which are all angels of power and ministry; so as the angels of knowledge and illumination are placed before the angels of office and domination.

To descend from spirits and intellectual forms to sensible and material forms; we read the first form that was created was Light, which hath a relation and correspondence in nature and corporal things to knowledge in spirits and incorporeal things.

So in the distribution of days, we see, the day wherein God did rest, and contemplate His own works, was blessed above all the days wherein He did effect and accomplish them.

After the creation was finished, it is set down unto us, that man was placed in the garden to work therein; which work, so appointed to him, could be no other than work of contemplation; that is, when the end of the work is but for exercise and experiment, not for necessity; for there being then no reluctance of the creature, nor sweat of the brow, man's employment must of consequence have been matter of delight in the experiment, and not matter of labour for the use. Again, the first acts which man performed in paradise, consisted of the two summary parts of knowledge; the view of creatures the

imposition of names. As for the knowledge which induced the Fall, it was, as was touched before, not the natural knowledge of creatures, but the moral knowledge of good and evil ; wherein the supposition was, that God's commandments or prohibitions were not the originals of good and evil, but that they had other beginnings, which man aspired to know, to the end to make a total defection from God, and to depend wholly upon himself.

To pass on : in the first event or occurrence after the fall of man, we see, as the Scriptures have infinite mysteries, not violating at all the truth of the story or letter, an image of the two estates, the contemplative state, and the active state, figured in the two persons of Abel and Cain, and in the two simplest and most primitive trades of life, that of the shepherd, who, by reason of his leisure, his rest in a place, and living in view of heaven, is a lively image of a contemplative life ; and that of the husbandman ; where we see again the favour and election of God went to the shepherd, and not to the tiller of the ground.

So in the age before the flood, the holy records within those few memorials, which are there entered and registered, have vouchsafed to mention, and honour the name of the inventors and authors of music, and works in metal. In the age after the flood, the first great judgment of God upon the ambition of man was the confusion of tongues ; whereby the open trade and intercourse of learning and knowledge was chiefly imbarred.

To descend to Moses the lawgiver, and God's first pen. He is adorned by the Scriptures with this addition and commendation, that he was "seen in all the learning of the Egyptians ;"¹ which nation, we know, was one of the most ancient schools of the world : for so Plato brings in the Egyptian priest saying unto Solon, "You Grecians are ever children ; you have no knowledge of antiquity, nor antiquity of knowledge." Take a view of the ceremonial law of Moses. You shall find, besides the prefiguration of Christ, the badge or difference of the people of God, the exercise and impression of obedience, and other divine uses and fruits thereof, that some of the most learned Rabbins have travailed profitably, and profoundly to observe ; some of them a natural, some of them a moral sense, or reduction of many of the ceremonies and ordinances. As in the law of the leprosy, where it is said, "If the whiteness have overspread the flesh, the patient may pass abroad for clean ; but if there be any whole flesh remaining, he is to be shut up for unclean :"² one of them noteth a principle of nature, that putrefaction is more contagious before maturity, than after : and another noteth a position of moral philosophy, that men, abandoned to vice, do not so much corrupt manners, as those that are half good and half evil. So in this, and very many other places in that law, there is to be found, besides the theological sense, much aspersion of philosophy.

So likewise in that excellent book of Job, if it be revolved with diligence, it will be found pregnant and swelling with natural philosophy ; as for example, cosmography and the roundness of the world : "*Qui*

¹ Acts vii. 22.

² Leviticus xiii. 17. 14.

*extendit aquilonem super vacuum, et appendit terram super nihilum;*¹ wherein the pensileness of the earth, the pole of the north, and the finiteness or convexity of heaven are manifestly touched. So again, matter of astronomy; "*Spiritus ejus ornavit cœlus, et obstetricant manu ejus eductus est Coluber tortuosus.*"² And in another place; "*Nunquid conjungere valebis micantes stellas Pleiadas, aut gyrum Arcturi poteris dissipare?*"³ Where the fixing of the stars, ever standing at equal distance, is with great elegancy noted. And in another place; "*Qui facit Arcturum, et Oriona, et Hyadas, et interiora Austri;*"⁴ where again he takes knowledge of the depression of the southern pole, calling it the secrets of the south, because the southern stars were in that climate unseen. Matter of generation, "*Annon sicut lac mulsisti me, et sicut caseum coagulasti me,*" &c.⁵ Matter of minerals, "*Habet argentum venarum suarum principia: et auro locus est in quo conflare, ferrum de terra tollitur, et lapis solutus calore in æs vertitur:*" and so forwards in that chapter.⁶

So likewise in the person of Solomon the king, we see the gift or endowment of wisdom and learning, both in Solomon's petition, and in God's assent thereunto, preferred before all other terrene and temporal felicity. By virtue of which grant or donative of God, Solomon became enabled, not only to write those excellent parables, or aphorisms, concerning divine and moral philosophy; but also to compile a natural history of all verdure, from the cedar upon the mountain to the moss upon the wall, which is but a rudiment between putrefaction and an herb, and also of all things that breathe or move. Nay, the same Solomon the king, although he excelled in the glory of treasure and magnificent buildings, of shipping and navigation, of service and attendance, of fame and renown, and the like, yet he maketh no claim to any of those glories, but only to the glory of inquisition of truth; for so he saith expressly, "The glory of God is to conceal a thing, but the glory of the king is to find it out;"⁷ as if, according to the innocent play of children, the Divine Majesty took delight to hide His works, to the end to have them found out; and as if kings could not obtain a greater honour than to be God's playfellows in that game, considering the great commandment of wits and means, whereby nothing needeth to be hidden from them.

Neither did the dispensation of God vary in the times after our Saviour came into the world; for our Saviour Himself did first show His power to subdue ignorance, by His conference with the priests and doctors of the law, before He showed His power to subdue nature by His miracles. And the coming of the Holy Spirit was chiefly figured and expressed in the similitude and gift of tongues, which are but *vehicula scientiæ*.

So in the election of those instruments, which it pleased God to use for the plantation of the faith, notwithstanding that at the first He did employ persons altogether unlearned, otherwise than by inspiration, more evidently to declare His immediate working, and to abase all human wisdom or knowledge; yet, nevertheless, that counsel of His

¹ Job xxvi. 7.² Job xxvi. 13.³ Job xxxviii. 31.⁴ Job ix. 9.⁵ Job x.⁶ Job xxviii. 1, 2, &c.⁷ Prov. xxv. 2.

was no sooner performed, but in the next vicissitude and succession, He did send His divine truth into the world, waited on with other learnings, as with servants or handmaids : for so we see St. Paul, who was only learned among the apostles, had his pen most used in the Scriptures of the New Testament.

So again, we find that many of the ancient bishops and fathers of the Church were excellently read and studied in all the learning of the heathen ; insomuch, that the edict of the emperor Julianus, whereby it was interdicted unto Christians to be admitted into schools, lectures, or exercises of learning, was esteemed and accounted a more pernicious engine and machination against the Christian faith, than were all the sanguinary prosecutions of his predecessors ; neither could the emulation and jealousy of Gregory, the first of that name, bishop of Rome, ever obtain the opinion of piety or devotion ; but contrariwise received the censure of humour, malignity, and pusillanimity, even amongst holy men ; in that he designed to obliterate and extinguish the memory of heathen antiquity and authors. But contrariwise it was the Christian Church, which, amidst the inundations of the Scythians on the one side from the north-west, and the Saracens from the east, did preserve, in the sacred lap and bosom thereof, the precious relics even of heathen learning, which otherwise had been extinguished, as if no such thing had ever been.

And we see before our eyes, that in the age of ourselves and our fathers, when it pleased God to call the Church of Rome to account for their degenerate manners and ceremonies, and sundry doctrines obnoxious, and framed to uphold the same abuses : at one and the same time it was ordained by the divine providence, that there should attend withal a renovation, and new spring of all other knowledges : and, on the other side, we see the Jesuits, who partly in themselves, and partly by the emulation and provocation of their example, have much quickened and strengthened the state of learning ; we see, I say, what notable service and reparation they have done to the Roman see.

Wherefore, to conclude this part, let it be observed, that there be two principal duties and services, besides ornament and illustration, which philosophy and human learning do perform to faith and religion. The one, because they are an effectual inducement to the exaltation of the Glory of God. For as the Psalms and other Scriptures do often invite us to consider, and magnify the great and wonderful works of God : so if we should rest only in the contemplation of the exterior of them, as they first offer themselves to our senses, we should do a like injury unto the Majesty of God, as if we should judge or construe of the store of some excellent jeweller, by that only which is set out towards the street in his shop. The other, because they minister a singular help and preservative against unbelief and error ; for our Saviour saith, " You err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God ;" laying before us two books or volumes to study, if we will be secured from error ; first, the Scriptures, revealing the will of God ; and then the creatures, expressing His power ; whereof the latter is a key unto the former : not only opening our understanding to conceive the true sense of the Scriptures, by the general notions of reason and rules of speech ; but chiefly opening

our belief, in drawing us into a due meditation of the omnipotency of God, which is chiefly signed and engraven upon His works. Thus much therefore for divine testimony and evidence, concerning the true dignity and value of learning.

As for human proofs, it is so large a field, as, in a discourse of this nature and brevity, it is fit rather to use choice of those things which we shall produce, than to embrace the variety of them. First, therefore, in the degrees of human honour amongst the heathen, it was the highest, to obtain to a veneration and adoration as a God. This unto the Christians is as the forbidden fruit. But we speak now separately of human testimony; according to which, that which the Grecians call "apotheosis," and the Latins, "*relatio inter divos*," was the supreme honour which man could attribute unto man; especially when it was given, not by a formal decree or act of state, as it was used among the Roman Emperors, but by an inward assent and belief. Which honour being so high had also a degree or middle term; for there were reckoned above human honours, honours heroic and divine: in the attribution and distribution of which honours, we see antiquity made this difference: that whereas founders and uniters of states and cities, lawgivers, extirpers of tyrants, fathers of the people, and other eminent persons in civil merit, were honoured but with the titles of worthies or demigods, such as were Hercules, Theseus, Minos, Romulus, and the like: on the other side, such as were inventors and authors of new arts, endowments and commodities towards man's life, were ever consecrated amongst the gods themselves: as were Ceres, Bacchus, Mercurius, Apollo, and others; and justly: for the merit of the former is confined within the circle of an age or a nation; and is like fruitful showers, which though they be profitable and good, yet serve but for that season, and for a latitude of ground where they fall; but the other is indeed like the benefits of heaven, which are permanent and universal. The former, again, is mixed with strife and perturbation; but the latter hath the true character of divine presence, coming in *aura leni*, without noise or agitation.

Neither is certainly that other merit of learning, in repressing the inconveniencies which grow from man to man, much inferior to the former, of relieving the necessities which arise from nature; which merit was lively set forth by the ancients in that feigned relation of Orpheus's theatre, where all beasts and birds assembled, and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp; the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature: wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit, of lust, of revenge; which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or that sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion.

But this appeareth more manifestly, when kings themselves, or persons of authority under them, or other governors in commonwealths

and popular estates, are endued with learning. For although he might be thought partial to his own profession, that said, "Then should people and estates be happy, when either kings were philosophers, or philosophers kings;" yet so much is verified by experience, that under wise and learned princes and governors there have been ever the best times: for howsoever kings may have their imperfections in their passions and customs; yet if they be illuminate by learning, they have those notions of religion, policy, and morality, which do preserve them; and refrain them from all ruinous and peremptory errors and excesses, whispering evermore in their ears, when counsellors and servants stand mute and silent. And senators, or counsellors likewise, which be learned, do proceed upon more safe and substantial principles, than counsellors which are only men of experience; the one sort keeping dangers afar off, whereas the other them discover not till they come near hand, and then trust to the agility of their wit to ward or avoid them.

Which felicity of times under learned princes, to keep still the law of brevity, by using the most eminent and selected examples, doth best appear in the age which passed from the death of Domitianus the emperor, until the reign of Commodus: comprehending a succession of six princes, all learned, or singular favourers and advancers of learning; which age, for temporal respects, was the most happy and flourishing that ever the Roman empire, which then was a model of the world, enjoyed; a matter revealed and prefigured unto Domitian in a dream the night before he was slain; for he thought there was grown behind upon his shoulders a neck and a head of gold: which came accordingly to pass in those golden times which succeeded; of which princes we will make some commemoration: wherein although the matter will be vulgar, and may be thought fitter for a declamation, than agreeable to a treatise enfolded as this is; yet because it is pertinent to the point in hand, "*neque semper arcum tendit Apollo,*" and to name them only were too naked and cursory, I will not omit it altogether.

The first was Nerva, the excellent temper of whose government, is by a glance in Cornelius Tacitus touched to the life: "*Postquam divus Nerva res olim insociabiles miscuisset, imperium et libertatem.*" And in token of his learning, the last act of his short reign, left to memory, was a missive to his adopted son Trajan, proceeding upon some inward discontent at the ingratitude of the times, comprehended in a verse of Homer's.

Telis Phæbe, tuis lacrymas ulciscere nostras.

Trajan, who succeeded, was for his person not learned: but if we will hearken to the speech of our Saviour, that saith, "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall have a prophet's reward," he deserveth to be placed amongst the most learned princes; for there was not a greater admirer of learning, or benefactor of learning; a founder of famous libraries, a perpetual advancer of learned men to office, and a familiar converser with learned professors and preceptors, who were noted to have then most credit in court. On the other side, how much Trajan's virtue and government was admired

and renowned, surely no testimony of grave and faithful history doth more lively set forth, than that legend tale of Gregorius Magnus, bishop of Rome, who was noted for the extreme envy he bore towards all heathen excellency; and yet he is reported, out of the love and estimation of Trajan's moral virtues, to have made unto God passionate and fervent prayers for the delivery of his soul out of hell; and to have obtained it, with a caveat, that he should make no more such petitions. In this prince's time also, the persecutions against the Christians received intermission, upon the certificate of Plinius Secundus, a man of excellent learning, and by Trajan advanced.

Adrian, his successor, was the most curious¹ man that lived, and the most universal inquirer; insomuch as it was noted for an error in his mind, that he desired to comprehend all things, and not to reserve himself for the worthiest things; falling into the like humour that was long before noted in Philip of Macedon, who, when he would needs over-rule and put down an excellent musician, in an argument touching music, was well answered by him again, "God forbid, Sir," saith he, "that your fortune should be so bad, as to know these things better than I." It pleased God likewise to use the curiosity of this emperor, as an inducement to the peace of his Church in those days. For having Christ in veneration, not as a God or Saviour, but as a wonder or novelty; and having His picture in his gallery, matched with Apollonius,² with whom, in his vain imagination, he thought He had some conformity, yet it served the turn to allay the bitter hatred of those times against the Christian name, so as the Church had peace during his time. And for his government civil, although he did not attain to that of Trajan's, in the glory of arms, or perfection of justice; yet in deserving of the weal of the subject he did exceed him. For Trajan erected many famous monuments and buildings, insomuch as Constantine the Great in emulation was wont to call him "*Parietaria*," wall-flower, because his name was upon so many walls: but his buildings and works were more of glory and triumph than use and necessity. But Adrian spent his whole reign, which was peaceable, in a perambulation, or survey of the Roman empire, giving order, and making assignation where he went, for re-edifying of cities, towns, and forts decayed, and for cutting of rivers and streams, and for making bridges and passages, and for policing of cities and commonalties with new ordinances and constitutions, and granting new franchises and incorporations; so that his whole time was a very restauration of all the lapses and decays of former times.

Antoninus Pius, who succeeded him, was a prince excellently learned; and had the patient and subtle wit of a schoolman; insomuch as in common speech, which leaves no virtue untaxed, he was called "*Cymini sector*," a carver, or a divider of cumin seed, which is one of the least seeds; such a patience he had and settled spirit, to enter into the least and most exact difference of causes, a fruit no doubt of the exceeding tranquillity and serenity of his mind; which being no ways charged or encumbered, either with fears, remorse, or scruples, but having been noted for a man of the purest goodness,

¹ Nicely diligent; enquiring.

² See p. 47, last note.

without all fiction or affectation, that hath reigned or lived, made his mind continually present and entire. He likewise approached a degree nearer unto Christianity, and became, as Agrippa said unto St. Paul, "half a Christian;" holding their religion and law in good opinion, and not only ceasing persecution, but giving way to the advancement of Christians.

There succeeded him the first *divi fratres*, the two adoptive brethren, Lucius Commodus Verus, son to Ælius Verus, who delighted much in the softer kind of learning, and was wont to call the poet Martial his Virgil: and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whereof the latter, who obscured his colleague, and survived him long, was named the philosopher; who, as he excelled all the rest in learning, so he excelled them likewise in perfection of all royal virtues; insomuch as Julianus the emperor, in his book, intitled "Cæsares," being as a pasquil¹ or satire to deride all his predecessors, feigned, that they were all invited to a banquet of the gods, and Silenus the jester sat at the nether end of the table, and bestowed a scoff on every one as they came in; but when Marcus Philosophus came in, Silenus was gravelled, and out of countenance, not knowing where to carp at him, save at the last he gave a glance at his patience towards his wife. And the virtue of this prince, continued with that of his predecessor, made the name of Antoninus so sacred in the world, that though it were extremely dishonoured in Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus, who all bore the name; yet when Alexander Severus refused the name, because he was a stranger to the family, the Senate with one acclamation said, "*Quo modo Augustus, sic et Antoninus.*" In such renown and veneration was the name of these two princes in those days, that they would have had it as a perpetual addition in all the emperors' style. In this emperor's time also, the Church for the most part was in peace; so as in this sequence of six princes, we do see the blessed effects of learning in sovereignty, painted forth in the greatest table of the world.

But for a tablet, or picture of smaller volume,—not presuming to speak of your majesty that liveth,—in my judgment, the most excellent is that of Queen Elizabeth, your immediate predecessor in this part of Britain; a princess that if Plutarch were now alive to write lives by parallels, would trouble him, I think to find for her a parallel amongst won.en. This lady was endued with learning in her sex singular, and rare even amongst masculine princes; whether we speak of learning of language, or of science, modern or ancient, divinity or humanity: and unto the very last year of her life, she accustomed to appoint set hours for reading; scarcely any young student in an university, more daily, or more dully. As for her government, I assure myself, I shall not exceed, if I do affirm, that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regiment.

For if there be considered, of the one side, the truth of religion established; the constant peace and security; the good administration of justice; the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened, nor

¹ A coarse satire: the name taken from the statue called Pasquil, which stood in Rome, on which were affixed in the night satirical and scurrilous remarks on persons and public occurrences.

much strained: the flourishing state of learning, sortable to so excellent a patroness; the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of crown and subject; the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered, on the other side, the differences of religion, the troubles of neighbour countries, the ambition of Spain, and opposition of Rome: and then, that she was solitary, and of herself: these things, I say, considered, as I could not have chosen an instance so recent and so proper, so, I suppose, I could not have chosen one more remarkable, or eminent, to the purpose now in hand, which is concerning the conjunction of learning in the prince, with felicity in the people.

Neither hath learning an influence and operation only upon civil merit and moral virtue, and the arts or temperature of peace and peaceable government; but likewise it hath no less power and efficacy in enablement towards martial and military virtue and prowess; as may be notably represented in the examples of Alexander the Great, and Cæsar the dictator, mentioned before, but now in fit place to be resumed; of whose virtues and acts in war there needs no note or recital, having been the wonders of time in that kind: but of their affections towards learning, and perfections in learning, it is pertinent to say somewhat.

Alexander was bred and taught under Aristotle the great philosopher, who dedicated divers of his books of philosophy unto him: he was attended by Callisthenes, and divers other learned persons, that followed him in camp, throughout his journeys and conquests. What price and estimation he had learning in, doth notably appear in these three particulars: first, in the envy he used to express that he bore towards Achilles, in this, that he had so good a trumpet of his praises as Homer's verses: secondly, in the judgment or solution he gave touching that precious cabinet of Darius, which was found amongst his jewels, whereof question was made as to what thing was worthy to be put into it, and he gave his opinion for Homer's works: thirdly, in his letter to Aristotle, after he had set forth his books of nature, wherein he expostulateth with him for publishing the secrets or mysteries of philosophy, and gave him to understand that himself esteemed it more to excel other men in learning and knowledge, than in power and empire. And what use he had of learning doth appear, or rather shine, in all his speeches and answers, being full of science and use of science, and that in all variety.

And here again it may seem a thing scholastical, and somewhat idle, to recite things that every man knoweth; but yet, since the argument I handle leadeth me thereunto, I am glad that men shall perceive I am as willing to flatter, if they will so call it, an Alexander, or a Cæsar, or an Antoninus, that are dead many hundred years since, as any that now liveth: for it is the displaying of the glory of learning in sovereignty that I propound to myself, and not an humour of declaiming any man's praises. Observe then the speech he used of Diogenes, and see if it tend not to the true estate of one of the greatest questions of moral philosophy; whether the enjoying of outward things, or the contemning of them, be the greatest happiness: for when he saw Diogenes so perfectly contented with so little, he said to those that

mocked at his condition ; “ Were I not Alexander, I would wish to be Diogenes.” But Seneca inverteth it, and saith : “ *Plus erat, quod hi nollet accipere, quam quod ille posset dare.*” “ There were more things which Diogenes would have refused, than those were which Alexander could have given or enjoyed.”

Observe again that speech which was usual with him, “ That he felt his mortality chiefly in two things, sleep and lust ;” and see if it were not a speech extracted out of the depth of natural philosophy, and liker to have come out of the mouth of Aristotle or Democritus, than from Alexander.

See again that speech of humanity and poesy ; when upon the bleeding of his wounds, he called unto him one of his flatterers, that was wont to ascribe to him divine honour, and said, “ Look, this is very blood ; this is not such liquor as Homer speaketh of, which ran from Venus’s hand, when it was pierced by Diomedes.”

See likewise his readiness in reprehension of logic in the speech he used to Cassander, upon a complaint that was made against his father Antipater : for when Alexander happened to say, “ Do you think these men would have come from so far to complain, except they had just cause of grief ?” And Cassander answered, “ Yea, that was the matter, because they thought they should not be disproved.” Said Alexander laughing : “ See the subtilities of Aristotle, to take a matter both ways, *pro et contra,*” etc.

But note again how well he could use the same art, which he reprehended, to serve his own humour, when bearing a secret grudge to Callisthenes, because he was against the new ceremony of his adoration. Feasting one night, where the same Callisthenes was at the table, it was moved by some, after supper, for entertainment sake, that Callisthenes, who was an eloquent man, might speak of some theme or purpose at his own choice : which Callisthenes did ; choosing the praise of the Macedonian nation for his discourse, and performing the same with so good manner, as the hearers were much ravished : whereupon Alexander, nothing pleased, said, “ It was easy to be eloquent upon so good a subject. But,” saith he, “ turn your style, and let us hear what you can say against us :” which Callisthenes presently undertook, and did with that sting and life, that Alexander interrupted him, and said, “ The goodness of the cause made him eloquent before, and despite made him eloquent then again.”

Consider farther, for tropes of rhetoric, that excellent use of a metaphor or translation, wherewith he taxed Antipater, who was an imperious and tyrannous governor : for when one of Antipater’s friends commended him to Alexander for his moderation, that he did not degenerate, as his other lieutenants did, into the Persian pride in use of purple, but kept the ancient habit of Macedon, of black : “ True,” saith Alexander, “ but Antipater is all purple within.” Or that other when Parmenio came to him in the plain of Arbela, and showed him the innumerable multitude of his enemies, especially as they appeared by the infinite number of lights, as it had been a new firmament of stars, and thereupon advised him to assail them by night : whereupon he answered that he would not steal the victory.

For matter of policy, weigh that significant distinction, so much in

all ages embraced, that he made between his two friends, Hephæstion and Craterus, when he said, "That the one loved Alexander, and the other loved the king:" describing the principal difference of princes' best servants, that some in affection love their person, and others in duty love their crown.

Weigh also that excellent taxation of an error ordinary with counsellors of princes, that they counsel their masters according to the model of their own mind and fortune, and not of their masters; when, upon Darius's great offers, Parmenio had said, "Surely I would accept these offers, were I as Alexander;" saith Alexander, "So would I, were I as Parmenio."

Lastly, weigh that quick and acute reply, which he made when he gave so large gifts to his friends and servants, and was asked what he did reserve for himself, and he answered, "Hope:" weigh, I say, whether he had not cast up his account right, because hope must be the portion of all that resolve upon great enterprises. For this was Cæsar's portion when he went first into Gaul, his estate being then utterly overthrown with iargesses. And this was likewise the portion of that noble prince, howsoever transported with ambition, Henry Duke of Guise, of whom it was usually said, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations.

To conclude therefore: as certain critics are used to say hyperbolically, "That if all sciences were lost, they might be found in Virgil;" so certainly this may be said truly, there are the prints and footsteps of all learning in those few speeches which are reported of this prince: the admiration of whom, when I consider him not as Alexander the Great, but as Aristotle's scholar, hath carried me too far.

As for Julius Cæsar, the excellency of his learning needeth not to be argued from his education, or his company, or his speeches; but in a farther degree doth declare itself in his writings and works; whereof some are extant and permanent, and some unfortunately perished. For, first we see, there is left unto us that excellent history of his own wars, which he intitled only a commentary, wherein all succeeding times have admired the solid weight of matter, and the real passages, and lively images of actions and persons, expressed in the greatest propriety of words and perspicuity of narration that ever was; which that it was not the effect of a natural gift, but of learning and precept, is well witnessed by that work of his, intitled "De Analogia," being a grammatical philosophy, wherein he did labour to make this same *vox ad placitum* to become *vox ad licitum*, and to reduce custom of speech to congruity of speech; and took, as it were, the picture of words from the life of reason.

So we receive from him, as a monument both of his power and learning, the then reformed computation of the year; well expressing that he took it to be as great a glory to himself to observe and know the law of the heavens, as to give law to men upon the earth.

So likewise in that book of his, "Anti-Cato," it may easily appear that he did aspire as well to victory of wit as victory of war; undertaking therein a conflict against the greatest champion with the pen that then lived, Cicero the orator.

So again in his book of "Aphorisms," which he collected, we

see that he esteemed it more honour to make himself but a pair of tables,¹ to take the wise and pithy words of others, than to have every word of his own to be made an apophthegm, or an oracle; as vain princes, by custom of flattery, pretend to do. And yet if I should enumerate divers of his speeches, as I did those of Alexander, they are truly such as Solomon noted, when he saith, "*Verba sapientum tanquam aculei, et tanquam clavi in altum defixi.*" whereof I will only recite three, not so delectable for elegancy, but admirable for vigour and efficacy.

As first, it is reason he be thought a master of words, that could with one word appease a mutiny in his army, which was thus: The Romans, when their generals did speak to their army, did use the word *Milites*, but when the magistrates spake to the people, they did use the word *Quirites*. The soldiers were in tumult, and seditiously prayed to be cashiered; not that they so meant, but by expostulation thereof to draw Cæsar to other conditions; wherein he being resolute not to give way, after some silence, he began his speech, "*Ego, Quirites:*" which did admit them already cashiered: wherewith they were so surprised, crossed, and confused, as they would not suffer him to go on in his speech, but relinquished their demands, and made it their suit, to be again called by the name of "*Milites.*"

The second speech was thus: Cæsar did extremely affect the name of king; and some were set on, as he passed by, in popular acclamation to salute him king; whereupon, finding the cry weak and poor, he put it off thus, in a kind of jest, as if they had mistaken his surname; "*Non rex sum, sed Cæsar;*" a speech, that if it be searched, the life and fullness of it can scarce be expressed: for first, it was a refusal of the name, but yet not serious: again, it did signify an infinite confidence and magnanimity, as if he presumed Cæsar was the greater title, as by his worthiness it is come to pass till this day: but chiefly, it was a speech of great allurements towards his own purpose; as if the state did strive with him but for a name, whereof mean families were vested; for Rex was a surname with the Romans, as well as King is with us.

The last speech which I will mention was used to Metellus; when Cæsar, after war declared, did possess himself of the city of Rome, at which time entering into the inner treasury to take the money there accumulated, Metellus, being tribune, forbade him: whereto Cæsar said, "That if he did not desist, he would lay him dead in the place." And presently taking himself up, he added, "Young man, it is harder for me to speak it, than to do it;" "*Adolescens, durius est mihi hoc dicere, quam facere.*" A speech compounded of the greatest terror and greatest clemency that could proceed out of the mouth of man.

But to return, and conclude with him; it is evident, himself knew well his own perfection in learning, and took it upon him: as appeared, when, upon occasion that some spake, what a strange resolution it was in Lucius Sylla to resign his dictature; he scoffing at him, to his own advantage, answered, "That Sylla could not skill of letters, and therefore knew not how to dictate."

¹ Tablets of wax or ivory.

And here it were fit to leave this point, touching the concurrence of military virtue and learning, for what example should come with any grace, after those two of Alexander and Cæsar, were it not in regard of the rareness of circumstance, that I find in one other particular, as that which did so suddenly pass from extreme scorn to extreme wonder; and it is of Xenophon the philosopher, who went from Socrates's school into Asia, in the expedition of Cyrus the younger, against king Artaxerxes. This Xenophon at that time was very young, and never had seen the wars before; neither had any command in the army, but only followed the war as a voluntary, for the love and conversation of Proxenus his friend. He was present when Falinus came in message from the great king¹ to the Grecians, after that Cyrus was slain in the field, and they a handful of men left to themselves in the midst of the king's territories, cut off from their country by many navigable rivers, and many hundred miles. The message imported that they should deliver up their arms, and submit themselves to the king's mercy. To which message, before answer was made, divers of the army conferred familiarly with Falinus: and amongst the rest Xenophon happened to say, "Why, Falinus, we have now but these two things left, our arms and our virtue; and if we yield up our arms, how shall we make use of our virtue?" Whereto Falinus, smiling on him, said, "If I be not deceived, young gentleman, you are an Athenian, and, I believe you study philosophy, and it is pretty that you say; but you are much abused, if you think your virtue can withstand the king's power." Here was the scorn: the wonder followed; which was, that this young scholar, or philosopher, after all the captains were murdered in parley by treason, conducted those ten thousand foot, through the heart of all the king's high countries, from Babylon to Græcia in safety, in despite of all the king's forces, to the astonishment of the world, and the encouragement of the Grecians in time succeeding to make invasion upon the kings of Persia; as was after purposed by Jason the Thessalian, attempted by Agesilaus the Spartan, and achieved by Alexander the Macedonian, all upon the ground of the act of that young scholar.

To proceed now from imperial and military virtue to moral and private virtue; first, it is an assured truth, which is contained in the verses;

*Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*

It taketh away the wildness, and barbarism, and fierceness of men's minds; but indeed the accent had need be upon *fideliter*; for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect. It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolency, by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the mind, and to accept of nothing but examined and tried. It taketh away vain admiration of anything, which is the root of all weakness: for all things are admired, either because they are new, or because they are

¹ The usual Greek term for the King of Persia.

great. For novelty, no man that wadeth in learning or contemplation thoroughly, but will find that printed in his heart, "*Nil novi super terram.*" Neither can any man marvel at the play of puppets, that goeth behind the curtain, and adviseth well of the motion. And for magnitude, as Alexander the Great, after he was used to great armies, and the conquests of the spacious provinces in Asia, when he received letters out of Greece, of some fights and services there, which were commonly for a passage, or a fort, or some walled town at the most, he said, "It seemed to him, that he was advertised of the battle of the frogs and the mice, that the old tales went of." So certainly, if a man meditate upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it, the divineness of souls excepted, will not seem much other than an ant-hill, where some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust. It taketh away or mitigateth fear of death, or adverse fortune; which is one of the greatest impediments of virtue, and imperfections of manners. For if a man's mind be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortality and corruptible nature of things, he will easily concur with Epictetus,¹ who went forth one day, and saw a woman weeping for her pitcher of earth that was broken; and went forth the next day, and saw a woman weeping for her son that was dead; and thereupon said, "*Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori.*" And therefore did Virgil excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes, and the conquest of all fears together, as concomitantia:

*Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.*

It were too long to go over the particular remedies which learning doth minister to all the diseases of the mind, sometimes purging the ill humours, sometimes opening the obstructions, sometimes helping digestion, sometimes increasing appetite, sometimes healing the wounds and exulcerations thereof, and the like; and therefore I will conclude with that which hath "*rationem totius,*" which is, that it disposeth the constitution of the mind not to be fixed or settled in the defects thereof, but still to be capable and susceptible of growth and reformation. For the unlearned man knows not what it is to descend into himself, or to call himself to account; nor the pleasure of that "*suavissima vita, indies sentire se fieri meliorem.*" The good parts he hath, he will learn to show to the full, and use them dexterously, but not much to increase them; the faults he hath, he will learn to hide and colour them, but not much to amend them: like an ill mower, that mows on still, and never whets his scythe. Whereas, with the learned man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever intermix the correction and amendment of his mind with the use and employment thereof. Nay, farther, in general and in sum, certain it is, that *veritas* and *bonitas* differ but as the seal and the print: for truth prints goodness; and they be the clouds of error, which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations.

¹ One of the best and wisest of the Stoic philosophers. The "*Enchiridion*" was compiled from his lectures. It was translated by Elizabeth Carter.

From moral virtue let us pass on to matter of power and commandment, and consider whether in right reason there be any comparable with that, wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man's nature. We see the dignity of the commandment is according to the dignity of the commanded: to have commandment over beasts, as herdmen have, is a thing contemptible; to have commandment over children, as schoolmasters have, is a matter of small honour; to have commandment over galley-slaves, is a disparagement, rather than an honour. Neither is the commandment of tyrants much better, over people which have put off the generosity of their minds: and therefore it was ever holden, that honours in free monarchies and commonwealths had a sweetness more than in tyrannies, because the commandment extendeth more over the wills of men, and not only over their deeds and services. And therefore when Virgil putteth himself forth to attribute to Augustus Cæsar the best of human honours, he doth it in these words:

————— *victorque volentes*
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo.

But the commandment of knowledge is yet higher than the commandment over the will; for it is a commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of man, which is the highest part of the mind, and giveth law to the will itself: for there is no power on earth, which setteth up a throne, or chair of state, in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but knowledge and learning. And therefore we see the detestable and extreme pleasure that arch-heretics and false prophets are transported with when they once find in themselves that they have a superiority in the faith and conscience of men; so great, as, if they have once tasted of it, it is seldom seen that any torture or persecution can make them relinquish or abandon it. But as this is that which the author of the "Revelation" calleth "the depth," or profoundness, "of Satan;" so, by argument of contraries, the just and lawful sovereignty over men's understanding, by force of truth rightly interpreted, is that which approacheth nearest to the similitude of the divine rule.

As for fortune and advancement, the beneficence of learning is not so confined to give fortune only to states and commonwealths, as it doth not likewise give fortune to particular persons. For it was well noted long ago, that Homer hath given more men their livings, than either Sylla, or Cæsar, or Augustus ever did, notwithstanding their great largesses and donatives, and distributions of lands to so many legions; and no doubt it is hard to say, whether arms or learning have advanced greater numbers. And in case of sovereignty we see, that if arms or descent have carried away the kingdom, yet learning hath carried the priesthood, which ever hath been in some competition with empire.

Again, for the pleasure and delight of knowledge and learning, it far surpasseth all other in nature; for shall the pleasures of the affections so exceed the pleasures of the senses, as much as the obtaining of desire or victory exceedeth a song or a dinner? and must not, of

consequence, the pleasures of the intellect, or understanding, exceed the pleasures of the affections? We see in all other pleasures there is a satiety, and after they be used, their verdure departeth; which showeth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures; and that it was the novelty which pleased, and not the quality; and therefore we see that voluptuous men turn friars, and ambitious princes turn melancholy.¹ But of knowledge there is no satiety. but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident. Neither is that pleasure of small efficacy and contentment to the mind of man, which the poet Lucretius describeth elegantly:

Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis, etc.

“It is a view of delight,” saith he, “to stand or walk upon the shore side, and to see a ship tossed with tempest upon the sea; or to be in a fortified tower, and to see two battles join upon a plain; but it is a pleasure incomparable for the mind of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of truth, and from thence to descry and behold the errors, perturbations, labours, and wanderings up and down of other men.”²

Lastly, leaving the vulgar arguments that by learning man excelleth man in that wherein man excelleth beasts; that by learning man ascendeth to the heavens and their motions, where in body he cannot come, and the like: let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is, immortality or continuance: for to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses and families; to this tend buildings, foundations, and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration, and in effect the strength of all other human desires. We see then how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power, or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years, or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time, infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and demolished? It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar; no, nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but lose of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the mind of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages: so that if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits; how much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other? Nay,

¹ As in the instance of Charles V. of Germany.

² See Essay on Truth.

farther, we see, some of the philosophers which were least divine, and most immersed in the senses, and denied generally the immortality of the soul ; yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions the spirit of man could act and perform without the organs of the body, they thought might remain after death, which were only those of the understanding, and not of the affections ; so immortal and incorruptible a thing did knowledge seem unto them to be. But we, that know by divine revelation, that not only the understanding, but the affections purified ; not only the spirit, but the body changed, shall be advanced to immortality, do disclaim in these rudiments of the senses. But it must be remembered both in this last point, and so it may likewise be needful in other places, that in probation of the dignity of knowledge or learning, I did in the beginning separate divine testimony from human, which method I have pursued, and so handled them both apart.

Nevertheless I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment, either of Æsop's cock, that preferred the barley-corn before the gem ; or of Midas, that being chosen judge between Apollo, president of the muses, and Pan, god of the flocks, judged for plenty ; or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love, against wisdom and power ; or of Agrippina, "*Occidat matrem, modo imperet,*" that preferred empire with any condition never so detestable ; or of Ulysses, "*qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati,*" being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency ; or of a number of the like popular judgments. For these things must continue as they have been ; but so will that also continue, whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not : "*Justificata est Sapientia a filiis suis.*"¹

BOOK II.

IT might seem to have more convenience, though it come often otherwise to pass, excellent king, that those which are fruitful in their generations, and have in themselves the foresight of immortality in their descendants, should likewise be more careful of the good estate of future times, unto which, they know, they must transmit and commend their dearest pledges. Queen Elizabeth was a sojourner in the world, in respect of her unmarried life, and was a blessing to her own times ; and yet so as the impression of her good government, besides her happy memory, is not without some effect which doth survive her. But to your majesty, whom God hath already blessed with so much royal issue,² worthy to continue and represent you for ever ; and whose youthful and fruitful bed doth yet promise many the like renovations ; it is proper and agreeable to be conversant, not only in the transitory parts of good government, but in those acts also which are in their nature permanent and perpetual : amongst the which, if affection do

¹ St. Matthew xi. 19 : St. Luke vii. 35.

² Henry, Elizabeth, and Charles.

not transport me, there is not any more worthy than the farther endowment of the world with sound and fruitful knowledge. For why should a few received authors stand up like Hercules's columns; beyond which there should be no sailing or discovering, since we have so bright and benign a star as your majesty, to conduct and prosper us? To return therefore where we left, it remaineth to consider of what kind those acts are, which have been undertaken and performed by kings and others, for the increase and advancement of learning, wherein I purpose to speak actively, without digressing or dilating.

Let this ground therefore be laid, that all works are overcome by amplitude of reward, by soundness of direction, and by the conjunction of labours. The first multiplieth endeavour, the second preventeth error, and the third supplieth the frailty of man; but the principal of these is direction: for "*claudus in via antevertit cursorem extra viam*;" and Solomon excellently setteth it down, "If the iron be not sharp, it requireth more strength; but wisdom is that which prevailleth:" signifying, that the invention or election of the mean is more effectual than any inforcement or accumulation of endeavours. This I am induced to speak, for that, not derogating from the noble intention of any that have been deserveth towards the state of learning, I do observe, nevertheless, that their works and acts are rather matters of magnificence and memory, than of progression and proficience, and tend rather to augment the mass of learning, in the multitude of learned men, than to rectify or raise the sciences themselves.

The works or acts of merit towards learning are conversant about three objects: the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. For as water, whether it be the dew of heaven, or the springs of the earth, doth scatter and lose itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle, where it may by union comfort and sustain itself; and for that cause the industry of man hath made and framed spring-heads, conduits, cisterns, and pools, which men have accustomed likewise to beautify and adorn with accomplishments of magnificence and state, as well as of use and necessity; so this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish to oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed; as universities, colleges, and schools, for the receipt and comforting of the same.

The works which concern the seats and places of learning are four: foundations and buildings, endowments with revenues, endowments with franchises and privileges, institutions and ordinances for government; all tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles; much like the stations which Virgil prescribeth for the hiving of bees;

*Principio sedes apibus statioque petenda,
Quo neque sit ventis aditus, etc.*

The works touching books are two: first, libraries, which are as the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed:

secondly, new editions of authors, with more correct impressions, more faithful translations, more profitable glosses, more diligent annotations, and the like.

The works pertaining to the persons of learned men, besides the advancement and countenancing of them in general, are two: the reward and designation of readers in sciences already extant and invented; and the reward and designation of writers and inquirers concerning any parts of learning not sufficiently laboured and prosecuted.

These are summarily the works and acts, wherein the merits of many excellent princes and other worthy personages have been conversant. As for any particular commemorations, I call to mind what Cicero said, when he gave the general thanks: "*Difficile non aliquem, ingratum quenuquam præterire.*" Let us rather, according to the Scriptures, look unto the part of the race which is before us, than look back to that which is already attained.

First therefore, amongst so many great foundations of colleges in Europe, I find strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: so if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not anything you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it. Neither is it to be forgotten, that this dedicating of foundations and dotations to professory learning, hath not only had a malign aspect and influence upon the growth of sciences, but hath also been prejudicial to states and governments. For hence it proceedeth that princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of estate, because there is no education collegiate which is free, where such as were so disposed might give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of state.

And because founders of colleges do plant, and founders of lectures do water, it followeth well in order, to speak of the defect which is in public lectures; namely, in the smallness and meanness of the salary or reward, which in most places is assigned unto them; whether they be lectures of arts or of professions. For it is necessary to the progression of sciences, that readers be of the most able and sufficient men, as those which are ordained for generating and propagating of sciences, and not for transitory use. This cannot be, except their condition and endowment be such as may content the ablest man to appropriate his whole labour, and continue his whole age in that

function and attendance, and therefore must have a proportion answerable to that mediocrity or competency of advancement, which may be expected from a profession, or the practice of a profession. So as, if you will have sciences flourish, you must observe David's military law, which was, "That those which stayed with: the carriage should have equal part with those which were in the action ;" else will the carriages be ill attended. So readers in sciences are indeed the guardians of the stores and provisions of sciences, whence men in active courses are furnished, and therefore ought to have equal entertainment with them ; otherwise if the fathers in sciences be of the weakest sort, or be ill-maintained,

Et patrum invalidi referent jejunia nati.

Another defect I note, wherein I shall need some alchemist to help me, who call upon men to sell their books, and to build furnaces, quitting and forsaking Minerva and the Muses as barren virgins, and relying upon Vulcan. But certain it is, that unto the deep, fruitful, and operative study of many sciences, especially natural philosophy and physic, books be not only the instrumentals wherein also the beneficence of men hath not been altogether wanting: for we see spheres, globes, astrolabes, maps, and the like, have been provided as appurtenances to astronomy and cosmography, as well as books ; we see likewise, that some places instituted for physic have annexed the commodity of gardens for simples of all sorts, and do likewise command the use of dead bodies for anatomies. But these do respect but a few things. In general, there will hardly be any main proficience in the disclosing of nature, except there be some allowance for expenses about experiments ; whether they be experiments appertaining to Vulcanus or Dædalus, furnace or engine, or any other kind ; and therefore as secretaries and spials of princes and states bring in bills for intelligence, so you must allow the spials and intelligencers of nature to bring in their bills, or else you shall be ill advertised.

And if Alexander made such a liberal assignation to Aristotle of treasure for the allowance of hunters, fowlers, fishers, and the like, that he might compile an history of nature, much better do they deserve it that travail in arts of nature.

Another defect which I note, is an intermission or neglect, in those which are governors in universities, of consultation ; and in princes, or superior persons, of visitation : to enter into account and consideration, whether the readings, exercises, and other customs, appertaining unto learning, anciently begun, and since continued, be well instituted or no, and thereupon to ground an amendment or reformation in that which shall be found inconvenient. For it is one of your majesty's own most wise and princely maxims, "That in all usages and precedents, the times be considered wherein they first began, which if they were weak or ignorant, it derogateth from the authority of the usage, and leaveth it for suspect." And therefore inasmuch as most of the usages and orders of the universities were derived from more obscure times, it is the more requisite they be re-examined. In this kind I will give an instance or two, for example's sake, of things that are the most obvious and familiar : the one is a matter, which though it be

ancient and general, yet I hold to be an error, which is, that scholars in universities come too soon and too unripe to logic and rhetoric, arts fitter for graduates than children and novices ; for these two, rightly taken, are the gravest of sciences, being the arts of arts, the one for judgment, the other for ornament. And they be the rules and directions how to set forth and dispose matter ; and therefore for minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not gathered that which Cicero calleth *sylva* and *supellex*, stuff and variety, to begin with those arts, as if one should learn to weigh, or to measure, or to paint the wind, doth work but this effect, that the wisdom of those arts, which is great and universal, is almost made contemptible, and is degenerate into childish sophistry and ridiculous affectation. And farther, the untimely learning of them hath drawn on, by consequence, the superficial and unprofitable teaching and writing of them, as fitteth indeed to the capacity of children. Another, is a lack I find in the exercises used in the universities, which do make too great a divorce between invention and memory ; for their speeches are either premeditate *in verbis conceptis*, where nothing is left to invention ; or merely extemporal, where little is left to memory ; whereas in life and action there is least use of either of these, but rather of intermixtures of premeditation and invention, notes and memory ; so as the exercise fitteth not the practice, nor the image the life ; and it is ever a true rule in exercises, that they be framed as near as may be to the life of practice, for otherwise they do pervert the motions and faculties of the mind, and not prepare them. The truth whereof is not obscure, when scholars come to the practices of professions, or other actions of civil life, which when they set into, this want is soon found by themselves, and sooner by others. But this part, touching the amendment of the institutions and orders of universities, I will conclude with the clause of Cæsar's letter to Oppius and Balbus, "*Hoc quemadmodum fieri possit, nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt, et multa reperiri possunt : de iis rebus rogo vos, ut cogitationem suscipiatis.*"

Another defect, which I note, ascendeth a little higher than the precedent ; for as the proficiencie of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of universities in the same states and kingdoms, so it would be yet more advanced, if there were more intelligence mutual between the universities of Europe than now there is. We see there be many orders and foundations, which though they be divided under several sovereignties and territories, yet they take themselves to have a kind of contract, fraternity, and correspondence one with another, insomuch as they have provincials and generals. And surely as nature createth brotherhood in families, and arts mechanical contract brotherhoods in commonalties, and the anointment of God superinduceth a brotherhood in kings and bishops : so in like manner there cannot but be a fraternity in learning and illumination, relating to that paternity which is attributed to God, who is called the Father of illuminations or lights.

The last defect which I will note is, that there hath not been, or very rarely been, any public designation of writers or inquirers concerning such parts of knowledge, as may appear not to have been already sufficiently laboured or undertaken : unto which point it is an

inducement to enter into a view and examination what parts of learning have been prosecuted, and what omitted: for the opinion of plenty is amongst the causes of want, and the great quantity of books maketh a show rather of superfluity than lack; which surcharge, nevertheless is not to be remedied by making no more books, but by making more good books, which, as the serpent of Moses, might devour the serpents of the enchanters.

The removing of all the defects formerly enumerated, except the last, and of the active part also of the last, which is the designation of writers, are *opera basilica*; towards which the endeavours of a private man may be but as an image in a cross-way, that may point at the way, but cannot go it. But the inducing part of the latter, which is the survey of learning, may be set forward by private travail: wherefore I will now attempt to make a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste, and not improved and converted by the industry of man; to the end that such a plot, made and recorded to memory, may both minister light to any public designation, and also serve to excite voluntary endeavours: wherein, nevertheless, my purpose is at this time to note only omissions and deficiencies, and not to make any redargution¹ of errors, or incomplete prosecutions: for it is one thing to set forth what ground lieth unmanured, and another thing to correct ill husbandry in that which is manured.

In the handling and undertaking of which work I am not ignorant what it is that I do now move and attempt, nor insensible of mine own weakness to sustain my purpose; but my hope is that if my extreme love to learning carry me too far, I may obtain the excuse of affection; for that "it is not granted to man to love and to be wise." But, I know well, I can use no other liberty of judgment than I must leave to others; and I, for my part, shall be indifferently glad either to perform myself, or to accept from another, that duty of humanity, "*Nam qui erranti comiter monstrat viam,*" etc. I do foresee likewise, that of those things which I shall enter and register, as deficiencies and omissions, many will conceive and censure, that some of them are already done and extant; others to be but curiosities,² and things of no great use; and others to be of too great difficulty, and almost impossibility to be compassed and effected: but for the two first, I refer myself to the particulars; for the last, touching impossibility, I take it, those things are to be held possible, which may be done by some person, though not by every one; and which may be done by many, though not by any one; and which may be done in succession of ages, though not within the hour-glass of one man's life; and which may be done by public designation, though not by private endeavour.

But, notwithstanding, if any man will take to himself rather that of Solomon, "*Dicit piger, Leo est in via,*"³ than that of Virgil, "*Possunt quia posse videntur:*" I shall be content that my labours be esteemed but as the better sort of wishes; for as it asketh some knowledge to

¹ Refutation.

² Things of curious research.

³ Proverbs xxii. 13.

demand a question not impertinent,¹ so it requireth some sense to make a wish not absurd.

THE parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of man's Understanding, which is the seat of learning: History to his Memory, Poesy to his Imagination, and Philosophy to his Reason. Divine learning receiveth the same distribution, for the spirit of man is the same, though the revelation of oracle and sense be diverse: so as theology consisteth also of history of the Church; of parables, which is divine poesy; and of holy doctrine or precept: for as for that part which seemeth supernumerary, which is prophecy, it is but divine history; which hath that prerogative over human, as the narration may be before the fact, as well as after.

HISTORY is *Natural, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary*; whereof the three first I allow as extant, the fourth I denote as deficient. For no man hath propounded to himself the general state of learning to be described and represented from age to age, as many have done the works of nature, and the state civil and ecclesiastical; without which the history of the world seemeth to me to be as the statue of Polyphemus with his eye out, that part being wanting which doth most show the spirit and life of the person: and yet I am not ignorant, that in divers particular sciences, as of the jurisconsults, the mathematicians, the rhetoricians, the philosophers, there are set down some small memorials of the schools, authors, and books; and so likewise some barren relations touching the invention of arts or usages.

But a just story of learning, containing the antiquities and originals of knowledges and their sects, their inventions, their traditions, their divers administrations and managings, their flourishings, their oppositions, decays, depressions, oblivions, removes, with the causes and occasions of them, and all other events concerning learning, throughout the ages of the world, I may truly affirm to be wanting.

The use and end of which work, I do not so much design for curiosity, or satisfaction of those that are lovers of learning, but chiefly for a more serious and grave purpose, which is this in a few words, that it will make learned men wise in the use and administration of learning. For it is not St. Augustine's nor St. Ambrose's works that will make so wise a divine, as ecclesiastical history thoroughly read and observed: and the same reason is of learning.

HISTORY of *Nature* is of three sorts; of nature in course, of nature erring or varying, and of nature altered or wrought; that is, history of creatures, history of marvels, and history of arts.

The first of these, no doubt, is extant, and that in good perfection; the two latter are handled so weakly and unprofitably, as I am moved to note them as deficient.

For I find no sufficient or competent collection of the works of nature, which have a digression and deflexion from the ordinary course of generations, productions, and motions, whether they be singularities of place and region, or the strange events of time and

¹ Unsuitable—inapplicable.

chance, or the effects of yet unknown properties, or the instances of exception to general kinds: it is true, I find a number of books of fabulous experiments and secrets, and frivolous impostures for pleasure and strangeness: but a substantial and severe collection of the heteroclitites, or irregulars of nature, well examined and described, I find not, especially not with due rejection of fables, and popular errors: for as things now are, if an untruth in nature be once on foot, what by reason of the neglect of examination and countenance of antiquity, and what by reason of the use of the opinion in similitudes and ornaments of speech, it is never called down.

The use of this work, honoured with a precedent in Aristotle, is nothing less than to give contentment to the appetite of curious and vain wits, as the manner of mirabilaries is to do; but for two reasons, both of great weight: the one, to correct the partiality of axioms and opinions, which are commonly framed only upon common and familiar examples; the other, because from the wonders of nature is the nearest intelligence and passage towards the wonders of art: for it is no more, but by following, and as it were, hounding nature in her wanderings, to be able to lead her afterwards to the same place again.

Neither am I of opinion, in this history of marvels, that superstitious narrations of sorceries, witchcrafts, dreams, divinations, and the like, where there is an assurance and clear evidence of the fact, be altogether excluded. For it is not yet known in what cases, and how far, effects attributed to superstition do participate of natural causes: and therefore howsoever the practice of such things is to be condemned, yet from the speculation and consideration of them light may be taken, not only for the discerning of the offences, but for the farther disclosing of nature. Neither ought a man to make scruple of entering into these things for inquisition of truth, as your majesty hath showed in your own example: ¹ who with the two clear eyes of religion and natural philosophy have looked deeply and wisely into these shadows, and yet proved yourself to be of the nature of the sun, which passeth through pollutions, and itself remains as pure as before.

But this I hold fit, that these narrations, which have mixture with superstition, be sorted by themselves, and not to be mingled with the narrations, which are merely and sincerely natural.

But as for the narrations touching the prodigies and miracles of religions, they are either not true, or not natural; and therefore impertinent for the story of nature.

For history of nature wrought, or mechanical, I find some collections made of agriculture, and likewise of manual arts, but commonly with a rejection of experiments familiar and vulgar.

For it is esteemed a kind of dishonour unto learning, to descend to inquiry or meditation upon matters mechanical, except they be such as may be thought secrets, rarities, and special subtillties; which humour of vain and supercilious arrogancy is justly derided in Plato; where he brings in Hippias, a vaunting sophist, disputing with Socrates, a true and unfeigned inquisitor of truth: where the subject being touching beauty, Socrates, after his wandering manner of inductions,

¹ James wrote a book on Demonology and Witchcraft; entitled *Dæmonologia*.

put first an example of a fair virgin, and then of a fair horse, and then of a fair pot well glazed, whereat Hippias was offended; and said, "More than for courtesy's sake, he did not think much to dispute with any that did allege such base and sordid instances;" whereunto Socrates answered, "You have reason, and it becomes you well, being a man so trim in your vestments," etc. And so goeth on in an irony.

But the truth is, they be not the highest instances that give the securest information; as may be well expressed in the tale so common of the philosopher, that while he gazed upwards to the stars fell into the water; for if he had looked down he might have seen the stars in the water, but looking aloft, he could not see the water in the stars. So it cometh often to pass, that mean and small things discover great, better than great can discover the small;¹ and therefore Aristotle noteth well, "that the nature of every thing is best seen in his smallest portions." And for that cause he inquireth the nature of a commonwealth, first in a family, and the simple conjugations of man and wife, parent and child, master and servant, which are in every cottage. Even so likewise the nature of this great city of the world, and the policy thereof, must be first sought in mean concordances and small portions. So we see how that secret of nature, of the turning of iron, touched with the loadstone, towards the north was found out in needles of iron, not in bars of iron.

But if my judgment be of any weight, the use of History Mechanical is, of all others, the most radical and fundamental towards natural philosophy; such natural philosophy as shall not vanish in the fume of subtile, sublime, or delectable speculation, but such as shall be operative to the endowment and benefit of man's life: for it will not only minister and suggest for the present many ingenious practices in all trades, by a connexion and transferring of the observations of one art to the use of another, when the experiences of several mysteries shall fall under the consideration of one man's mind; but farther, it will give a more true and real illumination concerning causes and axioms than is hitherto attained.

For like as a man's disposition is never well known till he be crossed, nor Proteus ever changed shapes till he was straitened and held fast; so the passages and variations of nature cannot appear so fully in the liberty of nature, as in the trials and vexations of art.

FOR *Civil History*, it is of three kinds, not unfitly to be compared with the three kinds of pictures or images: for of pictures or images, we see, some are unfinished, some are perfect, and some are defaced. So of histories we may find three kinds, Memorials, Perfect Histories, and Antiquities; for memorials are history unfinished, or the first or rough draughts of history; and antiquities are history defaced, or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time.

Memorials, or preparatory history, are of two sorts, whereof the one may be termed Commentaries, and the other Registers. Commentaries are they which set down a continuance of the naked events and actions, without the motives or designs, the counsels, the speeches, the pretexts,

¹ For instance, Newton's Apple.

the occasions, and other passages of action : for this is the true nature of a Commentary, though Cæsar, in modesty mixed with greatness, did for his pleasure apply the name of a Commentary to the best history of the world. Registers are collections of public acts, as decrees of council, judicial proceedings, declarations and letters of state, orations, and the like, without a perfect continuance or contexture of the thread of the narration.

Antiquities, or remnants of history, are, as was said, *tanquam tabula naufragii*, when industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time.

In these kinds of imperfect histories I do assign no deficiency, for they are *tanquam imperfecte mista*, and therefore any deficiency in them is but their nature.

As for the corruptions and moths of history, which are Epitomes, the use of them deserveth to be banished, as all men of sound judgment have confessed, as those that have fretted and corroded the sound bodies of many excellent histories, and wrought them into base and unprofitable dregs.

History, which may be called *Just* and *Perfect History*, is of three kinds, according to the object which it propoundeth, or pretendeth to represent : for it either representeth a time, or a person, or an action. The first we call Chronicles, the second Lives, and the third Narrations, or Relations.

Of these, although the first be the most complete and absolute kind of history, and hath most estimation and glory, yet the second excelleth it in profit and use, and the third in verity and sincerity. For history of times representeth the magnitude of actions, and the public faces and deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and motions of men and matters.

But such being the workmanship of God, as He doth hang the greatest weight upon the smallest wires, *maxima e minimis suspendens*, it comes therefore to pass, that such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business than the true and inward resorts thereof. But lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions, both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commixture, must of a necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation. So again narrations and relations of actions, as the War of Peloponnesus, the Expedition of Cyrus Minor, the Conspiracy of Catiline, cannot but be more purely and exactly true, than histories of times, because they may choose an argument comprehensible within the notice and instructions of the writer : whereas he that undertaketh the story of a time, especially of any length, cannot but meet with many blanks and spaces, which he must be forced to fill up out of his own wit and conjecture.

For the *History of Times* (I mean of civil history) the providence of God hath made the distribution : for it hath pleased God to ordain and illustrate two exemplar states of the world for arms, learning, moral virtue, policy, and laws. The state of Græcia, and

the state of Rome: the histories whereof occupying the middle part of time, have more ancient to them, histories which may by the common name be termed the Antiquities of the world; and after them, histories which may be likewise called by the name of Modern History.

Now to speak of the deficiencies. As to the heathen antiquities of the world, it is in vain to note them for deficient: deficient they are no doubt, consisting most of fables and fragments, but the deficiency cannot be holpen; for antiquity is like fame, *caput inter nubila condit*, her head is muffled from our sight. For the history of the exemplar states, it is extant in good perfection. Not but I could wish there were a perfect course of history for Græcia from Theseus to Philopœmen, what time the affairs of Græcia were drowned and extinguished in the affairs of Rome; and for Rome from Romulus to Justinianus, who may be truly said to be *ultimus Romanorum*. In which sequences of story the text of Thucydides and Xenophon in the one, and the text of Livius, Polybius, Salustius, Cæsar, Appianus, Tacitus, Herodianus, in the other, to be kept entire, without any diminution at all, and only to be supplied and continued. But this is matter of magnificence, rather to be commended than required; and we speak now of parts of learning supplemental, and not of supererogation.

But for Modern Histories, whereof there are some few very worthy, but the greater part beneath mediocrity, leaving the care of foreign stories to foreign states, because I will not be *curiosus in aliena republica*, I cannot fail to represent to your majesty the unworthiness of the history of England in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of Scotland, in the latest and largest author that I have seen; supposing that it would be honour for your majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for ages to come, so were joined in one history for the times passed, after the manner of the sacred history, which draweth down the story of the ten tribes, and of the two tribes, as twins, together. And if it shall seem that the greatness of this work may make it less exactly performed, there is an excellent period of a much smaller compass of time, as to the story of England; that is to say, from the uniting of the roses to the uniting of the kingdoms: a portion of time, wherein to my understanding, there hath been the rarest varieties, that in like number of successions of any hereditary monarchy hath been known: for it beginneth with the mixed adoption of a crown by arms and title; an entry by battle, an establishment by marriage; and therefore times answerable, like waters after a tempest, full of working and swelling, though without extremity of storm: but well passed through by the wisdom of the pilot,¹ being one of the most sufficient kings of all the number. Then followeth the reign of a king,² whose actions, howsoever conducted, had much intermixture with the affairs of Europe, balancing and inclining them variably; in whose time also began that great alteration in the state ecclesiastical, an action which seldom cometh upon the

¹ Henry VII.

² Henry VIII.

stage. Then the reign of a minor :¹ then an offer of an usurpation, though it was but as *febris ephemera* :² then the reign of a queen matched with a foreigner :³ then of a queen that lived solitary and unmarried,⁴ and yet her government so masculine, as it had greater impression and operation upon the states abroad than it any ways received from thence. And now last, this most happy and glorious event, that this island of Britain, divided from all the world, should be united in itself : and that oracle of rest, given to Æneas, "*Antiquam exquirite matrem*," should now be performed and fulfilled upon the nations of England and Scotland, being now reunited in the ancient mother name of Britain, as a full period of all instability and peregrinations : so that as it cometh to pass in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle ; so it seemeth that by the providence of God this monarchy, before it was to settle in your majesty and your generations, in which I hope it is now established for ever, it had these prelusive changes and varieties.

For *Lives* ; I do find strange that these times have so little esteemed the virtues of the times, as that the writing of lives should be no more frequent. For although there be not many sovereign princes or absolute commanders, and that states are most collected into monarchies, yet there are many worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed report or barren elogies. For herein the invention of one of the late poets is proper, and doth well enrich the ancient fiction : for he feigneth, that at the end of the thread or web of every man's life there was a little medal containing the person's name, and that Time waited upon the shears ; and as soon as the thread was cut, caught the medals, and carried them to the river of Lethe ; and about the bank there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals, and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the river : only there were a few swans, which if they got a name, would carry it to a temple, where it was consecrated.

And though many men, more mortal in their affections than in their bodies, do esteem desire of name and memory but as a vanity and ventosity,

Animi nil magnæ laudis egentis,

which opinion cometh from the root, "*non prius laudes contempsimus quam laudanda facere desivimus* : " yet that will not alter Solomon's judgment, "*Memoria justi cum laudibus, at impiorum nomen putrescet* : " ⁵ the one flourisheth, the other either consumeth to present oblivion, or turneth to an ill odour.

And therefore in that style or addition, which is and hath been long well received and brought in use, "*felicis memoria, pia, memoria, bona memoria*," we do acknowledge that which Cicero saith, borrowing it from Demosthenes, that "*bona fama propria possessio defunctorum* ; " which possession I cannot but note, that in our time it lieth much waste, and that therein there is a deficiency.

¹ Edward VI.

⁴ Elizabeth.

² Jane Grey's.

³ Mary.

⁵ Proverbs x. 7.

For *Narrations* and *Relations* of particular actions, there were also to be wished a greater diligence therein; common way, before we come where the ways part, for there is no great action but hath some good pen which attends it.

And because it is an ability not common to write a good history, as may well appear by the small number of them; yet if particularity of actions memorable were but tolerably reported as they pass, the compiling of a complete history of times might be the better expected, when a writer should arise that were fit for it; for the collection of such relations might be as a nursery garden, whereby to plant a fair and stately garden, when time should serve.

There is yet another partition of history which Cornelius Tacitus maketh, which is not to be forgotten, especially with that application which he accouplieth it withal, *Annals* and *Journals*: appropriating to the former, matters of state; and to the latter, acts and accidents of a meaner nature. For giving but a touch of certain magnificent buildings, he addeth, "*Cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res illustres annualibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare.*" So as there is a contemplative kind of heraldry, as well as civil. And as nothing doth derogate from the dignity of a state more than confusion of degrees; so it doth not a little embase the authority of an history, to intermingle matters of triumph, or matters of ceremony, or matters of novelty, with matters of state. But the use of a journal hath not only been in the history of time, but likewise in the history of persons, and chiefly of actions; for princes in ancient time had, upon point of honour and policy both, journals kept, what passed day by day: for we see the chronicle which was read before Ahasuerus, when he could not take rest, contained matters of affairs indeed, but such as had passed in his own time, and very lately before: but the journal of Alexander's house expressed every small particularity even concerning his person and court; and it is yet an use well received in enterprises memorable, as expeditions of war, navigations, and the like, to keep diaries of that which passeth continually.

I cannot likewise be ignorant of a form of writing, which some grave and wise men have used, containing a scattered history of those actions which they have thought worthy of memory, with politic discourse and observation thereupon; not incorporated into the history, but separately, and as the more principal in their intention; which kind of ruminated history I think more fit to place amongst books of policy, whereof we shall hereafter speak, than amongst books of history: for it is the true office of history to represent the events themselves together with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment; but mixtures are things irregular, whereof no man can define.

So also is there another kind of history manifoldly mixed, and that is History of Cosmography, being compounded of natural history, in respect of the regions themselves; of history civil, in respect of the habitations, regiments, and manners of the people; and the mathematics, in respect of the climates and configurations towards the heavens: which part of learning of all others, in this later time, hath

obtained most proficiencie. For it may be truly affirmed to the honour of these times, and in a virtuous emulation with antiquity, that this great building of the world had never thorough lights made in it, till the age of us and our fathers: for although they had knowledge of the antipodes,

*Nosque ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis,
Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper:*

yet that might be by demonstration, and not in fact; and if by travel, requireth the voyage but of half the globe. But to circle the earth, as the heavenly bodies do, was not done or enterprised till these later times:¹ and therefore these times may justly bear in their word, not only *plus ultra* in precedence of the ancient *non ultra*, and *imitabile fulmen*, in precedence of the ancient *non imitabile fulmen*,

Demens qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen, etc.,

but likewise *imitabile calum*: in respect of the many memorable voyages, after the manner of heaven, about the globe of the earth.

And this proficiencie in navigation and discoveries may plant also an expectation of the farther proficiencie and augmentation of all sciences; because, it may seem, they are ordained by God to be coevals, that is, to meet in one age. For so the prophet Daniel, speaking of the latter times, foretelleth; "*Plurimi pertransibunt, et multiplex erit scientia*;"² as if the openness and thorough passage of the world, and the increase of knowledge, were appointed to be in the same ages, as we see it is already performed in great part; the learning of these latter times not much giving place to the former two periods or returns of learning, the one of the Grecians, the other of the Romans.

History ecclesiastical receiveth the same divisions with history civil; but farther, in the propriety thereof, may be divided into the History of the Church, by a general name; History of Prophecy; and History of Providence.

The first describeth the times of the militant Church, whether it be fluctuant, as the ark of Noah; or moveable, as the ark in the wilderness; or at rest, as the ark in the temple; that is, the state of the Church in persecution, in remove, and in peace. This part I ought in no sort to note as deficient, only I would the virtue and sincerity of it were according to the mass and quantity. But I am not now in hand with censures, but with omissions.

The second, which is history of prophecy, consisteth of two relatives, the prophecy, and the accomplishment; and therefore the nature of such a work ought to be, that every prophecy of the Scripture be sorted with the event fulfilling the same, throughout the ages of the world; both for the better confirmation of faith, and for the better illumination of the Church touching those parts of prophecies which are yet unfulfilled: allowing neverthe-

¹ By Sir Francis Drake, then recently.

² Daniel xii. 4.

less that latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecies, being of the nature of their Author, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and therefore are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages; though the height or fulness of them may refer to some one age.

This is a work which I find deficient, but is to be done with wisdom, sobriety, and reverence, or not at all.

The third, which is history of providence, containeth that excellent correspondence which is between God's revealed will and His secret will: which though it be so obscure, as for the most part it is not legible to the natural man; no, nor many times to those that behold it from the tabernacle; yet at some times it pleaseth God, for our better establishment, and the confuting of those which are as without God in the world, to write it in such text and capital letters, that, as the prophet saith, "he that runneth by may read it;" that is, mere sensual persons, which hasten by God's judgments, and never bend or fix their cogitations upon them, are nevertheless in their passage and race urged to discern it. Such are the notable events and examples of God's judgments, chastisements, deliverances, and blessings: and this is a work which hath passed through the labours of many, and therefore I cannot present as omitted.

There are also other parts of learning which are Appendices to history; for all the exterior proceedings of man consist of words and deeds; whereof history doth properly receive and retain in memory the deeds; and if words, yet but as inducements and passages to deeds: so are there other books and writings, which are appropriate to the custody and receipt of words only, which likewise are of three sorts; Orations, Letters, and Brief Speeches or Sayings.

Orations are pleadings, speeches of counsel, laudatives, invectives, apologies, reprehensions; orations of formality or ceremony, and the like.

Letters are according to all the variety of occasions, advertisements, advices, directions, propositions, petitions, commendatory, expostulatory, satisfactory; of compliment, of pleasure, of discourse, and all other passages of action. And such as are written from wise men, are of all the words of man, in my judgment, the best; for they are more natural than orations and public speeches, and more advised than conferences or present speeches. So again letters of affairs from such as manage them or are privy to them, are of all others the best instructions for history, and to a diligent reader the best histories in themselves.

For Apophthegms, it is a great loss of that book of Cæsar's; for as his history, and those few letters of his which we have, and those apophthegms which were of his own, excel all men's else, so I suppose would his collection of apophthegms have done; for as for those which are collected by others, either I have no taste in such matters, or else their choice hath not been happy. But upon these three kinds of writings I do not insist, because I have no deficiencies to propound concerning them.

Thus much therefore concerning History, which is that part of

learning which answereth to one of the cells, domiciles, or offices of the mind of man, which is that of the Memory.

Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination; which being not tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which nature hath severed, and sever that which nature hath joined, and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things, *Pictoribus atque poetis, etc.* It is taken in two senses, in respect of words, or matter; in the first sense, it is but a character of style, and belongeth to arts of speech, and is not pertinent for the present: in the latter it is, as hath been said, one of the principal portions of learning, and is nothing else but feigned history which may be styled as well in prose as in verse.

The use of this feigned history hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being in proportion inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is, agreeable to the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things. Therefore, because the acts or events of true history have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, poesy feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical: because true history propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice, therefore poesy feigns them more just in retribution, and more according to revealed providence, because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary, and less interchanged; therefore poesy endueth them with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variation: so as it appeareth that poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation. And therefore it was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the show of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things.

And we see, that by these insinuations and congruities with man's nature and pleasure, joined also with the agreement and consort it hath with music, it hath had access and estimation in rude times and barbarous regions, where other learning stood excluded.

The division of poesy, which is aptest in the propriety thereof, besides those divisions which are common unto it with history; as feigned chronicles, feigned lives, and the appendices of history, as feigned epistles, feigned orations, and the rest, is into Poesy Narrative, Representative, and Allusive.

The Narrative is a mere imitation of history, with the excesses before remembered, choosing for subject commonly wars and love; rarely state, and sometimes pleasure and mirth.

Representative is as a visible history, and is an image of actions as if they were present, as history is of actions in nature as they are, that is, past.

Allusive, or parabolical, is a narration applied only to express some special purpose or conceit; which latter kind of parabolical wisdom

was much more in use in the ancient times, as by the fables of Esop, and the brief sentences of the Seven, and the use of hieroglyphics, may appear. And the cause was, for that it was then of necessity to express any point of reason, which was more sharp or subtile than the vulgar, in that manner, because men in those times wanted both variety of examples and subtilty of conceit : and as hieroglyphics were before letters, so parables were before arguments. And nevertheless now, and at all times, they do retain much life and vigour, because reason cannot be so sensible¹ nor examples so fit.

But there remaineth yet, another use of poesy parabolical, opposite to that which we last mentioned : for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire and obscure it : that is, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, and philosophy are involved in fables and parables.

Of this in divine poesy, we see the use is authorized. In heathen poesy, we see, the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity, as in the fable that the giants being overthrown in their war against the gods, the Earth their mother, in revenge thereof, brought forth Fame :

*Illam Terra parens ira irritata deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progeniuit.*

Expounded, that when princes and monarchies have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of people, which is the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind with rebellion, but more feminine. So in the fable, that the rest of the gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid : expounded, that monarchies need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. So in the fable, that Achilles was brought up under Chiron the Centaur, who was part a man and part a beast : expounded ingeniously, but corruptly by Machiavel, that it belongeth to the education and discipline of princes, to know as well how to play the part of the lion in violence, and the fox in guile, as of the man in virtue and justice.

Nevertheless in many the like encounters, I do rather think that the fable was first, and the exposition devised, than that the moral was first, and thereupon the fable framed. For I find it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus,² that troubled himself with great contention to fasten the assertion of the Stoics upon the fictions of the ancient poets ; but yet that all the fables and fictions of the poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion.

Surely of those poets which are now extant, even Homer himself, notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the latter schools of the Grecians, yet I should without any difficulty pronounce, that his fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning ; but what they

¹ So vivid.

² A Stoic philosopher, whose aim was to check the prevalent scepticism ; died 207 B.C.

might have, upon a more original tradition, is not easy to affirm, for he was not the inventor of many of them.

In this third part of learning, which is poesy, I can report no deficiency.¹ For being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed, it hath sprung up and spread abroad more than any other kind: but to ascribe unto it that which is due, for the expression of affections, passions, corruptions, and customs, we are beholden to poets more than to the philosophers' works; and for wit and eloquence, not much less than to orators' harangues. But it is not good to stay too long in the theatre. Let us now pass on to the judicial place or palace of the mind, which we are to approach and view with more reverence and attention.

THE knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation.

The light of nature consisteth in the notions of the mind, and the reports of the senses; for as for knowledge which man receiveth by teaching, it is cumulative, and not original, as in a water, that, besides his own spring-head, is fed with other springs and streams. So then, according to these two differing illuminations or originals, knowledge is first of all divided into Divinity and Philosophy.

In philosophy, the contemplations of man do either penetrate unto God, or are circumferred unto nature, or are reflected or reverted upon himself. Out of which several inquiries there do arise three knowledges, Divine philosophy, Natural philosophy, and Humau philosophy or humanity. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple character, of the power of God, the difference of nature, and the use of man. But because the distributions and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in a point; but are like branches of a tree, that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance, before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs; therefore it is good, before we enter into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science, by the name of *Philosophia prima*, primitive or summary philosophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves; which science whether I should report as deficient or no, I stand doubtful.

For I find a certain rhapsody of natural theology, and of divers parts of logic; and of that other part of natural philosophy, which concerneth the principles; and of that other part of natural philosophy, which concerneth the soul or spirit; all these strangely commixed and confused: but being examined, it seemeth to me rather a depredation of other sciences, advanced and exalted unto some height of terms, than anything solid or substantive of itself.

Nevertheless I cannot be ignorant of the distinction which is current, that the same things are handled but in several respects. As for example, that logic considereth of many things as they are in notion; and this philosophy, as they are in nature; the one in appearance, the other in existence: but I find this difference better made than pursued.

¹ Justly said, for Spenser had been dead only seven years, and Shakespeare was still living.

For if they had considered quantity, similitude, diversity, and the rest of those external characters of things, as philosophers, and in nature; their inquiries must of force have been of a far other kind than they are.

For doth any of them, in handling quantity, speak of the force of union, how, and how far it multiplieth virtue? Doth any give the reason, why some things in nature are so common and in so great mass, and others so rare, and in so small quantity? Doth any, in handling similitude and diversity, assign the cause why iron should not move to iron, which is more like, but move to the loadstone, which is less like? Why, in all diversities of things, there should be certain participles in nature, which are almost ambiguous, to which kind they should be referred? But there is a mere and deep silence touching the nature and operation of those common adjuncts of things, as in nature; and only a resuming and repeating of the force and use of them, in speech or argument.

Therefore because in a writing of this nature I avoid all subtilty, my meaning touching this original or universal philosophy is thus, in a plain and gross description by negative; "That it be a receptacle for all such profitable observations and axioms, as fall not within the compass of any of the special parts of philosophy or sciences, but are more common and of a higher stage."

Now that there are many of that kind, need not to be doubted. For example: is not the rule, "*Si inæqualibus æqualia addas, omnia erunt inæqualia,*" an axiom as well of justice as of the mathematics? And is there not a true coincidence between commutative and distributive justice, and arithmetical and geometrical proportion? Is not that other rule, "*Quæ in eodem tertio conveniunt, et inter se conveniunt,*" a rule taken from the mathematics, but so potent in logic, as all syllogisms are built upon it? Is not the observation, "*Omnia mutantur, nil interit,*" a contemplation in philosophy thus, that the *quantum* of nature is eternal? in natural theology thus; that it requireth the same omnipotence to make somewhat nothing, which at the first made nothing somewhat? according to the Scripture, "*Didici quod omnia opera, quæ fecit Deus, perseverent in perpetuum; non possumus eis quicquam addere, nec auferre.*"¹

Is not the ground, which Machiavel wisely and largely discourseth concerning governments, that the way to establish and preserve them, is to reduce them *ad principia*, a rule in religion and nature, as well as in civil administration? Was not the Persian magic a reduction or correspondence of the principles and architectures of nature, to the rules and policy of governments? Is not the precept of a musician, to fall from a discord or harsh accord upon a concord or sweet accord, alike true in affection? Is not the trope of music, to avoid or slide from the close or cadence, common with the trope of rhetoric, of deceiving expectation? Is not the delight of the quavering upon a stop in music, the same with the playing of light upon the water?

————— *Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.*

Are not the organs of the senses of one kind with the organs of reflection, the eye with a glass, the ear with a cave or strait determined and

¹ Ecclesiastes iii. 14.

bounded? Neither are these only similitudes, as men of narrow observation may conceive them to be, but the same footsteps of nature, treading or printing upon several subjects or matters.

This science therefore, as I understand it, I may justly report as deficient; for I see sometimes the profounder sort of wits, in handling some particular argument, will now and then draw a bucket of water out of this well for their present use; but the springhead thereof seemeth to me not to have been visited; being of so excellent use, both for the disclosing of nature, and the abridgment of art.

This science being therefore first placed as a common parent, like unto Berecynthia,¹ which had so much heavenly issue, "*Omnes cœlicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes,*" we may return to the former distribution of the three philosophies, divine, natural, and human.

And as concerning divine philosophy, or Natural Theology, it is that knowledge or rudiment of knowledge concerning God, which may be obtained by the contemplation of His creatures; which knowledge may be truly termed divine, in respect of the object, and natural in respect of the light.

The bounds of this knowledge are, that it sufficeth to convince atheism, but not to inform religion: and therefore there was never miracle wrought by God to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God: but miracles have been wrought to convert idolaters and the superstitious, because no light of nature extendeth to declare the will and true worship of God.

For as all works do show forth the power and skill of the workman, and not his image, so it is of the works of God, which do show the omnipotency and wisdom of the Maker, but not His image: and therefore therein the heathen opinion differeth from the sacred truth; for they supposed the world to be the image of God, and man to be an extract or compendious image of the world; but the Scriptures never vouchsafe to attribute to the world that honour, as to be the image of God, but only the work of His hands; neither do they speak of any other image of God, but man: wherefore by the contemplation of nature, to induce and enforce the acknowledgment of God, and to demonstrate His power, providence, and goodness, is an excellent argument, and hath been excellently handled by divers.

But on the other side, out of the contemplation of nature or ground of human knowledges, to induce any verity or persuasion concerning the points of faith, is in my judgment not safe: "*Da fidei, quæ fidei sunt.*" For the heathen themselves conclude as much in that excellent and divine fable of the golden chain; "That men and gods were not able to draw Jupiter down to the earth; but contrariwise, Jupiter was able to draw them up to heaven."

So as we ought not to attempt to draw down or submit the mysteries of God to our reason; but contrariwise, to raise and advance our reason to the divine truth. So as in this part of knowledge, touching divine philosophy, I am so far from noting any deficiency, as I rather note an excess; whereunto I have digressed, because of the extreme prejudice which both religion and philosophy hath received, and may

¹ Berecynthia—a surname for Cybele, who was worshipped on Mount Berecynthus, in Phrygia. The earth is typified by Cybele.

receive, by being commixed together ; as that which undoubtedly will make an heretical religion, and an imaginary and fabulous philosophy.

Otherwise it is of the nature of angels and spirits, which is an appendix of theology, both divine and natural, and is neither inscrutable nor interdicted : for although the Scripture saith, "Let no man deceive you in sublime discourse touching the worship of angels, pressing into that he knoweth not,"¹ etc., yet notwithstanding, if you observe well that precept, it may appear thereby that there be two things only forbidden, adoration of them, and opinion fantastical of them, either to extol them farther than appertaineth to the degree of a creature, or to extol a man's knowledge of them farther than he hath ground. But the sober and grounded inquiry, which may arise out of the passages of Holy Scriptures, or out of the gradations of nature, is not restrained. So of degenerate and revolted spirits, the conversing with them, or the employment of them, is prohibited, much more any veneration towards them. But the contemplation or science of their nature, their power, their illusions, either by Scripture or reason, is a part of spiritual wisdom. For so the apostle saith, "We are not ignorant of his stratagems."² And it is no more unlawful to inquire the nature of evil spirits, than to inquire the force of poisons in nature, or the nature of sin and vice in morality. But this part, touching angels and spirits, I cannot note as deficient, for many have occupied themselves in it : I may rather challenge it, in many of the writers thereof, as fabulous and fantastical.

LEAVING therefore divine philosophy or natural theology, not divinity, or inspired theology, which we reserve for the last of all, as the haven and sabbath of all man's contemplations, we will now proceed to Natural Philosophy.

If then it be true that Democritus said, "That the truth of nature lieth hid in certain deep mines and caves :"³ and if it be true likewise, that the alchemists do so much inculcate, that Vulcan is a second nature, and imitateth that dexterously and compendiously, which nature worketh by ambages³ and length of time ; it were good to divide natural philosophy into the mine and the furnace, and to make two professions or occupations of natural philosophers, some to be pioneers, and some smiths ; some to dig, and some to refine and hammer : and surely I do best allow of a division of that kind, though in more familiar and scholastical terms : namely, that these be the two parts of natural philosophy, the inquisition of causes, and the production of effects : speculative and operative ; natural science, and natural prudence.

For as in civil matters there is a wisdom of discourse, and a wisdom of direction ; so is it in natural. And here I will make a request, that for the latter, or at least for a part thereof, I may revive and reintegrate the misapplied and abused name of natural magic, which, in the true sense, is but natural wisdom, or natural prudence ; taken according to the ancient acception, purged from vanity and superstition.

¹ Colossians ii. 18.

² 2 Corinthians ii. 11.

³ Circumlocutions, gradual processes.

Now although it be true, and I know it well, that there is an intercourse between causes and effects, so as both these knowledges, speculative and operative, have a great connexion between themselves; yet because all true and fruitful natural philosophy hath a double scale or ladder, ascendent and descendent; ascending from experiments, to the invention of causes; and descending from causes, to the invention of new experiments; therefore I judge it most requisite that these two parts be severally considered and handled.

Natural science, or theory, is divided into Physic and Metaphysic; wherein I desire it may be conceived, that I use the word Metaphysic in a differing sense from that that is received: and, in like manner, I doubt not but it will easily appear to men of judgment, that in this and other particulars, wheresoever my conception and notion may differ from the ancient, yet I am studious to keep the ancient terms.

For hoping well to deliver myself from mistaking, by the order and perspicuous expressing of that I do propound; I am otherwise zealous and affectionate to recede as little from antiquity, either in terms or opinions, as may stand with truth, and the proficiencie of knowledge.

And herein I cannot a little marvel at the philosopher Aristotle that did proceed in such a spirit of difference and contradiction towards all antiquity, undertaking not only to frame new words of science at pleasure, but to confound and extinguish all ancient wisdom: insomuch as he never nameth or mentioneth an ancient author or opinion, but to confute and reprove; wherein for glory, and drawing followers and disciples, he took the right course.

For certainly there cometh to pass, and hath place in human truth, that which was noted and pronounced in the highest truth, "*Veni in nomine Patris, nec recipitis me; si quis venerit in nomine suo, eum recipietis.*"¹ But in this divine aphorism, considering to whom it was applied, namely to Antichrist, the highest deceiver, we may discern well, that the coming in a man's own name, without regard of antiquity or paternity, is no good sign of truth, although it be joined with the fortune and success of an "*Eum recipietis.*"

But for this excellent person, Aristotle, I will think of him, that he learned that humour of his scholar,² with whom, it seemeth, he did emulate, the one to conquer all opinions, as the other to conquer all nations: wherein nevertheless, it may be, he may at some men's hands, that are of a bitter disposition, get a like title as his scholar did.

*Felix terrarum prædo, non utile mundo
Editus exemplum, etc.*

So

Felix doctrinæ prædo.

But to me, on the other side, that do desire as much as lieth in my pen to ground a sociable intercourse between antiquity and proficiencie, it seemeth best to keep way with antiquity *usque ad aras*; and therefore to retain the ancient terms, though I sometimes alter the uses and definitions; according to the moderate proceeding in civill government,

¹ St. John v. 43.

Alexander the Great.

where although there be some alteration, yet that holdeth which Tacitus wisely noteth, "*eadem magistratum vocabula.*"

To return therefore to the use and acception of the term metaphysic, as I do now understand the word; it appeareth, by that which hath been already said, that I intend *philosophia prima*, summary philosophy, and metaphysic, which heretofore have been confounded as one, to be two distinct things. For the one I have made as a parent, or common ancestor, to all knowledge; and the other I have now brought in, as a branch, or descendant, of natural science. It appeareth likewise that I have assigned to summary philosophy the common principles and axioms which are promiscuous and indifferent to several sciences: I have assigned unto it likewise the inquiry touching the operation of the relative and adventive characters of essences, as quantity, similitude, diversity, possibility, and the rest; with this distinction and provision; that they be handled as they have efficacy in nature, and not logically. It appeareth likewise, that natural theology, which heretofore hath been handled confusedly with metaphysic, I have inclosed and bounded by itself.

It is therefore now a question, what is left remaining for metaphysic; wherein I may without prejudice preserve thus much of the conceit of antiquity, that physic should contemplate that which is inherent in matter, and therefore transitory; and metaphysic, that which is abstracted and fixed.

And again, that physic should handle that which supposeth in nature only a being and moving; and metaphysic should handle that which supposeth farther in nature a reason, understanding, and platform. But the difference perspicuously expressed, is most familiar and sensible.

For as we divided natural philosophy in general into the inquiry of causes, and productions of effects; so that part which concerneth the inquiry of causes, we do subdivide according to the received and sound division of causes; the one part which is physic, inquireth and handleth the material and efficient causes; and the other, which is metaphysic, handleth the formal and final causes.

Physic, taking it according to the derivation, and not according to our idiom for medicine, is situate in a middle term, or distance, between natural history and metaphysic. For natural history describeth the variety of things, physic the causes, but variable or respective causes; and metaphysic, the fixed and constant causes.

*Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera quiescit,
Uno eodemque igni.*

Fire is the cause of induration, but respective to clay: fire is the cause of colliquation,[†] but respective to wax. But fire is no constant cause either of induration or colliquation: so then the physical causes are but the efficient and the matter.

Physic hath three parts, whereof two respect nature united or collected, the third contemplateth nature diffused or distributed.

Nature is collected either into one entire total, or else into the same

† The act of melting.

principles or seeds. So as the first doctrine is touching the contexture or configuration of things, as *de mundo, de universitate rerum*.

The second is the doctrine concerning the principles or originals of things.

The third is the doctrine concerning all variety and particularity of things; whether it be of the differing substances, or their differing qualities and natures; whereof there needeth no enumeration, this part being but as a gloss, or paraphrase, that attendeth upon the text of natural history.

Of these three I cannot report any as deficient. In what truth or perfection they are handled, I make not now any judgment: but they are parts of knowledge not deserted by the labour of men.

For Metaphysic, we have assigned unto it the inquiry of formal and final causes; which assignation, as to the former of them, may seem to be nugatory and void, because of the received and inveterate opinion, that the inquisition of man is not competent to find out essential forms, or true differences: of which opinion we will take this hold, that the invention of forms is of all other parts of knowledge the worthiest to be sought, if it be possible to be found.

As for the possibility, they are ill discoverers that think there is no land, when they can see nothing but sea.

But it is manifest, that Plato, in his opinion of ideas, as one that had a wit of elevation situate as upon a cliff, did descry, "That forms were the true object of knowledge;" but lost the real fruit of his opinion, by considering of forms as absolutely abstracted from matter, and not confined and determined by matter; and so turning his opinion upon theology, wherewith all his natural philosophy is infected.

But if any man shall keep a continual watchful and severe eye upon action, operation, and the use of knowledge, he may advise and take notice what are the forms, the disclosures whereof are fruitful and important to the state of man. For as to the forms of substances, man only except, of whom it is said, "*Formavit hominem de limo terræ, et spiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ*,"¹ and not as of all other creatures, "*Producant aquæ, producat terra*;" the forms of substances, I say, as they are now by compounding and transplanting multiplied, are so perplexed, as they are not to be inquired; no more than it were either possible or to purpose, to seek in gross the forms of those sounds which make words, which by composition and transposition of letters are infinite.

But, on the other side, to inquire the form of those sounds or voices, which make simple letters, is easily comprehensible; and being known, induceth and manifesteth the forms of words, which consist and are compounded of them. In the same manner to inquire the form of a lion, of an oak, of gold; nay, of water, of air, is a vain pursuit; but to inquire the forms of sense, of voluntary motion, of vegetation, of colours, of gravity and levity, of density, of tenuity, of heat, of cold, and all other natures and qualities, which, like an alphabet, are not many, and of which the essences, upheld by matter, of all

creatures do consist : to inquire, I say, the true forms of these, is that part of metaphysic which we now define of.

Not but that physic doth make inquiry, and take consideration of the same natures : but how? Only as to the material and efficient causes of them, and not as to the forms. For example ; if the cause of whiteness in snow or froth be inquired, and it be rendered thus ; that the subtile intermixture of air and water is the cause, it is well rendered ; but nevertheless, is this the form of whiteness? No ; but it is the efficient, which is ever but *vehiculum formæ*.

This part of metaphysic I do not find laboured and performed, whereat I marvel not : because I hold it not possible to be invented by that course of invention which hath been used, in regard that men, which is the root of all error, have made too untimely a departure, and too remote a recess from particulars.

But the use of this part of metaphysic which I report as deficient, is of the rest the most excellent in two respects : the one, because it is the duty and virtue of all knowledge to abridge the infinity of individual experience, as much as the conception of truth will permit, and to remedy the complaint of *vita brevis, ars longa* ; which is performed by uniting the notions and conceptions of sciences : for knowledges are as pyramids, whereof history is the basis. So of natural philosophy, the basis is natural history ; the stage next the basis is physic ; the stage next the vertical point is metaphysic. As for the vertical point, "*Opus quod operatur Deus a principio usque ad finem,*" the summary law of nature, we know not whether man's inquiry can attain unto it. But these three be the true stages of knowledge, and are to them that are depraved no better than the giants' hills.

*Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossæ frondosum involvere Olympum.*

But to those which refer all things to the glory of God, they are as the three acclamations, *Sancte, sancte, sancte*, holy in the description or dilatation of His works ; holy in the connexion or concatenation of them ; and holy in the union of them in a perpetual and uniform law.

And therefore the speculation was excellent in Parmenides¹ and Plato, although but a speculation in them, that all things by scale did ascend to unity.² So then always that knowledge is worthiest, which is charged with the least multiplicity ; which appeareth to be metaphysic, as that which considereth the simple forms or differences of things, which are few in number, and the degrees and co-ordinations whereof make all this variety.

The second respect which valueth and commendeth this part of metaphysic is, that it doth enfranchise the power of man unto the greatest liberty and possibility of works and effects. For physic tarrieth men in narrow and restrained ways, subject to many accidents of impediments, imitating the ordinary flexuous courses of nature ; but "*latæ undique sunt sapientibus viæ :*" to sapience, which

¹ A Greek philosopher of the Eleatic School who lived in the fifth century B.C. He was the teacher and friend of Zeno the founder of the Stoic philosophy.

² See a fine passage in Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, Aphorism 36.

was anciently defined to be "*rerum divinarum et humanarum scientia*," there is ever choice of means: for physical causes give light to new invention *in simili materia*. But whosoever knoweth any form, knoweth the utmost possibility of super-inducing that nature upon any variety of matter, and so is less restrained in operation, either to the basis of the matter, or the condition of the efficient: which kind of knowledge Solomon likewise, though in a more divine sense, elegantly described: "*Non arctabuntur gressus tui, et currens non habebis offendiculum.*"¹ The ways of sapience are not much liable either to particularity or chance.

The second part of metaphysic is the inquiry of final causes, which I am moved to report, not as omitted, but as misplaced; and yet if it were but a fault in order, I would not speak of it: for order is matter of illustration, but pertaineth not to the substance of sciences. But this misplacing hath caused a deficiency, or at least a great improficiency in the sciences themselves. For the handling of final causes, mixed with the rest in physical inquiries, hath intercepted the severe and diligent inquiry of all real and physical causes, and given men the occasion to stay upon these satisfactory and specious causes, to the great arrest and prejudice of farther discovery.

For this I find done not only by Plato, who ever anchoreth upon that shore, but by Aristotle, Galen, and others, which do usually likewise fall upon these flats of discoursing causes. For to say that the hairs of the eyelids are for a quickset and fence about the sight; or, that the firmness of the skins and hides of living creatures is to defend them from the extremities of heat or cold; or, that the bones are for the columns or beams, whereupon the frame of the bodies of living creatures is built; or, that the leaves of trees are for the protecting of the fruit; or, that the clouds are for watering of the earth; or, that the solidness of the earth is for the station and mansion of living creatures, and the like, is well inquired and collected in metaphysic; but in physic they are impertinent. Nay, they are indeed but remoras² and hinderances to stay and slug the ship from farther sailing, and have brought this to pass, that the search of the physical causes hath been neglected, and passed in silence.

And therefore the natural philosophy of Democritus, and some others, who did not suppose a mind or reason in the frame of things, but attributed the form thereof, able to maintain itself, to infinite essays or proofs of nature, which they term fortune: seemeth to me, as far as I can judge by the recital and fragments which remain unto us, in particularities of physical causes, more real and better inquired than that of Aristotle and Plato; whereof both intermingled final causes, the one as a part of theology, the other as a part of logic, which were the favourite studies respectively of both those persons. Not because those final causes are not true, and worthy to be inquired, being kept within their own province; but because their excursions into the limits of physical causes have bred a vastness and solitude in that track. For, otherwise, keeping their precincts and borders, men

¹ Prov. iv. 12.

² Delays or hinderances—from the name of the sucking-fish, which impedes the course of the ship to which it clings.

are extremely deceived if they think there is an enmity or repugnancy at all between them. For the cause rendered, that the hairs about the eyelids are for the safeguard of the sight, doth not impugn the cause rendered, that pilosity is incident to orifices of moisture; *Muscosi fontes, etc.* Nor the cause rendered, that the firmness of hides is for the armour of the body against extremities of heat or cold, doth not impugn the cause rendered, that contraction of pores is incident to the outwardest parts, in regard of their adjacence to foreign or unlike bodies; and so of the rest: both causes being true and compatible, the one declaring an intention, the other a consequence only.

Neither doth this call in question, or derogate from divine providence, but highly confirm and exalt it. For as in civil actions he is the greater and deeper politician, that can make other men the instruments of his will and ends, and yet never acquaint them with his purpose, so as they shall do it, and yet not know what they do; than he that imparteth his meaning to those he employeth: so is the wisdom of God more admirable, when nature intendeth one thing, and providence draweth forth another; than if He had communicated to particular creatures, and motions, the characters and impressions of His providence. And thus much for metaphysic; the latter part whereof I allow as extant, but wish it confined to its proper place.

Nevertheless there remaineth yet another part of natural philosophy, which is commonly made a principal part, and holdeth rank with phisic special, and metaphysic, which is mathematic; but I think it more agreeable to the nature of things, and to the light of order, to place it as a branch of metaphysic: for the subject of it being quantity, not quantity indefinite, which is but a relative, and belongeth to *philosophia prima*, as hath been said, but quantity determined, or proportionable, it appeareth to be one of the essential forms of things; as that that is causative in nature of a number of effects: insomuch as we see, in the schools both of Democritus and Pythagoras, that the one did ascribe Figure to the first seeds of things, and the other did suppose Numbers to be the principles and originals of things; and it is true also, that of all other forms, as we understand forms, it is the most abstracted and separable from matter, and therefore most proper to metaphysic; which hath likewise been the cause why it hath been better laboured and inquired, than any of the other forms, which are more immersed into matter.

For it being the nature of the mind of man (to the extreme prejudice of knowledge,) to delight in the spacious liberty of generalities, as in a champaign region, and not in the inclosures of particularity; the mathematics of all other knowledge were the goodliest fields to satisfy the appetite.

But for the placing of these sciences, it is not much material; only we have endeavoured, in these our partitions, to observe a kind of perspective, that one part may cast light upon another.

The Mathematics are either pure or mixed. To the pure mathematics are those sciences belonging which handle quantity determinate, merely severed from any axioms of natural philosophy; and these are two, Geometry, and Arithmetick; the one handling quantity continued, and the other dissevered

Mixed hath for subject some axioms or parts of natural philosophy, and considereth quantity determined, as it is auxiliary and incident unto them.

For many parts of nature can neither be invented with sufficient subtilty, nor demonstrated with sufficient perspicuity, nor accommodated unto use with sufficient dexterity, without the aid and intervening of the mathematics ; of which sort are perspective, music, astronomy, cosmography, architecture, enginery, and divers others.

In the mathematics I can report no deficiencie, except it be that men do not sufficiently understand the excellent use of the pure mathematics, in that they do remedy and cure many defects in the wit and faculties intellectual. For, if the wit be dull, they sharpen it ; if too wandering, they fix it ; if too inherent in the sense, they abstract it. So that as tennis is a game of no use in itself, but of great use in respect it maketh a quick eye, and a body ready to put itself into all postures ; so in the mathematics, that use which is collateral and intervenient, is no less worthy than that which is principal and intended.

And as for the mixed mathematics, I may only make this prediction, that there cannot fail to be more kinds of them as nature grows further disclosed.

Thus much of natural science, or the part of nature speculative.

For Natural Prudence, or the part operative of natural philosophy, we will divide it into three parts, experimental, philosophical, and magical ; which three parts active have a correspondence and analogy with the three parts speculative, natural history, phisic, and metaphisic ; for many operations have been invented sometimes by a casual incidence and occurrence, sometimes by a purposed experiment ; and of those which have been found by an intentional experiment, some have been found out by varying or extending the same experiment, some by transferring and compounding divers experiments, the one into the other, which kind of invention an empiric may manage.

Again, by the knowledge of physical causes, there cannot fail to follow many indications and designations of new particulars, if men in their speculation will keep one eye upon use and practice. But these are but coastings along the shore, *premendo littus iniquum* : for, it seemeth to me, there can hardly be discovered any radical or fundamental alterations and innovations in nature, either by the fortune and essays of experiments, or by the light and direction of physical causes.

If therefore we have reported metaphisic deficient, it must follow, that we do the like of natural magic, which hath relation thereunto. For as for the natural magic whereof now there is mention in books, containing certain credulous and superstitious conceits and observations of sympathies, and antipathies, and hidden properties, and some frivolous experiments, strange rather by disguisement, than in themselves : it is as far differing in truth of nature from such a knowledge as we require, as the story of King Arthur of Britain, or Hugh of Bourdeaux,¹ differs from Cæsar's commentaries in truth of story. For

¹ Huon or Hugh of Bourdeaux was one of the legendary knights of the days of Charlemagne, who was assisted in his wonderful exploits by the King of the Fairies, Oberon.

It is manifest that Cæsar did greater things *de vero*, than those imaginary heroes were feigned to do ; but he did them not in that fabulous manner. Of this kind of learning the fable of Ixion was a figure, who designed to enjoy Juno, the goddess of power ; and instead of her had copulation with a cloud, of which mixture were begotten centaurs and chimeras.

So whosoever shall entertain high and vaporous imaginations, instead of a laborious and sober inquiry of truth, shall beget hopes and beliefs of strange and impossible shapes. And therefore we may note in these sciences, which hold so much of imagination and belief, as this degenerate natural magic, alchemy, astrology, and the like, that, in their propositions, the description of the means is ever more monstrous than the pretence or end.

For it is a thing more probable, that he that knoweth well the natures of weight, of colour, of pliant and fragile in respect of the hammer, of volatile and fixed in respect of the fire, and the rest, may superinduce upon some metal the nature and form of gold by such mechanic as longeth to the production of the natures afore rehearsed, than that some grains of the medicine projected should in a few moments of time turn a sea of quicksilver, or other material, into gold : so it is more probable, that he, that knoweth the nature of arefaction, the nature of assimilation, of nourishment to the thing nourished, the manner of increase and clearing of spirits, the manner of the depre-dations which spirits make upon the humours and solid parts ; shall, by ambages¹ of diets, bathings, anointings, medicines, motions, and the like, prolong life, or restore some degree of youth or vivacity, than that it can be done with the use of a few drops, or scruples of a liquor or receipt. To conclude therefore, the true natural magic, which is that great liberty and latitude of operation which dependeth upon the knowledge of forms, I may report deficient, as the relative thereof is ; to which part, if we be serious, and incline not to vanities and plausible discourse, besides the deriving and deducing the operations themselves from metaphysic, there are pertinent two points of much purpose, the one by way of preparation, the other by way of caution : the first is, that there be made a kalendar resembling an inventory of the estate of man, containing all the inventions, being the works or fruits of nature or art, which are now extant, and whereof man is already possessed, out of which doth naturally result a note, what things are yet held impossible or not invented : which kalendar will be the more artificial and serviceable, if to every reputed impossibility you add what thing is extant, which cometh the nearest in degree to that impossibility ; to the end, that by these operatives and potentials man's inquiry may be the more awake in deducing direction of works from the speculation of causes ; and secondly, that those experiments be not only esteemed which have an immediate and present use, but those principally which are of most universal consequence for invention of other experiments, and those which give most light to the invention of causes : for the invention of the mariner's needle, which giveth the direction, is of no less benefit for navigation, than the invention of the sails, which give the motion.

¹ Numbers.

Thus have I passed through natural philosophy, and the deficiencies thereof, wherein if I have differed from the ancient and received doctrines, and thereby shall move contradiction, for my part as I affect not to dissent, so I purpose not to contend. If it be truth,

Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia sylvæ :

the voice of nature will consent, whether the voice of man do or no. And as Alexander Borgia was wont to say of the expedition of the French for Naples, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to fight : so I like better that entry of truth, which cometh peaceably with chalk to mark up those minds which are capable to lodge and harbour it, than that which cometh with pugnacity and contention.

But there remaineth a division of natural philosophy according to the report of the inquiry, and nothing concerning the matter or subject ; and that is positive and considerative ; when the inquiry reporteth either an assertion, or a doubt. These doubts, or *non liquets*, are of two sorts, particular, and total. For the first, we see a good example thereof in Aristotle's Problems, which deserved to have had a better continuance ; but so nevertheless, as there is one point whereof warning is to be given and taken. The registering of doubts hath two excellent uses : the one, that it saveth philosophy from errors and falsehoods, when that which is not fully appearing is not collected into assertion, whereby which might draw error, but reserved in doubt. The other, that the entry of doubts are as so many suckers or sponges to draw use of knowledge ; insomuch, as that which, if doubts had not preceded, a man should never have advised, but passed it over without note, by the suggestion and solicitation of doubts is made to be attended and applied. But both these commodities do scarcely counter-vail an inconvenience which will intrude itself, if not debarred ; which is, that, when a doubt is once received, men labour rather how to keep it a doubt still, than how to solve it, and accordingly bend their wits. Of this we see the familiar example in lawyers and scholars, both which, if they have once admitted a doubt, it goeth ever after authorized for a doubt. But that use of wit and knowledge is to be allowed, which labourereth to make doubtful things certain, and not those which labour to make certain things doubtful. Therefore these kalendars of doubts I commend as excellent things, so that there be this caution used, that when they be thoroughly sifted and brought to resolution, they be from thenceforth omitted, discarded, and not continued to cherish and encourage men in doubting. To which kalendar of doubts or problems, I advise to be annexed another kalendar, as much or more material, which is a kalendar of popular errors, I mean chiefly in natural history, such as pass in speech and conceit, and are nevertheless detected and convicted of untruth, that man's knowledge be not weakened nor embased by such dross and vanity.

As for the doubts or *non liquets* general or in total, I understand those differences of opinions touching the principles of nature, and the fundamental points of the same, which have caused the diversity of sects, schools, and philosophies, as that of Empedocles, Pythagoras, Democritus, Parmenides, and the rest. For although Aristotle, as

though he had been of the race of the Ottomans, thought he could not reign, except the first thing he did he killed all his brethren; yet to those that seek truth and not magistrality, it cannot but seem a matter of great profit, to see before them the several opinions touching the foundations of nature: not for any exact truth that can be expected in those theories: for as the same phænomena in astronomy are satisfied by the received astronomy of the diurnal motion and the proper motions of the planets, with their eccentrics, and epicycles; and likewise by the theory of Copernicus, who supposed the earth to move, and the calculations are indifferently agreeable to both: so the ordinary face and view of experience is many times satisfied by several theories and philosophies; whereas to find the real truth requireth another manner of severity and attention. For, as Aristotle saith, that children at the first will call every woman mother, but afterwards they come to distinguish according to truth: so experience, if it be in childhood, will call every philosophy mother, but when it cometh to ripeness it will discern the true mother; so as in the mean-time it is good to see the several glosses and opinions upon nature, whereof it may be every one in some one point hath seen clearer than his fellows; therefore I wish some collection to be made painfully and understandingly *de antiquis philosophiis*, out of all the possible light which remaineth to us of them: which kind of work I find deficient. But here I must give warning, that it be done distinctly and severally, the philosophies of every one throughout by themselves, and not by titles packed and fagotted up together, as hath been done by Plutarch. For it is the harmony of a philosophy itself, which giveth it light and credence; whereas if it be singled and broken, it will seem more foreign and dissonant. For as when I read in Tacitus the actions of Nero or Claudius, with circumstances of times, inducements and occasions, I find them not so strange; but when I read them in Suetonius Tranquillus, gathered into titles and bundles, and not in order of time, they seem more monstrous and incredible; so it is of any philosophy reported entire, and dismembered by articles. Neither do I exclude opinions of latter times to be likewise represented in this kalendar of sects of philosophy, as that of Theophrastus Paracelsus,¹ eloquently reduced into an harmony by the pen of Severinus the Dane, and that of Telesius, and his scholar Donius, being as a pastoral philosophy, full of sense, but of no great depth: and that of Fracastorius,² who though he pretended not to make any new philosophy, yet did use the absoluteness of his own sense upon the old: and that of Gilbertus,³ our countryman, who revived, with some alterations and demonstrations, the opinions of Xenophanes:⁴ and any other worthy to be admitted.

Thus have we now dealt with two of the three beams of man's knowledge, that is *Radius directus*, which is referred to nature; *Radius refractus*, which is referred to God, and cannot report truly because of

¹ Physician and chemist, born at Einsiedeln, Zurich, in 1493. His real name was Von Hohenheim. He was an astrologer and alchemist, but to him chemistry owes gratitude for the importance he gave it as a real science.

² Girolamo Fracastorio was a celebrated Italian *savant*, born 1483, died 1553. He wrote poems, and also philosophical and astronomical works.

³ See p. 151, note.

⁴ The founder of the Eleatic School; contemporary with Pythagoras.

the inequality of the medium ; there resteth *Radius reflexus*, whereby man beholdeth and contemplateth himself.

WE come therefore now to that knowledge whereunto the ancient oracle directeth us, which is the knowledge of ourselves ; which deserveth the more accurate handling, by how much it toucheth us more nearly. This knowledge, as it is the end and term of natural philosophy in the intention of man, so, notwithstanding, it is but a portion of natural philosophy in the continent of nature ; and generally let this be a rule, that all partitions of knowledges be accepted rather for lines and veins, than for sections and separations ; and that the continuance and entireness of knowledge be preserved. For the contrary hereof hath made particular sciences to become barren, shallow, and erroneous, while they have not been nourished and maintained from the common fountain. So we see Cicero the orator complained of Socrates and his school, that he was the first that separated philosophy and rhetoric, whereupon rhetoric became an empty and verbal art. So we may see, that the opinion of Copernicus touching the rotation of the earth, which astronomy itself cannot correct, because it is not repugnant to any of the phænomena, yet natural philosophy may correct.¹ So we see also that the science of medicine, if it be destitute and forsaken by natural philosophy, it is not much better than an empirical practice.

With this reservation therefore we proceed to Human Philosophy, or humanity, which hath two parts : the one considereth a man segregate or distributively ; the other congregate or in society. So as human philosophy is either simple and particular, or conjugate and civil. Humanity particular consisteth of the same parts whereof man consisteth, that is, of knowledges which respect the body, and of knowledges that respect the mind ; but before we distribute so far, it is good to constitute. For I do take the consideration in general, and at large, of human nature to be fit to be emancipated and made a knowledge by itself ; not so much in regard to those delightful and elegant discourses which have been made of the dignity of man, of his miseries, of his state and life, and the like adjuncts of his common and undivided nature ; but chiefly in regard of the knowledge concerning the sympathies and concordances between the mind and body, which being mixed, cannot be properly assigned to the sciences of either.

This knowledge hath two branches : for as all leagues and amities consist of mutual intelligence and mutual offices, so this league of mind and body hath these two parts, how the one discloseth the other, and how the one worketh upon the other ; Discovery, and Impression.

The former of these hath begotten two arts, both of prediction or prenotation, whereof the one is honoured with the inquiry of Aristotle, and the other of Hippocrates. And although they have of later time been used to be coupled with superstitious and fantastical arts, yet being purged and restored to their true state, they have both of them a solid ground in nature, and a profitable use in life. The first is physiognomy, which discovereth the disposition of the mind by the

¹ Bacon never accepted the Copernican theory, but believed the rotation of the planets was caused by the *Primum mobile*.

lineaments of the body. The second is the exposition of natural dreams, which discovereth the state of the body by the imaginations of the mind. In the former of these I note a deficiency, for Aristotle hath very ingeniously and diligently handled the features of the body but not the gestures of the body, which are no less comprehensible by art, and of greater use and advantage. For the lineaments of the body do disclose the disposition and inclination of the mind in general; but the motions of the countenance and parts do not only so, but do farther disclose the present humour and state of the mind and will. For, as your majesty saith most aptly and elegantly, "As the tongue speaketh to the ear, so the gesture speaketh to the eye." And therefore a number of subtle persons, whose eyes do dwell upon the faces and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability; neither can it be denied but that it is a great discoverer of dissimulations, and a great direction in business.

The latter branch, touching impression, hath not been collected into art, but hath been handled dispersedly; and it hath the same relation or antistrophe that the former hath. For the consideration is double; "Either how, and how far the humours and effects of the body do alter or work upon the mind; or again, How, and how far the passions or apprehensions of the mind do alter or work upon the body." The former of these hath been inquired and considered, as a part and appendix of medicine, but much more as a part of religion or superstition: for the physician¹ prescribeth cures of the mind in frenzies and melancholy passions, and pretendeth also to exhibit medicines to exhilarate the mind, to confirm the courage, to clarify the wits, to corroborate the memory, and the like: but the scruples and superstitions of diet, and other regiment of the body, in the sect of the Pythagoreans, in the heresy of the Manicheans, and in the law of Mahomet, do exceed: so likewise the ordinances in the ceremonial law, interdicting the eating of the blood and the fat, distinguishing between beasts clean and unclean for meat, are many and strict. Nay the faith itself, being clear and serene from all clouds of ceremony, yet retaineth the use of fastings, abstinences, and other macerations and humiliations of the body, as things real and not figurative. The root and life of all which prescripts is, besides the ceremony, the consideration of that dependency which the affections of the mind are submitted unto upon the state and disposition of the body. And if any man of weak judgment do conceive, that this suffering of the mind from the body, doth either question the immortality, or derogate from the sovereignty of the soul, he may be taught in easy instances, that the infant in the mother's womb is compatible with the mother, and yet separable: and the most absolute monarch is sometimes led by his servants, and yet without subjection. As for the reciprocal knowledge, which is the operation of the conceits and passions of the mind upon the body; we see all wise physicians in their prescriptions of their regiments,² to their patients, do ever consider *accidentia animi*, as of great force to further or hinder remedies, or recoveries; and more especially it is an inquiry of great depth and worth concerning imagination, how, and how far it

¹ See Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. Burton was born 1576; died 1640.

² Regimens.

altereth the body proper of the imaginant. For although it hath a manifest power to hurt, it followeth not it hath the same degree of power to help; no more than a man can conclude, that because there be pestilent airs, able suddenly to kill a man in health, therefore there should be sovereign airs, able suddenly to cure a man in sickness. But the inquisition of this part is of great use, though it needeth, as Socrates said, "a Delian diver," being difficult and profound. But unto all this knowledge *de communi vinculo*, of the concordances between the mind and the body, that part of inquiry is most necessary, which considereth of the seats and domiciles, which the several faculties of the mind do take and occupate in the organs of the body; which knowledge hath been attempted, and is controverted, and deserveth to be much better inquired. For the opinion of Plato, who placed the understanding in the brain, animosity (which he did unfitly call anger, having a greater mixture with pride) in the heart, and concupiscence or sensuality in the liver, deserveth not to be despised, but much less to be allowed. So then we have constituted, as in our own wish and advice, the inquiry touching human nature entire, as a just portion of knowledge to be handled apart.

The knowledge that concerneth man's Body, is divided as the good of man's body is divided, unto which it referreth. The good of man's body is of four kinds, health, beauty, strength, and pleasure: so the knowledges are medicine, or art of cure; art of decoration, which is called cosmetic; art of activity, which is called athletic; and art voluptuary, which Tacitus truly calleth "*eruditus luxus*." This subject of man's body is of all other things in nature most susceptible of remedy; but then that remedy is most susceptible of error. For the same subtilty of the subject doth cause large possibility, and easy failing; and therefore the inquiry ought to be the more exact.

To speak therefore of medicine, and to resume that we have said, ascending a little higher. The ancient opinion that man was *microcosmus*, an abstract or model of the world, hath been fantastically strained by Paracelsus and the alchemists, as if there were to be found in man's body certain correspondences and parallels, which should have respect to all varieties of things, as stars, planets, minerals, which are extant in the great world. But thus much is evidently true, that of all substances which nature hath produced, man's body is the most extremely compounded. For we see herbs and plants are nourished by earth and water; beasts for the most part by herbs and fruits; man by the flesh of beasts, birds, fishes, herbs, grains, fruits, water, and the manifold alterations, dressings, and preparations of these several bodies, before they come to be his food and aliment. Add hereunto, that beasts have a more simple order of life, and less change of affections to work upon their bodies; whereas man, in his mansion, sleep, exercise, passions, hath infinite variations; and it cannot be denied, but that the body of man of all other things is of the most compounded mass. The soul on the other side is the simplest of substances, as is well expressed:

————— *Purumque reliquit*
Æthereum sensum, atque aurā simplicis ignem.

So that it is no marvel though the soul so placed enjoy no rest, if that

principle be true, that "*Motus rerum est rapidus extra locum, placidus in loco.*" But to the purpose: this variable composition of man's body hath made it as an instrument easy to distemper, and therefore the poets did well to conjoin music and medicine in Apollo, because the office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man's body, and to reduce it to harmony. So then the subject being so variable, hath made the art by consequence more conjectural; and the art being conjectural, hath made so much the more place to be left for imposture. For almost all other arts and sciences are judged by acts or master-pieces, as I may term them, and not by the successes and events. The lawyer is judged by the virtue of his pleading, and not by the issue of the cause. The master of the ship is judged by the directing his course aright, and not by the fortune of the voyage. But the physician, and perhaps the politician, hath no particular acts demonstrative of his ability, but is judged most by the event; which is ever but as it is taken: for who can tell, if a patient die or recover, or if a state be preserved or ruined, whether it be art or accident? And therefore many times the impostor is prized, and the man of virtue taxed. Nay, we see the weakness and credulity of men is such, as they will often prefer a mountebank or witch before a learned physician. And therefore the poets were clear-sighted in discerning this extreme folly, when they made Æsculapius and Circe brother and sister, both children of the sun, as in the verses; Æn. vii. 772.

*Ipse repertorem medicinæ talis et artis
Fulmine Phœbigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas:*

And again,

Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos, etc. Æn. vii. 11.

For in all times, in the opinion of the multitude, witches, and old women, and impostors, have had a competition with physicians. And what followeth? Even this; that physicians say to themselves, as Solomon expresseth it upon an higher occasion; "If it befall to me, as befall to the fools, why should I labour to be more wise?"¹ And therefore I cannot much blame physicians, that they use commonly to intend some other art or practice, which they fancy more than their profession. For you shall have of them, antiquaries, poets, humanists, statesmen, merchants, divines, and in every of these better seen than in their profession; and no doubt, upon this ground, that they find that mediocrity and excellency in their art maketh no difference in profit or reputation towards their fortune; for the weakness of patients, and sweetness of life, and nature of hope, maketh men depend on physicians with all their defects. But, nevertheless, these things, which we have spoken of, are courses begotten between a little occasion, and a great deal of sloth and default; for if we will excite and awake our observation, we shall see, in familiar instances, what a predominant faculty the subtilty of spirit hath over the variety of matter or form: nothing more variable than faces and countenances, yet men can bear in memory the infinite distinctions of them; nay, a painter with a few shells of colours, and the benefit of his eye, and habit of his

¹ Ecclesiastes ii. 15.

imagination, can imitate them all that ever have been, are, or may be, if they were brought before him. Nothing more variable than voices, yet men can likewise discern them personally; nay, you shall have a buffoon, or *phantomimus*, will express as many as he pleaseth. Nothing more variable than the differing sounds of words, yet men have found the way to reduce them to a few simple letters. So that it is not the insufficiency or incapacity of man's mind, but it is the remote standing or placing thereof, that breedeth these mazes and incomprehensions: for as the sense afar off is full of mistaking, but is exact at hand, so it is of the understanding; the remedy whereof is not to quicken or strengthen the organ, but to go nearer to the object; and therefore there is no doubt, but if the physicians will learn and use the true approaches and avenues of nature, they may assume as much as the poet saith:

*Et quorum variant morbi, variabimus artes:
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.*

Which that they should do, the nobleness of their art doth deserve, well shadowed by the poets, in that they made *Æsculapius* to be the son of the Sun, the one being the fountain of life, the other as the second stream; but infinitely more honoured by the example of our Saviour, who made the body of man the object of His miracles, as the soul was the object of His doctrine. For we read not that ever He vouchsafed to do any miracle about honour or money, except that one for giving tribute to *Cæsar*, but only about the preserving, sustaining, and healing the body of man.

Medicine is a science which hath been, as we have said, more professed than laboured, and yet more laboured than advanced; the labour having been, in my judgment, rather in circle than in progression. For I find much iteration, but small addition. It considereth the causes of diseases, with the occasions or impulsions; the diseases themselves, with the accidents; and the cures, with the preservations. The deficiencies which I think good to note, being a few of many, and those such as are of a more open and manifest nature, I will enumerate and not place.

The first is the discontinuance of the ancient and serious diligence of *Hippocrates*, which used to set down a narrative of the special cases of his patients, and how they proceeded, and how they were judged by recovery or death. Therefore having an example proper in the father of the art, I shall not need to allege an example foreign, of the wisdom of the lawyers, who are careful to report new cases and decisions for the direction of future judgments. This continuance of Medicinal History I find deficient, which I understand neither to be so infinite as to extend to every common case, nor so reserved, as to admit none but wonders; for many things are new in the manner, which are not new in the kind; and if men will intend to observe, they shall find much worthy to observe.

In the inquiry which is made by anatomy, I find much deficiency: for they inquire of the parts, and their substances, figures, and colloations; but they inquire not of the diversities of the parts, the secretions of the passages, and the seats or nestlings of the humours, nor much of the footsteps and impressions of diseases; the reason of which

omission I suppose to be, because the first inquiry may be satisfied in the view of one or a few anatomies ; but the latter, being comparative and casual, must arise from the view of many. And as to the diversity of parts, there is no doubt but the facture or framing of the inward parts is as full of difference as the outward, and in that is the cause continent of many diseases, which not being observed, they quarrel many times with the humours, which are not in fault, the fault being in the very frame and mechanic of the part, which cannot be removed by medicine alterative, but must be accommodated and palliated by diets and medicines familiar. And for the passages and pores, it is true, which was anciently noted, that the more subtile of them appear not in anatomies, because they are shut and latent in dead bodies, though they be open and manifest in life : which being supposed, (though the inhumanity of *anatomia vivorum* was by Celsus justly approved) ; yet in regard of the great use of this observation, the inquiry needed not by him so slightly to have been relinquished altogether, or referred to the casual practices of surgery, but might have been well diverted upon dissection of beasts alive, which, notwithstanding the dissimilitude of their parts, may sufficiently satisfy this inquiry. And for the humours, they are commonly passed over in anatomies as purgaments, whereas it is most necessary to observe, what cavities, nests, and receptacles the humours do find in the parts, with the differing kind of the humour so lodged and received. And as for the footsteps of diseases, and their devastations of the inward parts, impostumations, exulcerations, discontinuations, putrefactions, consumptions, contractions, extensions, convulsions, dislocations, obstructions, repletions, together with all preternatural substances, as stones, carnosities, excrescences, worms, and the like ; they ought to have been exactly observed by multitude of anatomies, and the contribution of men's several experiences, and carefully set down, both historically, according to the appearances, and artificially, with a reference to the diseases and symptoms which resulted from them, in case where the anatomy is of a defunct patient : whereas now, upon opening of bodies, they are passed over slightly and in silence.

In the inquiry of diseases they do abandon the cures of many, some as in their nature incurable, and others as past the period of cure ; so that Sylla and the triumvirs never proscribed so many men to die, as they do by their ignorant edicts, whereof numbers do escape with less difficulty, than they did in the Roman proscriptions. Therefore I will not doubt to note as a deficiency, that they inquire not the perfect cures of many diseases, or extremities of diseases, but pronouncing them incurable, do enact a law of neglect, and exempt ignorance from discredit.

Nay farther, I esteem it the office of a physician not only to restore health, but to mitigate pain and dolors, and not only when such mitigation may conduce to recovery, but when it may serve to make a fair and easy passage : for it is no small felicity which Augustus Cæsar was wont to wish to himself, that same *euthanasia*, and which was specially noted in the death of Antoninus Pius, whose death was after the fashion and semblance of a kindly and pleasant sleep. So it is written of Epicurus, that after his disease was judged desperate, he

drowned his stomach and senses with a large draught and ingurgitation of wine; whereupon the epigram was made, "*Hinc Stygius ebrius hausit aquas:*" he was not sober enough to taste any bitterness of the Stygian water. But the physicians, contrariwise, do make a kind of scruple and religion to stay with the patient after the disease is deplored; whereas, in my judgment, they ought both to inquire the skill, and to give the attendances for the facilitating and asswaging of the pains and agonies of death.

In the consideration of the cures of diseases, I find a deficiency in the receipts of propriety, respecting the particular cures of diseases: for the physicians have frustrated the fruit of tradition and experience by their magistralities, in adding, and taking out, and changing *quid pro quo*, in their receipts, at their pleasures, commanding so over the medicine, as the medicine cannot command over the disease; for except it be treacle, and Mithridatum, and of late diascordium, and a few more, they tie themselves to no receipts severely and religiously: for as to the confections of sale which are in the shops, they are for readiness, and not for propriety; for they are upon general intentions of purging, opening, comforting, altering, and not much appropriated to particular diseases; and this is the cause why empirics and old women are more happy many times in their cures than learned physicians, because they are more religious in holding their medicines. Therefore here is the deficiency which I find, that physicians have not, partly out of their own practice, partly out of the constant probations reported in books, and partly out of the traditions of empirics, set down and delivered over certain experimental medicines for the cure of particular diseases, besides their own conjectural and magistral descriptions. For as they were the men of the best composition in the state of Rome, which either being consuls inclined to the people, or being tribunes inclined to the senate; so in the matter we now handle, they be the best physicians, which being learned, incline to the traditions of experience, or being empirics, incline to the methods of learning.

In preparation of medicines, I do find strange, especially, considering how mineral medicines have been extolled, and that they are safer for the outward than inward parts, that no man hath sought to make an imitation by art of natural baths, and medicinable fountains, which nevertheless are confessed to receive their virtues from minerals; and not so only, but discerned and distinguished from what particular mineral they receive tincture, as sulphur, vitriol, steel, or the like; which nature, if it may be reduced to compositions of art, both the variety of them will be increased, and the temper of them will be more commanded.

But lest I grow to be more particular than is agreeable, either to my intention or to proportion, I will conclude this part with the note of one deficiency more, which seemeth to me of greatest consequence; which is, that the prescripts in use are too compendious to attain their end; for to my understanding, it is a vain and flattering opinion to think any medicine can be so sovereign, or so happy, as that the receipt or use of it can work any great effect upon the body of man: it were a strange speech, which spoken, or spoken oft, should reclaim a man

from a vice to which he were by nature subject ; it is order, pursuit, sequence, and interchange of application, which is mighty in nature ; which although it require more exact knowledge in prescribing, and more precise obedience in observing, yet is recompensed with the magnitude of effects. And although a man would think by the daily visitations of the physicians, that there were a pursuance in the cure ; yet let a man look into their prescripts and ministrations, and he shall find them but inconstancies, and every day's devices, without any settled providence or project ; not that every scrupulous or superstitious prescript is effectual, no more than every strait way is the way to heaven, but the truth of the direction must precede severity of observance.

For Cosmetic, it hath parts civil, and parts effeminate : for cleanness of body was ever esteemed to proceed from a due reverence to God, to society, and to ourselves. As for artificial decoration, it is well worthy of the deficiencies which it hath ; being neither fine enough to deceive, nor handsome to use, nor wholesome to please.

For Athletic, I take the subject of it largely, that is to say, for any point of ability, whereunto the body of man may be brought, whether it be of activity, or of patience ; whereof activity hath two parts, strength and swiftness : and patience likewise hath two parts, hardness against wants and extremities, and indurance of pain and torment, whereof we see the practices in tumblers, in savages, and in those that suffer punishment : nay, if there be any other faculty which falls not within any of the former divisions, as in those that dive, that obtain a strange power of containing respiration, and the like, I refer it to this part. Of these things the practices are known, but the philosophy that concerneth them is not much inquired ; the rather, I think, because they are supposed to be obtained, either by an aptness of nature, which cannot be taught, or only by continual custom, which is soon prescribed ; which though it be not true, yet I forbear to note any deficiencies, for the Olympian games are down long since, and the mediocrity of these things is for use ; as for the excellency of them, it serveth for the most part but for mercenary ostentation.

For arts of Pleasure sensual, the chief deficiency in them is of laws to repress them. For as it hath been well observed, that the arts which flourish in times while virtue is in growth, are military, and while virtue is in state, are liberal, and while virtue is in declination, are voluptuary ; so I doubt, that this age of the world is somewhat upon the descent of the wheel. With arts voluptuary I couple practices jocular ; for the deceiving of the senses is one of the pleasures of the senses. As for games of recreation, I hold them to belong to civil life and education. And thus much of that particular human philosophy which concerns the body, which is but the tabernacle of the mind.

FOR Human Knowledge, which concerns the Mind, it hath two parts, the one that inquireth of the substance or nature of the soul or mind ; the other that inquireth of the faculties or functions thereof.

Unto the first of these, the considerations of the original of the soul, whether it be native or adventive, and how far it is exempted from laws of matter, and of the immortality thereof, and many other points, do

ascertain; which have been not more laboriously inquired than famously reported; so as the travel therein taken, seemeth to have been rather in a maze than in a way. But although I am of opinion, that this knowledge may be more really and soundly inquired even in nature than it hath been; yet I hold, that in the end it must be bounded by religion, or else it will be subject to deceit and delusion: for as the substance of the soul in the creation was not extracted out of the mass of heaven and earth, by the benediction of a *producat*, but was immediately inspired from God; so it is not possible that it should be, otherwise than by accident, subject to the laws of heaven and earth, which are the subject of philosophy; and therefore the true knowledge of the nature, and state of the soul, must come by the same inspiration that gave the substance. Unto this part of knowledge touching the soul there be two appendixes, which, as they have been handled, have rather vapoured forth fables than kindled truth—divination, and fascination.

Divination hath been anciently and fitly divided into artificial, and natural; whereof artificial is, when the mind maketh a prediction by argument, concluding upon signs and tokens: natural is, when the mind hath a presentation by an internal power, without the inducement of a sign. Artificial is of two sorts, either when the argument is coupled with a derivation of causes, which is rational; or when it is only grounded upon a coincidence of the effect, which is experimental; whereof the latter for the most part is superstitious: such as were the heathen observations upon the inspection of sacrifices, the flights of birds, the swarming of bees, and such as was the Chaldean astrology, and the like. For artificial divination, the several kinds thereof are distributed amongst particular knowledges. The astronomer hath his predictions, as of conjunctions, aspects, eclipses, and the like. The physician hath his predictions, of death, of recovery, of the accidents and issues of diseases. The politician hath his predictions; "*O urbem venalem, et cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit!*" which stayed not long to be performed in Sylla first, and after in Cæsar; so as these predictions are now impertinent, and to be referred over. But the divination which springeth from the internal nature of the soul, is that which we now speak of, which hath been made to be of two sorts, primitive, and by influxion. Primitive is grounded upon the supposition, that the mind, when it is withdrawn and collected into itself, and not diffused into the organs of the body, hath some extent and latitude of preñotion, which therefore appeareth most in sleep, in extasies, and near death, and more rarely in waking apprehensions; and is induced and furthered by those abstinences and observances which make the mind most to consist in itself. By influxion, is grounded upon the conceit that the mind, as a mirror or glass, should take illumination from the foreknowledge of God and spirits: unto which the same regiment doth likewise conduce. For the retiring of the mind within itself, is the state which is most susceptible of divine influxions, save that it is accompanied in this case with a fervency and elevation, which the ancients noted by fury, and not with a repose and quiet, as it is in the other.

Fascination is the power and act of imagination more intensive

upon other bodies than the body of the imaginant: for of that we speak in the proper place; wherein the school of Paracelsus, and the disciples of pretended natural magic, have been so intemperate, as they have exalted the power of the imagination to be much one with the power of miracle-working faith: others, that draw nearer to probability, calling to their view the secret passages of things, and especially of the contagion that passeth from body to body, do conceive it should likewise be agreeable to nature, that there should be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit without the mediation of the senses: whence the conceits have grown, now almost made civil, of the mastering spirit, and the force of confidence, and the like. Incident unto this is the inquiry how to raise and fortify the imagination; for if the imagination fortified have power, then it is material to know how to fortify and exalt it. And herein comes in crookedly and dangerously, a palliation of a great part of ceremonial magic. For it may be pretended, that ceremonies, characters, and charms, do work, not by any tacit or sacramental contract with evil spirits, but serve only to strengthen the imagination of him that useth it; as images are said by the Roman church to fix the cogitations, and raise the devotions of them that pray before them. But for mine own judgment, if it be admitted that imagination hath power, and that ceremonies fortify imagination, and that they be used sincerely and intentionally for that purpose; yet I should hold them unlawful, as opposing to that first edict which God gave unto man, "*In sudore vultus comedes panem tuum.*" For they propound those noble effects, which God hath set forth unto man to be bought at the price of labour, to be attained by a few easy and slothful observances. Deficiencies in these knowledges I will report none, other than the general deficiency, that it is not known how much of them is verity, and how much vanity.

The knowledge which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man, is of two kinds; the one respecting his understanding and reason, and the other his will, appetite, and affection; whereof the former produceth direction or decree, the latter action or execution. It is true that the imagination is an agent or *nuncius* in both provinces, both the judicial and the ministerial. For sense sendeth over to imagination before reason have judged, and reason sendeth over to imagination before the decree can be acted: for imagination ever precedeth voluntary motion, saving that this Janus of imagination hath differing faces; for the face towards reason hath the print of truth, but the face towards action hath the print of good, which nevertheless are faces,

Quales decet esse sororum.

Neither is the imagination simply and only a messenger, but is invested with, or at leastwise usurpeth no small authority in itself, besides the duty of the message. For it was well said by Aristotle, "That the mind hath over the body that commandment, which the lord hath over a bondman; but that reason hath over the imagination that commandment, which a magistrate hath over a free citizen," who may come also to rule in his turn. For we see that, in matters of

faith and religion, we raise our imagination above our reason, which is the cause why religion sought ever access to the mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, dreams. And again, in all persuasions, that are wrought by eloquence, and other impressions of like nature, which do paint and disguise the true appearance of things, the chief commendation unto reason is from the imagination. Nevertheless, because I find not any science that doth properly or fitly pertain to the imagination, I see no cause to alter the former division. For as for poesy, it is rather pleasure, or play of imagination, than a work or duty thereof. And if it be a work, we speak not now of such parts of learning as the imagination produceth, but of such sciences as handle and consider of the imagination; no more than we shall speak now of such knowledges as reason produceth, for that extendeth to all philosophy, but of such knowledges as do handle and inquire of the faculty of reason; so as poesy had its true place. As for the power of the imagination in nature, and the manner of fortifying the same, we have mentioned it in the doctrine "*De anima*," whereunto most fitly it belongeth: and lastly for imaginative or insinuitive reason, which is the subject of rhetoric, we think it best to refer it to the arts of reason. So therefore we content ourselves with the former division, that Human Philosophy, which respecteth the faculties of the mind of man, hath two parts, Rational and Moral.

The part of Human Philosophy which is rational, is of all knowledges, to the most wits, the least delightful, and seemeth but a net of subtilty and spinosity: for as it was truly said, that knowledge is "*fabulum animi*;" so in the nature of men's appetite to this food, most men are of the taste and stomach of the Israelites in the desert, that would fain have returned "*ad ollas carnium*," and were weary of manna; which though it were celestial, yet seemed less nutritive and comfortable. So generally men taste well knowledges that are drenched in flesh and blood, civil history, morality, policy, about the which men's affections, praises, fortunes, do turn and are conversant: but this same "*lumen siccum*" doth parch and offend most men's watery and soft natures. But to speak truly of things as they are in worth, "rational knowledges" are the keys of all other arts; for as Aristotle saith aptly and elegantly, "that the hand is the instrument of instruments, and the mind is the form of forms;" so these be truly said to be the art of arts; neither do they only direct, but likewise confirm and strengthen: even as the habit of shooting doth not only enable to shoot a nearer shoot, but also to draw a stronger bow.

The arts intellectual are four in number, divided according to the ends whereunto they are referred; for man's labour is to invent that which is sought or propounded; or to judge that which is invented; or to retain that which is judged; or to deliver over that which is retained. So as the arts must be four; art of inquiry or invention; art of examination or judgment; art of custody or memory; and art of elocution or tradition.

Invention is of two kinds, much differing; the one of arts and sciences, and the other of speech and arguments. The former of these I do report deficient; which seemeth to me to be such a defi-

ciences, as if in the making of an inventory, touching the state of a defunct, it should be set down, that there is no ready money. For as money will fetch all other commodities, so this knowledge is that which should purchase all the rest. And like as the West Indies¹ had never been discovered, if the use of the mariner's needle had not been first discovered, though the one be vast regions, and the other a small motion ; so it cannot be found strange, if sciences be no farther discovered, if the art itself of invention and discovery hath been passed over.

That this part of knowledge is wanting, to my judgment, standeth plainly confessed : for first, logic doth not pretend to invent sciences, or the axioms of sciences, but passeth it over with a *cuique in sua arte credendum*. And Celsus acknowledgeth it gravely, speaking of the empirical and dogmatical sects of physicians, "That medicines and cures were first found out, and then after the reasons and causes were discoursed ; and not the causes first found out, and by light from them the medicines and cures discovered." And Plato, in his *Theætetus*, noteth well, "That particulars are infinite, and the higher generalities give no sufficient direction : and that the pith of all sciences, which maketh the artsman differ from the inexpert, is in the middle propositions, which in every particular knowledge are taken from tradition and experience." And therefore we see, that they which discourse of the inventions and originals of things, refer them rather to chance than to art, and rather to beasts, birds, fishes, serpents, than to men.

*Dictamnium genetrix Cretæa carpit ab Ida,
Puberibus caulem foliis, et flore comantem
Purpureo : non illa feris incognita capris,
Gramina cum tergo volucres hæserè sagittæ.*

So that it was no marvel, the manner of antiquity being to consecrate inventors, that the Egyptians had so few human idols in their temples, but almost all brute ;

*Omnigenumque Deum monstra, et Iatrator Anubis,
Contra Neptunum, et Venerem, contraque Minervam, etc.*

And if you like better the tradition of the Grecians, and ascribe the first inventions to men, yet you will rather believe that Prometheus first struck the flints, and marvelled at the spark, than that when he first struck the flints he expected the spark ; and therefore we see the West Indian Prometheus had no intelligence with the European, because of the rareness with them of flint, that gave the first occasion : so as it should seem, that hitherto men are rather beholden to a wild goat for surgery, or to a nightingale for music, or to the ibis for some part of physic, or to the potlid² that fled open for artillery, or generally to chance, or anything else, than to logic, for the invention of arts and sciences. Neither is the form of invention which Virgil describeth much other.

*Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes
Paulatim.*

¹ America in general is included in this term.

² Still true—as in the case of the invention of steam.

For if you observe the words well, it is no other method than that which brute beasts are capable of and do put in ure : which is a perpetual tending or practising some one thing, urged and imposed by an absolute necessity of conservation of being ; for so Cicero saith very truly, "*Usus uni rei deditus, et naturam et artem sæpe vincit.*" And therefore if it be said of men,

*Labor omnia vincit
Improbis, et duris urgens in rebus egestas ;*

it is likewise said of beasts, "*Quis psittaco docuit suum χαίρε ;*" Who taught the raven in a drought to throw pebbles into an hollow tree, where she espied water, that the water might rise so as she might come to it? Who taught the bee to sail through such a vast sea of air, and to find the way from a field in flower, a great way off, to her hive? Who taught the ant to bite every grain of corn that she burieth in her hill, lest it should take root and grow? Add then the word *extundere*, which importeth the extreme difficulty ; and the word *paulatim*, which importeth the extreme slowness ; and we are where we were, even amongst the Egyptian gods ; there being little left to the faculty of reason, and nothing to the duty of art, for matter of invention.

Secondly, the induction which the logicians speak of, and which seemeth familiar with Plato, whereby the principles of sciences may be pretended to be invented, and so the middle propositions by derivation from the principles ; their form of induction, I say, is utterly vicious and incompetent ; wherein their errand is the fouler, because it is the duty of art to perfect and exalt nature ; but they contrariwise have wronged, abused, and traduced nature. For he that shall attentively observe how the mind doth gather this excellent dew of knowledge, like unto that which the poet speaketh of, "*Aërei mellis cælestia dona,*" distilling and contriving it out of particulars natural and artificial, as the flowers of the field and garden, shall find, that the mind of herself by nature doth manage and act an induction much better than they describe it. For to conclude upon an enumeration of particulars without instance contradictory, is no conclusion, but a conjecture ; for who can assure, in many subjects, upon those particulars which appear of a side, that there are not other on the contrary side which appear not. As if Samuel should have rested upon those sons of Jesse, which were brought before him, and failed of David which was in the field. And this form, to say truth, is so gross, as it had not been possible for wits so subtle, as have managed these things, to have offered it to the world, but that they hasted to their theories and dogmaticals, and were imperious and scornful toward particulars, which their manner was to use but as *lictores* and *viatores*, for serjeants and whiffers, *ad summovendam turbam*, to make way and make room for their opinions, rather than in their true use and service : certainly it is a thing may touch a man with a religious wonder to see how the footsteps of seducement are the very same in divine and human truth ; for as in divine truth man cannot endure to become as a child ; so in human, they reputed the attending

the inductions, whereof we speak, as if it were a second infancy or childhood.

Thirdly, allow some principles or axioms were rightly induced, yet nevertheless certain it is that middle propositions cannot be deduced from them in subject of nature by syllogism, that is, by touch and reduction of them to principles in a middle term. It is true that in sciences popular, as moralities, laws, and the like, yea and divinity, because it pleaseth God to apply Himself to the capacity of the simplest, that form may have use, and in natural philosophy likewise, by way of argument or satisfactory reason, "*Quæ assensum parit, operis effecta est,*" but the subtilty of nature and operations will not be enchained in those bonds; for arguments consist of propositions, and propositions of words, and words are but the current tokens or marks of popular notions of things; which notions, if they be grossly and variably collected out of particulars, it is not the laborious examination either of consequences of arguments, or of the truth of propositions, that can ever correct that error, being, as the physicians speak, in the first digestion; and therefore it was not without cause, that so many excellent philosophers became sceptics and academics, and denied any certainty of knowledge or comprehension, and held opinion, that the knowledge of man extended only to appearances and probabilities. It is true that in Socrates it was supposed to be but a form of irony, "*Scientiam dissimulando simulavit:*" for he used to disable his knowledge, to the end to enhance his knowledge, like the humour of Tiberius in his beginnings, that would reign, but would not acknowledge so much; and in the latter academy, which Cicero embraced, this opinion also of *acatalepsia*, I doubt, was not held sincerely: for that all those which excelled in copy of speech, seem to have chosen that sect as that which was fittest to give glory to their eloquence, and variable discourses; being rather like progresses of pleasure, than journeys to an end. But assuredly many scattered in both academies did hold it in subtilty and integrity. But here was their chief error; they charged the deceit upon the senses, which in my judgment, notwithstanding all their cavillations, are very sufficient to certify and report truth, though not always immediately, yet by comparison, by help of instrument, and by producing and urging such things as are too subtile for the sense, to some effect comprehensible by the sense, and other like assistance. But they ought to have charged the deceit upon the weakness of the intellectual powers, and upon the manner of collecting and concluding upon the reports of the senses. This I speak not to disable the mind of man, but to stir it up to seek help: for no man, be he never so cunning or practised, can make a straight line or perfect circle by steadiness of hand, which may be easily done by help of a ruler or compass.

This part of invention, concerning the invention of sciences, I purpose, if God give me leave, hereafter to propound, having digested it into two parts; whereof the one I term *experientia literata*, and the other *interpretatio naturæ*: the former being but a degree and rudiment of the latter. But I will not dwell too long, nor speak too great upon a promise.

The invention of speech or argument is not properly an invention:

for to invent, is to discover that we know not, and not to recover or resummon that which we already know, and the use of this invention is no other, but out of the knowledge, whereof our mind is already possessed, to draw forth or call before us that which may be pertinent to the purpose which we take into our consideration. So as, to speak truly, it is no invention, but a remembrance or suggestion, with an application; which is the cause why the schools do place it after judgment, as subsequent and not precedent. Nevertheless, because we do account it a chase, as well of deer in an enclosed park, as in a forest at large, and that it hath already obtained the name; let it be called invention, so as it be perceived and discerned that the scope and end of this invention is readiness and present use of our knowledge, and not addition or amplification thereof.

To procure this ready use of knowledge there are two courses, preparation and suggestion. The former of these seemeth scarcely a part of knowledge, consisting rather of diligence than of any artificial crudition. And herein Aristotle wittily, but hurtfully, doth deride the sophists near his time, saying, "They did as if one that professed the art of shoemaking should not teach how to make up a shoe, but only exhibit in a readiness a number of shoes of all fashions and sizes." But yet a man might reply, that if a shoemaker should have no shoes in his shop, but only work as he is bespoken, he should be weakly customed. But our Saviour, speaking of divine knowledge, saith, "that the kingdom of heaven is like a good householder, that bringeth forth both new and old store;" and we see the ancient writers of rhetoric do give it in precept that pleaders should have the places whereof they have most continual use, ready handled in all the variety that may be; as that, to speak for the literal interpretation of the law against equity, and contrary; and to speak for presumptions and inferences against testimony, and contrary. And Cicero himself, being broken unto it by great experience, delivereth it plainly; that whatsoever a man shall have occasion to speak of, if he will take the pains, may have it in effect premeditate, and handled *in thesi*: so that when he cometh to a particular, he shall have nothing to do, but to put to names, and times, and places, and such other circumstances of individuals. We see likewise the exact diligence of Demosthenes, who in regard of the great force that the entrance and access into causes hath to make a good impression, had ready framed a number of prefaces for orations and speeches. All which authorities and precedents may overweigh Aristotle's opinion, that would have us change a rich wardrobe for a pair of shears.

But the nature of the collection of this provision or preparatory store, though it be common both to logic and rhetoric, yet having made an entry of it here, where it came first to be spoken of, I think fit to refer over the farther handling of it to rhetoric.

The other part of invention, which I term Suggestion, doth assign and direct us to certain marks or places, which may excite our mind to return and produce such knowledge, as it hath formerly collected, to the end we may make use thereof. Neither is this use, truly taken, only to furnish argument to dispute probably with others, but likewise to minister unto our judgment to conclude aright within ourselves.

Neither may these places serve only to prompt our invention, but also to direct our inquiry. For a faculty of wise interrogating is half a knowledge. For as Plato saith, "Whosoever seeketh, knoweth that which he seeketh for in a general notion, else how shall he know it when he hath found it?" And therefore the larger your anticipation is, the more direct and compendious is your search. But the same places which will help us what to produce of that which we know already, will also help us, if a man of experience were before us, what questions to ask: or, if we have books and authors to instruct us, what points to search and revolve: so as I cannot report, that this part of invention, which is that which the schools call topics, is deficient.

Nevertheless topics are of two sorts, general and special. The general we have spoken to, but the particular hath been touched by some, but rejected generally as inartificial and variable. But leaving the humour which hath reigned too much in the schools, which is, to be vainly subtil in a few things, which are within their command, and to reject the rest, I do receive particular topics, that is, places or directions of invention and inquiry in every particular knowledge, as things of great use, being mixtures of logic with the matter of sciences: for in these it holdeth, "*Ars inveniendi adolescit cum inventis*;" for as in going of a way, we do not only gain that part of the way which is passed, but we gain the better sight of that part of the way which remaineth; so every degree of proceeding in a science giveth a light to that which followeth, which light if we strengthen, by drawing it forth into questions or places of inquiry, we do greatly advance our pursuit.

Now we pass unto the arts of judgment, which handle the natures of proofs and demonstrations, which as to induction hath a coincidence with invention: for in all inductions, whether in good or vicious form, the same action of the mind which inventeth, judgeth; all one as in the sense: but otherwise it is in proof by syllogism; for the proof being not immediate, but by mean, the invention of the mean is one thing, and the judgment of the consequence is another; the one exciting only, the other examining. Therefore, for the real and exact form of judgment, we refer ourselves to that which we have spoken of interpretation of nature.

For the other judgment by syllogism, as it is a thing most agreeable to the mind of man, so it hath been vehemently and excellently laboured: for the nature of man doth extremely covet to have somewhat in his understanding fixed and unmoveable, and as a rest and support of the mind. And therefore as Aristotle endeavoureth to prove, that in all motion there is some point quiescent; and as he elegantly expoundeth the ancient fable of Atlas, that stood fixed, and bare up the heaven from falling, to be meant of the poles or axle-tree of heaven, whereupon the conversion is accomplished; so assuredly men have a desire to have an Atlas or axle-tree within, to keep them from fluctuation, which is like to a perpetual peril of falling; therefore men did hasten to set down some principles about which the variety of their disputations might turn.

So then this art of judgment is but the reduction of propositions to principles in a middle term. The principles to be agreed by all,

and exempted from argument : the middle term to be elected at the liberty of every man's invention : the reduction to be of two kinds, direct and inverted ; the one when the proposition is reduced to the principle, which they term a probation ostensive ; the other, when the contradictory of the proposition is reduced to the contradictory of the principle, which is that which they call *per incommodum*, or pressing an absurdity ; the number of middle terms to be as the proposition standeth degrees more or less removed from the principle.

But this art hath two several methods of doctrine, the one by way of direction, the other by way of caution ; the former frameth and setteth down a true form of consequence, by the variations and deflections from which errors and inconsequences may be exactly judged. Toward the composition and structure of which form it is incident to handle the parts thereof, which are propositions, and the parts of propositions, which are simple words ; and this is that part of logic which is comprehended in the analytics.

The second method of doctrine was introduced for expedite use and assurance sake discovering the more subtile forms of sophisms and illaqueations, with their redargutions, which is that which is termed Elenches. For although in the more gross sorts of fallacies it happeneth, as Seneca maketh the comparison well, as in juggling feats, which though we know not how they are done, yet we know well it is not as it seemeth to be, yet the more subtile sort of them doth not only put a man besides his answer, but doth many times abuse his judgment.

This part concerning Elenches is excellently handled by Aristotle in precept, but more excellently by Plato in example ; not only in the persons of the sophists, but even in Socrates himself, who professing to affirm nothing, but to infirm that which was affirmed by another, hath exactly expressed all the forms of objection, fallacy, and redargution. And although we have said that the use of this doctrine is for redargution : yet it is manifest, the degenerate and corrupt use is for caption and contradiction, which passeth for a great faculty, and no doubt is of very great advantage, though the difference be good which was made between orators and sophisters, that the one is as the greyhound, which hath his advantage in the race, and the other as the hare, which hath her advantage in the turn, so as it is the advantage of the weaker creature.

But yet farther, this doctrine of Elenches hath a more ample latitude and extent, than is perceived ; namely, unto divers parts of knowledge ; whereof some are laboured, and others omitted. For first, I conceive, though it may seem at first somewhat strange, that that part which is variably referred, sometimes to logic, sometimes to metaphysic, touching the common adjuncts of essences, is but an Elenche ; for the great sophism of all sophisms being equivocation or ambiguity of words and phrase, especially of such words as are most general and intervene in every inquiry : it seemeth to me that the true and fruitful uses, leaving vain subtilties and speculations, of the inquiry of majority, minority, priority, posteriority, identity, diversity, possibility, act, totality, parts, existence, privation, and the like, are but wise cautions against ambiguities of speech. So again, the

distribution of things into certain tribes, which we call categories or predicaments, are but cautions against the confusion of definitions and divisions.

Secondly, there is a seducement that worketh by the strength of the impression, and not by the subtilty of the illaqueation, not so much perplexing the reason, as over-ruling it by power of the imagination. But this part I think more proper to handle, when I shall speak of rhetoric.

But lastly, there is yet a much more important and profound kind of fallacies in the mind of man, which I find not observed or inquired at all, and think good to place here, as that which of all others appertaineth most to rectify judgment : the force whereof is such, as it doth not dazzle or snare the understanding in some particulars, but doth more generally and inwardly infect and corrupt the state thereof. For the mind of man is far from the nature of a clear and equal glass, wherein the beams of things should reflect according to their true incidence ; nay, it is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstition and imposture, if it be not delivered and reduced. For this purpose, let us consider the false appearances that are imposed upon us by the general nature of the mind, beholding them in an example or two ; as first in that instance which is the root of all superstition, namely, that to the nature of the mind of all men it is consonant for the affirmative or active to effect, more than the negative or privative. So that a few times hitting, or presence, countervails oft-times failing, or absence ; as was well answered by Diagoras¹ to him that showed him, in Neptune's temple, the great number of pictures of such as had escaped shipwreck, and had paid their vows to Neptune, saying, "Advise now, you that think it folly to invoke Neptune in tempest." "Yea, but," saith Diagoras, "where are they painted that are drowned?" Let us behold it in another instance, namely, "That the spirit of man, being of an equal and uniform substance, doth usually suppose and feign in nature a greater equality and uniformity than is in truth." Hence it cometh, that the mathematicians cannot satisfy themselves, except they reduce the motions of the celestial bodies to perfect circles, rejecting spiral lines, and labouring to be discharged of eccentrics. Hence it cometh, that whereas there are many things in nature, as it were, *monodica, sui juris* ; yet the cogitations of man do feign unto them relatives, parallels, and conjugates, whereas no such thing is ; as they have feigned an element of fire to keep square with earth, water, and air, and the like ; nay, it is not credible, till it be opened, what a number of fictions and fantasies, the similitude of human actions and arts, together with the making of man *communis mensura*, have brought into natural philosophy, not much better than the heresy of the Anthropomorphites,² bred in the cells of gross and solitary monks, and the opinion of Epicurus, answerable to the same in heathenism, who supposed the gods to be of human shape. And therefore Velleius the Epicurean needed not to have asked why God should have adorned the heavens with stars, as if he had been an

¹ See page 30, note 4.

² A sect of ancient heretics, who taught that God had a human body human passions. &c

Ædilis; one that should have set forth some magnificent shows or plays. For if that great work-master had been of an human disposition, he would have cast the stars into some pleasant and beautiful works and orders, like the frets in the roofs of houses; whereas one can scarce find a posture in square, or triangle, or straight line, amongst such an infinite number; so differing an harmony there is between the spirit of man, and the spirit of nature.

Let us consider, again, the false appearances imposed upon us by every man's own individual nature and custom, in that feigned supposition that Plato maketh of the cave; for, certainly, if a child were continued in a grot or cave under the earth until maturity of age, and came suddenly abroad, he would have strange and absurd imaginations. So in like manner, although our persons live in the view of heaven, yet our spirits are included in the caves of our own complexions and customs, which minister unto us infinite errors and vain opinions, if they be not recalled to examination. But hereof we have given many examples in one of the errors, or peccant humours, which we ran briefly over in our first book.

And lastly, let us consider the false appearances that are imposed upon us by words, which are framed and applied according to the conceit and capacities of the vulgar sort; and although we think we govern our words, and prescribe it well, "*Loquendum ut vulgus, sentiendum ut sapientes;*" yet certain it is, that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily intangle and pervert the judgment; so as it is almost necessary in all controversies and disputations, to imitate the wisdom of the mathematics, in setting down in the very beginning the definitions of our very words and terms, that others may know how we accept and understand them, and whether they concur with us or no. For it cometh to pass, for want of this, that we are sure to end there where we ought to have begun, which is in questions and differences about words. To conclude therefore, it must be confessed that it is not possible to divorce ourselves from these fallacies and false appearances, because they are inseparable from our nature and condition of life; so yet nevertheless the caution of them (for all elenches, as was said, are but cautions), doth extremely import the true conduct of human judgment. The particular elenches or cautions against these three false appearances, I find altogether deficient.

There remaineth one part of judgment of great excellency, which to mine understanding is so slightly touched, as I may report that also deficient; which is, the application of the differing kinds of proofs to the differing kinds of subjects; for there being but four kinds of demonstrations, that is, by the immediate consent of the mind or sense, by induction, by syllogism, and by congruity; which is that which Aristotle called demonstration in orb, or circle, and not *a notioribus*; every of these hath certain subjects in the matter of sciences, in which respectively they have chiefest use; and certain others, from which respectively they ought to be excluded, and the rigour and curiosity in requiring the more severe proofs in some things, and chiefly the facility in contenting ourselves with the more remiss proofs in others, hath been amongst the greatest causes of

detriment and hindrance to knowledge. The distributions and assignments of demonstrations, according to the analogy of sciences I note as deficient.

The custody or retaining of knowledge is either in writing or memory; whereof writing hath two parts, the nature of the character, and the order of the entry: for the art of characters, or other visible notes of words or things, it hath nearest conjugation with grammar; and therefore I refer it to the due place: for the disposition and collocation of that knowledge which we preserve in writing, it consisteth in a good digest of common-places wherein I am not ignorant of the prejudice imputed to the use of common-place books, as causing a retardation of reading, and some sloth or relaxation of memory. But because it is but a counterfeit thing in knowledges to be forward and pregnant, except a man be deep and full, I hold the entry of common-places to be a matter of great use and essence in studying, as that which assureth copy of invention, and contracteth judgment to a strength. But this is true, that of the methods of common-places that I have seen, there is none of any sufficient worth, all of them carrying merely the face of a school, and not of a world, and referring to vulgar matters, and pedantical divisions, without all life, or respect to action.

For the other principal part of the custody of knowledge, which is memory, I find that faculty in my judgment weakly inquired of. An art there is extant of it; but it seemeth to me that there are better precepts than that art, and better practices of that art, than those received. It is certain the art, as it is, may be raised to points of ostentation prodigious; but in use, as it is now managed, it is barren, not burdensome, nor dangerous to natural memory, as is imagined, but barren; that is, not dexterous to be applied to the serious use of business and occasions. And therefore I make no more estimation of repeating a great number of names or words upon once hearing, or the pouring forth of a number of verses or rhymes *ex tempore*, or the making of a satirical simile of every thing, or the turning of every thing to a jest, or the falsifying or contradicting of every thing by caviil, or the like, whereof in the faculties of the mind there is great *copia*, and such as by device and practice may be exalted to an extreme degree of wonder, than I do of the tricks of tumblers, funambuloes, baladines; the one being the same in the mind, that the other is in the body; matters of strangeness without worthiness.

This art of memory is but built upon two intentions; the one prenotation, the other emblem. Prenotation dischargeth the indefinite seeking of that we would remember, and directeth us to seek in a narrow compass; that is, somewhat that hath congruity with our place of memory. Emblem reduceth conceits intellectual to images sensible, which strike the memory more; out of which axioms may be drawn much better practice than that in use; and besides which axioms, there are divers more touching help of memory, not inferior to them. But I did in the beginning distinguish, not to report those things deficient, which are but only ill managed.

There remaineth the fourth kind of rational knowledge, which is transitive concerning the expressing or transferring our knowledge to

others, which I will term by the general name of tradition or delivery. Tradition hath three parts: the first concerning the organ of tradition; the second, concerning the method of tradition; and the third, concerning the illustration of tradition.

For the organ of tradition, it is either speech or writing: for Aristotle saith well, "Words are the images of cogitations, and letters are the images of words;" but yet it is not of necessity that cogitations be expressed by the medium of words. For whatsoever is capable of sufficient differences, and those perceptible by the sense, is in nature competent to express cogitations. And therefore we see in the commerce of barbarous people, that understand not one another's language, and in the practice of divers that are dumb and deaf, that men's minds are expressed in gestures, though not exactly, yet to serve the turn. And we understand farther, that it is the use of China, and the kingdoms of the High Levant, to write in characters real, which express neither letters nor words in gross, but things or notions; insomuch as countries and provinces, which understand not one another's language, can nevertheless read one another's writings, because the characters are accepted more generally than the languages do extend; and therefore they have a vast multitude of characters, as many, I suppose, as radical-words.

These notes of cogitations are of two sorts; the one when the note hath some similitude or congruity with the notion; the other *ad placitum*, having force only by contract or acceptation. Of the former sort are hieroglyphics and gestures. For as to hieroglyphics, things of ancient use, and embraced chiefly by the Egyptians, one of the most ancient nations, they are but as continued impresses and emblems. And as for gestures, they are as transitory hieroglyphics, and are to hieroglyphics as words spoken are to words written, in that they abide not; but they have evermore, as well as the other, an affinity with the things signified; as Periander,¹ being consulted with, how to preserve a tyranny newly usurped, bid the messenger attend and report what he saw him do, and went into his garden and topped all the highest flowers; signifying, that it consisted in the cutting off and keeping low of the nobility and grandees. *Ad placitum* are the characters real before mentioned, and words: although some have been willing by curious inquiry, or rather by apt feigning, to have derived imposition of names from reason and intendment; a speculation elegant, and, by reason it searcheth into antiquity, reverent; but sparingly mixed with truth, and of small fruit. This portion of knowledge, touching the notes of things, and cogitations in general, I find not inquired, but deficient. And although it may seem of no great use, considering that words and writings by letter do far excel all the other ways; yet because this part concerneth, as it were, the mint of knowledge, for words are the tokens current and accepted for conceits, as moneys are for values, and that it is fit men be not ignorant that moneys may be of another kind than gold and silver, I thought to propound it to better inquiry.

Concerning speech and words, the consideration of them hath pro-

¹ Tyrant of Corinth. He was counted amongst the seven wise men of Greece; died 585 B.C. The same story is told of the Tarquins.

duced the science of Grammar ; for man still striveth to reintegrate himself in those benedictions, from which by his fault he hath been deprived ; and as he hath striven against the first general curse, by the invention of all other arts ; so hath he sought to come forth of the second general curse, which was the confusion of tongues, by the art of grammar, whereof the use in a mother tongue is small ; in a foreign tongue more ; but most in such foreign tongues as have ceased to be vulgar tongues, and are turned only to learned tongues. The duty of it is of two natures ; the one popular, which is for the speedy and perfect attaining languages, as well for intercourse of speech, as for understanding of authors ; the other philosophical, examining the power and nature of words, as they are the footsteps and prints of reason : which kinds of analogy between words and reason is handled *sparsim*, brokenly, though not entirely ; and therefore I cannot report it deficient, though I think it very worthy to be reduced into a science by itself.

Unto grammar also belongeth, as an appendix, the consideration of the accidents of words, which are measure, sound, and elevation or accent, and the sweetness and harshness of them : whence hath issued some curious observations in rhetoric, but chiefly poesy, as we consider it, in respect of the verse, and not of the argument ; wherein though men in learned tongues do tie themselves to the ancient measures, yet in modern languages it seemeth to me, as free to make new measures of verses as of dances ; for a dance is a measured pace, as a verse is a measured speech. In these things the sense is better judge than the art ;

*Cænæ fercula nostræ,
Mallem convivis, quam placuisse cocis.*

And of the servile expressing antiquity in an unlike and unfit subject, it is well said, "*Quod tempore antiquum videtur, id incongruitate est maxime novum.*"

For cyphers, they are commonly in letters or alphabets, but may be in words. The kinds of cyphers, besides the simple cyphers, with changes, and intermixtures of nulls and non-significants, are many, according to the nature or rule of the infolding : wheel-cyphers, key-cyphers, doubles, etc. But the virtues of them, whereby they are to be preferred, are three ; that they be not laborious to write and read ; that they be impossible to decipher ; and in some cases, that they be without suspicion. The highest degree whereof is to write *omnia per omnia* ; which is undoubtedly possible with a proportion quincuple at most, of the writing infolding to the writing infolded, and no other restraint whatsoever. This art of ciphering hath for relative an art of deciphering, by supposition unprofitable, but, as things are, of great use. For suppose that cyphers were well managed, there be multitudes of them which exclude the decipherer. But in regard of the rawness and unskilfulness of the hands through which they pass, the greatest matters are many times carried in the weakest cyphers.

In the enumeration of these private and retired arts, it may be thought I seek to make a great muster-roll of sciences, naming them for show and ostentation, and to little other purpose. But let those

which are skilful in them judge, whether I bring them in only for appearance, or whether in that which I speak of them, though in few words, there be not some seed of proficience. And this must be remembered, that as there be many of great account in their countries and provinces, which when they come up to the seat of the estate, are but of mean rank, and scarcely regarded; so these arts being here placed with the principal and supreme sciences, seem petty things; yet to such as have chosen them to spend their labours and studies in them, they seem great matters.

For the method of tradition, I see it hath moved a controversy in our time. But as in civil business, if there be a meeting, and men fall at words, there is commonly an end of the matter for that time, and no proceeding at all: so in learning, where there is much controversy, there is many times little inquiry. For this part of knowledge of method seemeth to me so weakly inquired, as I shall report it deficient.

Method hath been placed, and that not amiss, in logic, as a part of judgment: for as the doctrine of syllogisms comprehendeth the rules of judgment upon that which is invented, so the doctrine of method containeth the rules of judgment upon that which is to be delivered; for judgment precedeth delivery, as it followeth invention. Neither is the method or the nature of the tradition material only to the use of knowledge, but likewise to the progression of knowledge: for since the labour and life of one man cannot attain to perfection of knowledge, the wisdom of the tradition is that which inspireth the felicity of continuance and proceeding. And therefore the most real diversity of method, is of method referred to use, and method referred to progression, whereof the one may be termed magistral, and the other of probation.

The latter whereof seemeth to be *via deserta et interclusa*. For as knowledges are now delivered, there is a kind of contract of error, between the deliverer and the receiver; for he that delivereth knowledge, desireth to deliver it in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined: and he that receiveth knowledge, desireth rather present satisfaction, than expectant inquiry: and so rather not to doubt, than not to err; glory making the author not to lay open his weakness, and sloth making the disciple not to know his strength.

But knowledge, that is delivered as a thread to be spun on, ought to be delivered and intimated, if it were possible, in the same method wherein it was invented, and so is it possible of knowledge induced. But in this same anticipated and prevented knowledge, no man knoweth how he came to the knowledge which he hath obtained. But yet nevertheless, *secundum majus et minus*, a man may revisit and descend unto the foundations of his knowledge and consent; and so transplant it into another, as it grew in his own mind. For it is in knowledges, as it is in plants, if you mean to use the plant, it is no matter for the roots; but if you mean to remove it to grow, then it is more assured to rest upon roots than slips: so the delivery of knowledges, as it is now used, is as of fair bodies of trees without the roots; good for the carpenter, but not for the planter. But if you will have

sciences grow, it is less matter for the shaft or body of the tree, so you look well to the taking up of the roots: of which kind of delivery the method of the mathematics, in that subject, hath some shadow; but generally I see it neither put in use nor put in inquisition, and therefore note it for deficient.

Another diversity of method there is, which hath some affinity with the former, used in some cases by the discretion of the ancients, but disgraced since by the impostures of many vain persons, who have made it as a false light for their counterfeit merchandizes; and that is, enigmatical and disclosed. The pretence whereof is to remove the vulgar capacities from being admitted to the secrets of knowledges, and to reserve them to selected auditors, or wits of such sharpness as can pierce the veil.

Another diversity of method, whereof the consequence is great, is the delivery of knowledge in aphorisms, or in methods; wherein we may observe, that it hath been too much taken into custom, out of a few axioms or observations upon any subject to make a solemn and formal art, filling it with some discourses, and illustrating it with examples, and digesting it into a sensible method; but the writings in aphorisms hath many excellent virtues, whereto the writing in method doth not approach.

For first it trieth the writer, whether he be superficial or solid: for aphorisms, except they should be ridiculous, cannot be made but of the pith and heart of sciences; for discourse of illustration is cut off, recitals of examples are cut off; discourse of connection and order is cut off; descriptions of practice are cut off; so there remaineth nothing to fill the aphorisms, but some good quantity of observation: and therefore no man can suffice, nor in reason will attempt to write aphorisms, but he that is sound and grounded. But in methods,

*Tantum series juncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris;*

as a man shall make a great show of an art, which, if it were disjointed, would come to little. Secondly, methods are more fit to win consent, or belief, but less fit to point to action; for they carry a kind of demonstration in orb or circle, one part illuminating another, and therefore satisfy. But particulars being dispersed, do best agree with dispersed directions. And lastly, aphorisms, representing a knowledge broken, do invite men to inquire farther; whereas methods carrying the show of a total, do secure men as if they were at farthest.

Another diversity of method, which is likewise of great weight, is the handling of knowledge by assertions, and their proofs; or by questions, and their determinations; the latter kind whereof, if it be immoderately followed, is as prejudicial to the proceeding of learning, as it is to the proceeding of an army to go about to besiege every little fort or hold. For if the field be kept, and the sum of the enterprise pursued, those smaller things will come in of themselves; but indeed a man would not leave some important piece of the enemy at his back. In like manner, the use of confutation in the delivery of sciences ought to be very sparing; and to serve to remove strong preoccupations and prejudgments, and not to minister and excite disputations and doubts.

Another diversity of methods is according to the subject or matter which is handled; for there is a great difference in delivery of the mathematics, which are the most abstracted of knowledges, and policy, which is most immersed; and howsoever contention hath been removed, touching the uniformity of method in multiformity of matter, yet we see how that opinion, besides the weakness of it, hath been of ill desert towards learning, as that which taketh the way to reduce learning to certain empty and barren generalities; being but the very husks and shells of sciences, all the kernel being forced out and expelled with the torture and press of the method. And therefore as I did allow well of particular topics of invention, so do I allow likewise of particular methods of tradition.

Another diversity of judgment in the delivery and teaching of knowledge, is according unto the light and presuppositions of that which is delivered; for that knowledge which is new and foreign from opinions received, is to be delivered in another form than that that is agreeable and familiar; and therefore Aristotle, when he thinks to tax Democritus, doth in truth commend him, where he saith, "If we shall indeed dispute, and not follow after similitudes," etc. For those, whose conceits¹ are seated in popular opinions, need only but to prove or dispute; but those whose conceits are beyond popular opinions, have a double labour; the one to make themselves conceived, and the other to prove and demonstrate: so that it is of necessity with them to have recourse to similitudes and translations to express themselves. And therefore in the infancy of learning, and in rude times, when those conceits which are now trivial were then new, the world was full of parables and similitudes; for else would men either have passed over without mark, or else rejected for paradoxes, that which was offered, before they had understood or judged. So in divine learning, we see how frequent parables and tropes are: for it is a rule, "That whatsoever science is not consonant to presuppositions, must pray in aid of similitudes."

There be also other diversities of methods vulgar and received: as that of resolution or *analysis*, of constitution or *systasis*, of concealment or cryptic, etc., which I do allow well of, though I have stood upon those which are least handled and observed. All which I have remembered to this purpose, because I would erect and constitute one general inquiry, which seems to me deficient, touching the wisdom of tradition.

But unto this part of knowledge concerning method, doth farther belong, not only the architecture of a whole frame of work, but also the several beams and columns thereof, not as to their stuff, but as to their quantity and figure: and therefore method considereth not only the disposition of the argument or subject, but likewise the propositions; not as to their truth or matter, but as to their limitation and manner. For herein Ramus² merited better a great deal in reviving the good rules and propositions, *Καθόλου πρώτον κατά παντός*, etc., than he did in introducing the canker of epitomes; and yet, as it is the condition

¹ Conceptions.

² Peter Ramus, or rather Pierre de la Ramée, was a French philosopher, born in a village of the Vermaudois in about 1500. He was Royal Professor of Rhetoric and Philosophy in the University of Paris in 1551; became a Protestant, and perished in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

of human things, that, according to the ancient fables, "The most precious things have the most pernicious keepers;" it was so, that the attempt of the one made him fall upon the other. For he had need be well conducted, that should design to make axioms convertible; if he make them not withal circular, and *non promotent* or incurring into themselves: but yet the intention was excellent.

The other considerations of method concerning propositions are chiefly touching the utmost propositions, which limit the dimensions of sciences; for every knowledge may be fitly said, (besides the profundity, which is the truth and substance of it that makes it solid,) to have a longitude and a latitude, accounting the latitude towards other sciences, and the longitude towards action; that is, from the greatest generality, to the most particular precept: the one giveth rule how far one knowledge ought to intermeddle within the province of another which is the rule they call *καθ'αυτό*: the other giveth rule unto what degree of particularity a knowledge should descend: which latter I find passed over in silence, being in my judgment the more material: for certainly there must be somewhat left to practice; but how much is worthy the inquiry. We see remote and superficial generalities do but offer knowledge to scorn of practical men, and are no more aiding to practice, than an Ortelius's¹ universal map is to direct the way between London and York. The better sort of rules have been not unfitly compared to glasses of steel unpolished; where you may see the images of things, but first they must be filed: so the rules will help, if they be laboured and polished by practice. But how crystalline they may be made at the first, and how far forth they may be polished beforehand, is the question; the inquiry whereof seemeth to me deficient.

There hath been also laboured, and put in practice, a method, which is not a lawful method, but a method of imposture, which is, to deliver knowledges in such a manner as men may speedily come to make a show of learning, who have it not: such was the travail² of Raymundus Lullius³ in making that art, which bears his name, not unlike to some books of typocosmy⁴ which have been made since, being nothing but a mass of words of all arts, to give men countenance, that those which use the terms might be thought to understand the art; which collections are much like a fripper's or broker's shop, that hath ends of everything, but nothing of worth.

Now we descend to that part which concerneth the illustration of tradition, comprehended in that science which we call Rhetoric, or art of eloquence; a science excellent, and excellently well laboured. For although in true value it is inferior to wisdom, as it is said by God to Moses, when he disabled himself for want of this faculty, "Aaron shall be thy speaker, and thou shalt be to him as God:" Yet with people it is the more mighty: for so Solomon saith, "*Sapiens corde appellabitur prudens, sed dulcis eloquio majora reperiet;*"⁵ signifying, that profound-

¹ Abraham Ortell (the name is Latinised as usual) was a learned geographer, born at Antwerp 1527. He was geographer to Philip II. His principal work, here alluded to, is "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum." Died 1598.

² What would Bacon have said to our modern "cramming?"

³ Raymond Lully was a distinguished writer of the thirteenth century. His method, which prevailed in Europe during three centuries, was known by the title "Ars Lulliana."

⁴ A representation of the world.

⁵ Prov. 16, 21.

ness of wisdom will help a man to a name or admiration, but that it is eloquence that prevaleth in an active life ; and as to the labouring of it, the emulation of Aristotle with the rhetoricians of his time, and the experience of Cicero, hath made them in their works of rhetorics exceed themselves. Again, the excellency of examples of eloquence in the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, added to the perfection of the precepts of eloquence, hath doubled the progression in this art : and therefore the deficiencies which I shall note, will rather be in some collections, which may as handmaids attend the art, than in the rules or use of the art itself.

Notwithstanding, to stir the earth a little about the roots of this science, as we have done of the rest ; the duty and office of rhetoric is to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will : for we see reason is disturbed in the administration thereof by three means : by illaqueation or sophism, which pertains to logic ; by imagination or impression, which pertains to rhetoric ; and by passion or affection, which pertains to morality. And as in negotiation with others, men are wrought by cunning, by importunity, and by vehemency ; so in this negotiation within ourselves, men are undermined by inconsequences, solicited and importuned by impressions or observations, and transported by passions. Neither is the nature of man so unfortunately built, as that those powers and arts should have force to disturb reason, and not to establish and advance it ; for the end of logic is to teach a form of argument to secure reason, and not to entrap it. The end of morality, is to procure the affections to obey reason, and not to invade it. The end of rhetoric, is to fill the imagination to second reason, and not to oppress it ; for these abuses of arts come in but *ex obliquo* for caution.

And therefore it was great injustice in Plato, though springing out of a just hatred of the rhetoricians of his time, to esteem of rhetoric but as a voluptuary art, resembling it to cookery, that did mar wholesome meats, and help unwholesome by variety of sauces, to the pleasure of the taste. For we see that speech is much more conversant in adorning that which is good, than in colouring that which is evil ; for there is no man but speaketh more honestly than he can do or think ; and it was excellently noted by Thucydides in Cleon, that because he used to hold on the bad side in causes of estate, therefore he was ever inveighing against eloquence and good speech, knowing that no man can speak fair of courses sordid and base. And therefore as Plato said elegantly, "That Virtue, if she could be seen, would move great love and affection : " so seeing that she cannot be showed to the sense by corporal shape, the next degree is, to show her to the imagination in lively representation : for to show her to reason only in subtilty of argument, was a thing ever derided in Chrysippus,¹ and many of the Stoics, who thought to thrust virtue upon men by sharp disputations and conclusions, which have no sympathy with the will of man.

Again, if the affections in themselves were pliant and obedient to reason, it were true, there should be no great use of persuasions and insinuations to the will, more than of naked proposition and

¹ A Stoic philosopher of Tarsus. He died 207 B.C.

proofs : but in regard of the continual mutinies and seditions of the affections,

*Video meliora, proboque ;
Deteriora sequor ;*

Reason would become captive and servile, if eloquence of persuasions did not practise and win the imagination from the affections' part, and contract a confederacy between the reason and imagination against the affections ; for the affections themselves carry ever an appetite to good, as reason doth. The difference is, that the affection beholdeth merely the present, reason beholdeth the future and sum of time. And therefore the present filling the imagination more, reason is commonly vanquished ; but after that force of eloquence and persuasion hath made things future and remote appear as present, then upon the revolt of the imagination reason prevaieth.

We conclude therefore, that rhetoric can be no more charged with the colouring of the worst part, than logic with sophistry, or morality with vice. For we know the doctrines of contraries are the same, though the use be opposite. It appeareth also, that logic differeth from rhetoric, not only as the fist from the palm, the one close, the other at large ; but much more in this, that logic handleth reason exact, and in truth : and rhetoric handleth it as it is planted in popular opinions and manners. And therefore Aristotle doth wisely place rhetoric as between logic on the one side, and moral or civil knowledge on the other, as participating of both : for the proofs and demonstrations of logic are toward all men indifferent and the same : but the proofs and persuasions of rhetoric ought to differ according to the auditors :

Orpheus in sylvis, inter delphinas Arion.

Which application, in perfection of idea, ought to extend so far, that if a man should speak of the same thing to several persons, he should speak to them all respectively, and several ways : though this politic part of eloquence in private speech, it is easy for the greatest orators to want ; whilst by the observing their well graced forms of speech, they lose the volubility of application : and therefore it shall not be amiss to recommend this to better inquiry, not being curious whether we place it here, or in that part which concerneth policy.

Now therefore will I descend to the deficiencies, which, as I said, are but attendances : and first, I do not find the wisdom and diligence of Aristotle well pursued, who began to make a collection of the popular signs and colours of good and evil, both simple and comparative, which are as the sophisms of rhetoric, as I touched before. For example ;

SOPHISMA.

Quod laudatur, bonum : quod vituperatur, malum.

REDARGUTIO.

Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.

Malum est, malum est, inquit emptor ; sed cum recesserit, tum gloriabitur.

The defects in the labour of Aristotle are three ; one, that there be

but a few of many ; another, that their elenchuses are not annexed ; and the third, that he conceived but a part of the use of them : for their use is not only in probation, but much more in impression For many forms are equal in signification, which are differing in impression ; as the difference is great in the piercing of that which is sharp, and that which is flat, though the strength of the percussion be the same : for there is no man but will be a little more raised by hearing it said ; “ Your enemies will be glad of this ; ”

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ ;

than by hearing it said only ; “ This is evil for you.”

Secondly, I do resume also that which I mentioned before, touching provision or preparatory store, for the furniture of speech and readiness of invention, which appeareth to be of two sorts ; the one in resemblance to a shop of pieces unmade up, the other to a shop of things ready made up, both to be applied to that which is frequent and most in request : the former of these I will call *antitheta*, and the latter *formulæ*.

Antitheta are *theses* argued *pro et contra*, wherein men may be more large and laborious ; but, in such as are able to do it, to avoid prolixity of entry, I wish the seeds of the several arguments to be cast up into some brief and acute sentences, not to be cited, but to be as skeins or bottoms of thread, to be unwinded at large when they come to be used ; supplying authorities and examples by reference.

PRO VERBIS LEGIS.

*Non est interpretatio, sed divinatio, quæ recedit a litera.
Cum receditur a litera iudex transit in legislatorem.*

PRO SENTENTIA LEGIS.

Ex omnibus verbis est eliciendus sensus, qui interpretatur singula.

Formulæ are but decent and apt passages or conveyances of speech, which may serve indifferently for differing subjects ; as of preface, conclusion, digression, transition, excusation, etc. For as in buildings there is great pleasure and use in the well-casting of the staircases, entries, doors, windows, and the like ; so in speech, the conveyances and passages are of special ornament and effect.

A CONCLUSION IN A DELIBERATIVE.

So may we redeem the faults passed, and prevent the inconveniences future.

There remain two *appendices* touching the tradition of knowledge, the one critical, the other pedantical ; for all knowledge is either delivered by teachers, or attained by men's proper endeavours : and therefore as the principal part of tradition of knowledge concerneth chiefly writing of books, so the relative part thereof concerneth reading of books : whereunto appertain incidently these considerations. The first is concerning the true correction and edition of authors, wherein nevertheless rash diligence hath done great prejudice. For these critics have often presumed that that which they understand not, is false set down. As the priest, that where he found it written of St.

Paul, "*Demissus est per sportam*," mended his book, and made it "*Demissus est per portam*," because *sporta* was an hard word, and out of his reading: and surely their errors, though they be not so palpable and ridiculous, yet are of the same kind. And therefore as it hath been wisely noted, the most corrected copies are commonly the least correct.

The second is concerning the exposition and explication of authors, which resteth in annotations and commentaries, wherein it is over usual to blanch¹ the obscure places, and discourse upon the plain.

The third is concerning the times, which in many cases give great light to true interpretations.

The fourth is concerning some brief censure and judgment of the authors, that men thereby may make some election unto themselves what books to read.

And the fifth is concerning the syntax and disposition of studies, that men may know in what order or pursuit to read.

For pedantical knowledge, it containeth that difference of tradition which is proper for youth, whereunto appertain divers considerations of great fruit.

As first the timing and seasoning of knowledges; as with what to initiate them, and from what, for a time, to refrain them.

Secondly, the consideration where to begin with the easiest, and so proceed to the more difficult, and in what courses to press the more difficult, and then to turn them to the more easy; for it is one method to practise swimming with bladders, and another to practise dancing with heavy shoes.

A third is the application of learning according unto the propriety of the wits; for there is no defect in the faculties intellectual but seemeth to have a proper cure contained in some studies: as for example, if a child be bird-witted,² that is, hath not the faculty of attention, the mathematics give a remedy thereunto, for in them, if the wit be caught away but a moment, one is new to begin. and as sciences have a propriety towards faculties for cure and help, so faculties or powers have a sympathy towards sciences for excellency or speedy profiting; and therefore it is an inquiry of great wisdom what kinds of wits and natures are most proper for what sciences.

Fourthly, the ordering of exercises is matter of great consequence to hurt or help: for, as is well observed by Cicero, men in exercising their faculties, if they be not well advised, do exercise their faults, and get ill habits as well as good; so there is a great judgment to be had in the continuance and intermission of exercises. It were too long to particularize a number of other considerations of this nature; things but of mean appearance, but of singular efficacy: for as the wronging or cherishing of seeds or young plants, is that that is most important to their thriving; and as it was noted, that the first six kings, being in truth as tutors of the state of Rome in the infancy thereof, were the principal cause of the immense greatness of that state which followed; so the culture and manurance of minds in youth hath such a

¹ To slur or pass over.

² We use now the term "feather-pated" for bird-witted.

forcible, though unseen, operation, as hardly any length of time or contention of labour can countervail it afterwards. And it is not amiss to observe also, how small and mean faculties gotten by education, yet when they fall into great men or great matters, do work great and important effects; whereof we see a notable example in Tacitus, of two stage players, Percennius and Vibulenus, who by their faculty of playing put the Pannonian armies into an extreme tumult and combustion; for there arising a mutiny amongst them, upon the death of Augustus Cæsar, Blæsus the lieutenant had committed some of the mutineers, which were suddenly rescued; whereupon Vibulenus got to be heard speak, which he did in this manner: "These poor innocent wretches appointed to cruel death, you have restored to behold the light: but who shall restore my brother to me, or life unto my brother, that was sent hither in message from the legions of Germany, to treat of the common cause? And he hath murdered him this last night by some of his fencers and ruffians, that he hath about him for his executioners upon soldiers. Answer, Blæsus, what is done with his body? The mortalest enemies do not deny burial; when I have performed my last duties to the corpse with kisses, with tears, command me to be slain besides him, so that these my fellows, for our good meaning and our true hearts to the legions, may have leave to bury us." With which speech he put the army into an infinite fury and uproar; whereas truth was he had no brother, neither was there any such matter, but he played it merely as if he had been upon the stage.

But to return, we are now come to a period of rational knowledges, wherein if I have made the divisions other than those that are received, yet would I not be thought to disallow all those divisions which I do not use; for there is a double necessity imposed upon me of altering the divisions. The one, because it differeth in end and purpose, to sort together those things which are next in nature, and those things which are next in use; for if a secretary of estate should sort his papers, it is like in his study, or general cabinet, he would sort together things of a nature, as treaties, instructions, etc., but in his boxes, or particular cabinet, he would sort together those that he were like to use together, though of several natures; so in this general cabinet of knowledge it was necessary for me to follow the divisions of the nature of things; whereas if myself had been to handle any particular knowledge I would have respected the divisions fittest for use. The other, because the bringing in of the deficiencies did by consequence alter the partitions of the rest: for let the knowledge extant, for demonstration sake, be fifteen, let the knowledge with the deficiencies be twenty, the parts of fifteen are not the parts of twenty, for the parts of fifteen are three and five, the parts of twenty are two, four, five, and ten; so as these things are without contradiction, and could not otherwise be.

WE proceed now to that knowledge which considereth of the Appetite and Will of Man, whereof Solomon saith, "*Ante omnia, fili, custodi cor tuum, nam inde procedunt actiones vitæ.*"¹ In the handling

¹ Prov. iv. 23.

of this science, those which have written seem to me to have done as if a man that professed to teach to write, did only exhibit fair copies of alphabets, and letters joined, without giving any precepts or directions for the carriage of the hand and framing of the letters; so have they made good and fair exemplars and copies, carrying the draughts and portraitures of good, virtue, duty, felicity; propounding them well described as the true objects and scopes of man's will and desires; but how to attain these excellent marks, and how to frame and subdue the will of man to become true and conformable to these pursuits, they pass it over altogether, or slightly and unprofitably; for it is not the disputing that moral virtues are in the mind of man by habit and not by nature, or the distinguishing that generous spirits are won by doctrines and persuasions, and the vulgar sort by reward and punishment, and the like scattered glances and touches, that can excuse the absence of this part.

The reason of this omission I suppose to be that hidden rock whereupon both this and many other barks of knowledge have been cast away; which is, that men have despised to be conversant in ordinary and common matters, the judicious direction whereof nevertheless is the wisest doctrine; for life consisteth not in novelties nor subtilties. But contrariwise they have compounded sciences chiefly of a certain resplendent or lustrous mass of matter, chosen to give glory either to the subtlety of disputations, or to the eloquence of discourses. But Seneca giveth an excellent check to eloquence: "*Nocet illis eloquentia, quibus non rerum cupiditatem facit, sed sui.*" Doctrine should be such as should make men in love with the lesson, and not with the teacher, being directed to the auditor's benefit, and not to the author's commendation; and therefore those are of the right kind which may be concluded as Demosthenes concludes his counsel, "*Quæ si feceritis, non oratorem duntaxat in præsentia laudabitis, sed vosmet ipsos etiam, non ita multo post statu rerum vestrarum meliore.*" Neither needed men of so excellent parts to have despaired of a fortune, which the poet Virgil promised himself, and indeed obtained, who got as much glory of eloquence, wit, and learning in the expressing of the observations of husbandry, as of the heroical acts of Æneas:

*Nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum
Quam sit, et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem.*

Georg. iii. 289.

And surely if the purpose be in good earnest not to write at leisure that which men may read at leisure, but really to instruct and suborn action and active life, these georgics of the mind concerning the husbandry and tillage thereof, are no less worthy than the heroical descriptions of virtue, duty, and felicity. Wherefore the main and primitive division of moral knowledge seemeth to be into the Exemplar or Platform of Good, and the Regiment or Culture of the Mind; the one describing the nature of good, the other prescribing rules how to subdue, apply, and accommodate the will of man thereunto.

The doctrine touching the Platform or Nature of Good considereth it either simple or compared, either the kinds of good, or the degrees of good; in the latter whereof those infinite disputations which were

touching the supreme degree thereof, which they term felicity, beatitude, or the highest good, the doctrines concerning which were as the heathen divinity, are by the Christian faith discharged. And, as Aristotle saith, "That young men may be happy, but not otherwise but by hope;" so we must all acknowledge our minority, and embrace the felicity which is by hope of the future world.

Freed therefore, and delivered from this doctrine of the philosophers' heaven, whereby they feigned an higher elevation of man's nature than was, for we see in what an height of style Seneca writeth, "*Vere magnum. habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei,*" we may with more sobriety and truth receive the rest of their inquiries and labours; wherein for the nature of good, positive or simple, they have set it down excellently, in describing the forms of virtue and duty with their situations and postures, in distributing them into their kinds, parts, provinces, actions, and administrations, and the like; nay farther, they have commended them to man's nature and spirit, with great quickness of argument and beauty of persuasions; yea, and fortified and entrenched them, as much as discourse can do, against corrupt and popular opinions. Again, for the degrees and comparative nature of good, they have also excellently handled it in their triplicity of good; in the comparison between a contemplative and an active life; in the distinction between virtue with reluctance, and virtue secured; in their encounters between honesty and profit; in their balancing of virtue with virtue, and the like; so as this part deserveth to be reported for excellently laboured.

Notwithstanding if before they had come to the popular and received notions of virtue and vice, pleasure and pain, and the rest, they had stayed a little longer upon the inquiry concerning the roots of good and evil, and the strings of those roots, they had given, in my opinion, a great light to that which followed; and specially if they had consulted with nature, they had made their doctrines less prolix and more profound: which being by them in part omitted and in part handled with much confusion, we will endeavour to resume and open in a more clear manner.

There is formed in everything a double nature of good, the one as everything is a total or substantive in itself, the other as it is a part or member of a greater body; whereof the latter is in degree the greater and the worthier, because it tendeth to the conservation of a more general form: therefore we see the iron in particular sympathy moveth to the loadstone, but yet if it exceed a certain quantity, it forsaketh the affection to the loadstone, and like a good patriot moveth to the earth, which is the region and country of massy bodies; so may we go forward and see that water and massy bodies move to the centre of the earth, but rather than to suffer a divulsion in the continuance of nature they will move upwards from the centre of the earth, forsaking their duty to the earth in regard of their duty to the world. This double nature of good and the comparative thereof is much more engraven upon man, if he degenerate not, unto whom the conservation of duty to the public ought to be much more precious than the conservation of life and being; according to that memorable speech of Pompeius Magnus, when being in commission of purveyance

for a famine at Rome, and being dissuaded with great vehemency and instance by his friends about him, that he should not hazard himself to sea in an extremity of weather, he said only to them "*Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam.*" but it may be truly affirmed that there was never any philosophy, religion, or other discipline, which did so plainly and highly exalt the good which is communicative, and depress the good which is private and particular, as the holy faith: well declaring, that it was the same God that gave the Christian law to men, who gave those laws of nature to inanimate creatures that we spake of before; for we read that the elected saints of God have wished themselves anathematized and razed out of the book of life, in an ecstasy of charity, and infinite feeling of communion.

This being set down and strongly planted, doth judge and determine most of the controversies wherein moral philosophy is conversant. For first, it decideth the question touching the preferment of the contemplative or active life, and decideth it against Aristotle: for all the reasons which he bringeth for the contemplative, are private, and respecting the pleasure and dignity of a man's self, in which respects, no question, the contemplative life hath the pre-eminence; not much unlike to that comparison, which Pythagoras made for the gracing and magnifying of philosophy and contemplation; who being asked what he was, answered, "That if Hiero were ever at the Olympian games, he knew the manner, that some came to try their fortune for the prizes, and some came as merchants to utter their commodities, and some came to make good cheer and meet their friends, and some came to look on, and that he was one of them that came to look on." But men must know, that in this theatre of man's life, it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on: neither could the like question ever have been received in the Church, notwithstanding their "*Pretiosa in oculis Domini mors sanctorum ejus*;" by which place they would exalt their civil death and regular professions, but upon this defence, that the monastical life is not simply contemplative, but performeth the duty either of incessant prayers and supplications, which hath been truly esteemed as an office in the Church, or else of writing or taking instructions for writing concerning the law of God; as Moses did when he abode so long in the mount. And so we see Enoch the seventh from Adam, who was the first contemplative, and walked with God; yet did also endow the Church with prophecy, which St. Jude citeth. But for contemplation which should be finished in itself, without casting beams upon society, assuredly divinity knoweth it not.

It decideth also the controversies between Zeno and Socrates, and their schools and successions on the one side, who placed felicity in virtue simply or attended; the actions and exercises whereof do chiefly embrace and concern society; and on the other side, the Cyrenaics and Epicureans, who placed it in pleasure, and made virtue, as it is used in some comedies of errors, wherein the mistress and the maid change habits, to be but as a servant, without which pleasure cannot be served and attended: and the reformed school of the Epicureans, which placed it in serenity of mind and freedom from perturbation; as if they would have deposed Jupiter again, and restored Saturn and the first age, when there was no summer nor winter, spring nor autumn,

but all after one air and season ; and Herillus,¹ who placed felicity in extinguishment of the disputes of the mind, making no fixed nature of good and evil, esteeming things according to the clearness of the desires, or the reluctance ; which opinion was revived in the heresy of the Anabaptists, measuring things according to the motions of the spirit, and the constancy or wavering of belief : all which are manifest to tend to private repose and contentment, and not to point of society.

It censureth also the philosophy of Epictetus, which presupposeth that felicity must be placed in those things which are in our power, lest we be liable to fortune and disturbance ; as if it were not a thing much more happy to fail in good and virtuous ends for the public, than to obtain all that we can wish to ourselves in our proper fortune ; as Consalvo said to his soldiers, showing them Naples and protesting, " He had rather die one foot forwards, than to have his life secured for long, by one foot of retreat." Whereunto the wisdom of that heavenly leader hath signed, who hath affirmed " that a good conscience is a continual feast ;"² showing plainly, that the conscience of good intentions, howsoever succeeding, is a more continual joy to nature, than all the provision that can be made for security and repose.

It censureth likewise that abuse of philosophy, which grew general about the time of Epictetus, in converting it into an occupation or profession ; as if the purpose had been not to resist or extinguish perturbations, but to fly and avoid the causes of them, and to shape a particular kind and course of life to that end, introducing such an health of mind, as was that health of body of which Aristotle speaketh of Herodicus, who did nothing all his life long but intend his health : whereas if men refer themselves to duties of society, as that health of body is best, which is ablest to endure all alterations and extremities ; so likewise that health of mind is most proper, which can go through the greatest temptations and perturbations. So as Diogenes's opinion is to be accepted, who commended not them which abstained, but them which sustained, and could refrain their mind *in præcipitio*, and could give unto the mind, as is used in horsemanship, the shortest stop or turn.

Lastly, it censureth the tenderness and want of application in some of the most ancient and reverend philosophers and philosophical men, that did retire too easily from civil business, for avoiding of indignities and perturbations ; whereas the resolution of men truly moral, ought to be such as the same Consalvo said the honour of a soldier should be, *e tela crassiore*, and not so fine, as that everything should catch in it and endanger it.

To resume private or particular good, it falleth into the division of good active and passive : for this difference of good, not unlike to that which amongst the Romans was expressed in the familiar or household terms of *Promus* and *Conduis*, is formed also in all things, and is best disclosed in the two several appetites in creatures ; the one to preserve or continue themselves, and the other to dilate or multiply themselves ; whereof the latter seemeth to be worthier ; for in nature the heavens, which are the more worthy, are the agent ; and the earth, which is the

¹ A philosopher of Chaleodon, the pupil of Zeno.

² Prov. xv. 15. In our translation, "A merry heart," &c

less worthy, is the patient : in the pleasures of living creatures, that of generation is greater than that of food : in divine doctrine, "*Beatius est dare, quam accipere.*" and in life there is no man's spirit so soft, but esteemeth the effecting of somewhat that he hath fixed in his desire, more than sensuality. Which priority of the active good is much upheld by the consideration of our estate to be mortal and exposed to fortune : for if we might have a perpetuity and certainty in our pleasures, the state of them would advance their price ; but when we see it is but "*Magni aestimamus mori tardius,*" and "*Ne gloriaris de crastino, nescis partum diei,*" it maketh us to desire to have somewhat secured and exempted from time, which are only our deeds and works ; as it is said "*Opera eorum sequuntur eos.*" The pre-eminence likewise of this active good is upheld by the affection which is natural in man towards variety and proceeding, which in the pleasures of the sense, which is the principal part of passive good, can have no great latitude. "*Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris : cibus, somnus, ludus per hunc circulum curritur. Mori velle non tantum fortis, aut miser, aut prudens, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.*" But in enterprises, pursuits, and purposes of life, there is much variety, whereof men are sensible with pleasure in their inceptions, progressions, recoils, re-integrations, approaches and attainings, to their ends. So as it was well said, "*Vita sine proposito languida et vaga est.*" Neither hath this active good any identity with the good of society, though in some case it hath an incidence into it : for although it do many times bring forth acts of beneficence, yet it is with a respect private to a man's own power, glory, amplification, continuance ; as appeareth plainly, when it findeth a contrary subject. For that gigantic state of mind which possesseth the troublers of the world, such as was Lucius Sylla, and infinite other in smaller model, who would have all men happy or unhappy as they were their friends or enemies, and would give form to the world according to their own humours, which is the true theomachy, pretendeth, and aspireth to active good, though it recedeth farthest from good of society, which we have determined to be the greater.

To resume passive good ; it receiveth a subdivision of conservative and perfective. For let us take a brief review of that which we have said. We have spoken first of the good of society, the intention whereof embraceth the form of human nature, whereof we are members and portions, and not our own proper and individual form ; we have spoken of active good, and supposed it as a part of private and particular good. And rightly, for there is impressed upon all things a triple desire or appetite proceeding from love to themselves ; one of preserving and continuing their form ; another of advancing and perfecting their form ; and a third of multiplying and extending their form upon other things ; whereof the multiplying or signature of it upon other things, is that which we handled by the name of active good. So as there remaineth the conserving of it, and perfecting or raising of it ; which latter is the highest degree of passive good. For to preserve in state is the less, to preserve with advancement is the greater. So in man,

Igneus est ollis vigor, et cælestis origo.

His approach or assumption to divine or angelical nature is the per-

fection of his form ; the error or false imitation of which good, is that which is the tempest of human life, while man, upon the instinct of an advancement formal and essential, is carried to seek an advancement local. For as those which are sick, and find no remedy, do tumble up and down and change place, as if by a remove local they could obtain a remove internal : so is it with men in ambition, when failing of the means to exalt their nature, they are in a perpetual estuation to exalt their place. So then passive good is, as was said, either conservative or perfective.

To resume the good of conservation or comfort, which consisteth in the fruition of that which is agreeable to our natures ; it seemeth to be the most pure and natural of pleasures, but yet the softest and the lowest. And this also receiveth a difference, which hath neither been well judged of nor well inquired. For the good of fruition and contentment, is placed either in the sincereness of the fruition, or in the quickness and vigour of it ; the one superinduced by equality, the other by vicissitude ; the one having less mixture of evil, the other more impression of good. Whether of these is the greater good, is a question controverted ; but whether man's nature may not be capable of both, is a question not inquired.

The former question being debated between Socrates and a sophist, Socrates placing felicity in an equal and constant peace of mind, and the sophist in much desiring and much enjoying, they fell from argument to ill words : the sophist saying that Socrates's felicity was the felicity of a block or stone ; and Socrates saying that the sophist's felicity was the felicity of one that had the itch, who did nothing but itch and scratch. And both these opinions do not want their supports : for the opinion of Socrates is much upheld by the general consent even of the Epicures themselves, that virtue beareth a great part in felicity : and if so, certain it is, that virtue hath more use in clearing perturbations, than in compassing desires. The sophist's opinion is much favoured by the assertion we last spake of, that good of advancement is greater than good of simple preservation ; because every obtaining a desire hath a show of advancement, as motion though in a circle hath a show of progression.

But the second question decided the true way maketh the former superfluous : for can it be doubted but that there are some who take more pleasure in enjoying pleasures, than some other, and yet nevertheless are less troubled with the loss or leaving of them : so as this same, "*Non uti, ut non appetas ; non appetere, ut non metuas ; sunt animi pusilli et diffidentis.*" And it seemeth to me that most of the doctrines of the philosophers are more fearful and cautionary than the nature of things requireth : so have they increased the fear of death in offering to cure it : for when they would have a man's whole life to be but a discipline or preparation to die, they must needs make men think that it is a terrible enemy against whom there is no end of preparing. Better saith the poet,

*Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ :*

So have they sought to make men's minds too uniform and harmonical

by not breaking them sufficiently to contrary motions : the reason whereof I suppose to be, because they themselves were men dedicated to a private, free, and unapplied course of life. For as we see, upon the lute or like instrument, a ground, though it be sweet and have show of many changes, yet breaketh not the hand to such strange and hard stops and passages, as a set song or voluntary : much after the same manner was the diversity between a philosophical and a civil life. And therefore men are to imitate the wisdom of jewellers, who if there be a grain, or a cloud, or an ice which may be ground forth without taking too much of the stone, they help it ; but if it should lessen and abate the stone too much, they will not meddle with it ; so ought men so to procure serenity, as they destroy not magnanimity.

Having therefore deduced the good of man, which is private and particular, as far as seemeth fit, we will now return to that good of man which respecteth and beholdeth Society, which we may term duty ; because the term of duty is more proper to a mind well framed and disposed towards others, as the term of virtue is applied to a mind well formed and composed in itself ; though neither can a man understand virtue without some relation to society, nor duty without an inward disposition. This part may seem at first to pertain to science civil and politic, but not if it be well observed ; for it concerneth the regiment and government of every man over himself, and not over others. And as in architecture the direction of the framing the posts, beams, and other parts of building, is not the same with the manner of joining them and erecting the building ; and in mechanicals, the direction how to frame an instrument or engine, is not the same with the manner of setting it on work and employing it ; and yet nevertheless in expressing of the one, you incidentally express the aptness towards the other : so the doctrine of conjugation of men in society differeth from that of their conformity thereunto.

This part of duty is subdivided into two parts ; the common duty of every man as a man or member of a state, the other the respective or special duty of every man in his profession, vocation, and place. The first of these is extant and well laboured, as hath been said. The second likewise I may report rather dispersed, than deficient ; which manner of dispersed writing in this kind of argument I acknowledge to be best. Who can take upon him to write of the proper duty, virtue, challenge, and right of every several vocation, profession, and place ? For although sometimes a looker on may see more than a gamester, and there be a proverb more arrogant than sound, " That the vales best discovereth the hills ;" yet there is small doubt but that men can write best, and most really and materially in their own professions ; and that the writing of speculative men of active matter, for the most part, doth seem to men of experience, as Phormio's argument of the wars seemed to Hannibal, to be but dreams and dotage. Only there is one vice which accompanieth them that write in their own professions—that they magnify them in excess ; but generally it were to be wished, as that which would make learning indeed solid and fruitful, that active men would or could become writers.

In which I cannot but mention, *honoris causa*, your majesty's excellent book touching the duty of a king, a work richly compounded

of divinity, morality, and policy, with great aspersion of all other arts, and being in mine opinion one of the most sound and healthful writings that I have read; not distempered in the heat of invention, nor in the coldness of negligence; not sick of business, as those are who lose themselves in their order, nor of convulsions, as those which cramp in matters impertinent; not savouring of perfumes and paintings, as those do who seek to please the reader more than nature beareth; and chiefly well disposed in the spirits thereof, being agreeable to truth, and apt for action, and far removed from that natural infirmity whereunto I noted those that write in their own professions to be subject, which is, that they exalt it above measure: for your majesty hath truly described, not a king of Assyria, or Persia, in their extern glory, but a Moses, or a David, pastors of their people. Neither can I ever lose out of my remembrance, what I heard your majesty in the same sacred spirit of government deliver in a great cause of judicature, which was, "That kings ruled by their laws as God did by the laws of nature, and ought as rarely to put in use their supreme prerogative, as God doth His power of working miracles." And yet, notwithstanding, in your book of a free monarchy, you do well give men to understand, that you know the plenitude of the power and right of a king, as well as the circle of his office and duty. Thus have I presumed to allege this excellent writing of your majesty, as a prime or eminent example of Tractates concerning special and respective duties, wherein I should have said as much if it had been written a thousand years since: neither am I moved with certain courtly decencies, which esteem it flattery to praise in presence; no, it is flattery to praise in absence, that is, when either the virtue is absent, or the occasion is absent, and so the praise is not natural but forced, either in truth or in time. But let Cicero be read in his oration *pro Marcello*, which is nothing but an excellent table of Cæsar's virtue, and made to his face; besides the example of many other excellent persons wiser a great deal than such observers, and we will never doubt, upon a full occasion, to give just praises to present or absent.

But to return, there belongeth farther to the handling of this part, touching the duties of professions and vocations, a relative or opposite touching the frauds, cautels, impostures, and vices of every profession, which hath been likewise handled. But how? Rather in a satire and cynically, than seriously and wisely; for men have rather sought by wit to deride and traduce much of that which is good in professions, than with judgment to discover and sever that which is corrupt. For, as Solomon saith, he that cometh to seek after knowledge with a mind to scorn and censure, shall be sure to find matter for his humour, but no matter for his instruction: "*Quærenti derisori scientiam, ipsa se abscondit: sed studioso fit obviam,*"¹ But the managing of this argument with integrity and truth, which I note as deficient, seemeth to me to be one of the best fortifications for honesty and virtue that can be planted. For, as the fable goeth of the basilisk, that if he see you first, you die for it; but if you see him first, he dieth: so is it with deceits

¹ Prov. xiv. 6.

and evil arts, which, if they be first espied, lose their life ; but if they prevent, they endanger. So that we are much beholden to Machiavel and others, that write what men do, and not what they ought to do : for it is not possible to join serpentine wisdom with the columbine innocency, except men know exactly all the conditions of the serpent ; his baseness and going upon his belly, his volubility and lubricity, his envy and sting, and the rest ; that is, all forms and natures of evil : for without this, virtue lieth open and unfenced. Nay, an honest man can do no good upon those that are wicked, to reclaim them, without the help of the knowledge of evil : for men of corrupted minds presuppose that honesty groweth out of simplicity of manners, and believing of preachers, schoolmasters, and men's exterior language. So as, except you can make them perceive that you know the utmost reaches of their own corrupt opinions, they despise all morality ; *“ Non recipit stultus verba prudentiæ, nisi ea dixeris, quæ versantur in corde ejus.”*

Unto this part touching respective duty do also appertain the duties between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant : so likewise the laws of friendship and gratitude, the civil bond of companies, colleges, and politic bodies, of neighbourhood, and all other proportionate duties ; not as they are parts of government and society, but as to the framing of the mind of particular persons.

The knowledge concerning good respecting society doth handle it also not simply alone, but comparatively, whereunto belongeth the weighing of duties between person and person, case and case, particular and public : as we see in the proceeding of Lucius Brutus against his own sons, which was so much extolled ; yet what was said ?

Infelix, utcunque ferent ea fata minores.

So the case was doubtful, and had opinion on both sides. Again, we see when M. Brutus and Cassius invited to a supper certain whose opinions they meant to feel, whether they were fit to be made their associates, and cast forth the question touching the killing of a tyrant being an usurper, they were divided in opinion ; some holding that servitude was the extreme of evils, and others that tyranny was better than a civil war. And a number of the like cases there are of comparative duty : amongst which that of all others is the most frequent, where the question is of a great deal of good to ensue of a small injustice, which Jason of Thessalia determined against the truth : *“ Aliqua sunt injuste facienda, ut multa juste fieri possint.”* But the reply is good, *“ Auctorem præsentis justitiæ habes, sponsorem futuræ non habes ;”* men must pursue things which are just in the present, and leave the future to the Divine Providence. So then we pass on from this general part touching the exemplar and description of good.

Now therefore that we have spoken of this fruit of life, it remaineth to speak of the husbandry that belongeth thereunto, without which part the former seemeth to be no better than a fair image, or *statua*, which is beautiful to contemplate, but is without life and motion : whereunto Aristotle himself subscribeth in these words,

"*Necesse est scilicet de virtute dicere, et quid sit, et ex quibus gignatur. Inutile enim fere fuerit, virtutem quidem nosse, acquirendæ autem ejus modos et vias ignorare: non enim de virtute tantum, qua specie sit, quarendum est, sed et quomodo sui copiam faciat; utrumque enim volumus, et rem ipsam nosse et ejus compotes fieri; hoc autem ex voto non succedet, nisi sciamus et ex quibus et quomodo.*" In such full words and with such iteration doth he inculcate this part: so saith Cicero in great commendation of Cato the second, that he had applied himself to philosophy, "*non ita disputandi causa, sed ita vivendi.*" And although the neglect of our times, wherein few men do hold any consultations touching the reformation of their life, as Seneca excellently saith, "*De partibus vitæ quisque deliberat, de summa nemo,*" may make this part seem superfluous; yet I must conclude with that aphorism of Hippocrates, "*Qui gravi morbo correpti dolores non sentiunt, iis mens ægrotat;*" they need medicine not only to assuage the disease, but to awake the sense. And if it be said, that the cure of men's minds belongeth to sacred divinity, it is most true: but yet moral philosophy may be preferred unto her as a wise servant and humble handmaid. For as the Psalm saith, that "the eyes of the handmaid look perpetually towards the mistress," and yet no doubt many things are left to the discretion of the handmaid, to discern of the mistress's will; so ought moral philosophy to give a constant attention to the doctrines of divinity, and yet so as it may yield of herself, within due limits, many sound and profitable directions.

This part therefore, because of the excellency thereof, I cannot but find exceeding strange that it is not reduced to written inquiry, the rather because it consisteth of much matter, wherein both speech and action is often conversant, and such wherein the common talk of men, which is rare, but yet cometh sometimes to pass, is wiser than their books. It is reasonable therefore that we propound it in the more particularity, both for the worthiness, and because we may acquit ourselves for reporting it deficient, which seemeth almost incredible, and is otherwise conceived and presupposed by those themselves that have written. We will therefore enumerate some heads or points thereof, that it may appear the better what it is, and whether it be extant.

First, therefore, in this, as in all things which are practical, we ought to cast up our account, what is in our power, and what not; for the one may be dealt with by way of alteration, but the other by way of application only. The husbandman cannot command, neither the nature of the earth, nor the seasons of the weather, no more can the physician the constitution of the patient, nor the variety of accidents. So in the culture and cure of the mind of man, two things are without our command; points of nature, and points of fortune; for to the basis of the one, and the conditions of the other, our work is limited and tied. In these things therefore, it is left unto us to proceed by application;

Vincenda est omnis fortuna ferendo:

and so likewise,

Vincenda est omnis natura ferendo.

But when that we speak of suffering, we do not speak of a dull

neglected suffering, but of a wise and industrious suffering which draweth and contriveth use and advantage out of that which seemeth adverse and contrary, which is that properly which we call accommodating or applying. Now the wisdom of application resteth principally in the exact and distinct knowledge of the precedent state or disposition, unto which we do apply; for we cannot fit a garment, except we first take measure of the body.

So then the first article of this knowledge is to set down sound and true distributions, and descriptions of the several characters and tempers of men's natures and dispositions, specially having regard to those differences which are most radical, in being the fountains and causes of the rest, or most frequent in concurrence or commixture; wherein it is not the handling of a few of them in passage, the better to describe the mediocrities of virtues, that can satisfy this intention: for if it deserve to be considered, "that there are minds which are proportioned to great matters, and others to small," which Aristotle handleth or ought to have handled by the name of magnanimity, doth it not deserve as well to be considered, "that there are minds proportioned to intend many matters, and others to few?" So that some can divide themselves, others can perchance do exactly well, but it must be but in few things at once; and so there cometh to be a narrowness of mind, as well as a pusillanimity. And again, "that some minds are proportioned to that which may be despatched at once, or within a short return of time; others to that which begins afar off, and is to be won with length of pursuit,"

—————*Jam tum tenditque fovetque.*

So that there may be fitly said to be a longanimity, which is commonly ascribed to God, as a magnanimity. So farther deserved it to be considered by Aristotle, "that there is a disposition in conversation, supposing it in things which do in no sort touch or concern a man's self, to sooth and please; and a disposition contrary to contradict and cross;" and deserveth it not much better to be considered, "that there is a disposition, not in conversation or talk, but in matter of more serious nature, and supposing it still in things merely indifferent, to take pleasure in the good of another, and a disposition contrariwise, to take distaste at the good of another;" which is that property which we call good-nature or ill-nature, benignity or malignity. And therefore I cannot sufficiently marvel, that this part of knowledge, touching the several characters of natures and dispositions, should be omitted both in morality and policy, considering it is of so great ministry and suppedition¹ to them both. A man shall find in the traditions of astrology some pretty and apt divisions of men's natures, according to the predominances of the planets; lovers of quiet, lovers of action, lovers of victory, lovers of honour, lovers of pleasure, lovers of arts, lovers of change, and so forth. A man shall find in the wisest sort of these relations, which the Italians make touching conclaves, the natures of the several cardinals handsomely and lively painted forth; a man shall meet with, in every day's conference, the denominations of sensitive,

¹ Aid, help, supply.

dry, formal, real, humourous, certain "*huomo di prima impressione, huomo di ultima impressione,*" and the like : and yet nevertheless this kind of observations wandereth in words, but is not fixed in inquiry. For the distinctions are found, many of them, but we conclude no precepts upon them : wherein our fault is the greater, because both history, poesy, and daily experience, are as goodly fields where these observations grow ; whereof we make a few poesies to hold in our hands, but no man bringeth them to the confectionary, that receipts might be made of them for the use of life.

Of much like kind are those impressions of nature, which are imposed upon the mind by the sex, by the age, by the region, by health and sickness, by beauty and deformity, and the like, which are inherent, and not extern ; and again, those which are caused by extern fortune ; as sovereignty, nobility, obscure birth, riches, want, magistracy, privateness, prosperity, adversity, constant fortune, variable fortune, rising *per saltum, per gradus*, and the like. And therefore we see that Plautus maketh it a wonder to see an old man beneficent, "*benignitas hujus ut adolescentuli est.*" St. Paul concludeth, that severity of discipline was to be used to the Cretans, "*Increpa eos dure,*" upon the disposition of their country, "*Cretenses semper mendaces, malæ bestia, ventres pigri.*"¹ Sallust noteth, "that it is usual with kings to desire contradictories ;" "*Sed plerumque regiarum voluntates, ut vehementes sunt, sic mobiles, sæpeque ipsæ sibi adversæ.*" Tacitus observeth how rarely raising of the fortune mendeth the disposition, "*Solus Vespasianus mutatus in melius.*" Pindarus² maketh an observation, that great and sudden fortune for the most part defeateth men, "*Qui magnam felicitatem concoquere non possunt.*" So the Psalm showeth it is more easy to keep a measure in the enjoying of fortune, than in the increase of fortune : "*Divitiæ si affluent, nolite cor apponere.*"³ These observations, and the like, I deny not but are touched a little by Aristotle, as in passage in his Rhetorics, and are handled in some scattered discourses ; but they were never incorporate into moral philosophy to which they do essentially appertain ; as the knowledge of the diversity of grounds and moulds doth to agriculture, and the knowledge of the diversity of complexions and constitutions doth to the physician ; except we mean to follow the indiscretion of empirics, which minister the same medicines to all patients.

Another article of this knowledge, is the inquiry touching the affections ; for as in medicining of the body, it is in order first to know the divers complexions and constitutions ; secondly, the diseases ; and lastly, the cures ; so in medicining of the mind, after knowledge of the divers characters of men's natures, it followeth, in order, to know the diseases and infirmities of the mind, which are no other than the perturbations and distempers of the affections. For as the ancient politicians in popular estates were wont to compare the people to the sea, and the orators to the winds ; because as the sea would of itself be calm and quiet, if the winds did not move and trouble it ; so the people would be peaceable and tractable if the seditious orators did not set them in working and agitation : so it may be fitly said, that the mind

¹ Titus i. 12

³ Psalm lxii. 10.

² The poet Pindar.

In the nature thereof would be temperate and stayed, if the affections, as winds, did not put it into tumult and perturbation. And here again I find strange as before, that Aristotle should have written divers volumes of Ethics, and never handled the affections, which is the principal subject thereof; and yet in his Rhetorics, where they are considered but collaterally, and in a second degree, as they may be moved by speech, he findeth place for them, and handleth them well for the quantity; but where their true place is, he pretermitteth them. For it is not his disputations about pleasure and pain that can satisfy this inquiry, no more than he that should generally handle the nature of light, can be said to handle the nature of colours; for pleasure and pain are to the particular affections as light is to particular colours. Better travails, I suppose, had the Stoics taken in this argument, as far as I can gather by that which we have at second hand. But yet, it is like, it was after their manner, rather in subtlety of definitions, which, in a subject of this nature, are but curiosities, than in active and ample descriptions and observations. So likewise I find some particular writings of an elegant nature, touching some of the affections; as of anger, of comfort upon adverse accidents, of tenderness, of countenance,¹ and other. But the poets and writers of histories are the best doctors of this knowledge, where we may find painted forth with great life how affections are kindled and incited; and how pacified and refrained; and how again contained from act, and farther degree: how they disclose themselves; how they work; how they vary; how they gather and fortify; how they are inwrapped one within another; and how they do fight and encounter one with another; and other the like particularities. Amongst the which, this last is of special use in moral and civil matters: how, I say, to set affection against affection, and to master one by another, even as we use to hunt beast with beast, and fly bird with bird, which otherwise percase we could not so easily recover: upon which foundation is erected that excellent use of *præmium* and *pæna*, whereby civil states consist, employing the predominant affections of fear and hope, for the suppressing and bridling the rest. For, as in the government of states, it is sometimes necessary to bridle one faction with another, so it is in the government within.

Now come we to those points which are within our own command, and have force and operation upon the mind, to affect the will and appetite, and to alter manners: wherein they ought to have handled custom, exercise, habit, education, example, imitation, emulation, company, friends, praise, reproof, exhortation, fame, laws, books, studies: these as they have determinate use in moralities, for from these the mind suffereth, and of these are such receipts and regiments compounded and described, as may serve to recover or preserve the health and good estate of the mind, as far as pertaineth to human medicine; of which number we will insist upon some one or two, as an example of the rest, because it were too long to prosecute all; and therefore we do resume custom and habit to speak of.

The opinion of Aristotle seemeth to me a negligent opinion, that of

¹ Kindness or patronage.

those things which consist by nature, nothing can be changed by custom; using for example, that if a stone be thrown ten thousand times up, it will not learn to ascend, and that by often seeing or hearing, we do not learn to hear or see the better. For though this principle be true in things wherein nature is peremptory, the reason whereof we cannot now stand to discuss, yet it is otherwise in things wherein nature admitteth a latitude. For he might see that a strait glove will come more easily on with use; and that a wand will by use bend otherwise than it grew; and that by use of the voice we speak louder and stronger; and that by use of enduring heat or cold, we endure it the better, and the like; which latter sort have a nearer resemblance unto that subject of manners he handleth, than those instances which he allegeth. But allowing his conclusion, that virtues and vices consist in habit, he ought so much the more to have taught the manner of superinducing that habit: for there be many precepts of the wise ordering the exercises of the mind, as there are of ordering the exercises of the body, whereof we will recite a few.

The first shall be, that we beware we take not at the first either too high a strain, or too weak: for if too high in a diffident nature you discourage; in a confident nature you breed an opinion of facility, and so a sloth: and in all natures you breed a farther expectation than can hold out, and so an insatisfaction in the end: if too weak of the other side, you may not look to perform and overcome any great task.

Another precept is, to practise all things chiefly at two several times, the one when the mind is best disposed, the other when it is worst disposed; that by the one you may give a great step, by the other you may work out the knots and stonds of the mind, and make the middle times the more easy and pleasant.

Another precept is that which Aristotle mentioneth by the way, which is, to bear ever towards the contrary extreme of that whereunto we are by nature inclined: like unto the rowing against the stream, or making a wand straight, by binding him contrary to his natural crookedness.

Another precept is, that the mind is brought to anything better, and with more sweetness and happiness, if that, whereunto you pretend, be not first in the intention, but *tanquam aliud agendo*, because of the natural hatred of the mind against necessity and constraint. Many other axioms there are touching the managing of exercise and custom; which being so conducted, doth prove indeed another nature; but being governed by chance, doth commonly prove but an ape of nature, and bringeth forth that which is lame and counterfeit.

So if we should handle books and studies, and what influence and operation they have upon manners, are there not divers precepts of great caution and direction appertaining thereunto? Did not one of the fathers¹ in great indignation call poesy *vinum dæmonum*, because it increaseth temptations, perturbations, and vain opinions? Is not the opinion of Aristotle worthy to be regarded, wherein he saith, "That young men are no fit auditors of moral philosophy, because they are not settled from the boiling heat of their affections, nor attempered

¹ St. Augustine. See Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Democritus, Junior, to the Reader. "What is poetry itself but (as Austin holds) *vinum erroris ad cæcibus doctoribus propinatum*."

with time and experience?" And doth it not hereof come, that those excellent books and discourses of the ancient writers, whereby they have persuaded unto virtue most effectually, by representing her in state and majesty; and popular opinions against virtue in their parasites' coats, fit to be scorned and derided, are of so little effect towards honesty of life, because they are not read and revolved by men in their mature and settled years, but confined almost to boys and beginners? But is it not true also, that much less young men are fit auditors of matters of policy, till they have been thoroughly seasoned in religion and morality, lest their judgments be corrupted, and made apt to think that there are no true differences of things, but according to utility and fortune, as the verse describes it?

Prosperitas et felix scelus virtus vocatur.

And again,

Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema :

which the poets do speak satirically, and in indignation on virtue's behalf: but books of policy do speak it seriously and positively; for it so pleaseth Machiavel to say, "that if Cæsar had been overthrown, he would have been more odious than ever was Catiline:" as if there had been no difference, but in fortune, between a very fury of lust and blood, and the most excellent spirit, (his ambition reserved,) of the world? Again, is there not a caution likewise to be given of the doctrines of moralities themselves, some kinds of them, lest they make men too precise, arrogant, incompatible, as Cicero saith of Cato in *Marco Catone*: "*Hæc bona, quæ videmus, divina et egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria: quæ nonnunquam requirimus, ea sunt omnia non a natura, sed a magistro?*" Many other axioms and advices there are touching those proprieties and effects, which studies do infuse and instil into manners. And so likewise is there touching the use of all those other points, of company, fame, laws, and the rest, which we recited in the beginning in the doctrine of morality.

But there is a kind of culture of the mind that seemeth yet more accurate and elaborate than the rest, and is built upon this ground: that the minds of all men are sometimes in a state more perfect, and at other times in a state more depraved. The purpose, therefore, of this practice is, to fix and cherish the good hours of the mind, and to obliterate and take forth the evil. The fixing of the good hath been practised by two means, vows or constant resolutions, and observances or exercises; which are not to be regarded so much in themselves, as because they keep the mind in continual obedience. The obliteration of the evil hath been practised by two means, some kind of redemption or expiation of that which is past, and an inception or account *de novo*, for the time to come: but this part seemeth sacred and religious, and justly; for all good moral philosophy, as was said, is but an handmaid to religion.

Wherefore we will conclude with that last point, which is of all other means the most compendious and summary; and, again, the most noble and effectual to the reducing of the mind unto virtue and good estate; which is, the electing and propounding unto a man's self good and virtuous ends of his life, such as may be in a reasonable sort

within his compass to attain. For if these two things be supposed, that a man set before him honest and good ends, and again that he be resolute, constant, and true unto them; it will follow, that he shall mould himself into all virtue at once. And this is indeed like the work of nature, whereas the other course is like the work of the hand: for as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereupon he worketh, as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude stone still, till such time as he comes to it: but contrariwise, when nature makes a flower or living creature, she formeth rudiments of all the parts at one time: so in obtaining virtue by habit, while a man practiseth temperance, he doth not profit much to fortitude, nor the like; but when he dedicateth and applieth himself to good ends, look, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends doth commend unto him, he is invested of a precedent disposition to conform himself thereunto. Which state of mind Aristotle doth excellently express himself, that it ought not to be called virtuous, but divine: his words are these, "*Immanitati autem consentaneum est, opponere eam, quæ supra humanitatem est, heroicam sive divinam virtutem.*" And a little after, "*Nam ut fera neque vitium neque virtus est, sic, neque Dei. Sed hic quidem status altius quiddam virtute est, ille aliud quiddam a vitio.*" And therefore we may see what celsitude of honour Plinius Secundus attributeth to Trajan in his funeral oration; where he said, "that men needed make no other prayers to the gods, but that they would continue as good lords to them as Trajan had been;" as if he had not been only an imitation of divine nature, but a pattern of it. But these be heathen and profane passages, having but a shadow of that divine state of mind, which religion and the holy faith doth conduct men unto, by imprinting upon their souls clarity, which is excellently called *the bond of perfection*, because it comprehendeth and fasteneth all virtues together. And as it is elegantly said by Menander, of vain love, which is but a false imitation of divine love, "*Amor melior sophista lævo ad humanam vitam,*" that love teacheth a man to carry himself better than the sophist or preceptor, which he calleth left-handed, because, with all his rules and preceptions, he cannot form a man so dexterously, nor with that facility, to prize himself, and govern himself, as love can do. So certainly if a man's mind be truly inflamed with Charity, it doth work him suddenly into greater perfection than all the doctrine of morality can do, which is but a sophist in comparison of the other. Nay farther, as Xenophon observed truly, that all other affections, though they raise the mind, yet they do it by distorting and uncomeliness of ecstasies or excesses; but only love doth exalt the mind, and nevertheless at the same instant doth settle and compose it: so in all other excellencies, though they advance nature, yet they are subject to excess. Only Charity admitteth no excess; for so we see by aspiring to be like God in power the angels transgressed and fell; "*Ascendam, et ero similis Altissimo;*" by aspiring to be like God in knowledge man transgressed and fell; "*Eritis sicut Dii, scientes bonum et malum;*" but by aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness, or love, neither man nor angel ever transgressed, or shall transgress. For unto that imitation we are

called ; “ *Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite eis qui oderunt vos, et orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos, ut sitis filii Patris vestri, qui in cælis est, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos.*”¹ So in the first platform of the divine nature itself, the heathen religion speaketh thus, “ *Optimus Maximus ;*” and the sacred Scriptures thus, “ *Misericordia ejus super omnia opera ejus.*”

Wherefore I do conclude this part of moral knowledge, concerning the culture and regiment of the mind ; wherein if any man, considering the parts thereof, which I have enumerated, do judge that my labour is but to collect into an art or science that which hath been pre-termitted by others, as matters of common sense and experience, he judgeth well : but as Philocrates sported with Demosthenes, “ You may not marvel, Athenians, that Demosthenes and I do differ, for he drinketh water, and I drink wine.” And like as we read of an ancient parable of the two gates of sleep,

*Sunt geminæ somni portæ, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris :
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia manes :*

so if we put on sobriety and attention, we shall find it a sure maxim in knowledge, that the more pleasant liquor, of wine, is the more vaporous, and the braver gate of ivory sendeth forth the falsèr dreams.

But we have now concluded that general part of human philosophy which contemplateth man segregate, and as he consisteth of body and spirit. Wherein we may farther note, that there seemeth to be a relation or conformity between the good of the mind and the good of the body. For as we divided the good of the body into health, beauty, strength, and pleasure ; so the good of the mind, inquired in rational and moral knowledges, tendeth to this : to make the mind sound and without perturbation ; beautiful and graced with decency ; and strong and agile for all duties of life. These three, as in the body, so in the mind, seldom meet, and commonly sever. For it is easy to observe, that many have strength of wit and courage, but have neither health from perturbations, nor any beauty or decency in their doings : some again have an elegance and fineness of carriage, which have neither soundness of honesty, nor substance of sufficiency : and some again have honest and reformed minds, that can neither become themselves nor manage business. And sometimes two of them meet, and rarely all three. As for pleasure, we have likewise determined, that the mind ought not to be reduced to stupidity, but to retain pleasure ; confined rather in the subject of it, than in the strength and vigour of it.

CIVIL Knowledge is conversant about a subject which of all others is most immersed in matter, and hardlièst reduced to axiom. Nevertheless, as Cato the Censor said, “ that the Romans were like sheep, for that a man might better drive a flock of them, than one of them ; for in a flock, if you could get but some few to go right, the rest would

¹ St. Matt. v. 44 and 45.

follow :” so in that respect moral philosophy is more difficile than policy. Again, moral philosophy propoundeth to itself the framing of internal goodness ; but civil knowledge requireth only an external goodness ; for that as to society sufficeth. And therefore it cometh oft to pass that there be evil times in good governments: for so we find in the holy story, when the kings were good ; yet it is added, “*Sed adhuc populus non direxerat cor suum ad Dominum Deum patrum suorum.*” Again, states, as great engines, move slowly, and are not so soon put out of frame: for as in Egypt the seven good years sustained the seven bad, so governments for a time well grounded, do bear out errors following. But the resolution of particular persons is more suddenly subverted. These respects do somewhat qualify the extreme difficulty of civil knowledge.

This knowledge hath three parts, according to the three summary actions of society, which are, Conversation, Negotiation, and Government. For man seeketh in society comfort, use, and protection: and they be three wisdoms of divers natures, which do often sever ; wisdom of behaviour, wisdom of business, and wisdom of state.

The wisdom of conversation ought not to be over much affected, but much less despised: for it hath not only an honour in itself, but an influence also into business and government. The poet saith, “*Nec vultu destrue verba tuo.*” A man may destroy the force of his words with his countenance: so may he of his deeds, saith Cicero, recommending to his brother affability and easy access, “*Nil interest habere ostium apertum, vultum clausum.*” It is nothing won to admit men with an open door, and to receive them with a shut and reserved countenance. So we see, Atticus,¹ before the first interview between Cæsar and Cicero, the war depending, did seriously advise Cicero touching the composing and ordering of his countenance and gesture. And if the government of the countenance be of such effect, much more is that of the speech, and other carriage appertaining to conversation ; the true model whereof seemeth to me well expressed by Livy, though not meant for this purpose ; “*Ne aut arrogans videar, aut obnoxius ; quorum alterum est alienæ libertatis obliti, alterum suæ.*” “The sum of behaviour is to retain a man’s own dignity, without intruding upon the liberty of others.” On the other side, if behaviour and outward carriage be intended too much, first it may pass into affectation, and then “*Quid deformius quam scenam in vitam transferre,*” to act a man’s life? But although it proceed not to that extreme, yet it consumeth time, and employeth the mind too much. And therefore as we use to advise young students from company keeping, by saying, “*Amici, fures temporis ;*” so certainly the intending of the discretion of behaviour is a great thief of meditation. Again, such as are accomplished in that form of urbanity, please themselves in it, and seldom aspire to higher virtue ; whereas those that have defect in it, do seek comeliness by reputation ; for where reputation is, almost everything becometh ; but where that is not, it must be supplied by puntos² and compliments. Again, there is no greater impediment of action, than an over-curious observance of decency, and the guide of

¹ The friend and correspondent of Cicero.

² Punctilios.

decency, which is time and season. For as Solomon saith, "*Qui respicit ad ventos, non seminat; et qui respicit ad nubes, non metet*:"¹ a man must make his opportunity as oft as find it. To conclude; behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in fashion; it ought not to be too curious; it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind, and hide any deformity; and above all, it ought not to be too strait, or restrained for exercise or motion. But this part of civil knowledge hath been elegantly handled, and therefore I cannot report it for deficient.

The wisdom touching Negotiation or Business hath not been hitherto collected into writing, to the great derogation of learning, and the professors of learning. For from this root springeth chiefly that note or opinion, which by us is expressed in adage to this effect; that there is no great concurrence between learning and wisdom. For of the three wisdoms which we have set down to pertain to civil life, for wisdom of behaviour, it is by learned men for the most part despised, as an inferior to virtue, and an enemy to meditation; for wisdom of government, they acquit themselves well when they are called to it, but that happeneth to few; but for the wisdom of business, wherein man's life is most conversant, there be no books of it, except some few scattered advertisements, that have no proportion to the magnitude of this subject. For if books were written of this, as the other, I doubt not but learned men, with mean experience, would far excel men of long experience, without learning, and outshoot them in their own bow.

Neither needeth it at all to be doubted, that this knowledge should be so variable, as it falleth not under precept; for it is much less infinite than science of government, which, we see, is laboured, and in some part reduced. Of this wisdom, it seemeth, some of the ancient Romans, in the saddest and wisest times, were professors; for Cicero reporteth, that it was then in use for senators that had name and opinion for general wise men, as Coruncanius, Curius, Lælius, and many others, to walk at certain hours in the place, and to give audience to those that would use their advice; and that the particular citizens would resort unto them, and consult with them of the marriage of a daughter, or of the employing of a son, or of a purchase or bargain, or of an accusation, and every other occasion incident to man's life. So as there is a wisdom of counsel and advice even in private cases, arising out of an universal insight into the affairs of the world; which is used indeed upon particular cases propounded, but is gathered by general observation of cases of like nature. For so we see in the book which Q. Cicero writeth to his brother, "*De petitione consulatus*," being the only book of business, that I know, written by the ancients, although it concerned a particular action then on foot, yet the substance thereof consisteth of many wise and politic axioms, which contain not a temporary, but a perpetual direction in the case of popular elections. But chiefly we may see in those aphorisms which have place amongst divine writings, composed by Solomon the king, of whom the Scriptures testify, that his heart was as the sands of the sea, encom-

¹ Eccles. xi. 4.

passing the world and all worldly matters : we see, I say, not a few profound and excellent cautions, precepts, positions, extending to much variety of occasions ; whereupon we will stay a while, offering to consideration some number of examples.

*Sed et cunctis sermonibus, qui dicuntur, ne accommodes aurem tuam, ne forte audias servum tuum maledicentem tibi.*¹

Here is recommended the provident stay of inquiry of that which we would be loth to find : as it was judged great wisdom in Pompeius Magnus that he burned Sertorius's papers unperused.

*Vir sapiens, si cum stulto contenderit, sive irascatur, sive rideat, non inveniet requiem.*²

Here is described the great disadvantage which a wise man hath in undertaking a lighter person than himself, which is such an engagement, as whether a man turn the matter to jest, or turn it to heat, or howsoever he change copy, he can no ways quit himself well of it.

*Qui delicate a pueritia nutrit servum suum, postea sentiet eum contumacem.*³

Here is signified, that if a man begin too high a pitch in his favours, it doth commonly end in unkindness and unthankfulness.

*Vidisti virum velocem in opere suo, coram regibus stabit, nec erit inter ignobiles.*⁴

Here is observed, that of all virtues for rising to honour, quickness of despatch is the best ; for superiors many times love not to have those they employ too deep or too sufficient, but ready and diligent.

*Vidi cunctos viventes, qui ambulant sub sole, cum adolescente secundo, qui concurrit pro eo.*⁵

Here is expressed that which was noted by Sylla first, and after him by Tiberius ; "*Plures adorant solem orientem, quam occidentem vel meridianum.*"

*Si spiritus potestatem habentis ascenderit super te, locum tuum ne dimiseris, quia curatio faciet cessare peccata maxima.*⁶

Here caution is given, that upon displeasure, retiring is of all courses the unfittest ; for a man leaveth things at worst, and depriveth himself of means to make them better.

*Erat civitas parva, et pauci in ea viri ; venit contra eam rex magnus, et vadavit eam, instruxitque munitiones per gyrum, et perfecta est obsidio ; inventusque est in ea vir pauper et sapiens, et liberavit eam per sapientiam suam, et nullus deinceps recordatus est hominis illius pauperis.*⁷

Here the corruption of states is set forth, that esteem not virtue or merit longer than they have use of it.

*Mollis responsio frangit iram.*⁸

Here is noted, that silence or rough answer exasperateth ; but an answer present and temperate pacifieth.

*Iter pigrorum, quasi sepes spinarum.*⁹

¹ Eccles. vii. 21.

² Prov. xxix. 9.

³ Prov. xxix. 21. Bacon quotes from the Vulgate, as we have said before : our translation of this verse differs greatly from it.

⁴ Prov. xxii. 29.

⁵ Eccles. iv. 15.

⁶ Eccles. x. 4.

⁷ Eccles. ix. 14 and 15.

⁸ Prov. xv. 1.

⁹ Prov. xv. 19.

Here is lively represented how laborious sloth proveth in the end ; for when things are deferred to the last instant, and nothing prepared beforehand, every step findeth a brier or an impediment, which catcheth or stoppeth.

*Melior est finis orationis, quam principium.*¹

Here is taxed the vanity of formal speakers, that study more about prefaces and inducements, than upon the conclusions and issues of speech.

*Qui cognoscit in judicio faciem, non bene facit ; iste et pro buccella panis deseret veritatem.*²

Here is noted, that a judge were better be a briber, than a respecter of persons ; for a corrupt judge offendeth not so lightly as a facile.

*Vir pauper calumnians pauperes, similis est imbri vehementi, in quo paratur fames.*³

Here is expressed the extremity of necessitous extortions, figured in the ancient fable of the full and the hungry horse-leech.

*Fons turbatus pede, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens coram impio.*⁴

Here is noted, that one judicial and exemplar iniquity in the face of the world, doth trouble the fountains of justice more than many particular injuries passed over by connivance.

*Qui subtrahit aliquid a patre et a matre, et dicit hoc non esse peccatum, particeps est homicidii.*⁵

Here is noted, that whereas men in wronging their best friends, use to extenuate their fault, as if they might presume or be bold upon them, it doth contrariwise indeed aggravate their fault, and turneth it from injury to impiety.

*Noli esse amicus homini iracundo, nec ambulato cum homine furioso.*⁶

Here caution is given, that in the election of our friends we do principally avoid those which are impatient, as those that will espouse us to many factions and quarrels.

*Qui conturbat domum suam, possidebit ventum.*⁷

Here is noted, that in domestical separations and breaches men do promise to themselves quieting of their mind and contentment, but still they are deceived of their expectation, and it turneth to wind.

*Filius sapiens lætificat patrem : filius vero stultus mæstitia est matri suæ.*⁸

Here is distinguished, that fathers have most comfort of the good proof of their sons ; but mothers have most discomfort of their ill proof, because women have little discerning of virtue, but of fortune.

*Qui celat delictum, quærit amicitiam ; sed qui altero sermone repetit, separat fœderatos.*⁹

¹ Eccles. vii. 9 (Vulgate).

⁴ Prov. xxv. 26.

⁷ Prov. xi. 29.

² Prov. xxviii. 21.

⁵ Prov. xxviii. 24.

⁸ Prov. x. 1.

³ Prov. xxviii. 3.

⁶ Prov. xxii. 24.

⁹ Prov. xvii. 9.

Here caution is given, that reconcilment is better managed by an amnesty, and passing over that which is past, than by apologies and excusations.

*In omni opere bono erit abundantia ; ubi autem verba sunt plurima, ibi frequenter egestas.*¹

Here is noted that words and discourse abound most, where there is idleness and want.

*Primus in sua causa justus ; sed venit altera pars, et inquiri in eum.*²

Here is observed that in all causes the first tale possesseth much, in such sort, that the prejudice thereby wrought will be hardly removed, except some abuse or falsity in the information be detected.

*Verba bilinguis quasi simplicia, et ipsa perveniunt ad interiora ventris.*³

Here is distinguished, that flattery and insinuation, which seemeth set and artificial, sinketh not far ; but that entereth deep which hath show of nature, liberty, and simplicity.

*Qui erudit derisorem, ipse sibi injuriam facit ; et qui arguit impium, sibi maculam generat.*⁴

Here caution is given how we tender reprehension to arrogant and scornful natures, whose manner is to esteem it for contumely, and accordingly to return it.

*Da sapienti occasionem, et addetur ei sapientia.*⁵

Here is distinguished the wisdom brought into habit, and that which is but verbal, and swimming only in conceit ; for the one upon the occasion presented is quickened and redoubled, the other is amazed and confused.

*Quomodo in aquis resplendent vultus prospicientium, sic corda hominum manifesta sunt prudentibus.*⁶

Here the mind of a wise man is compared to a glass, wherein the images of all diversity of natures and customs are represented, from which representation proceedeth that application,

Qui sapit, innumeris moribus aptus erit.

Thus have I stayed somewhat longer upon these sentences politic of Solomon than is agreeable to the proportion of an example, led with a desire to give authority to this part of knowledge, which I noted as deficient, by so excellent a precedent ; and have also attended them with brief observations, such as to my understanding offer no violence to the sense, though I know they may be applied to a more divine use : but it is allowed even in divinity, that some interpretations, yea, and some writings, have more of the eagle than other : but taking them as instructions for life, they might have received large discourse, if I would have broken them and illustrated them by deducements and examples.

Neither was this in use only with the Hebrews, but it is generally to be found in the wisdom of the more ancient times : that as men found

¹ Prov. xiv. 23.
⁴ Prov. ix. 7.

² Prov. xviii. 17.
³ Prov. ix. 9 (Vulgate).

⁵ Prov. xviii. 8 or xxvi. 22.
⁶ Prov. xxvii. 19 (Vulgate).

out any observation that they thought was good for life, they would gather it and express it in parable, or aphorism, or fable. But for fables, they were vicegerents and supplies where examples failed: now that the times abound with history, the aim is better when the mark is alive. And therefore the form of writing, which of all others is the fittest for this variable argument of negotiation and occasions, is that which Machiavel chose wisely and aptly for government; namely discourse upon histories or examples: for knowledge drawn freshly, and in our view, out of particulars, knoweth the way best to particulars again; and it hath much greater life for practice when the discourse attendeth upon the example, than when the example attendeth upon the discourse. For this is no point of order, as it seemeth at first, but of substance: for when the example is the ground being set down in an history at large, it is set down with all circumstances, which may sometimes control the discourse thereupon made, and sometimes supply it as a very pattern for action: whereas the examples alleged for the discourse's sake, are cited succinctly, and without particularity, and carry a servile aspect towards the discourse which they are brought in to make good.

But this difference is not amiss to be remembered, that as history of times is the best ground for discourse of government, such as Machiavel handleth, so history of lives is the most proper for discourse of business, because it is more conversant in private actions. Nay, there is a ground of discourse for this purpose fitter than them both, which is discourse upon letters; such as are wise and weighty, as many are of Cicero "*ad Atticum*," and others. For letters have a great and more particular representation of business than either chronicles or lives. Thus have we spoken both of the matter and form of this part of civil knowledge, touching negotiation, which we note to be deficient.

But yet there is another part of this part, which differeth as much from that whereof we have spoken, as *sapere* and *sibi sapere*; the one moving as it were to the circumference, the other to the centre: for there is a wisdom of counsel, and again there is a wisdom of pressing a man's own fortune, and they do sometimes meet, and often sever; for many are wise in their own ways that are weak for government or counsel; like ants, which is a wise creature for itself, but very hurtful for the garden. This wisdom the Romans did take much knowledge of: "*Nam pol sapiens*," saith the comical poet, "*fungit fortunam sibi*," and it grew to an adage, "*Faber quisque fortunæ propriæ*:" and Livy attributeth it to Cato the first, "*in hoc viro tanta vis animi et ingenii inerat: ut quocunque loco natus esset, sibi ipse fortunam facturum videretur*."

This conceit or position, if it be too much declared and professed, hath been thought a thing impolitic and unlucky, as was observed in Timotheus the Athenian;¹ who having done many great services to the estate in his government, and giving an account thereof to the people, as the manner was, did conclude every particular with this clause, "and in 'his Fortune had no part." And it came so to pass

¹ See Essay 40, p. 74, note 2.

that he never prospered in anything he took in hand afterwards; for this is too high and too arrogant, savouring of that which Ezekiel saith of Pharaoh, "*Dicis, Fluvius est meus, et ego feci memetipsum.*"¹ or of that which another prophet speaketh, that "men offer sacrifices to their nets and snares;"² and that which the poet expresseth,

*Dextra mihi Deus, et telum, quod missile libro,
Nunc adsint.*

For these confidences were ever unhallowed and unblest: and therefore those that were great politicians indeed ever ascribed their successes to their felicity, and not to their skill or virtue. For so Sylla surnamed himself *Felix* not *Magnus*: so Cæsar said to the master of the ship, "*Cæsarem portas et fortunam ejus.*"

But yet nevertheless these positions, "*Faber quisque fortunæ suæ; Sapiens dominabitur astris; Invia virtuti nulla est via;*" and the like, being taken and used as spurs to industry, and not as stirrups to insolency, rather for resolution than for presumption or outward declaration, have been ever thought sound and good, and are, no question, imprinted in the greatest minds, who are so sensible of this opinion, as they can scarce contain it within. As we see in Augustus Cæsar, who was rather diverse from his uncle, than inferior in virtue, how when he died, he desired his friends about him to give him a *Plaudite*, as if he were conscient to himself that he had played his part well upon the stage. This part of knowledge we do report also as deficient; not but that it is practised too much, but it hath not been reduced to writing. And therefore lest it should seem to any that it is not comprehensible by axiom, it is requisite, as we did in the former, that we set down some heads or passages of it.

Wherein it may appear at the first a new and unwonted argument to teach men how to raise and make their fortune: a doctrine, wherein every man perchance will be ready to yield himself a disciple till he seeth difficulty; for fortune layeth as heavy impositions as virtue, and it is as hard and severe a thing to be a true politician, as to be truly moral. But the handling hereof concerneth learning greatly, both in honour and in substance. In honour, because pragmatial men may not go away with an opinion that learning is like a lark, that can mount, and sing, and please herself, and nothing else; but may know that she holdeth as well of the hawk, that can soar aloft, and can also descend and strike upon the prey. In substance, because it is the perfect law of inquiry of truth, "that nothing be in the globe of matter, which should not be likewise in the globe of crystal, or form;" that is, that there be not anything in being and action, which should not be drawn and collected into contemplation and doctrine. Neither doth learning admire or esteem of this architecture of fortune, otherwise than as of an inferior work: for no man's fortune can be an end worthy of his being, and many times the worthiest men do abandon their fortune willingly for better respects; but nevertheless fortune, as an organ of virtue and merit, deserveth the consideration.

First, therefore, the precept which I conceive to be most summary towards the prevailing in fortune, is to obtain that window which

¹ Ezekiel xxix. 3.

² Hab. i. 16.

Momus did require; who seeing in the frame of man's heart such angles and recesses, found fault there was not a window to look into them; that is, to procure good informations of particulars touching persons, their natures, their desires and ends, their customs and fashions, their helps and advantages, and whereby they chiefly stand; so again their weaknesses and disadvantages, and where they lie most open and obnoxious; their friends, factions, and dependencies; and again their opposites, enviers, competitors, their moods and times, "*Sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras;*" their principles, rules, and observations, and the like: and this not only of persons but of actions; what are on foot from time to time, and how they are conducted, favoured, opposed, and how they import, and the like. For the knowledge of present actions is not only material in itself, but without it also the knowledge of persons is very erroneous; for men change with the actions, and whilst they are in pursuit they are one, and when they return to their nature, they are another. These informations of particulars, touching persons and actions, are as the minor propositions in every active syllogism, for no excellency of observations, which are as the major propositions, can suffice to ground a conclusion if there be error and mistaking in the minors.

That this knowledge is possible, Solomon is our surety, who saith, "*Consilium in corde viri, tanquam aqua profunda, sed vir prudens exhauriet illud:*"¹ And although the knowledge itself falleth not under precept, because it is of individuals, yet the instructions for the obtaining of it may.

We will begin therefore with this precept, according to the ancient opinion; that the sinews of wisdom are slowness of belief and distrust: that more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words; and in words rather to sudden passages and surprised words than to set and purposed words. Neither let that be feared which is said, "*Fronti nulla fides;*" which is meant of a general outward behaviour, and not of the private and subtle motions and labours of the countenance and gesture; which, as Q. Cicero² elegantly saith, is "*animi janua,*" "the gate of the mind." None more close than Tiberius, and yet Tacitus saith of Gallus, "*Etenim vultu offensionem conjectaverat.*" So again, noting the differing character and manner of his commending Germanicus and Drusus in the senate, he saith, touching his fashion, wherein he carried his speech of Germanicus, thus; "*Magis in speciem adornatis verbis, quam ut penitus sentire videretur;*" but of Drusus thus, "*Paucioribus, sed intentior, et fida oratione:*" and in another place, speaking of this character of speech when he did anything that was gracious and popular, he saith, that in other things he was "*velut eluctantium verborum:*" but then again, "*Solutius vero loquebatur quando subveniret.*" So that there is no such artificer of dissimulation, nor no such commanded countenance, *vultus jussus*, that can sever from a feigned tale some of these fashions, either a more slight and careless fashion, or more set and formal, or more tedious and wandering, or coming from a man more drily and hardly.

Neither are deeds such assured pledges, as that they may be trusted

¹ Prov. xx. 5.

² The brother of the Orator.

without a judicious consideration of their magnitude and nature: "*Fraus sibi in parvis fidem præstruit, ut majore emolumento fallat:*" and the Italian thinketh himself upon the point to be bought and sold, when he is better used than he was wont to be, without manifest cause. For small favours, they do but lull men asleep both as to caution and as to industry, and are, as Demosthenes calleth them, "*Alimenta socordia.*" So again we see how false the nature of some deeds is, in that particular which Mutianus practised upon Antonius Primus, upon that hollow and unfaithful reconciliation which was made between them: whereupon Mutianus advanced many of the friends of Antonius: "*simul amicis ejus præfecturas et tribunatus largitur:*" wherein, under pretence to strengthen him, he did desolate him, and won from him his dependencies.

As for words, though they be, like waters to physicians, full of flattery and uncertainty, yet they are not to be despised, specially with the advantage of passion and affection. For so we see Tiberius, upon a stinging and incensing speech of Agrippina, came a step forth of his dissimulation, when he said, "You are hurt because you do not reign;" of which Tacitus saith, "*Audita hæc raram occulti pectoris vocem elicueræ, correptamque Græco versu admonuit: ideo lædi, quia non regnaret.*" And therefore the poet doth elegantly call passions, tortures, that urge men to confess their secrets:

Vino tortus et ira.

And experience showeth, there are few men so true to themselves, and so settled, but that sometimes upon heat, sometimes upon bravery,¹ sometimes upon kindness, sometimes upon trouble of mind and weakness, they open themselves; specially if they be put to it with a counter-dissimulation, according to the proverb of Spain, "*Di mentira, y sacaras verdad,*" "Tell a lie, and find a truth."

As for the knowing of men, which is at second hand from reports: men's weakness and faults are best known from their enemies, their virtues and abilities from their friends, their customs and times from their servants, their conceits and opinions from their familiar friends, with whom they discourse most. General fame is light, and the opinions conceived by superiors or equals are deceitful; for to such, men are more masked, "*Verior fama e domesticis emanat.*"

But the soundest disclosing and expounding of men is, by their natures and ends; wherein the weakest sort of men are best interpreted by their natures, and the wisest by their ends. For it was both pleasantly and wisely said, though I think very untruly, by a nuncio of the pope, returning from a certain nation, where he served as lieger; whose opinion being asked touching the appointment of one to go in his place, he wished that in any case they did not send one that was too wise; because no very wise man would ever imagine, what they in that country were like to do. And certainly it is an error frequent for men to shoot over, and to suppose deeper ends, and more compass reaches than are: the Italian proverb being elegant, and for the most part true,

*Di danari, di sennò, e di fede
C'è ne manco che non credi;*

¹ Boasting.

"There is commonly less money, less wisdom, and less good faith, than men do account upon."

But princes, upon a far other reason, are best interpreted by their natures, and private persons by their ends: for princes being at the top of human desires, they have for the most part no particular ends whereto they aspire, by distance from which a man might take measure and scale of the rest of their actions and desires; which is one of the causes that maketh their hearts more inscrutable. Neither is it sufficient to inform ourselves in men's ends and natures of the variety of them only, but also of the predominancy, what humour reigneth most, and what end is principally sought. For so we see, when Tigellinus¹ saw himself out-stripped by Petronius Turpilianus in Nero's humours of pleasures; "*metus ejus rimatur*," he wrought upon Nero's fears, whereby he broke the other's neck.

But to all this part of inquiry, the most compendious way resteth in three things; the first, to have general acquaintance and inwardness with those which have general acquaintance, and look most into the world; and especially according to the diversity of business, and the diversity of persons, to have privacy and conversation with some one friend at least, which is perfect and well intelligenced in every several kind. The second is, to keep a good mediocrity in liberty of speech and secrecy: in most things liberty, secrecy where it importeth; for liberty of speech inviteth and provoketh liberty to be used again, and so bringeth much to a man's knowledge; and secrecy, on the other side, induceth trust and inwardness. The last is the reducing of a man's self to this watchful and serene habit, as to make account and purpose, in every conference and action, as well to observe as to act. For as Epictetus would have a philosopher in every particular action to say to himself, "*Et hoc volo, et etiam institutum servare*:" so a politic man in everything should say to himself, "*Et hoc volo, ac etiam aliquid addiscere*." I have stayed the longer upon this precept of obtaining good information; because it is a main part by itself, which answereth to all the rest. But above all things caution must be taken, that men have a good stay and hold of themselves, and that this much knowing do not draw on much meddling: for nothing is more unfortunate than light and rash intermeddling in many matters. So that this variety of knowledge tendeth in conclusion but only to this, to make a better and freer choice of those actions which may concern us, and to conduct them with the less error and the more dexterity.

The second precept concerning this knowledge, is for men to take good information touching their own persons, and well to understand themselves: knowing that, as St. James saith, though men look oft in a glass, yet they do suddenly forget themselves; wherein as the divine glass is the word of God, so the politic glass is the state of the world, or times wherein we live, in the which we are to behold ourselves.

For men ought to take an impartial view of their own abilities and

¹ Tigellinus was noted for his perfidies. Petronius as consul behaved with dignity, but in private life was as vicious as the Emperor. He was a poet of some renown: his poem on the civil wars of Pompey and Cæsar being considered superior even to Lucan's Pharsalia. Petronius escaped the vengeance of Nero by a voluntary death; having his veirs opened, closed, and re-opened, thus dying slowly.

virtues ; and again of their wants and impediments ; accounting these with the most ; and those other with the least ; and from this view and examination, to frame the considerations following.

First, to consider how the constitution of their nature sorteth with the general state of the times ; which if they find agreeable and fit them in all things to give themselves more scope and liberty ; but if differing and dissonant, then in the whole course of their life to be more close, retired, and reserved : as we see in Tiberius, who was never seen at a play, and came not into the senate in twelve of his last years ; whereas Augustus Cæsar lived ever in men's eyes, which Tacitus observeth : "*Alia Tiberio morum via.*"

Secondly, to consider how their nature sorteth with professions and courses of life, and accordingly to make election, if they be free ; and, if engaged, to make the departure at the first opportunity, as we see was done by duke Valentine, that was designed by his father to a sacerdotal profession, but quitted it soon after in regard of his parts and inclination ; being such nevertheless, as a man cannot tell well whether they were worse for a prince or for a priest.

Thirdly, to consider how they sort with those whom they are like to have competitors and concurrents, and to take that course wherein there is most solitude, and themselves like to be most eminent ; as Julius Cæsar did, who at first was an orator or pleader ; but when he saw the excellency of Cicero, Hortensius, Catulus, and others, for eloquence, and saw there was no man of reputation for the wars but Pompeius, upon whom the state was forced to rely ; he forsook his course begun toward a civil and popular greatness, and transferred his designs to a martial greatness.

Fourthly, in the choice of their friends and dependences, to proceed according to the composition of their own nature ; as we may see in Cæsar ; all whose friends and followers were men active and effectual, but not solemn, or of reputation.

Fifthly, to take special heed how they guide themselves by examples, in thinking they can do as they see others do ; whereas perhaps their natures and carriages are far differing. In which error it seemeth Pompey was, of whom Cicero saith, that he was wont often to say, "*Sylla potuit, ego non potero?*" Wherein he was much abused, the natures and proceedings of himself and his example being the unlikeliest in the world ; the one being fierce, violent, and pressing the fact ; the other solemn, and full of majesty and circumstance ; and therefore the less effectual.

But this precept touching the politic knowledge of ourselves, hath many other branches whereupon we cannot insist.

Next to the well understanding and discerning of a man's self, there followeth the well opening and revealing a man's self ; wherein we see nothing more usual than for the more able man to make the less show. For there is a great advantage in the well setting forth of a man's virtues, fortunes, merits ; and again, in the artificial covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces, staying upon the one, sliding from the other ; cherishing the one by circumstances, gracing the other by exposition, and the like ; wherein we see what Tacitus saith of Mutianus, who was the greatest politician of his time,

“*Omnium, quæ dixerat, feceratque, arte quadam ostentator;*” which requireth indeed some art, lest it turn tedious and arrogant; but yet so, as ostentation, though it be to the first degree of vanity, seemeth to me rather a vice in manners than in policy: for as it is said, “*Audatur calumniare, semper aliquid hæret;*” so except it be in a ridiculous degree of deformity, “*Audatur te vendita, semper aliquid hæret.*” For it will stick with the more ignorant and inferior sort of men, though men of wisdom and rank do smile at it, and despise it; and yet the authority won with many, doth countervail the disdain of a few. But if it be carried with decency and government, as with a natural, pleasant, and ingenuous fashion, or at times when it is mixed with some peril and unsafety, as in military persons, or at times when others are most envied; or with easy and careless passage to it and from it, without dwelling too long, or being too serious; or with an equal freedom of taxing a man’s self, as well as gracing himself; or by occasion of repelling or putting down others’ injury or insolence; it doth greatly add to reputation: and surely not a few solid natures that want this ventosity, and cannot sail in the height of the winds, are not without some prejudice and disadvantage by their moderation.

But for these flourishes and enhancements of virtue, as they are not perchance unnecessary, so it is at least necessary that virtue be not disvalued and embased under the just price, which is done in three manners; by offering and obtruding a man’s self, wherein men think he is rewarded, when he is accepted: by doing too much, which will not give that which is well done leave to settle, and in the end induceth satiety: and by finding too soon the fruit of a man’s virtue in commendation, applause, honour, favour; wherein if a man be pleased with a little, let him hear what is truly said; “*Cave ne insuetus rebus majoribus videaris, si hæc te res parva, sicuta magna, delectat.*”

But the covering of defects is of no less importance than the valuing of good parts: which may be done likewise in three manners, by caution, by colour, and by confidence. Caution is, when men do ingeniously and discreetly avoid to be put into those things for which they are not proper: whereas contrariwise, bold and unquiet spirits will thrust themselves into matters without difference, and so publish and proclaim all their wants: colour is, when men make a way for themselves, to have a construction made of their faults or wants, as proceeding from a better cause, or intended for some other purpose: for of the one it is well said,

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.

And therefore whatsoever want a man hath, he must see that he pretend the virtue that shadoweth it; as if he be dull, he must affect gravity; if a coward, mildness; and so the rest. For the second, a man must frame some probable cause why he should not do his best and why he should dissemble his abilities; and for that purpose must use to dissemble those abilities which are notorious in him, to give colour that his true wants are but industries and dissimulations. For confidence, it is the last, but surest remedy; namely, to depress and seem to despise whatsoever a man cannot attain, observing

the good principle of the merchants, who endeavoured to raise the price of their own commodities and to beat down the price of others. But there is a confidence that passeth this other, which is to face out a man's own defects, in seeming to conceive that he is best in those things wherein he is failing; and, to help that again, to seem on the other side that he hath least opinion of himself in those things wherein he is best; like as we shall see it commonly in poets, that if they show their verses, and you except to any, they will say, "that that line cost them more labour than any of the rest;" and presently will seem to disable and suspect rather some other line, which they know well enough to be the best in the number. But above all, in this righting and helping of a man's self in his own carriage, he must take heed he show not himself dismantled, and exposed to scorn and injury, by too much dulceness, goodness, and facility of nature, but show some sparkles of liberty, spirit, and edge: which kind of fortified carriage, with a ready rescuing of a man's self from scorns, is sometimes of necessity imposed upon men by somewhat in their person or fortune, but it ever succeedeth with good felicity.

Another precept of this knowledge is, by all possible endeavour to frame the mind to be pliant and obedient to occasion; for nothing hindereth men's fortunes so much as this: "*Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.*" Men are where they were, when occasions turn; and therefore to Cato, whom Livy maketh such an architect of fortune, he addeth, that he hath *versatile ingenium*. And therefore it cometh, that these grave solemn wits, which must be like themselves, and cannot make departures, have more dignity than felicity. But in some it is nature to be somewhat viscous and unwrapped, and not easy to turn. In some it is a conceit, that is almost a nature, which is, that men can hardly make themselves believe that they ought to change their course, when they have found good by it in former experience; for Machiavel noteth wisely, how Fabius Maximus would have been temporizing still, according to his old bias, when the nature of the war was altered, and required hot pursuit. In some other it is want of point and penetration in their judgment, that they do not discern when things have a period, but come in too late after the occasion; as Demosthenes compareth the people of Athens to country fellows, when they play in a fence school, that if they have a blow, then they remove their weapon to that ward, and not before. In some other it is a loathness to lose labours passed, and a conceit that they can bring about occasions to their ply; and yet in the end, when they see no other remedy, then they come to it with disadvantage; as Tarquinius, that gave for the third part of Sibylla's books the treble price, when he might at first have had all three for the simple. But from whatsoever root or cause this restiveness of mind proceedeth, it is a thing most prejudicial, and nothing is more politic than to make the wheels of our mind concentric and voluble with the wheels of fortune.

Another precept of this knowledge, which hath some affinity with that we last spake of, but with difference, is that which is well expressed, "*fatis accede deisque,*" that men do not only turn with the occasions, but also run with the occasions, and not strain their

Credit: or strength to over-hard or extreme points; but choose in their acution that which is most passable: for this will preserve men from foil, and not occupy them too much about one matter, win opinion of moderation, please the most, and make a show of a perpetual felicity in all they undertake; which cannot but mightily increase reputation.

Another part of this knowledge seemeth to have some repugnancy with the former two, but not as I understand it, and it is that which Demosthenes uttered in high terms: "*Et quemadmodum receptum est, ut exercitum ducat imperator, sic et a cordatis viris res ipsæ ducendæ; ut quæ ipsis videntur, ea gerantur, et non ipsi eventus tantum persequi cogantur.*" For, if we observe, we shall find two differing kinds of sufficiency in managing of business: some can make use of occasions aptly and dexterously, but plot little: some can urge and pursue their own plots well, but cannot accommodate nor take in; either of which is very imperfect without the other.

Another part of this knowledge is the observing a good mediocrity in the declaring, or not declaring a man's self: for although depth of secrecy, and making way, "*qualis est via navis in mari,*" which the French calleth "*sourdes menées,*" when men set things in work without opening themselves at all, be sometimes both prosperous and admirable, yet many times "*Dissimulatio errores parit, qui dissimulatorem ipsum illaqueant.*" And therefore, we see, the greatest politicians have in a natural and free manner professed their desires, rather than been reserved and disguised in them: for so we see that Lucius Sylla made a kind of profession, "that he wished all men happy or unhappy, as they stood his friends or enemies." So Cæsar, when he went first into Gaul, made no scruple to profess, "that he had rather be first in a village than second at Rome." So again, as soon as he had begun the war, we see what Cicero saith of him, "*Alter,*" meaning of Cæsar, "*non recusat, sed quodammodo postulat, ut, ut est, sic appelletur, tyrannus.*" So we may see in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, that Augustus Cæsar, in his very entrance into affairs, when he was a darling of the senate, yet in his harangues to the people would swear, "*Ita parentis honores consequi liceat*" (which was no less than the tyranny), save that, to help it, he would stretch forth his hand towards a statue of Cæsar's, that was erected in the same place: and men laughed, and wondered, and said, Is it possible, or, Did you ever hear the like? and yet thought he meant no hurt, he did it so handsomely and ingenuously. And all these were prosperous. whereas Pompey, who tended to the same ends, but in a more dark and dissembling manner, as Tacitus saith of him, "*Occultior, non melior,*" wherein Sallust concurreth, "*ore probo, animo inverecundo,*" made it his design, by infinite secret engines, to cast the state into an absolute anarchy and confusion, that the state might cast itself into his arms for necessity and protection, and so the sovereign power be put upon him, and he never seen in it: and when he had brought it, as he thought, to that point when he was chosen consul alone, as never any was, yet he could make no great matter of it, because men understood him not; but was fain in the end to go the beaten track of

getting arms into his hands, by colour of the doubt of Cæsar's designs: so tedious, casual, and unfortunate are these deep dissimulations; whereof, it seemeth, Tacitus made this judgment, that they were a cunning of an inferior form in regard of true policy, attributing the one to Augustus, the other to Tiberius, where, speaking of Livia, he saith, "*Et cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita;*" for surely the continual habit of dissimulation is but a weak and sluggish cunning, and not greatly politic.

Another precept of this architecture of fortune is, to accustom our minds to judge of the proportion or value of things, as they conduce and are material to our particular ends; and that to do substantially and not superficially. For we shall find the logical part, as I may term it, of some men's minds good, but the mathematical part erroneous; that is, they can well judge of consequences, but not of proportions and comparisons, preferring things of show and sense before things of substance and effect. So some fall in love with access to princes, others with popular fame and applause, supposing they are things of great purchase; when, in many cases, they are but matters of envy, peril, and impediment.

So some measure things according to the labour and difficulty, or assiduity, which are spent about them; and think if they be ever moving, that they must needs advance and proceed: as Cæsar saith in a despising manner of Cato the second, when he describeth how laborious and indefatigable he was to no great purpose; "*Hæc omnia magno studio agebat.*" So in most things men are ready to abuse themselves in thinking the greatest means to be best, when it should be the fittest.

As for the true marshalling of men's pursuits towards their fortune, as they are more or less material, I hold them to stand thus: first, the amendment of their own minds; for the remove of the impediments of the mind will sooner clear the passages of fortune, than the obtaining fortune will remove the impediments of the mind. In the second place I set down wealth and means, which, I know, most men would have placed first, because of the general use which it beareth towards all variety of occasions. But that opinion I may condemn with like reason as Machiavel doth that other, that moneys were the sinews of the wars, whereas, saith he, the true sinews of the wars are the sinews of men's arms, that is, a valiant, populous, and military nation; and he voucheth aptly the authority of Solon, who, when Cræsus showed him his treasury of gold, said to him, that if another came that had better iron, he would be master of his gold. In like manner it may be truly affirmed, that it is not moneys that are the sinews of fortune, but it is the sinews and steel of men's minds, wit, courage, audacity, resolution, temper, industry, and the like. In third place I set down reputation, because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath, which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered, it being extreme hard to play an after-game of reputation. And lastly I place honour, which is more easily won by any of the other three, much more by all, than any of them can be purchased by honour. To conclude this precept, as there is order and priority in matter, so is there in time, the preposterous placing whereof is one of the commonest errors, while

men fly to their ends when they should intend their beginnings ; and do not take things in order of time as they come on, but marshal them according to greatness, and not according to instance, not observing the good precept, "*Quod nunc instat agamus.*"

Another precept of this knowledge is, not to embrace any matters which do occupy too great a quantity of time, but to have that sounding in a man's ears, "*Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus :*" and that is the cause why those which take their course of rising by professions of burden, as lawyers, orators, painful divines, and the like, are not commonly so politic for their own fortunes, otherwise than in their ordinary way, because they want time to learn particulars, to wait occasions, and to devise plots.

Another precept of this knowledge is, to imitate nature, which doth nothing in vain: which surely a man may do if he do well interlace his business, and bend not his mind too much upon that which he principally intendeth. For a man ought in every particular action so to carry the motions of his mind, and so to have one thing under another, as if he cannot have that he seeketh in the best degree, yet to have it in a second, or so in a third ; and if he can have no part of that which he purposed, yet to turn the use of it to somewhat else ; and if he cannot make anything of it for the present, yet to make it as a seed of somewhat in time to come ; and if he can contrive no effect or substance from it, yet to win some good opinion by it, or the like. So that he should exact an account of himself of every action, to reap somewhat, and not to stand amazed and confused if he fail of that he chiefly meant : for nothing is more impolitic than to mind actions wholly one by one ; for he that doth so, loseth infinite occasions which intervene, and are many times more proper and propitious for somewhat that he shall need afterwards, than for that which he urgeth for the present ; and therefore men must be perfect in that rule, "*Hæc oportet facere, et illa non omittere.*"

Another precept of this knowledge is, not to engage a man's self peremptorily in anything, though it seem not liable to accident, but ever to have a window to fly out at, or a way to retire ; following the wisdom in the ancient fable of the two frogs, which consulted when their plash was dry whither they should go, and the one moved to go down into a pit, because it was not likely the water would dry there, but the other answered, "True, but if it do, how shall we get out again?"

Another precept of this knowledge is, that ancient precept of Bias, construed not to any point of perfidiousness, but only to caution and moderation, "*Et ama tanquam inimicus futurus, et odi tanquam amaturus :*" for it utterly betrayeth all utility, for men to embark themselves too far into unfortunate friendships, troublesome spleens, and childish and humorous envies or emulations.

But I continue this beyond the measure of an example, led, because I would not have such knowledges, which I note as deficient, to be thought things imaginative, or in the air ; or an observation or two much made of, but things of bulk and mass, whereof an end is hardlier made than a beginning. It must be likewise conceived that in those points which I mention and set down, they are far from complete

tractates of them, but only as small pieces for patterns: and lastly, no man, I suppose, will think that I mean fortunes are not obtained without all this ado: for I know they come tumbling into some men's laps, and a number obtain good fortunes by diligence in a plain way, little intermeddling, and keeping themselves from gross errors.

But as Cicero, when he setteth down an idea of a perfect orator, doth not mean that every pleader should be such; and so likewise, when a prince or a courtier hath been described by such as have handled those subjects, the mould hath used to be made according to the perfection of the art, and not according to common practice: so I understand it, that it ought to be done in the description of a politic man, I mean politic for his own fortune.

But it must be remembered all this while, that the precepts which we have set down are of that kind which may be counted and called *bonæ artes*. As for evil arts, if a man would set down for himself that principle of Machiavel, "that a man seek not to attain virtue itself, but the appearance only thereof; because the credit of virtue is a help, but the use of it is cumber:" or that other of his principles, "that he presuppose that men are not fitly to be wrought otherwise but by fear, and therefore that he seek to have every man obnoxious, low, and in strait," which the Italians call "*seminar spine*," to sow thorns: or that other principle contained in the verse which Cicero citeth, "*Culant amici, dummodo inimici intercitant*," as the Triumvirs, which sold every one to other, the lives of their friends, for the deaths of their enemies: or that other protestation of L. Catilina, to set on fire, and trouble states, to the end to fish in droumy¹ waters, and to unwrap their fortunes, "*Ego si quid in fortunis meis excitatum sit incendium, id non aqua, sed ruina restinguam*:" or that other principle of Ly-sander,² "that children are to be deceived with comfits, and men with oaths:" and the like evil and corrupt positions, whereof, as in all things, there are more in number than of the good: certainly, with these dispensations from the laws of charity and integrity, the pressing of a man's fortune may be more hasty and compendious. But it is in life as it is in ways, the shortest way is commonly the foulest, and surely the fairer way is not much about.

But men, if they be in their own power, and do bear and sustain themselves, and be not carried away with a whirlwind or tempest of ambition, ought, in the pursuit of their own fortune, to set before their eyes, not only that general map of the world, that "all things are vanity and vexation of spirit," but many other more particular cards and directions: chiefly that, that being, without well-being, is a curse, and the greater being the greater curse; and that all virtue is most rewarded, and all wickedness most punished in itself: according as the poet saith excellently:

*Quæ vobis, quæ digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
Præmia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum
Dii moresque dabunt vestri.*

And so of the contrary. And, secondly, they ought to look up to the

¹ Troubled, muddy—the same as the Scottish "drumly"

² General of Sparta, the conqueror of Athens

eternal providence and divine judgment, which often subverteth the wisdom of evil plots and imaginations, according to that Scripture, "He hath conceived mischief, and shall bring forth a vain thing."¹ And although men should refrain themselves from injury and evil arts, yet this incessant and sabbathless pursuit of a man's fortune leaveth not that tribute which we owe to God of our time: who, we see, demandeth a tenth of our substance, and a seventh, which is more strict, of our time: and it is to small purpose to have an erected face towards heaven, and a perpetual grovelling spirit upon earth, eating dust, as doth the serpent, "*Atque affigit humo divinæ particulan auræ.*" And if any man flatter himself that he will employ his fortune well, though he should obtain it ill, as was said concerning Augustus Cæsar, and after of Septimius Severus, "that either they should never have been born, or else they should never have died," they did so much mischief in the pursuit and ascent of their greatness, and so much good when they were established: yet these compensations and satisfactions are good to be used, but never good to be purposed. And, lastly, it is not amiss for men in their race towards their fortune, to cool themselves a little with that conceit which is elegantly expressed by the emperor Charles the fifth, in his instructions to the king his son, "that fortune hath somewhat of the nature of a woman, that if she be too much wooed, she is the farther off." But this last is but a remedy for those whose tastes are corrupted: let men rather build upon that foundation which is as a corner-stone of divinity and philosophy, wherein they join close, namely, that same *Primum quærite*. For divinity saith, "*Primum quærite regnum Dei, et ista omnia adjicientur vobis:*"² and philosophy saith, "*Primum quærite bona animi, cætera aut aderunt, aut non oberunt.*" And although the human foundation hath somewhat of the sands, as we see in M. Brutus, when he brake forth into that speech,

Te colui, virtus, ut rem: ast tu nomen inane es:

yet the divine foundation is upon the rock. But this may serve for a taste of that knowledge which I noted as deficient.

Concerning government, it is a part of knowledge, secret and retired in both these respects, in which things are deemed secret; for some things are secret because they are hard to know, and some because they are not fit to utter; we see all governments are obscure and invisible.

*Totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.*

Such is the description of governments: we see the government of God over the world is hidden, insomuch as it seemeth to participate of much irregularity and confusion: the government of the soul in moving the body is inward and profound, and the passages thereof hardly to be reduced to demonstration. Again, the wisdom of antiquity, the shadows whereof are in the poets, in the description of torments and pains, next unto the crime of rebellion, which was the giants' offence, doth detest the crime of futility, as in Sisyphus and Tantalus. But

¹ Psalm vii. 14.

² S. Luke xii. 31.

this was meant of particulars; nevertheless, even unto the general rules and discourses of policy and government there is due a reverent and reserved handling.

But, contrariwise, in the governors towards the governed, all things ought, as far as the frailty of man permitteth, to be manifest and revealed. For so it is expressed in the Scriptures touching the government of God, that this globe which seemeth to us a dark and shady body, is in the view of God as crystal, "*Et in conspectu sedis tanquam mare vitreum simile crystallo.*" So unto princes and states, specially towards wise senates and councils, the natures and dispositions of the people, their conditions and necessities, their factions and combinations, their animosities and discontents, ought to be, in regard of the variety of their intelligences, the wisdom of their observations, and the height of the station where they kept sentinel, in great part clear and transparent. Wherefore, considering that I write to a king that is a master of this science, and is so well assisted, I think it decent to pass over this part in silence, as willing to obtain the certificate which one of the ancient philosophers aspired unto: who being silent, when others contended to make demonstration of their abilities by speech, desired it might be certified for his part, "that there was one that knew how to hold his peace."

Notwithstanding, for the more public part of government, which is laws, I think good to note only one deficiency: which is, that all those which have written of laws, have written either as philosophers, or as lawyers, and none as statesmen. As for the philosophers, they make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths, and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light, because they are so high. For the lawyers, they write according to the states where they live, what is received law, and not what ought to be law; for the wisdom of a law-maker is one, and of a lawyer is another. For there are in nature certain fountains of justice, whence all civil laws are derived but as streams: and like as waters do take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws vary according to the regions and governments where they are planted, though they proceed from the same fountains. Again, the wisdom of a law-maker consisteth not only in a platform of justice, but in the application thereof; taking into consideration by what means laws may be made certain, and what are the causes and remedies of the doubtfulness and uncertainty of law; by what means law may be made apt and easy to be executed, and what are the impediments and remedies in the execution of laws; what influence laws touching private right of *meum* and *tuum* have into the public state, and how they may be made apt and agreeable; how laws are to be penned and delivered, whether in texts or in acts, brief or large, with preambles or without; how they are to be pruned and reformed from time to time, and what is the best means to keep them from being too vast in volumes, or too full of multiplicity or crossness: how they are to be expounded, when upon causes emergent, and judicially discussed: and when upon responses and conferences touching general points or questions; how they are to be pressed, rigorously or tenderly; how they are to be mitigated by equity and good conscience, and whether discretion and strict law are to be mingled in

the same courts, or kept apart in several courts; again, how the practice, profession, and erudition of law is to be censured and governed; and many other points touching the administration, and, as I may term it, animation of laws. Upon which I insist the less, because I propose, if God give me leave, having begun a work of this nature, in aphorisms, to propound it hereafter, noting it in the meantime for deficient.

And for your majesty's laws of England, I could say much of their dignity, and somewhat of their defect; but they cannot but excel the civil laws in fitness for the government: for the civil law was, "*Non hoc quasitum munus in usus;*" it was not made for the countries which it governeth: hereof I cease to speak, because I will not intermingle matter of action with matter of general learning.

THUS have I concluded this portion of learning touching civil knowledge, and with civil knowledge have concluded human philosophy; and with human philosophy, philosophy in general; and being now at some pause, looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seemeth to me, *si nunquam fallit imago*, as far as a man can judge of his own work, not much better than that noise or sound which musicians make while they are in tuning their instruments, which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards. So have I been content to tune the instrument of the Muses, that they may play that have better hands. And surely, when I set before me the condition of these times, in which learning hath made her third visitation or circuit in all the qualities thereof; as the excellency and vivacity of the wits of this age; the noble helps and lights which we have by the travails of ancient writers; the art of printing, which communiceth books to men of all fortunes: the openness of the world by navigation, which hath disclosed multitudes of experiments, and a mass of natural history; the leisure wherewith these times abound, not employing men so generally in civil business, as the states of Græcia did, in respect of their popularity and the state of Rome in respect of the greatness of their monarchy; the present disposition of these times at this instant to peace; the consumption of all that ever can be said in controversies of religion, which have so much diverted men from other sciences; the perfection of your majesty's learning, which as a phoenix may call whole volleys of wits to follow you; and the inseparable propriety of time which is ever more and more to disclose truth; I cannot but be raised to this persuasion, this third period of time will far surpass that of the Græcian and Roman learning. Only if men will know their own strength, and their own weakness both; and take, one from the other, light of invention, and not fire of contradiction; and esteem of the inquisition of truth, as of an enterprise, and not as of a quality or ornament; and employ wit and magnificence to things of worth and excellency, and not to things vulgar and of popular estimation. As for my labours, if any man should please himself, or others, in the reprehension of them, they shall make that ancient and patient request, "*Verbera, sed audi.*" Let men reprehend them, so they observe and weigh them. For the

appeal is lawful, though it may be it shall not be needful, from the first cogitations of men to their second, and from the nearer times to the times farther off. Now let us come to that learning, which both the former times were not so blessed as to know, sacred and inspired Divinity, the sabbath and port of all men's labours and peregrinations.

THE prerogative of God extendeth as well to the reason, as to the will of man; so that as we are to obey His law, though we find a reluctance in our will; so we are to believe His word, though we find a reluctance in our reason. For if we believe only that which is agreeable to our sense, we give consent to the matter, and not to the author, which is no more than we would do towards a suspected and discredited witness: but that faith which was "accounted to Abraham for righteousness," was of such a point, as wherewith Sarah laughed, who therein was an image of natural reason.

Howbeit, if we will truly consider it, more worthy it is to believe than to know as we now know. For in knowledge man's mind suffereth from sense, but in belief it suffereth from spirit, such one as it holdeth for more authorized than itself; and so suffereth from the worthier agent. Otherwise it is of the state of man glorified, for then faith shall cease, and "we shall know as we are known."

Wherefore we conclude, that sacred theology, which in our idiom we call divinity, is grounded only upon the word and oracle of God, and not upon the light of nature: for it is written, "*Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei:*"¹ but it is not written, "*Cæli enarrant voluntatem Dei:*" but of that it is said, "*Ad legem et testimonium, si non fecerint secundum verbum istud,*" etc. This holdeth not only in those points of faith which concern the great mysteries of the Deity, of the creation, of the redemption, but likewise those which concern the law moral truly interpreted; "Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you: be like to your heavenly Father, that suffereth his rain to fall upon the just and unjust."² To this it ought to be applauded, "*Nec vox hominem sonat,*" it is a voice beyond the light of nature. So we see the heathen poets, when they fall upon a libertine passion, do still expostulate with laws and moralities, as if they were opposite and malignant to nature; "*Et quod natura remittit Invida jura negant.*" So said Dendamis the Indian unto Alexander's messengers; "that he had heard somewhat of Pythagoras, and some other of the wise men of Græcia, and that he held them for excellent men: but that they had a fault, which was, that they had in too great reverence and veneration a thing they called law and manners." So it must be confessed that a great part of the law moral is of that perfection, whereunto the light of nature cannot aspire; how then is it, that man is said to have, by the light and law of nature, some notions and conceits of virtue and vice, justice and wrong, good and evil? Thus: because the light of nature is used in two several senses; the one, that which springeth from reason, sense, induction, argument, according to the laws of heaven and earth; the other, that which is imprinted upon the spirit of man by an inward instinct, according to the law of conscience, which is a

¹ Psalm xix. 1.

² S. Matthew v. 44 and 45.

sparkle of the purity of his first estate: in which latter sense only he is participant of some light and discerning touching the perfection of the moral law: but how? Sufficient to check the vice, but not to inform the duty. So then the doctrine of religion, as well moral as mystical, is not to be attained, but by inspiration and revelation from God.

The use, notwithstanding, of reason, in spiritual things, and the latitude thereof, is very great and general; for it is not for nothing that the apostle calleth religion our *reasonable service* of God, insomuch as the very ceremonies and figures of the old law were full of reason and signification, much more than the ceremonies of idolatry and magic, that are full of non-significants and surd¹ characters. But most especially the Christian faith, as in all things, so in this, deserveth to be highly magnified, holding and preserving the golden mediocrity in this point, between the law of the heathen, and the law of Mahomet, which have embraced the two extremes. For the religion of the heathen had no constant belief or confession, but left all to the liberty of argument: and the religion of Mahomet, on the other side, interdicteth argument altogether: the one having the very face of error, and the other of imposture; whereas the faith doth both admit and reject disputation with difference.

The use of human reason in religion is of two sorts: the former, in the conception and apprehension of the mysteries of God to us revealed; the other, in the inferring and deriving of doctrine and direction thereupon. The former extendeth to the mysteries themselves; but how? By way of illustration, and not by way of argument.

The latter consisteth indeed of probation and argument. In the former, we see, God vouchsafeth to descend to our capacity, in the expressing of His mysteries in sort as may be sensible unto us; and doth graft His revelations and holy doctrine upon the notions of our reason, and applieth His inspirations to open our understanding, as the form of the key to the ward of the lock. For the latter there is allowed us an use of reason and argument, secondary and respective, although not original and absolute. For after the articles and principles of religion are placed and exempted from examination of reason, it is then permitted unto us to make derivations and inferences from, and according to the analogy of them, for our better direction. In nature this holdeth not, for both the principles are examinable by induction, though not by a medium or syllogism; and besides, those principles or first positions have no discordance with that reason, which draweth down and deduceth the inferior positions. But yet it holdeth not in religion alone, but in many knowledges, both of greater and smaller nature, namely, wherein there are not only *posita* but *placita*; for in such there can be no use of absolute reason. We see it familiarly in games of wit, as chess, or the like; the draughts and first laws of the game are positive, but how? merely *ad placitum*, and not examinable by reason: but then how to direct our play thereupon with best advantage to win the game, is artificial and rational. So in human Laws, there be many grounds and maxims, which are *placita juris*,

¹ Meaningless.

positive upon authority and not upon reason, and therefore not to be disputed: but what is most just, not absolutely, but relatively and according to those maxims, that affordeth a long field of disputation. Such therefore is that secondary reason, which hath place in divinity, which is grounded upon the *placets* of God.

Here therefore I note this deficiency, that there hath not been, to my understanding, sufficiently inquired and handled the true limits and use of reason in spiritual things, as a kind of divine dialectic: which for that it is not done, it seemeth to me a thing usual, by pretext of true conceiving that which is revealed, to search and mine into that which is not revealed, and, by pretext of enucleating¹ inferences and contradictories, to examine that which is positive: the one sort falling into the error of Nicodemus, demanding to have things made more sensible than it pleaseth God to reveal them, "*Quomodo possit homo nasci cum sit senex?*"² the other sort into the error of the disciples, which were scandalized at a show of contradiction, "*Quid est hoc, quod dicit nobis? Modicum et non videbitis me, et iterum modicum, et videbitis me,*" etc.³

Upon this I have insisted the more, in regard of the great and blessed use thereof; for this point, well laboured and defined of, would, in my judgment, be an opiate to stay and bridle not only the vanity of curious speculations, wherewith the schools labour, but the fury of controversies, wherewith the Church laboureth. For it cannot but open men's eyes, to see that many controversies do merely pertain to that which is either not revealed, or positive, and that many others do grow upon weak and obscure inferences or derivations; which latter sort, if men would revive the blessed style of that great doctor of the Gentiles,⁴ would be carried thus; *Ego, non Dominus*; and again, *Secundum concilium meum*; in opinions and counsels, and not in positions and oppositions. But men are now over-ready to usurp the style, *Non ego, sed Dominus*; and not so only, but to bind it with the thunder and denunciation of curses and anathemas, to the terror of those which have not sufficiently learned out of Solomon, that "the causeless curse shall not come."⁵

Divinity hath two principal parts; the matter informed or revealed, and the nature of the information or revelation: and with the latter we will begin, because it hath most coherence with that which we have now last handled. The nature of the information consisteth of three branches; the limits of the information, the sufficiency of the information, and the acquiring or obtaining the information. Unto the limits of the information belong these considerations; how far forth particular persons continue to be inspired; how far forth the Church is inspired; and how far forth reason may be used: the last point whereof I have denoted as deficient. Unto the sufficiency of the information belong two considerations; what points of religion are fundamental, and what perfective, being matter of farther building and perfection upon one and the same foundation; and again, how the gradations of light, according to the dispensation of times, are material to the sufficiency of belief.

¹ Disentangling, explaining.
⁴ S. Paul.

² S. John iii. 4.

³ S. John xvi. 17.

⁵ Prov. xxvi. 2.

Here again I may rather give it in advice, than note it as deficient, that the points fundamental, and the points of farther perfection, only ought to be with piety and wisdom distinguished; a subject tending to much like end, as that I noted before; for as that other were likely to abate the number of controversies, so this is like to abate the heat of many of them. We see Moses when he saw the Israelite and the Egyptian fight, he did not say, "Why strive you?" but drew his sword, and slew the Egyptian; but when he saw the two Israelites fight, he said, "You are brethren, why strive you?" If the point of doctrine be an Egyptian, it must be slain by "the sword of the Spirit," and not reconciled: but if it be an Israelite, though in the wrong, then, "Why strive you?" We see of the fundamental points, our Saviour penneth the league thus; "He that is not with us, is against us;"¹ but of points not fundamental, thus; "He that is not against us, is with us."² So we see the coat of our Saviour was entire, without seam, and so is the doctrine of the Scriptures in itself; but the garment of the Church was of divers colours, and yet not divided: we see the chaff may and ought to be severed from the corn in the ear, but the tares may not be pulled up from the corn in the field. So as it is a thing of great use well to define, what, and of what latitude those points are, which do make men merely aliens and disincorporate from the Church of God.

For the obtaining of the information, it resteth upon the true and sound interpretation of the Scriptures, which are the fountains of the water of life. The interpretations of the Scriptures are of two sorts: methodical, and solute or at large. For this divine water, which excelleth so much that of Jacob's well, is drawn forth much in the same kind, as natural water useth to be out of wells and fountains; either it is first forced up into a cistern, and from thence fetched and derived for use; or else it is drawn and received into buckets and vessels immediately where it springeth. The former sort whereof, though it seem to be the more ready, yet, in my judgment, is more subject to corrupt. This is that method which hath exhibited unto us the scholastical divinity, whereby divinity hath been reduced into an art as into a cistern, and the streams of doctrine or positions fetched and derived from thence.

In this men have sought three things, a summary brevity, a compacted strength, and a complete perfection; whereof the two first they fail to find, and the last they ought not to seek. For as to brevity, we see, in all summary methods, while men purpose to abridge, they give cause to dilate. For the sum, or abridgment, by contraction becometh obscure: the obscurity requireth exposition, and the exposition is deduced into large commentaries, or into commonplaces and titles, which grow to be more vast than the original writings, whence the sum was at first extracted. So, we see, the volumes of the schoolmen are greater much than the first writings of the fathers, whence the master of the sentences made his sum or collection. So, in like manner, the volumes of the modern doctors of the civil law exceed those of the ancient jurisconsults, of which Trebonian compiled

¹ S. Matt. xii. 30.

² S. Mark ix. 40.

the digest. So as this course of sums and commentaries is that which doth infallibly make the body of sciences more immense in quantity, and more base in substance.

And for strength, it is true, that knowledges reduced into exact methods have a show of strength, in that each part seemeth to support and sustain the other; but this is more satisfactory than substantial; like unto buildings which stand by architecture and compaction, which are more subject to ruin, than those that are built more strong in their several parts, though less compacted. But it is plain, that the more you recede from your grounds, the weaker do you conclude: and as it nature, the more you remove yourself from particulars, the greater peril of error you do incur; so much more in divinity, the more you recede from the Scriptures, by inferences and consequences, the more weak and dilute are your positions.

And as for perfection, or completeness in divinity, it is not to be sought; which makes this course of artificial divinity the more suspect. For he that will reduce a knowledge into an art, will make it round and uniform: but, in divinity, many things must be left abrupt and concluded with this: "*O altitudo sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei! quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et non investigabiles viæ ejus?*"¹ So again the apostle saith, "*Ex parte scimus;*" and to have the form of a total, where there is but matter for a part, cannot be without supplies by supposition and presumption. And therefore I conclude, that the true use of these sums and methods hath place in institutions or introductions preparatory unto knowledge; but in them, or by deduction from them, to handle the main body and substance of a knowledge, is in all sciences prejudicial, and in divinity dangerous.

As to the interpretation of the Scriptures solute and at large, there have been divers kinds introduced and devised; some of them rather curious and unsafe, than sober and warranted. Notwithstanding, thus much must be confessed, that the Scriptures being given by inspiration, and not by human reason, do differ from all other books in the author; which by consequence doth draw on some difference to be used by the expositor. For the inditer of them did know four things which no man attains to know; which are, the mysteries of the kingdom of glory, the perfection of the laws of nature, the secrets of the heart of man, and the future succession of all ages. For as to the first it is said, "He that presseth into the light, shall be oppressed of the glory." And again, "No man shall see my face and live."² To the second, "When he prepared the heavens I was present, when by law and compass he enclosed the deep."³ To the third, "Neither was it needful that any should bear witness to him of man, for he knew well what was in man."⁴ And to the last, "From the beginning are known to the Lord all his works."⁵

From the former of these two have been drawn certain senses and expositions of Scriptures, which had need be contained within the bounds of sobriety; the one anagogical, and the other philosophical. But as to the former, man is not to prevent⁶ his time, "*Videmus nunc*

¹ Rom. xi. 33.

⁴ S. John ii. 25.

³ Exodus xxxiii. 20.

⁶ Acts xv. 18.

³ Prov. xiii. 27.

⁶ Go before, forestall.

per speculum in ænigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem;"¹ wherein, nevertheless, there seemeth to be a liberty granted, as far forth as the polishing of this glass, or some moderate explication of this enigma. But to press too far into it, cannot but cause a dissolution and overthrow of the spirit of man: for in the body there are three degrees or that we receive into it, aliment, medicine, and poison; whereof aliment is that which the nature of man can perfectly alter and overcome; medicine is that which is partly converted by nature, and partly converteth nature; and poison is that which worketh wholly upon nature, without that, that nature can in any part work upon it: so in the mind, whatsoever knowledge reason cannot at all work upon and convert, is a mere intoxication, and indangereth a dissolution of the mind and understanding.

But for the latter, it hath been extremely set on foot of late time by the school of Paracelsus, and some others, that have pretended to find the truth of all natural philosophy in the Scriptures; scandalizing and traducing all other philosophy as heathenish and profane. But there is no such enmity between God's Word and His works; neither do they give honour to the Scriptures, as they suppose, but much embarrass them. For to seek heaven and earth in the Word of God, whereof it is said, "heaven and earth shall pass, but my Word shall not pass," is to seek temporary things amongst eternal; and as to seek divinity in philosophy, is to seek the living amongst the dead; so to seek philosophy in divinity, is to seek the dead amongst the living; neither are the pots or lavers, whose place was in the outward part of the temple, to be sought in the holiest place of all, where the ark of the testimony was seated.² And again the scope or purpose of the Spirit of God is not to express matters of nature in the Scriptures, otherwise than in passage, and for application to man's capacity, and to matters moral or divine. And it is a true rule, "*Auctoris aliud agentis parva auctoritas.*" for it were a strange conclusion, if a man should use a similitude for ornament or illustration sake, borrowed from nature or history, according to vulgar conceit, as of a basilisk, an unicorn, a centaur, a Briareus, a Hydra, or the like, that therefore he must needs be thought to affirm the matter thereof positively to be true. To conclude therefore, these two interpretations, the one by reduction or enigmatical, the other philosophical or physical, which have been received and pursued in imitation of the rabbins and cabalists, are to be confined with a "*noli altum sapere, sed time.*"

But the two latter points, known to God, and unknown to man, touching the secrets of the heart, and the successions of time, do make a just and sound difference between the manner of the exposition of the Scriptures and all other books. For it is an excellent observation which hath been made upon the answers of our Saviour Christ to many of the questions which were propounded to him, how that they are impertinent to the state of the question demanded; the reason whereof is, because not being like man, which knows man's thoughts by his words, but knowing man's thoughts immediately, he never

¹ 1 Corinth. xiii. 12.

² A very wise observation worthy of notice, especially in these days.

answered their words but their thoughts : much in the like manner it is with the Scriptures, which being written to the thoughts of men, and to the succession of all ages, with a foresight of all heresies, contradictions, differing estates of the Church, yea, and particularly of the elect, are not to be interpreted only according to the latitude of the proper sense of the place, and respectively towards that present occasion, whereupon the words were uttered, or in precise congruity, or contexture with the words before or after, or in contemplation of the principal scope of the place ; but have in themselves, not only totally or collectively, but distributively in clauses and words, infinite springs and streams of doctrine to water the Church in every part : and therefore as the literal sense is, as it were, the main stream or river, so the moral sense chiefly, and sometimes the allegorical or typical, are they whereof the Church hath most use : not that I wish men to be bold in allegories, or indulgent or light in allusions ; but that I do much condemn that interpretation of the Scripture, which is only after the manner as men use to interpret a profane book.

In this part, touching the exposition of the Scriptures, I can report no deficiency ; but by way of remembrance, this I will add : in perusing books of divinity, I find many books of controversies, and many of commonplaces, and treatises, a mass of positive divinity, as it is made an art ; a number of sermons and lectures, and many prolix commentaries upon the Scriptures, with harmonies and concordances. But that form of writing in divinity, which in my judgment is of all others most rich and precious, is positive divinity, collected upon particular texts of Scriptures in brief observations, not dilated into commonplaces ; not chasing after controversies ; not reduced into method of art ; a thing abounding in sermons, which will vanish, but defective in books which will remain, and a thing wherein this age excelleth. For I am persuaded, and I may speak it, with an "*Absit invidia verbo,*" and no ways in derogation of antiquity, but as in a good emulation between the vine and the olive, that if the choice and best of those observations upon texts of Scriptures, which have been made dispersedly in sermons within your majesty's island of Britain, by the space of these forty years and more, leaving out the largeness of exhortations and applications thereupon, had been set down in a continuance, it had been the best work in divinity, which had been written since the apostles' times.

The matter informed by divinity is of two kinds : matter of belief, and truth of opinion ; and matter of service and adoration ; which is also judged and directed by the former ; the one being as the internal soul of religion, and the other as the external body thereof. And therefore the heathen religion was not only a worship of idols, but the whole religion was an idol in itself, for it had no soul ; that is, no certainty of belief or confession ; as a man may well think, considering the chief doctors of their church were the poets : and the reason was, because the heathen gods were no jealous gods, but were glad to be admitted into part, as they had reason. Neither did they respect the pureness of heart, so they might have external honour and rites.

But out of these two do result and issue four main branches of divinity : Faith, Manners, Liturgy, and Government. Faith containeth

the doctrine of the nature of God, of the attributes of God, and of the works of God. The nature of God consisteth of three persons in unity of Godhead. The attributes of God are either common to the Deity, or respective to the persons. The works of God summary are two, that of the creation, and that of the redemption; and both these works, as in total they appertain to the unity of the Godhead, so in their parts they refer to the three persons: that of the creation, in the mass of the matter, to the Father; in the disposition of the form, to the Son; and in the continuance and conversation of the being, to the Holy Spirit; so that of the redemption, in the election and counsel, to the Father; in the whole act and consummation, to the Son; and in the application, to the Holy Spirit: for by the Holy Ghost was Christ conceived in flesh, and by the Holy Ghost are the elect regenerate in spirit. This work likewise we consider either effectually, in the elect; or privately, in the reprobate; or, according to appearance, in the visible Church.

For manners, the doctrine thereof is contained in the Law, which discloseth sin. The Law itself is divided, according to the edition thereof, into the law of nature, the law moral, and the law positive; and, according to the style, into negative and affirmative, prohibitions and commandments. Sin, in the matter and subject thereof, is divided according to the commandments; in the form thereof, it referreth to the three persons in Deity. Sins of infirmity against the Father, whose more special attribute is power; sins of ignorance against the Son, whose attribute is wisdom; and sins of malice against the Holy Ghost, whose attribute is grace or love. In the motions of it, it either moveth to the right hand or to the left, either to blind devotion, or to profane and libertine transgression; either in imposing restraint where God granteth liberty, or in taking liberty where God imposeth restraint. In the degrees and progress of it, it divideth itself into thought, word, or act. And in this part I commend much the deducing of the law of God to cases of conscience, for that I take indeed to be a breaking, and not exhibiting whole, of the bread of life. But that which quickeneth both these doctrines of faith and manners, is the elevation and consent of the heart; whereunto appertain books of exhortation, holy meditation, Christian resolution, and the like.

For the liturgy or service, it consisteth of the reciprocal acts between God and man: which, on the part of God, are the preaching of the word, and the sacraments, which are seals to the covenant, or as the visible word; and on the part of man, invocation of the name of God; and, under the law, sacrifices; which were as visible prayers or confessions; but now the adoration being *in spiritu et veritate*, there remaineth only *vituli labiorum*, although the use of holy vows of thankfulness and retribution may be accounted also as sealed petitions.

And for the government of the Church, it consisteth of the patrimony of the Church, the franchises of the Church, and the offices and jurisdictions of the Church, and the laws of the Church directing the whole; all which have two considerations, the one in themselves, the other how they stand compatible and agreeable to the civil estate.

This matter of divinity is handled either in form of instruction of truth, or in form of confutation of falsehood. The declinations from

religion, besides the privative, which is atheism, and the branch^{es} thereof, are three; heresies, idolatry, and witchcraft: heresies, when we serve the true God with a false worship; idolatry, when we worship false gods, supposing them to be true; and witchcraft, when we adore false gods, knowing them to be wicked and false. For so your majesty doth excellently well observe, that witchcraft is the height of idolatry.¹ And yet we see though these be true degrees, Samuel teacheth us that they are all of a nature, when there is once a receding from the word of God; for so he saith, "*Quasi peccatum ariolandi est repugnare, et quasi scelus idololatriæ nolle acquiescere.*"²

These things I have passed over so briefly, because I can report no deficiency concerning them: for I can find no space or ground that lieth vacant and unsown in the matter of divinity; so diligent have been men, either in sowing of good seed, or in sowing of tares.

THUS have I made, as it were, a small globe of the intellectual world, as truly and faithfully as I could discover, with a note and description of those parts which seem to me not constantly occupied, or not well converted by the labour of man. In which if I have in any point receded from that which is commonly received, it hath been with a purpose of proceeding *in melius*, and not *in aliud*: a mind of amendment and proficience, and not of change and difference. For I could not be true and constant to the argument I handle, if I were not willing to go beyond others, but yet not more willing than to have others go beyond me again; which may the better appear by this, that I have propounded my opinions naked and unarmed, not seeking to preoccupate the liberty of men's judgments by confutations. For in any thing which is well set down, I am in good hope, that if the first reading move an objection, the second reading will make an answer. And in those things wherein I have erred, I am sure, I have not prejudiced the right by litigious arguments, which certainly have this contrary effect and operation, that they add authority to error, and destroy the authority of that which is well invented. For question is an honour and preferment to falsehood, as on the other side it is a repulse to truth. But the errors I claim and challenge to myself as my own. The good, if any be, is due *tanquam adeps sacrificii*, to be incensed to the honour first of the Divine Majesty, and next of your majesty, to whom on earth I am most bounden.

¹ In James's *Dæmonologia*.

² 1 Sam. xv. 23—in the Vulgate, 1 Kings, xv. 23.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

THE PREFACE.

THE earliest antiquity lies buried in silence and oblivion, excepting the remains we have of it in sacred writ. This silence was succeeded by poetical fables, and these, at length, by the writings we now enjoy ; so that the concealed and secret learning of the ancients seems separated from the history and knowledge of the following ages by a veil, or partition-wall of fables, interposing between the things that are lost and those that remain.

Many may imagine that I am here entering upon a work of fancy, or amusement, and design to use a poetical liberty, in explaining poetical fables. It is true, fables in general are composed of ductile matter, that may be drawn into great variety by a witty talent or an inventive genius, and be delivered of plausible meanings which they never contained. But this procedure has already been carried to excess ; and great numbers, to procure the sanction of antiquity to their own notions and inventions, have miserably wrested and abused the fables of the ancients.

Nor is this only a late or infrequent practice, but of ancient date, and common even to this day. Thus Chrysippus,¹ like an interpreter of dreams, attributed the opinions of the Stoics to the poets of old ; and the chemists, at present, more childishly apply the poetical transformations to their experiments of the furnace. And though I have well weighed and considered all this, and thoroughly seen into the levity which the mind indulges for allegories and allusions, yet I cannot but retain a high value for the ancient mythology. And, certainly, it were very injudicious to suffer the fondness and licentiousness of a few to detract from the honour of allegory and parable in general. This would be rash, and almost profane ; for, since religion delights in such shadows and disguises, to abolish them were, in a manner, to prohibit all intercourse betwixt things divine and human.

Upon deliberate consideration, my judgment is, that a concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables. This opinion may, in some respect, be owing to the veneration I have for antiquity, but more to observing that some fables discover a great and evident similitude, relation, and connection with the thing they signify, as well in the structure of the fable as in the propriety of the names whereby the persons or actors are characterized ; insomuch, that no one could positively deny a sense and meaning to be from the

¹ See p. 185, note 2.

first intended, and purposely shadowed out in them. For who can hear that Fame, after the giants were destroyed, sprung up as their posthumous sister, and not apply it to the clamour of parties and the seditious rumours which commonly fly about for a time upon the quelling of insurrections? Or who can read how the giant Typhon cut out and carried away Jupiter's sinews—which Mercury afterwards stole and again restored to Jupiter—and not presently observe that this allegory denotes strong and powerful rebellions, which cut away from kings their sinews, both of money and authority; and that the way to have them restored is by lenity, affability, and prudent edicts, which soon reconcile, and as it were steal upon the affections of the subject? Or who, upon hearing that memorable expedition of the gods against the giants, when the braying of Silenus's ass greatly contributed in putting the giants to flight, does not clearly conceive that this directly points at the monstrous enterprises of rebellious subjects, which are frequently frustrated and disappointed by vain fears and empty rumours?

Again, the conformity and purport of the names is frequently manifest and self-evident. Thus Metis, the wife of Jupiter, plainly signifies counsel; Typhon, swelling; Pan, universality; Nemesis, revenge, &c. Nor is it a wonder, if sometimes a piece of history or other things are introduced, by way of ornament; or if the times of the action are confounded; or if part of one fable be tacked to another; or if the allegory be new turned; for all this must necessarily happen, as the fables were the inventions of men who lived in different ages and had different views; some of them being ancient, others more modern; some having an eye to natural philosophy, and others to morality or civil policy.

It may pass for a farther indication of a concealed and secret meaning, that some of these fables are so absurd and idle in their narration as to show and proclaim an allegory, even afar off. A fable that carries probability with it may be supposed invented for pleasure, or in imitation of history; but those that could never be conceived or related in this way must surely have a different use. For example, what a monstrous fiction is this, that Jupiter should take Metis to wife, and as soon as he found her pregnant eat her up, whereby he also conceived, and out of his head brought forth Pallas armed. Certainly no mortal could, but for the sake of the moral it couches, invent such an absurd dream as this, so much out of the road of thought!

But the argument of most weight with me is this, that many of these fables by no means appear to have been invented by the persons who relate and divulge them, whether Homer, Hesiod, or others; for if I were assured they first flowed from those later times and authors that transmit them to us, I should never expect anything singularly great or noble from such an origin. But whoever attentively considers the thing, will find that these fables are delivered down and related by those writers, not as matters then first invented and proposed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages. Besides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the same ages, it is easily perceived that the relators drew from the common stock of ancient tradition, and varied but in point of embellishment, which is their own. And this principally raises my esteem of these fables, which I receive,

not as the product of the age, or invention of the poets, but as sacred relics, gentle whispers, and the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more ancient nations came, at length, into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks. But if any one shall, notwithstanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or imposed upon the ancient fables, and no way native or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undisturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects (though we cannot help accounting it somewhat dull and phlegmatic), and if it were worth the trouble, proceed to another kind of argument.

Men have proposed to answer two different and contrary ends by the use of parable; for parables serve as well to instruct or illustrate as to wrap up and envelop, so that though, for the present, we drop the concealed use, and suppose the ancient fables to be vague, undeterminate things, formed for amusement, still the other use must remain, and can never be given up. And every man of any learning, must readily allow that this method of instructing is grave, sober, or exceedingly useful, and sometimes necessary in the sciences, as it opens an easy and familiar passage to the human understanding, in all new discoveries that are abstruse and out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence, in the first ages, when such inventions and conclusions of the human reason as are now trite and common were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, similes, comparisons, and allusions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilst the minds of men continued rude and unpractised in matters of subtilty and speculation, or even impatient, and in a manner incapable of receiving such things as did not directly fall under and strike the senses. For as hieroglyphics were in use before writing, so were parables in use before arguments. And even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice, without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go in the same path, and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and allusion.

To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy; great, if they by design made this use of trope and figure; happy, if, whilst they had other views, they afforded matter and occasion to such noble contemplations. Let either be the case, our pains, perhaps, will not be misemployed, whether we illustrate antiquity or things themselves.

The like has been attempted by others; but to speak ingenuously, their great and voluminous labours have almost destroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing, whilst, being unskilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the sense of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth. For myself, therefore, I expect to appear new in these common things, because, leaving untouched such as are sufficiently plain and open, I shall drive only at those that are either deep or rich.

PAN, OR NATURE.

EXPLAINED OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE ancients have, with great exactness, delineated universal nature under the person of Pan.¹ They leave his origin doubtful; some asserting him the son of Mercury, and others the common offspring of all Penelope's suitors. The latter supposition doubtless occasioned some later rivals to entitle this ancient fable Penelope; a thing frequently practised when the earlier relations are applied to more modern characters and persons, though sometimes with great absurdity and ignorance, as in the present case; for Pan was one of the ancientest gods, and long before the time of Ulysses; besides, Penelope was venerated by antiquity for her maternal chastity. A third sort will have him the issue of Jupiter and Hybris, that is, Reproach; but whatever his origin was, the Destinies are allowed his sisters.

He is described by antiquity, with pyramidal horns reaching up to heaven, a rough and shaggy body, a very long beard, of a biforn figure, human above, half brute below, ending in goat's feet. His arms, or ensigns of power, are a pipe in his left hand, composed of seven reeds; in his right a crook; and he wore for his mantle a leopard's skin.

His attributes and titles were: the god of hunters, shepherds, and all the rural inhabitants; president of the mountains; and, after Mercury, the next messenger of the gods. He was also held the leader and ruler of the Nymphs, who continually danced and frisked about him, attended with the Satyrs and their elders, the Sileni. He had also the power of striking terrors, especially such as were vain and superstitious; whence they came to be called panic terrors.

Few actions are recorded of him, only a principal one is, that he challenged Cupid at wrestling, and was worsted. He also caught the giant Typhon in a net, and held him fast. They relate farther of him, that when Ceres, growing disconsolate for the rape of Proserpine, hid herself, and all the gods took the utmost pains to find her, by going out different ways for that purpose, Pan only had the good fortune to meet her, as he was hunting, and discovered her to the rest. He likewise had the assurance to rival Apollo in music; and in the judgment of Midas was preferred; but the judge had, though with great privacy and secrecy, a pair of ass's ears fastened on him for his sentence.

There is very little said of his amours; which may seem strange among such a multitude of gods, so profusely amorous. He is only reported to have been very fond of Echo, who was also esteemed his wife; and one nymph more, called Syrinx,² with the love of whom Cupid inflamed him for his insolent challenge; so he is reported once

¹ Universality.

² Flying from Pan she was turned into a reed, and from reeds Pan constructed a pipe—still called a Pandean pipe.

to have solicited the moon to accompany him apart into the deep woods.

Lastly, Pan had no descendant, which also is a wonder, when the male gods were so extremely prolific; only he was the reputed father of a servant-girl called Iambe, who used to divert strangers with her ridiculous prattling stories.

This fable is perhaps the noblest of all antiquity, and pregnant with the mysteries and secrets of nature. Pan, as the name imports, represents the universe, about whose origin there are two opinions, viz., that it either sprung from Mercury, that is, the divine word, according to the Scriptures and philosophical divines, or from the confused seeds of things. For they who allow only one beginning of all things, either ascribe it to God; or, if they suppose a material beginning, acknowledge it to be various in its powers; so that the whole dispute comes to these points; viz., either that nature proceeds from Mercury, or from Penelope and all her suitors.¹

The third origin of Pan seems borrowed by the Greeks from the Hebrew mysteries, either by means of the Egyptians or otherwise; for it relates to the state of the world, not in its first creation, but as made subject to death and corruption after the fall; and in this state it was and remains, the offspring of God and Sin, or Jupiter and Reproach. And therefore these three several accounts of Pan's birth may seem true, if duly distinguished in respect of things and times. For this Pan, or the universal nature of things, which we view and contemplate, had its origin from the divine Word and confused matter, first created by God Himself, with the subsequent introduction of sin, and consequently corruption.

The Destinies, or the natures and fates of things, are justly made Pan's sisters, as the chain of natural causes links together the rise, duration, and corruption; the exaltation, degeneration, and workings; the processes, the effects, and changes, of all that can any way happen to things.

Horns are given him, broad at the roots, but narrow and sharp at the top, because the nature of all things seems pyramidal; for individuals are infinite, but being collected into a variety of species, they rise up into kinds, and these again ascend, and are contracted into generals, till at length nature may seem collected to a point. And no wonder if Pan's horns reach to the heavens, since the sublimities of nature, or abstract ideas, reach in a manner to things divine; for there is a short and ready passage from metaphysics to natural theology.

Pan's body, or the body of nature, is, with great propriety and elegance, painted shaggy and hairy, as representing the rays of things; for rays are as the hair, or fleece of nature, and more or less worn by all bodies. This evidently appears in vision, and in all effects or operations at a distance; for whatever operates thus may be properly said to emit rays. But particularly the beard of Pan is exceeding long,

¹ See Virgil:—

“ Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent;
Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tenez mundi concreverit orbis.”—Ecl. vi. 31.

because the rays of the celestial bodies penetrate, and act to a prodigious distance, and have descended into the interior of the earth so far as to change its surface ; and the sun himself, when clouded on its upper part, appears to the eye bearded.

Again, the body of nature is justly described biform, because of the difference between its superior and inferior parts, as the former, for their beauty, regularity of motion, and influence over the earth, may be properly represented by the human figure, and the latter, because of their disorder, irregularity, and subjection to the celestial bodies, are by the brutal. This biform figure also represents the participation of one species with another ; for there appear to be no simple natures ; but all participate or consist of two : thus man has somewhat of the brute, the brute somewhat of the plant, the plant somewhat of the mineral ; so that all natural bodies have really two faces, or consist of a superior and an inferior species.

There lies a curious allegory in the making of Pan goat-footed, on account of the motion of ascent which the terrestrial bodies have towards the air and heavens ; for the goat is a clambering creature, that delights in climbing up rocks and precipices ; and in the same manner the matters destined to this lower globe strongly affect to rise upwards, as appears from the clouds and meteors.

Pan's arms, or the ensigns he bears in his hands, are of two kinds—the one an emblem of harmony, the other of empire. His pipe, composed of seven reeds, plainly denotes the consent and harmony, or the concords and discords of things, produced by the motion of the seven planets. His crook also contains a fine representation of the ways of nature, which are partly straight and partly crooked ; thus the staff, having an extraordinary bend towards the top, denotes that the works of Divine Providence are generally brought about by remote means, or in a circuit, as if somewhat else were intended rather than the effect produced, as in the sending of Joseph into Egypt, etc. So likewise in human government, they who sit at the helm manage and wind the people more successfully by pretext and oblique courses, than they could by such as are direct and straight ; so that, in effect, all sceptres are crooked at the top.

Pan's mantle, or clothing, is with great ingenuity made of a leopard's skin, because of the spots it has ; for in like manner the heavens are sprinkled with stars, the sea with islands, the earth with flowers, and almost each particular thing is variegated, or wears a mottled coat.

The office of Pan could not be more livelily expressed than by making him the god of hunters ; for every natural action, every motion and process, is no other than a chase : thus arts and sciences hunt out their works, and human schemes and counsels their several ends ; and all living creatures either hunt out their aliment, pursue their prey, or seek their pleasures, and this in a skilful and sagacious manner. He is also styled the god of the rural inhabitants, because men in this situation live more according to nature than they do in cities and courts, where nature is so corrupted with effeminate arts, that the saying of the poet may be verified—

— *pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

He is likewise particularly styled President of the Mountains, because in mountains and lofty places the nature of things lies more open and exposed to the eye and the understanding.

In his being called the messenger of the gods, next after Mercury, lies a divine allegory, as next after the Word of God, the image of the world is the herald of the Divine power and wisdom, according to the expression of the Psalmist, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."¹

Pan is delighted with the company of the Nymphs ; that is, the souls of all living creatures are the delight of the world ; and he is properly called their governor, because each of them follows its own nature as a leader, and all dance about their own respective rings, with infinite variety and never-ceasing motion. And with these continually join the Satyrs and Sileni ; that is, youth and age : for all things have a kind of young, cheerful, and dancing time ; and again their time of slowness, tottering, and creeping. And whoever, in a true light, considers the motions and endeavours of both these ages, like another Democritus, will perhaps find them as odd and strange as the gesticulations and antic motions of the Satyrs and Sileni.

The power he had of striking terrors contains a very sensible doctrine ; for nature has implanted fear in all living creatures ; as well to keep them from risking their lives, as to guard against injuries and violence ; and yet this nature or passion keeps not its bounds, but with just and profitable fears always mixes such as are vain and senseless ; so that all things, if we could see their insides, would appear full of panic terrors. Thus mankind, particularly the vulgar, labour under a high degree of superstition, which is nothing more than a panic-dread that principally reigns in unsettled and troublesome times.

The presumption of Pan in challenging Cupid to the conflict, denotes that matter has an appetite and tendency to a dissolution of the world, and falling back to its first chaos again, unless this depravity and inclination were restrained and subdued by a more powerful concord and agreement of things, properly expressed by Love or Cupid ; it is therefore well for mankind, and the state of all things, that Pan was thrown and conquered in the struggle.

His catching and detaining Typhon in the net receives a similar explanation ; for whatever vast and unusual swells, which the word typhon signifies, may sometimes be raised in nature, as in the sea, the clouds, the earth, or the like, yet nature catches, entangles, and holds all such outrages and insurrections in her inextricable net, wove as it were of adamant.

That part of the fable which attributes the discovery of lost Ceres to Pan whilst he was hunting—a happiness denied the other gods, though they diligently and expressly sought her—contains an exceeding just and prudent admonition ; viz., that we are not to expect the discovery of things useful in common life, as that of corn, denoted by Ceres, from abstract philosophies, as if these were the gods of the first order,—no, not though we used our utmost endeavours this way,—but only from Pan, that is, a sagacious experience and general

¹ Psalm xix. 1.

knowledge of nature, which is often found, even by accident, to stumble upon such discoveries whilst the pursuit was directed another way.

The event of his contending with Apollo in music affords us a useful instruction, that may help to humble the human reason and judgment, which is too apt to boast and glory in itself. There seem to be two kinds of harmony—the one of Divine Providence, the other of human reason ; but the government of the world, the administration of its affairs, and the more secret Divine judgments, sound harsh and dissonant to human ears or human judgment ; and though this ignorance be justly rewarded with ass's ears, yet they are put on and worn, not openly, but with great secrecy ; nor is the deformity of the thing seen or observed by the vulgar.

We must not find it strange if no amours are related of Pan besides his marriage with Echo ; for nature enjoys itself, and in itself all other things. He that loves desires enjoyment, but in profusion there is no room for desire ; and therefore Pan, remaining content with himself, has no passion unless it be for discourse, which is well shadowed out by Echo or talk, or when it is more accurate, by Syrinx or writing.¹ But Echo makes a most excellent wife for Pan, as being no other than genuine philosophy, which faithfully repeats his words, or only transcribes exactly as nature dictates ; thus representing the true image and reflection of the world without adding a tittle.

It tends also to the support and perfection of Pan or nature to be without offspring ; for the world generates in its parts, and not in the way of a whole, as wanting a body external to itself wherewith to generate.

Lastly, for the supposed or spurious prattling daughter of Pan, it is an excellent addition to the fable, and aptly represents the talkative philosophies that have at all times been stirring, and filled the world with idle tales, being ever barren, empty, and servile, though sometimes indeed diverting and entertaining, and sometimes again troublesome and importunate.

CÆLUM, OR BEGINNINGS.

EXPLAINED OF THE CREATION, OR ORIGIN OF ALL THINGS.

THE poets relate, that Cœlum was the most ancient of all the gods ; that his parts of generation were cut off by his son Saturn ; that Saturn had a numerous offspring, but devoured all his sons as soon as they were born ; that Jupiter at length escaped the common fate ; and when grown up, drove his father Saturn into Tartarus ; usurped the kingdom ; cut off his father's genitals, with the same knife wherewith Saturn had dismembered Cœlum, and throwing them into the sea, thence sprung Venus.

¹ The reed into which the nymph Syrinx was metamorphosed formed the ancient pip

Before Jupiter was well established in his empire, two memorable wars were made upon him: the first by the Titans, in subduing of whom, Sol, the only one of the Titans who favoured Jupiter, performed him singular service; the second by the giants, who being destroyed and subdued by the thunder and arms of Jupiter, he now reigned secure.

EXPLANATION.—This fable appears to be an enigmatical account of the origin of all things, not greatly differing from the philosophy afterwards embraced by Democritus, who expressly asserts the eternity of matter, but denies the eternity of the world; thereby approaching to the truth of sacred writ, which makes chaos, or uninformed matter, to exist before the six days' work.

The meaning of the fable seems to be this: Cœlum denotes the concave space, or vaulted roof that incloses all matter, and Saturn the matter itself, which cuts off all power of generation from his father; as one and the same quantity of matter remains invariable in nature, without addition or diminution. But the agitations and struggling motions of matter, first produced certain imperfect and ill-joined compositions of things, as it were so many first rudiments, or essays of worlds; till, in process of time, there arose a fabric capable of preserving its form and structure. Whence the first age was shadowed out by the reign of Saturn;¹ who, on account of the frequent dissolutions, and short durations of things, was said to devour his children. And the second age was denoted by the reign of Jupiter; who thrust, or drove those frequent and transitory changes into Tartarus—a place expressive of disorder. This place seems to be the middle space, between the lower heavens and the internal parts of the earth, wherein disorder, imperfection, mutation, mortality, destruction, and corruption, are principally found.

Venus was not born during the former generation of things, under the reign of Saturn; for whilst discord and jar had the upper hand of concord and uniformity in the matter of the universe, a change of the entire structure was necessary. And in this manner things were generated and destroyed, before Saturn was dismembered. But when this manner of generation ceased, there immediately followed another, brought about by Venus, or a perfect and established harmony of things; whereby changes were wrought in the parts, whilst the universal fabric remained entire and undisturbed. Saturn, however, is said to be thrust out and dethroned, not killed, and become extinct; because, agreeably to the opinion of Democritus, the world might relapse into its old confusion and disorder, which Lucretius hoped would not happen in his time.

But now, when the world was compact, and held together by its own bulk and energy, yet there was no rest from the beginning; for first, there followed considerable motions and disturbances in the celestial regions, though so regulated and moderated by the power of the Sun prevailing over the heavenly bodies, as to continue the world in its state. Afterwards there followed the like in the lower parts, by

inundations, storms, winds, general earthquakes, &c., which, however, being subdued and kept under, there ensued a more peaceable and lasting harmony, and consent of things.

It may be said of this fable, that it includes philosophy ; and again, that philosophy includes the fable ; for we know, by faith, that all these things are but the oracle of sense, long since ceased and decayed ; but the matter and fabric of the world being justly attributed to a creator.

PROMETHEUS.

EXPLAINED OF AN OVER-RULING PROVIDENCE, AND OF HUMAN NATURE.

THE ancients relate that man was the work of Prometheus, and formed of clay ; only the artificer mixed in with the mass particles taken from different animals. And being desirous to improve his workmanship, and endow, as well as create, the human race, he stole up to heaven, with a bundle of birch-rods, and kindling them at the chariot of the Sun, thence brought down fire to the earth for the service of men.

They add, that for this meritorious act Prometheus was repaid with ingratitude by mankind, so that, forming a conspiracy, they arraigned both him and his invention before Jupiter. But the matter was otherwise received than they imagined ; for the accusation proved extremely grateful to Jupiter and the gods, insomuch that, delighted with the action, they not only indulged mankind the use of fire, but moreover conferred upon them a most acceptable and desirable present, viz., perpetual youth.

But men, foolishly overjoyed hereat, laid this present of the gods upon an ass, who, in returning back with it, being extremely thirsty, strayed to a fountain. The serpent, who was guardian thereof, would not suffer him to drink, but upon condition of receiving the burden he carried, whatever it should be. The silly ass complied, and thus the perpetual renewal of youth was, for a drop of water, transferred from men to the race of serpents.

Prometheus, not desisting from his unwarrantable practices, though now reconciled to mankind, after they were thus tricked of their present, but still continuing inveterate against Jupiter, had the boldness to attempt deceit, even in a sacrifice, and is said to have once offered up two bulls to Jupiter, but so as in the hide of one of them to wrap all the flesh and fat of both, and stuffing out the other hide only with the bones ; then in a religious and devout manner gave Jupiter his choice of the two. Jupiter, detesting this sly fraud and hypocrisy, but having thus an opportunity of punishing the offender, purposely chose the ~~mock~~ bull.

And now giving way to revenge, but finding he could not chastise the insolence of Prometheus without afflicting the human race (in the

production whereof Prometheus had strangely and insufferably prided himself), he commanded Vulcan to form a beautiful and graceful woman, to whom every god presented a certain gift, whence she was called Pandora.¹ They put into her hands an elegant box, containing all sorts of miseries and misfortunes ; but Hope was placed at the bottom of it. With this box she first goes to Prometheus, to try if she could prevail upon him to receive and open it ; but he, being upon his guard, warily refused the offer. Upon this refusal she comes to his brother Epimetheus, a man of a very different temper, who rashly and inconsiderately opens the box. When finding all kinds of miseries and misfortunes issued out of it, he grew wise too late, and with great hurry and struggle endeavoured to clap the cover on again ; but with all his endeavour could scarce keep in Hope, which lay at the bottom.

Lastly, Jupiter arraigned Prometheus of many heinous crimes : as that he formerly stole fire from heaven ; that he contemptuously and deceitfully mocked him by a sacrifice of bones ; that he despised his present,² adding withal a new crime, that he attempted to ravish Pallas : for all which, he was sentenced to be bound in chains, and doomed to perpetual torments. Accordingly, by Jupiter's command, he was brought to Mount Caucasus, and there fastened to a pillar, so firmly that he could no way stir. A vulture or eagle stood by him, which in the daytime gnawed and consumed his liver ; but in the night the wasted parts were supplied again ; whence matter for his pain was never wanting.

They relate, however, that his punishment had an end ; for Hercules sailing the ocean, in a cup, or pitcher, presented him by the Sun, came at length to Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free. In certain nations, also, there were instituted particular games of the torch, to the honour of Prometheus, in which they who ran for the prize carried lighted torches ; and as any one of these torches happened to go out, the bearer withdrew himself, and gave way to the next ; and that person was allowed to win the prize who first brought in his lighted torch to the goal.

EXPLANATION.—This fable contains and enforces many just and serious considerations ; some whereof have been long since well observed, but some again remain perfectly untouched. Prometheus clearly and expressly signifies Providence ; for of all the things in nature, the formation and endowment of man was singled out by the ancients, and esteemed the peculiar work of Providence. The reason hereof seems, 1. That the nature of man includes a mind and understanding, which is the seat of Providence. 2. That it is harsh and incredible to suppose reason and mind should be raised, and drawn out of senseless and irrational principles ; whence it becomes almost inevitable, that providence is implanted in the human mind in conformity with, and by the direction and the design of the greater over-ruling Providence. But, 3. The principal cause is this : that man seems to be the thing in which the whole world centres, with respect

¹ All gifted.

² Viz., that by Pandora.

to final causes ; so that if he were away, all other things would stray and fluctuate, without end or intention, or become perfectly disjointed, and out of frame ; for all things are made subservient to man, and he receives use and benefit from them all. Thus the revolutions, places, and periods, of the celestial bodies, serve him for distinguishing times and seasons, and for dividing the world into different regions ; the meteors afford him prognostications of the weather ; the winds sail our ships, drive our mills, and move our machines ; and the vegetables and animals of all kinds either afford us matter for houses and habitations, clothing, food, physic, or tend to ease, or delight, to support, or refresh us : so that everything in nature seems not made for itself, but for man.

And it is not without reason added, that the mass of matter whereof man was formed, should be mixed up with particles taken from different animals, and wrought in with the clay, because it is certain, that of all things in the universe, man is the most compounded and recomposed body ; so that the ancients not improperly styled him a Microcosm, or little world within himself. For although the chemists have absurdly, and too literally, wrested and perverted the elegance of the term microcosm, whilst they pretend to find all kind of mineral and vegetable matters, or something corresponding to them, in man, yet it remains firm and unshaken, that the human body is of all substances the most mixed and organical ; whence it has surprising powers and faculties : for the powers of simple bodies are but few, though certain and quick ; as being little broken, or weakened, and not counterbalanced by mixture : but excellence and quantity of energy reside in mixture and composition.

Man, however, in his first origin, seems to be a defenceless naked creature, slow in assisting himself, and standing in need of numerous things. Prometheus, therefore, hastened to the invention of fire, which supplies and administers to nearly all human uses and necessities, insomuch that, if the soul may be called the form of forms, if the hand may be called the instrument of instruments, fire may, as properly, be called the assistant of assistants, or the helper of helps ; for hence proceed numberless operations, hence all the mechanic arts, and hence infinite assistances are afforded to the sciences themselves.

The manner wherein Prometheus stole this fire is properly described from the nature of the thing ; he being said to have done it by applying a rod of birch to the chariot of the Sun : for birch is used in striking and beating, which clearly denotes the generation of fire to be from the violent percussions and collisions of bodies : whereby the matters struck are subtilized, rarefied, put into motion, and so prepared to receive the heat of the celestial bodies ; whence they, in a clandestine and secret manner, collect and snatch fire, as it were by stealth, from the chariot of the Sun.

The next is a remarkable part of the fable, which represents that men, instead of gratitude and thanks, fell into indignation and expostulation, accusing both Prometheus and his fire to Jupiter,—and yet the accusation proved highly pleasing to Jupiter ; so that he, for this reason, crowned these benefits of mankind with a new bounty. Here it may seem strange that the sin of ingratitude to a creator and bene-

factor, a sin so heinous as to include almost all others, should meet with approbation and reward. But the allegory has another view, and denotes, that the accusation and arraignment, both of human nature and human art among mankind, proceeds from a most noble and laudable temper of the mind, and tends to a very good purpose ; whereas the contrary temper is odious to the gods, and unbeneficial in itself. For they who break into extravagant praises of human nature, and the arts in vogue, and who lay themselves out in admiring the things they already possess, and will needs have the sciences cultivated among them, to be thought absolutely perfect and complete, in the first place, show little regard to the Divine Nature, whilst they extol their own inventions almost as high as His perfection. In the next place, men of this temper are unserviceable and prejudicial in life, whilst they imagine themselves already got to the top of things, and there rest, without farther inquiry. On the contrary, they who arraign and accuse both nature and art, and are always full of complaints against them, not only preserve a more just and modest sense of mind, but are also perpetually stirred up to fresh industry and new discoveries. Is not, then, the ignorance and fatality of mankind to be extremely pitied, whilst they remain slaves to the arrogance of a few of their own fellows, and are dotingly fond of that scrap of Grecian knowledge, the Peripatetic philosophy ; and this to such a degree, as not only to think all accusation or arraignment thereof useless, but even hold it suspect and dangerous? Certainly the procedure of Empedocles, though furious—but especially that of Democritus (who with great modesty complained that all things were abstruse ; that we know nothing ; that truth lies hid in deep pits ; that falsehood is strangely joined and twisted along with truth, &c.)—is to be preferred before the confident, assuming, and dogmatical school of Aristotle. Mankind are, therefore, to be admonished, that the arraignment of nature and of art is pleasing to the gods ; and that a sharp and vehement accusation of Prometheus, though a creator, a founder, and a master, obtained new blessings and presents from the divine bounty, and proved more sound and serviceable than a diffusive harangue of praise and gatulation. And let men be assured, that the fond opinion that they have already acquired enough, is a principal reason why they have acquired so little.

That the perpetual flower of youth should be the present which mankind received as a reward for their accusation, carries this moral : that the ancients seem not to have despaired of discovering methods, and remedies, for retarding old age, and prolonging the period of human life, but rather reckoned it among those things which, through sloth and want of diligent inquiry, perish and come to nothing, after having been once undertaken, than among such as are absolutely impossible, or placed beyond the reach of the human power. For they signify and intimate from the true use of fire, and the just and strenuous accusation and conviction of the errors of art, that the divine bounty is not wanting to men in such kind of presents, but that men indeed are wanting to themselves, and lay such an inestimable gift upon the back of a slow-paced ass ; that is, upon the back of the heavy, dull, lingering thing, experience ; from whose sluggish and tortoise-

pace proceeds that ancient complaint of the shortness of life, and the slow advancement of arts. And certainly it may well seem, that the two faculties of reasoning and experience are not hitherto properly joined and coupled together, but to be still new gifts of the gods, separately laid, the one upon the back of a light bird, or abstract philosophy, and the other upon an ass, or slow-paced practice and trial. And yet good hopes might be conceived of this ass if it were not for his thirst and the accidents of the way. For we judge, that if any one would constantly proceed, by a certain law and method, in the road of experience, and not by the way thirst after such experiments as make for profit or ostentation, nor exchange his burden, or quit the original design for the sake of these, he might be an useful bearer of a new and accumulated divine bounty to mankind.

That this gift of perpetual youth should pass from men to serpents, seems added by way of ornament and illustration to the fable; perhaps intimating, at the same time, the shame it is for men, that they, with their fire, and numerous arts, cannot procure to themselves those things which nature has bestowed upon many other creatures.

The sudden reconciliation of Prometheus to mankind, after being disappointed of their hopes, contains a prudent and useful admonition. It points out the levity and temerity of men in new experiments, when, not presently succeeding, or answering to expectation, they precipitantly quit their new undertakings, hurry back to their old ones, and grow reconciled thereto.

After the fable has described the state of man, with regard to arts and intellectual matters, it passes on to religion, for after the inventing and settling of arts, follows the establishment of divine worship, which hypocrisy presently enters into and corrupts. So that by the two sacrifices we have elegantly painted the person of a man truly religious, and of an hypocrite. One of these sacrifices contained the fat, or the portion of God, used for burning and incensing; thereby denoting affection and zeal, offered up to His glory. It likewise contained the bowels, which are expressive of charity, along with the good and useful flesh. But the other contained nothing more than dry bones, which nevertheless stuffed out the hide, so as to make it resemble a fair, beautiful, and magnificent sacrifice; hereby finely denoting the external and empty rites and barren ceremonies, wherewith men burden and stuff out the divine worship,—things rather intended for show and ostentation than conducing to piety:—Nor are mankind simply content with this mock-worship of God, but also impose, and father it upon Him, as if He had chosen and ordained it. Certainly the prophet, in the person of God, has a fine expostulation, as to this matter of choice:—"Is this the fasting which I have chosen, that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and bow down his head like a bulrush?"¹

After thus touching the state of religion, the fable next turns to manners, and the conditions of human life. And though it be a very common, yet is it a just interpretation, that Pandora denotes the pleasures and licentiousness which the cultivation and luxury of the arts of civil life introduce, as it were, by the instrumental efficacy of fire:

¹ Isaiah, lviii. 5.

whence the works of the voluptuary arts are properly attributed to Vulcan, the God of Fire. And hence infinite miseries and calamities have proceeded to the minds, the bodies, and the fortunes of men, together with a late repentance; and this not only in each man's particular, but also in kingdoms and states; for wars, and tumults, and tyrannies, have all arisen from this same fountain, or box of Pandora.

It is worth observing, how beautifully and elegantly the fable has drawn two reigning characters in human life, and given two examples, or tablatures of them, under the persons of Prometheus and Epimetheus. The followers of Epimetheus are improvident, see not far before them, and prefer such things as are agreeable for the present; whence they are oppressed with numerous straits, difficulties, and calamities, with which they almost continually struggle; but in the meantime gratify their own temper, and, for want of a better knowledge of things, feed their minds with many vain hopes; and as with so many pleasing dreams, delight themselves, and sweeten the miseries of life.

But the followers of Prometheus are the prudent, wary men, that look into futurity, and cautiously guard against, prevent, and undermine many calamities and misfortunes. But this watchful, provident temper, is attended with a deprivation of numerous pleasures, and the loss of various delights, whilst such men debar themselves the use even of innocent things, and what is still worse, rack and torture themselves with cares, fears, and disquiets; being bound fast to the pillar of necessity, and tormented with numberless thoughts (which for their swiftness are well compared to an eagle), that continually wound, tear, and gnaw their liver or mind, unless, perhaps, they find some small remission by intervals, or as it were at nights; but then new anxieties, dreads, and fears, soon return again, as it were in the morning. And, therefore, very few men of either temper, have secured to themselves the advantages of providence, and kept clear of disquiets, troubles, and misfortunes.

Nor indeed can any man obtain this end without the assistance of Hercules; that is, of such fortitude and constancy of mind as stands prepared against every event, and remains indifferent to every change; looking forward without being daunted, enjoying the good without disdain, and enduring the bad without impatience. And it must be observed, that even Prometheus had not the power to free himself, but owed his deliverance to another; for no natural inbred force and fortitude could prove equal to such a task. The power of releasing him came from the utmost confines of the ocean, and from the sun: that is, from Apollo, or knowledge; and again, from a due consideration of the uncertainty, instability, and fluctuating state of human life, which is aptly represented by sailing the ocean. Accordingly, Virgil has prudently joined these two together, accounting him happy who knows the causes of things, and has conquered all his fears, apprehensions, and superstitions.¹

It is added, with great elegance, for supporting and confirming the human mind, that the great hero who thus delivered him sailed the

¹ "Felix que potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."—Georg 2—490.

ocean in a cup, or pitcher, to prevent fear, or complaint ; as if, through the narrowness of our nature, or a too great fragility thereof, we were absolutely incapable of that fortitude and constancy to which Seneca finely alludes, when he says, "It is a noble thing, at once to participate in the frailty of man and the security of a god."

We have hitherto, that we might not break the connection of things, designedly omitted the last crime of Prometheus—that of attempting the chastity of Minerva— which heinous offence it doubtless was, that caused the punishment of having his liver gnawed by the vulture. The meaning seems to be this,—that when men are puffed up with arts and knowledge, they often try to subdue even the divine wisdom and bring it under the dominion of sense and reason, whence inevitably follows a perpetual and restless rending and tearing of the mind. A sober and humble distinction must, therefore, be made betwixt divine and human things, and betwixt the oracles of sense and faith, unless mankind had rather choose an heretical religion, and a fictitious and romantic philosophy.

The last particular in the fable is the Games of the Torch, instituted to Prometheus, which again relates to arts and sciences, as well as the invention of fire, for the commemoration and celebration whereof these games were held. And here we have an extremely prudent admonition, directing us to expect the perfection of the sciences from succession, and not from the swiftness and abilities of any single person ; for he who is fleetest and strongest in the course may perhaps be less fit to keep his torch a-light, since there is danger of its going out from too rapid as well as from too slow a motion. But this kind of contest, with the torch, seems to have been long dropped and neglected ; the sciences appearing to have flourished principally in their first authors, as Aristotle, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy, &c. ; whilst their successors have done very little, or scarce made any attempts. But it were highly to be wished that these games might be renewed, to the honour of Prometheus, or human nature, and that they might excite contest, emulation, and laudable endeavours, and the design meet with such success as not to hang tottering, tremulous, and hazarded, upon the torch of any single person. Mankind, therefore, should be admonished to rouse themselves, and try and exert their own strength and chance, and not place all their dependence upon a few men, whose abilities and capacities, perhaps, are not greater than their own.

These are the particulars which appear to us shadowed out by this trite and vulgar fable, though without denying that there may be contained in it several intimations that have a surprising correspondence with the Christian mysteries. In particular, the voyage of Hercules,¹ made in a pitcher, to release Prometheus, bears an allusion to the word of God, coming in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem mankind. But we indulge ourselves no such liberties as these, for fear of using strange fire at the altar of the Lord.

¹ Archbishop Trench also discovers a Christian allegory in Hercules wearing the poisoned mantle :—"The garment spotted with the flesh."—See "Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom."

PROTEUS, OR MATTER.

EXPLAINED OF MATTER AND ITS CHANGES.

PROTEUS, according to the poets, was Neptune's herdsman ; an old man, and a most extraordinary prophet, who understood things past and present, as well as future ; so that besides the business of divination, he was the revealer and interpreter of all antiquity, and secrets of every kind. He lived in a vast cave, where his custom was to tell over his herd of sea-calves at noon, and then to sleep. Whoever consulted him, had no other way of obtaining an answer, but by binding him with manacles and fetters ; when he, endeavouring to free himself, would change into all kinds of shapes and miraculous forms ; as of fire, water, wild beasts, &c. ; till at length he resumed his own shape again.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to point at the secrets of nature, and the states of matter. For the person of Proteus denotes matter, the oldest of all things, after God himself ; that resides, as in a cave, under the vast concavity of the heavens. He is represented as the servant of Neptune, because the various operations and modifications of matter are principally wrought in a fluid state. The herd, or flock of Proteus, seems to be no other than the several kinds of animals, plants, and minerals, in which matter appears to diffuse and spend itself ; so that after having formed these several species, and as it were finished its task, it seems to sleep and repose, without otherwise attempting to produce any new ones. And this is the moral of Proteus's counting his herd, then going to sleep.

This is said to be done at noon, not in the morning or evening ; by which is meant the time best fitted and disposed for the production of species, from a matter duly prepared, and made ready beforehand, and now lying in a middle state, between its first rudiments and decline ; which, we learn from sacred history, was the case at the time of the creation ; when by the efficacy of the divine command, matter directly came together, without any transformation or intermediate changes, which it affects ; instantly obeyed the order, and appeared in the form of creatures.

And thus far the fable reaches of Proteus, and his flock, at liberty and unre-trained. For the universe, with the common structures and fabrics of the creatures, is the face of matter, not under constraint, or as the flock wrought upon and tortured by human means. But if any skilful minister of nature shall apply force to matter, and by design torture and vex it, in order to its annihilation, it, on the contrary, being brought under this necessity, changes and transforms itself into a strange variety of shapes and appearances ; for nothing but the power of the Creator can annihilate, or truly destroy it ; so that at length, running through the whole circle of transformations, and completing its period, it in some degree restores itself, if the force be continued. And that method of binding, torturing, or detaining, will prove the most effectual and expeditious, which makes use of manacles

and fetters ; that is, lays hold and works upon matter in the extremest degrees.

The addition in the fable that makes a Proteus a prophet, who had the knowledge of things past, present, and future, excellently agrees with the nature of matter ; as he who knows the properties, the changes, and the processes of matter, must of necessity understand the effects and sum of what it does, has done, or can do, though his knowledge extends not to all the parts and particulars thereof.

CUPID, OR ATOMS.

EXPLAINED OF THE CORPUSCULAR PHILOSOPHY.

THE particulars related by the poets of Cupid, or Love, do not properly agree to the same person ; yet they differ only so far, that if the confusion of persons be rejected, the correspondence may hold. They say that Love was the most ancient of all the gods, and existed before everything else, except Chaos, which is held coeval therewith. But to Chaos, the ancients never paid divine honours, nor gave the title of a god thereto. Love is represented absolutely without progenitor, excepting only that he is said to have proceeded from the egg of Nox ; but that himself begot the gods, and all things else on Chaos. His attributes are four : viz. : 1. perpetual infancy ; 2. blindness ; 3. nakedness ; and 4. archery.

There was also another Cupid, or Love, the youngest son of the gods, born of Venus, and upon him the attributes of the elder are transferred, with some degree of correspondence.

EXPLANATION.—This fable points at, and enters, the cradle of nature. Love seems to be the appetite, or incentive, of the primitive matter ; or, to speak more distinctly, the natural motion, or moving principle, of the original corpuscles, or atoms ; this being the most ancient and only power that made and wrought all things out of matter. It is absolutely without parent, that is, without cause ; for causes are as parents to effects ; but this power or efficacy could have no natural cause ; for, excepting God, nothing was before it ; and therefore it could have no efficient in nature. And as nothing is more inward with nature, it can neither be a genus nor a form ; and therefore, whatever it is, it must be somewhat positive, though inexpressible. And if it were possible to conceive its modus and process, yet it could not be known from its cause, as being, next to God, the cause of causes, and itself without a cause. And perhaps we are not to hope that the modus of it should fall, or be comprehended, under human inquiry. Whence it is properly feigned to be the egg of Nox, or laid in the dark.

The divine philosopher declares, that “ God has made everything beautiful in its season ; and has given over the world to our disputes and inquiries : but that man cannot find out the work which God has wrought, from its beginning up to its end.”¹ Thus the summary or

¹ Ecclesiastes iii., 11.

collective law of nature, or the principle of love, impressed by God upon the original particles of all things, so as to make them attack each other and come together, by the repetition and multiplication whereof all the variety in the universe is produced, can scarce possibly find full admittance in the thoughts of men, though some faint notion may be had thereof. The Greek philosophy is subtle, and busied in discovering the material principles of things, but negligent and languid in discovering the principles of motion, in which the energy and efficacy of every operation consists. And here the Greek philosophers seem perfectly blind and childish; for the opinion of the Peripatetics,¹ as to the stimulus of matter, by privation, is little more than words, or rather sound than signification. And they who refer it to God, though they do well therein, yet they do it by a start, and not by proper degrees of assent; for doubtless there is one summary, or capital law, in which nature meets, subordinate to God, viz., the law mentioned in the passage above quoted from Solomon; or the work which God has wrought from its beginning up to its end.

Democritus, who farther considered this subject, having first supposed an atom, or corpuscle, of some dimension or figure, attributed thereto an appetite, desire, or first motion simply, and another comparatively, imagining that all things properly tended to the centre of the world; those containing more matter falling faster to the centre, and thereby removing, and in the shock driving away, such as held less. But this is a slender conceit, and regards too few particulars; for neither the revolutions of the celestial bodies, nor the contractions and expansions of things, can be reduced to this principle. And for the opinion of Epicurus, as to the declination and fortuitous agitation of atoms, this only brings the matter back again to a trifle, and wraps it up in ignorance and night.

Cupid is elegantly drawn a perpetual child; for compounds are larger things, and have their periods of age; but the first seeds or atoms of bodies are small, and remain in a perpetual infant state.

He is again justly represented naked; as all compounds may properly be said to be dressed and clothed, or to assume a personage; whence nothing remains truly naked, but the original particles of things.

The blindness of Cupid contains a deep allegory; for this same Cupid, Love, or appetite of the world, seems to have very little foresight, but directs his steps and motions conformably to what he finds next him, as blind men do when they feel out their way; which renders the divine and over-ruling Providence and foresight the more surprising; as by a certain steady law, it brings such a beautiful order and regularity of things out of what seems extremely casual, void of design, and, as it were, really blind.

The last attribute of Cupid is archery, viz., a virtue or power operating at a distance; for everything that operates at a distance, may seem, as it were, to dart, or shoot with arrows. And whoever allows of atoms and vacuity, necessarily supposes that the virtue of atoms

¹ The disciples of Aristotle, who was of so restless and vivacious a temperament that he taught walking up and down the shady paths of the Lyceum. Hence his disciples were called Peripatetics, or walking philosophers.

operates at a distance ; for without this operation no motion could be excited, on account of the vacuum interposing, but all things would remain sluggish and unmoved.

As to the other Cupid, he is properly said to be the youngest son of the gods, as his power could not take place before the formation of species, or particular bodies. The description given us of him transfers the allegory to morality, though he still retains some resemblance with the ancient Cupid ; for as Venus universally excites the affection of association, and the desire of procreation, her son Cupid applies the affection to individuals ; so that the general disposition proceeds from Venus, but the more close sympathy from Cupid. The former depends upon a near approximation of causes, but the latter upon deeper, more necessitating and uncontrollable principles, as if they proceeded from the ancient Cupid, on whom all exquisite sympathies depend.

CASSANDRA, OR DIVINATION.

EXPLAINED OF TOO FREE AND UNSEASONABLE ADVICE.

THE Poets relate, that Apollo, falling in love with Cassandra, was still deluded and put off by her, yet fed with hopes, till she had got from him the gift of prophecy ; and having now obtained her end, she flatly rejected his suit. Apollo, unable to recall his rash gift, yet enraged to be outwitted by a girl, annexed this penalty to it, that though she should always prophesy true, she should never be believed ; whence her divinations were always slighted, even when she again and again predicted the ruin of her country.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems invented to express the insignificance of unseasonable advice. For they who are conceited, stubborn, or intractable, and listen not to the instructions of Apollo, the god of harmony, so as to learn and observe the modulations and measures of affairs, the sharps and flats of discourse, the difference between judicious and vulgar ears, and the proper times of speech and silence, let them be ever so intelligent, and ever so frank of their advice, or their counsels ever so good and just, yet all their endeavours, either of persuasion or force, are of little significance, and rather hasten the ruin of those they advise. But, at last, when the calamitous event has made the sufferers feel the effect of their neglect, they too late reverence their advisers, as deep, foreseeing, and faithful prophets.

Of this we have a remarkable instance in Cato of Utica, who discovered afar off, and long foretold, the approaching ruin of his country, both in the first conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, yet did no good the while, but rather hurt the commonwealth, and hurried on its destruction, which Cicero wisely observed in these words: "Cato, indeed, judges excellently, but prejudices the state ; for he speaks as in the commonwealth of Plato, and not as in the dregs of Romulus."

TYPHON, OR A REBEL.

EXPLAINED OF REBELLION.

THE fable runs, that Juno, enraged at Jupiter's bringing forth Pallas without her assistance, incessantly solicited all the gods and goddesses that she might produce without Jupiter: and having by violence and importunity obtained the grant, she struck the earth, and thence immediately sprung up Typhon, a huge and dreadful monster, whom she committed to the nursing of a serpent. As soon as he was grown up, this monster waged war on Jupiter, and taking him prisoner in the battle, carried him away on his shoulders, into a remote and obscure quarter: and there cutting out the sinews of his hands and feet, he bore them off, leaving Jupiter behind miserably maimed and mangled.

But Mercury afterwards stole these sinews from Typhon, and restored them to Jupiter. Hence, recovering his strength, Jupiter again pursues the monster; first wounds him with a stroke of his thunder, when serpents arose from the blood of the wound: and now the monster being dismayed, and taking to flight, Jupiter next darted Mount *Ætna* upon him, and crushed him with the weight.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems designed to express the various fates of kings, and the turns that rebellions sometimes take, in kingdoms. For princes may be justly esteemed married to their states, as Jupiter to Juno: but it sometimes happens, that, being deprived by long wielding of the sceptre, and growing tyrannical, they would engross all to themselves; and slighting the counsel of their senators and nobles, conceive by themselves; that is, govern according to their own arbitrary will and pleasure. This inflames the people, and makes them endeavour to create and set up some head of their own. Such designs are generally set on foot by the secret motior and instigation of the peers and nobles, under whose connivance the common sort are prepared for rising: whence proceeds a swell in the state, which is appositely denoted by the nursing of Typhon. This growing posture of affairs is fed by the natural depravity, and malignant dispositions of the vulgar, which to kings is an envenomed serpent. And now the disaffected, uniting their force, at length break out into open rebellion, which, producing infinite mischiefs, both to prince and people, is represented by the horrid and multiplied deformity of Typhon, with his hundred heads, denoting the divided powers; his flaming mouths, denoting fire and devastation; his girdles of snakes, denoting sieges and destruction; his iron hands, slaughter and cruelty; his eagle's talons, rapine and plunder; his plumed body, perpetual rumours, contradictory accounts, etc. And sometimes these rebellions grow so high, that kings are obliged, as if carried on the backs of the rebels, to quit the throne, and retire to some remote and obscure part of their dominions, with the loss of their sinews, both of money and majesty.

But if now they prudently bear this reverse of fortune, they may, in a short time, by the assistance of Mercury, recover their sinews again; that is, by becoming moderate and affable; reconciling the minds and affections of the people to them, by gracious speeches, and prudent proclamations, which will win over the subject cheerfully to afford new

aids and supplies, and add fresh vigour to authority. But prudent and wary princes here seldom incline to try fortune by a war, yet do their utmost, by some grand exploit, to crush the reputation of the rebels: and if the attempt succeeds, the rebels, conscious of the wound received, and distrustful of their cause, first betake themselves to broken and empty threats, like the hissings of serpents; and next, when matters are grown desperate, to flight. And now, when they thus begin to shrink, it is safe and seasonable for kings to pursue them with their forces, and the whole strength of the kingdom; thus effectually quashing and suppressing them, as it were by the weight of a mountain.

THE CYCLOPS, OR THE MINISTERS OF TERROR.

EXPLAINED OF BASE COURT OFFICERS.

It is related that the Cyclops, for their savageness and cruelty, were by Jupiter first thrown into Tartarus, and there condemned to perpetual imprisonment: but that afterwards, Tellus persuaded Jupiter it would be for his service to release them, and employ them in forging thunderbolts. This he accordingly did; and they, with unwearied pains and diligence, hammered out his bolts, and other instruments of terror, with a frightful and continual din of the anvil.

It happened long after, that Jupiter was displeas'd with Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, for having, by the art of medicine, restored a dead man to life: but concealing his indignation, because the action in itself was pious and illustrious, he secretly incens'd the Cyclops against him, who, without remorse, presently slew him with their thunderbolts: in revenge whereof, Apollo, with Jupiter's connivance, shot them all dead with his arrows.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to point at the behaviour of princes, who, having cruel, bloody, and oppressive ministers, first punish and displace them; but afterwards, by the advice of Tellus, that is, some earthly-minded and ignoble person, employ them again, to serve a turn, when there is occasion for cruelty in execution, or severity in exaction: but these ministers being base in their nature, whet by their former disgrace, and well aware of what is expected from them, use double diligence in their office; till, proceeding unwarily, and over-eager to gain favour, they sometimes, from the private nods, and ambiguous orders of their prince, perform some odious or execrable action. When princes, to decline the envy themselves, and knowing they shall never want such tools at their back, drop them, and give them up to the friends and followers of the injured person; thus exposing them, as sacrifices to revenge and popular odium: whence with great applause, acclamations, and good wishes to the prince, these miscreants at last meet with their desert.

NARCISSUS, OR SELF-LOVE.

NARCISSUS is said to have been extremely beautiful and comely, but intolerably proud and disdainful; so that, pleased with himself, and

scorning the world, he led a solitary life in the woods ; hunting only with a few followers, who were his professed admirers, amongst whom the nymph Echo was his constant attendant. In this method of life it was once his fate to approach a clear fountain, where he laid himself down to rest, in the noonday heat ; when, beholding his image in the water, he fell into such a rapture and admiration of himself, that he could by no means be got away, but remained continually fixed and gazing, till at length he was turned into a flower, of his own name, which appears early in the spring, and is consecrated to the infernal deities, Pluto, Proserpine, and the Furies.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to paint the behaviour and fortune of those, who, for their beauty, or other endowments, wherewith nature (without any industry of their own) has graced and adorned them, are extravagantly fond of themselves : for men of such a disposition generally affect retirement, and absence from public affairs ; as a life of business must necessarily subject them to many neglects and contempts, which might disturb and ruffle their minds : whence such persons commonly lead a solitary, private, and shadowy life ; see little company, and those only such as highly admire and reverence them ; or, like an echo, assent to all they say.

And they who are depraved, and rendered still fonder of themselves by this custom, grow strangely indolent, unactive, and perfectly stupid. The Narcissus, a spring flower, is an elegant emblem of this temper, which at first flourishes, and is talked of, but when ripe, frustrates the expectation conceived of it.

And that this flower should be sacred to the infernal powers, carries out the allusion still farther ; because men of this humour are perfectly useless in all respects : for whatever yields no fruit, but passes, and is no more, like the way of a ship in a sea, was by the ancients consecrated to the infernal shades and powers.

PERSEUS, OR WAR.

EXPLAINED OF THE PREPARATION AND CONDUCT NECESSARY TO WAR.

THE fable relates, that Perseus was despatched from the east by Pallas, to cut off Medusa's head, who had committed great ravage upon the people of the west ; for this Medusa was so dire a monster as to turn into stone all those who but looked upon her. She was a Gorgon, and the only mortal one of the three, the other two being invulnerable. Perseus, therefore, preparing himself for this grand enterprise, had presents made him from three of the gods : Mercury gave him wings for his heels ; Pluto, a helmet ; and Pallas, a shield and a mirror. But though he was now so well equipped, he posted not directly to Medusa, but first turned aside to the Greæ, who were half-sisters to the Gorgons. These Greæ were grey-headed, and like old women from their birth, having among them all three but one eye, and one tooth, which, as they had occasion to go out, they each wore by turns, and laid them down again upon coming back. This eye and

this tooth they lent to Perseus, who now judging himself sufficiently furnished, he, without farther stop, flies swiftly away to Medusa, and finds her asleep. But not venturing his eyes, for fear she should wake, he turned his head aside, and viewed her in Pallas's mirror; and thus directing his stroke, cut off her head; when immediately from the gushing blood, there darted Pegasus winged. Perseus now inserted Medusa's head into Pallas's shield, which thence retained the faculty of astonishing and benumbing all who looked on it.

This fable seems invented to show the prudent method of choosing, undertaking, and conducting a war; and, accordingly, lays down three useful precepts about it, as if they were the precepts of Pallas.

The first is, that no prince should be over-solicitous to subdue a neighbouring nation; for the method of enlarging an empire is very different from that of increasing an estate. Regard is justly had to contiguity, or adjacency, in private lands and possessions; but in the extending of empire, the occasion, the facility, and advantage of a war, are to be regarded instead of vicinity. It is certain that the Romans, at the time they stretched but little beyond Liguria to the west, had by their arms subdued the provinces as far as Mount Taurus to the east. And thus Perseus readily undertook a very long expedition, even from the east to the extremities of the west.

The second precept is, that the cause of the war be just and honourable; for this adds alacrity both to the soldiers, and the people who find the supplies; procures aids, alliances, and numerous other conveniences. Now there is no cause of war more just and laudable, than the suppressing of tyranny, by which a people are dispirited, benumbed, or left without life and vigour, as at the sight of Medusa.

Lastly, it is prudently added, that as there were three of the Gorgons, who represent war, Perseus singled her out for his expedition that was mortal; which affords this precept, that such kind of wars should be chose as may be brought to a conclusion, without pursuing vast and infinite hopes.

Again, Perseus's setting-out is extremely well adapted to his undertaking, and in a manner commands success. He received despatch from Mercury, secrecy from Pluto, and foresight from Pallas. It also contains an excellent allegory, that the wings given him by Mercury were for his heels, not for his shoulders; because expedition is not so much required in the first preparations for war, as in the subsequent matters, that administer to the first; for there is no error more frequent in war, than, after brisk preparations, to halt for subsidiary forces and effective supplies.

The allegory of Pluto's helmet, rendering men invisible and secret, is sufficiently evident of itself; but the mystery of the shield and the mirror lies deeper, and denotes, that not only a prudent caution must be had to defend, like the shield, but also such an address and penetration as may discover the strength, the motions, the counsels, and designs of the enemy; like the mirror of Pallas.

But though Perseus may now seem extremely well prepared, there still remains the most important thing of all; before he enters upon the war, he must of necessity consult the Greæ. These Greæ are treasons; half, but degenerate sisters of the Gorgons who are repre-

sentatives of war : for wars are generous and noble ; but treasons base and vile. The Greæ are elegantly described as hoary-headed, and like old women from their birth ; on account of the perpetual cares, fears, and trepidations attending traitors. Their force, also, before it breaks out into open revolt, consists either in an eye or a tooth ; for all faction, alienated from a state, is both watchful and biting ; and this eye and tooth are, as it were, common to all the disaffected ; because whatever they learn and know is transmitted from one to another as by the hands of faction. And for the tooth, they all bite with the same ; and clamour with one throat ; so that each of them singly expresses the multitude.

These Greæ, therefore, must be prevailed upon by Perseus to lend him their eye and their tooth ; the eye to give him indications, and make discoveries ; the tooth for sowing rumours, raising envy, and stirring up the minds of the people. And when all these things are thus disposed and prepared, then follows the action of the war.

He finds Medusa asleep ; for whoever undertakes a war with prudence, generally falls upon the enemy unprepared, and nearly in a state of security ; and here is the occasion for Pallas's mirror : for it is common enough, before the danger presents itself, to see exactly into the state and posture of the enemy ; but the principal use of the glass is, in the very instant of danger, to discover the manner thereof, and prevent consternation ; which is the thing intended by Perseus's turning his head aside, and viewing the enemy in the glass.

Two effects here follow the conquest: 1. The darting forth of Pegasus ; which evidently denotes fame, that flies abroad, proclaiming the victory far and near. 2. The bearing of Medusa's head in the shield, which is the greatest possible defence and safeguard ; for one grand and memorable enterprise, happily accomplished, bridles all the motions and attempts of the enemy, stupifies disaffection, and quells commotions.

ENDYMION, OR A FAVOURITE.

EXPLAINED OF COURT FAVOURITES.

THE goddess Luna is said to have fallen in love with the shepherd Endymion, and to have carried on her amours with him in a new and singular manner ; it being her custom, whilst he lay reposing in his native cave, under Mount Latmus, to descend frequently from her sphere, enjoy his company whilst he slept, and then go up to heaven again. And all this while, Endymion's fortune was no way prejudiced by his unactive and sleepy life, the goddess causing his flocks to thrive, and grow so exceeding numerous, that none of the other shepherds could compare with him.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to describe the tempers and dispositions of princes, who, being thoughtful and suspicious, do not easily admit to their privacies such men as are prying, curious, and vigilant, or, as it were, sleepless ; but rather such as are of an easy, obliging nature, and indulge them in their pleasures, without seeking anything farther ; but seeming ignorant, insensible, or, as it were

lulled asleep before them. Princes usually treat such persons familiarly; and, quitting their throne like Luna, think they may with safety unbosom to them. This temper was very remarkable in Tiberius, a prince exceeding difficult to please, and who had no favourites but those that perfectly understood his way, and, at the same time, obstinately dissembled their knowledge, almost to a degree of stupidity.

The cave is not improperly mentioned in the fable; it being a common thing for the favourites of a prince to have their pleasant retreats, whither to invite him, by way of relaxation, though without prejudice to their own fortunes; these favourites usually making a good provision for themselves.

For though their prince should not, perhaps, promote them to dignities, yet, out of real affection, and not only for convenience, they generally feel the enriching influence of his bounty.

THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS, OR FAME.

EXPLAINED OF PUBLIC DETRACTION.

THE poets relate, that the giants, produced from the earth, made war upon Jupiter, and the other gods, but were repulsed and conquered by thunder; whereat the earth, provoked, brought forth Fame, the youngest sister of the giants, in revenge for the death of her sons.

EXPLANATION.—The meaning of the fable seems to be this: the earth denotes the nature of the vulgar, who are always swelling, and rising against their rulers, and endeavouring at changes. This disposition, getting a fit opportunity, breeds rebels and traitors, who, with impetuous rage, threaten and contrive the overthrow and destruction of princes.

And when brought under and subdued, the same vile and restless nature of the people, impatient of peace, produces rumours, detractions, slanders, libels, &c., to blacken those in authority; so that rebellious actions and seditious rumours, differ not in origin and stock, but only as it were in sex; treasons and rebellions being the brothers, and scandal or detraction the sister.

ACTEON AND PENTHEUS, OR A CURIOUS MAN.

EXPLAINED OF CURIOSITY, OR PRYING INTO THE SECRETS OF PRINCES AND DIVINE MYSTERIES.

THE ancients afford us two examples for suppressing the impertinent curiosity of mankind, in diving into secrets, and imprudently longing and endeavouring to discover them. The one of these is in the person of Acteon, and the other in that of Pentheus. Acteon, undesignedly chancing to see Diana naked, was turned into a stag, and torn to pieces by his own hounds. And Pentheus, desiring to pry into the hidden mysteries of Bacchus's sacrifice, and climbing a tree for

that purpose, was struck with a frenzy. This frenzy of Pentheus caused him to see things double, particularly the sun, and his own city Thebes, so that running homewards, and immediately espying another Thebes, he runs towards that; and thus continues incessantly tending first to the one, and then to the other, without coming at either.

EXPLANATION.—The first of these fables may relate to the secrets of princes, and the second to divine mysteries. For they who are not intimate with a prince, yet against his will have a knowledge of his secrets, inevitably incur his displeasure; and therefore, being aware that they are singled out, and all opportunities watched against them, they lead the life of a stag, full of fears and suspicions. It likewise frequently happens that their servants and domestics accuse them, and plot their overthrow, in order to procure favour with the prince; for whenever the king manifests his displeasure, the person it falls upon must expect his servants to betray him, and worry him down, as Acteon was worried by his own dogs.

The punishment of Pentheus is of another kind; for they who, unmindful of their mortal state, rashly aspire to divine mysteries, by climbing the heights of nature and philosophy, here represented by climbing a tree,—their fate is perpetual inconstancy, perplexity, and instability of judgment. For as there is one light of nature, and another light that is divine, they see, as it were, two suns. And as the actions of life, and the determinations of the will, depend upon the understanding, they are distracted as much in opinion as in will; and therefore judge very inconsistently, or contradictorily; and see, as it were, Thebes double; for Thebes being the refuge and habitation of Pentheus, here denotes the ends of actions: whence they know not what course to take, but remaining undetermined and unresolved in their views and designs, they are merely driven about by every sudden gust and impulse of the mind.

ORPHEUS, OR PHILOSOPHY.

EXPLAINED OF NATURAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

INTRODUCTION.—The fable of Orpheus, though trite and common, has never been well interpreted, and seems to hold out a picture of universal philosophy; for to this sense may be easily transferred what is said of his being a wonderful and perfectly divine person, skilled in all kinds of harmony, subduing and drawing all things after him by sweet and gentle methods and modulations. For the labours of Orpheus exceed the labours of Hercules, both in power and dignity, as the works of knowledge exceed the works of strength.

FABLE.—Orpheus having his beloved wife snatched from him by sudden death, resolved upon descending to the infernal regions, to try if, by the power of his harp, he could reobtain her. And, in effect, he so appeased and soothed the infernal powers by the melody and sweetness of his harp and voice, that they indulged him the liberty of taking her back, on condition that she should follow him behind, and he not

turn to look upon her till they came into open day ; but he, through the impatience of his care and affection, and thinking himself almost past danger, at length looked behind him, whereby the condition was violated, and she again precipitated to Pluto's regions. From this time Orpheus grew pensive and sad, a hater of the sex, and went into solitude, where, by the same sweetness of his harp and voice, he first drew the wild beasts of all sorts about him ; so that, forgetting their natures, they were neither actuated by revenge, cruelty, lust, hunger, or the desire of prey, but stood gazing about him, in a tame and gentle manner, listening attentively to his music. Nay, so great was the power and efficacy of his harmony, that it even caused the trees and stones to remove, and place themselves in a regular manner about him. When he had for a time, and with great admiration, continued to do this, at length the Thracian women, raised by the instigation of Bacchus, first blew a deep and hoarse-sounding horn, in such an outrageous manner, that it quite drowned the music of Orpheus. And thus the power which, as the link of their society, held all things in order, being dissolved, disturbance reigned anew ; each creature returned to its own nature, and pursued and preyed upon its fellow, as before. The rocks and woods also started back to their former places ; and even Orpheus himself was at last torn to pieces by these female furies, and his limbs scattered all over the desert. But, in sorrow and revenge for his death, the river Helicon, sacred to the Muses, hid its waters underground, and rose again in other places.

EXPLANATION.—The fable receives this explanation. The music of Orpheus is of two kinds ; one that appeases the infernal powers, and the other that draws together the wild beasts and trees. The former properly relates to natural, and the latter to moral philosophy, or civil society. The reinstatement and restoration of corruptible things is the noblest work of natural philosophy ; and, in a less degree, the preservation of bodies in their own state, or a prevention of their dissolution and corruption. And if this be possible, it can certainly be effected no other way than by proper and exquisite attemperations of nature ; as it were by the harmony and fine touching of the harp. But as this is a thing of exceeding great difficulty, the end is seldom obtained ; and that, probably, for no reason more than a curious and unseasonable impatience and solicitude.

And, therefore, philosophy, being almost unequal to the task, has cause to grow sad, and hence betakes itself to human affairs, insinuating into men's minds the love of virtue, equity, and peace, by means of eloquence and persuasion ; thus forming men into societies ; bringing them under laws and regulations ; and making them forget their unbridled passions and affections, so long as they hearken to precepts and submit to discipline. And thus they soon after build themselves habitations, form cities, cultivate lands, plant orchards, gardens, &c. So that they may not improperly be said to remove and call the trees and stones together.

And this regard to civil affairs is justly and regularly placed after diligent trial made for restoring the mortal body ; the attempt being frustrated in the end—because the unavoidable necessity of death, thus

evidently laid before mankind, animates them to seek a kind of eternity by works of perpetuity, character, and fame.

It is also prudently added, that Orpheus was afterwards averse to women and wedlock, because the indulgence of a married state, and the natural affections which men have for their children, often prevent them from entering upon any grand, noble, or meritorious enterprise for the public good ; as thinking it sufficient to obtain immortality by their descendants, without endeavouring at great actions.

And even the works of knowledge, though the most excellent among human things, have their periods ; for after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time, disturbances, seditions, and wars, often arise, in the din whereof, first the laws are silent, and not heard ; and then men return to their own depraved natures—whence cultivated lands and cities soon become desolate and waste. And if this disorder continues, learning and philosophy is infallibly torn to pieces ; so that only some scattered fragments thereof can afterwards be found up and down, in a few places, like planks after shipwreck. And barbarous times succeeding, the river Helicon dips under-ground ; that is, letters are buried, till things having undergone their due course of changes, learning rises again, and shows its head, though seldom in the same place, but in some other nation.

MEMNON, OR A YOUTH TOO FORWARD.

EXPLAINED OF THE FATAL PRECIPITANCY OF YOUTH.

THE poets make Memnon the son of Aurora, and bring him to the Trojan war in beautiful armour, and flushed with popular praise ; where, thirsting after farther glory, and rashly hurrying on to the greatest enterprises, he engages the bravest warrior of all the Greeks, Achilles, and falls by his hand in single combat. Jupiter, in commiseration of his death, sent birds to grace his funeral, that perpetually chanted certain mournful and bewailing dirges. It is also reported, that the rays of the rising sun, striking his statue, used to give a lamenting sound.

EXPLANATION.—This fable regards the unfortunate end of those promising youths, who, like sons of the morning, elate with empty hopes and glittering outsides, attempt things beyond their strength ; challenge the bravest heroes ; provoke them to the combat ; and proving unequal, die in their high attempts.

The death of such youths seldom fails to meet with infinite pity ; as no mortal calamity is more moving and afflicting, than to see the flower of virtue cropped before its time. Nay, the prime of life enjoyed to the full, or even to a degree of envy, does not assuage or moderate the grief occasioned by the untimely death of such hopeful youths ; but lamentations and bewailings fly, like mournful birds, about their tombs, for a long while after ; especially upon all fresh occasions, new commotions, and the beginning of great actions, the passionate desire of them is renewed, as by the sun's morning rays.

TITHONUS, OR SATIETY.

EXPLAINED OF PREDOMINANT PASSIONS.

IT is elegantly fabled of Tithonus, that being exceedingly beloved by Aurora, she petitioned Jupiter that he might prove immortal, thereby to secure herself the everlasting enjoyment of his company; but through female inadvertence she forgot to add, that he might never grow old; so that, though he proved immortal, he became miserably worn and consumed with age, insomuch that Jupiter, out of pity, at length transformed him to a grasshopper.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to contain an ingenious description of pleasure: which at first, as it were in the morning of the day, is so welcome, that men pray to have it everlasting, but forget that satiety and weariness of it will, like old age, overtake them, though they think not of it; so that at length, when their appetite for pleasureable actions is gone, their desires and affections often continue; whence we commonly find that aged persons delight themselves with the discourse and remembrance of the things agreeable to them in their better days. This is very remarkable in men of a loose, and men of a military life; the former whereof are always talking over their amours, and the latter the exploits of their youth; like grasshoppers, that show their vigour only by their chirping.

JUNO'S SUITOR, OR BASENESS.

EXPLAINED OF SUBMISSION AND ABJECTION.

THE poets tell us, that Jupiter, to carry on his love-intrigues, assumed many different shapes; as of a bull, an eagle, a swan, a golden shower, &c.; but when he attempted Juno, he turned himself into the most ignoble and ridiculous creature,—even that of a wretched, wet, weather-beaten, affrighted, trembling, and half-starved cuckoo.

EXPLANATION.—This is a wise fable, and drawn from the very entrails of morality. The moral is, that men should not be conceited of themselves, and imagine that a discovery of their excellences will always render them acceptable; for this can only succeed according to the nature and manners of the person they court, or solicit; who, if he be a man not of the same gifts and endowments, but altogether of a haughty and contemptuous behaviour, here represented by the person of Juno, they must entirely drop the character that carries the least show of worth, or gracefulness: if they proceed upon any other footing, it is downright folly; nor is it sufficient to act the deformity of obsequiousness, unless they really change themselves, and become abject and contemptible in their persons.

DIOMED, OR ZEAL.

EXPLAINED OF PERSECUTION, OR ZEAL FOR RELIGION.

DIOMED acquired great glory and honour at the Trojan war, and was highly favoured by Pallas, who encouraged and excited him by

no means to spare Venus, if he should casually meet her in fight. He followed the advice with too much eagerness and intrepidity, and accordingly wounded that goddess in her hand. This presumptuous action remained unpunished for a time, and when the war was ended he returned with great glory and renown to his own country, where, finding himself embroiled with domestic affairs, he retired into Italy. Here also at first he was well received and nobly entertained by King Daunus, who, besides other gifts and honours, erected statues for him over all his dominions. But upon the first calamity that afflicted the people after the stranger's arrival, Daunus immediately reflected that he entertained a devoted person in his palace, an enemy to the gods, and one who had sacrilegiously wounded a goddess with his sword, whom it was impious but to touch. To expiate, therefore, his country's guilt, he, without regard to the laws of hospitality, which were less regarded by him than the laws of religion, directly slew his guest, and commanded his statues and all his honours to be razed and abolished. Nor was it safe for others to commiserate or bewail so cruel a destiny; but even his companions in arms, whilst they lamented the death of their leader, and filled all places with their complaints, were turned into a kind of swans, which are said, at the approach of their own death, to chant sweet melancholy dirges.

EXPLANATION.—This fable intimates an extraordinary and almost singular thing, for no hero besides Diomed is recorded to have wounded any of the gods. Doubtless we have here described the nature and fate of a man who professedly makes any divine worship or sect of religion, though in itself vain and light, the only scope of his actions, and resolves to propagate it by fire and sword. For although the bloody dissensions and differences about religion were unknown to the ancients, yet so copious and diffusive was their knowledge, that what they knew not by experience they comprehended in thought and representation. Those, therefore, who endeavour to reform or establish any sect of religion, though vain, corrupt, and infamous (which is here denoted under the person of Venus), not by the force of reason, learning, sanctity of manners, the weight of arguments, and examples, but would spread or extirpate it by persecution, pains, penalties, tortures, fire and sword, may perhaps be instigated hereto by Pallas, that is, by a certain rigid, prudential consideration, and a severity of judgment, by the vigour and efficacy whereof they see thoroughly into the fallacies and fictions of the delusions of this kind; and through aversion to depravity and a well-meant zeal, these men usually for a time acquire great fame and glory, and are by the vulgar, to whom no moderate measures can be acceptable, extolled and almost adored, as the only patrons and protectors of truth and religion, men of any other disposition seeming, in comparison with these, to be lukewarm, mean-spirited, and cowardly. This fame and felicity, however, seldom endures to the end; but all violence, unless it escapes the reverses and changes of things by untimely death, is commonly unprosperous in the issue; and if a change of affairs happens, and that sect of religion which was persecuted and oppressed

gains strength and rises again, then the zeal and warm endeavours of this sort of men are condemned, their very name becomes odious, and all their honours terminate in disgrace.

As to the point that Diomed should be slain by his hospitable entertainer, this denotes that religious dissensions may cause treachery, bloody animosities, and deceit, even between the nearest friends.

That complaining or bewailing should not, in so enormous a case, be permitted to friends affected by the catastrophe without punishment, includes this prudent admonition, that almost in all kinds of wickedness and depravity men have still room left for commiseration, so that they who hate the crime may yet pity the person and bewail his calamity, from a principle of humanity and good nature; and to forbid the overflowings and intercourses of pity upon such occasions were the extremest of evils; yet in the cause of religion and impiety the very commiserations of men are noted and suspected. On the other hand, the lamentations and complainings of the followers and attendants of Diomed, that is, of men of the same sect or persuasion, are usually very sweet, agreeable, and moving, like the dying notes of swans, or the birds of Diomed. This also is a noble and remarkable part of the allegory, denoting that the last words of those who suffer for the sake of religion strongly affect and sway men's minds, and leave a lasting impression upon the sense and memory.

DÆDALUS, OR MECHANICAL SKILL.

EXPLAINED OF ARTS AND ARTISTS IN KINGDOMS AND STATES.

THE ancients have left us a description of mechanical skill, industry, and curious arts converted to ill uses, in the person of Dædalus, a most ingenious but execrable artist. This Dædalus was banished for the murder of his brother artist and rival, yet found a kind reception in his banishment from the kings and states where he came. He raised many incomparable edifices to the honour of the gods, and invented many new contrivances for the beautifying and ennobling of cities and public places, but still he was most famous for wicked inventions. Among the rest, by his abominable industry and destructive genius, he assisted in the fatal and infamous production of the monster Minotaur, that devourer of promising youths. And then, to cover one mischief with another, and provide for the security of this monster, he invented and built a labyrinth; a work infamous for its end and design, but admirable and prodigious for art and workmanship. After this, that he might not only be celebrated for wicked inventions, but be sought after, as well for prevention, as for instruments of mischief, he formed that ingenious device of his clue, which led directly through all the windings of the labyrinth. This Dædalus was persecuted by Minos with the utmost severity, diligence, and inquiry; but he always found refuge and means of escaping. Lastly, endeavouring to teach his son Icarus the art of flying, the novice, trusting too much to his wings, fell from his towering flight, and was drowned in the sea.

EXPLANATION.—The sense of the fable runs thus. It first denotes envy, which is continually upon the watch, and strangely prevails among excellent artificers; for no kind of people are observed to be more implacably and destructively envious to one another than these.

In the next place, it observes an impolitic and improvident kind of punishment inflicted upon Dædalus,—that of banishment; for good workmen are gladly received everywhere, so that banishment to an excellent artificer is scarce any punishment at all; whereas other conditions of life cannot easily flourish from home. For the admiration of artists is propagated and increased among foreigners and strangers; it being a principle in the minds of men to slight and despise the mechanical operators of their own nation.

The succeeding part of the fable is plain, concerning the use of mechanic arts, whereto human life stands greatly indebted, as receiving from this treasury numerous particulars for the service of religion, the ornament of civil society, and the whole provision and apparatus of life; but then the same magazine supplies instruments of lust, cruelty, and death. For, not to mention the arts of luxury and debauchery, we plainly see how far the business of exquisite poisons, guns, engines of war, and such kind of destructive inventions, exceeds the cruelty and barbarity of the Minotaur himself.

The addition of the labyrinth contains a beautiful allegory, representing the nature of mechanic arts in general; for all ingenious and accurate mechanical inventions may be conceived as a labyrinth, which, by reason of their subtilty, intricacy, crossing, and interfering with one another, and the apparent resemblances they have among themselves, scarce any power of the judgment can unravel and distinguish; so that they are only to be understood and traced by the clue of experience.

It is no less prudently added, that he who invented the windings of the labyrinth, should also show the use and management of the clue; for mechanical arts have an ambiguous or double use, and serve as well to produce as to prevent mischief and destruction; so that their virtue almost destroys or unwinds itself.

Unlawful arts, and indeed frequently arts themselves, are persecuted by Minos, that is, by laws, which prohibit and forbid their use among the people; but notwithstanding this, they are hid, concealed, retained, and everywhere find reception and skulking-places: a thing well observed by Tacitus of the astrologers and fortune-tellers of his time. "These," says he, "are a kind of men that will always be prohibited, and yet will always be retained in our city."

But lastly, all unlawful and vain arts, of what kind soever, lose their reputation in tract of time; grow contemptible and perish, through their over-confidence, like Icarus; being commonly unable to perform what they boasted. And to say the truth, such arts are better suppressed by their own vain pretensions, than checked or restrained by the bridle of laws.

ERICTHONIUS, OR IMPOSTURE.

EXPLAINED OF THE IMPROPER USE OF FORCE IN NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE poets feign that Vulcan attempted the chastity of Minerva, and impatient of refusal, had recourse to force; the consequence of which was the birth of Ericthonius, whose body from the middle upwards was comely and well-proportioned, but his thighs and legs small, shrunk, and deformed, like an eel. Conscious of this defect, he became the inventor of chariots, so as to show the graceful, but conceal the deformed part of his body.

EXPLANATION.—This strange fable seems to carry this meaning. Art is here represented under the person of Vulcan, by reason of the various uses it makes of fire; and nature under the person of Minerva, by reason of the industry employed in her works. Art, therefore, whenever it offers violence to nature, in order to conquer, subdue, and bend her to its purpose, by tortures and force of all kinds, seldom obtains the end proposed: yet upon great struggle and application, there proceed certain imperfect births, or lame abortive works, specious in appearance, but weak and unstable in use; which are, nevertheless, with great pomp and deceitful appearances, triumphantly carried about, and shown by impostors. A procedure very familiar, and remarkable in chemical productions, and new mechanical inventions; especially when the inventors rather hug their errors than improve upon them, and go on struggling with nature, not courting her.

 DEUCALION, OR RESTITUTION.

EXPLAINED OF A USEFUL HINT IN NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE poets tell us, that the inhabitants of the old world being totally destroyed by the universal deluge, excepting Deucalion and Pyrrha, these two, desiring with zealous and fervent devotion to restore mankind, received this oracle for answer, that "they should succeed by throwing their mother's bones behind them." This at first cast them into great sorrow and despair, because, as all things were levelled by the deluge, it was in vain to seek their mother's tomb; but at length they understood the expression of the oracle to signify the stones of the earth, which is esteemed the mother of all things.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to reveal a secret of nature, and correct an error familiar to the mind; for men's ignorance leads them to expect the renovation or restoration of things from their corruption and remains, as the phoenix is said to be restored out of its ashes; which is a very improper procedure, because such kind of materials have finished their course, and are become absolutely unfit to supply the first rudiments of the same things again; whence, in cases of renovation, recourse should be had to more common principles.

NEMESIS, OR THE VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

EXPLAINED OF THE REVERSES OF FORTUNE.

NEMESIS is represented as a goddess venerated by all, but feared by the powerful and the fortunate. She is said to be the daughter of Nox and Oceanus. She is drawn with wings, and a crown; a javelin of ash in her right hand; a glass containing Ethiopians in her left; and riding upon a stag.

EXPLANATION.—The fable receives this explanation. The word Nemesis manifestly signifies revenge, or retribution; for the office of this goddess consisted in interposing, like the Roman tribunes, with an “I forbid it” in all courses of constant and perpetual felicity, so as not only to chastise haughtiness, but also to repay even innocent and moderate happiness with adversity; as if it were decreed, that none of human race should be admitted to the banquet of the gods, but for sport. And, indeed, to read over that chapter of Pliny wherein he has collected the miseries and misfortunes of Augustus Cæsar, whom of all mankind one would judge most fortunate,—as he had a certain art of using and enjoying prosperity, with a mind no way tumid, light, effeminate, confused, or melancholic,—one cannot but think this a very great and powerful goddess, who could bring such a victim to her altar.

The parents of this goddess were Oceanus and Nox; that is, the fluctuating change of things, and the obscure and secret divine decrees. The changes of things are aptly represented by the Ocean, on account of its perpetual ebbing and flowing; and secret providence is justly expressed by Night. Even the heathens have observed this secret Nemesis of the night, or the difference betwixt divine and human judgment.

Wings are given to Nemesis, because of the sudden and unforeseen changes of things; for, from the earliest account of time, it has been common for great and prudent men to fall by the dangers they most despised. Thus Cicero, when admonished by Brutus of the infidelity and rancour of Octavius, coolly wrote back, “I cannot, however, but be obliged to you, Brutus, as I ought, for informing me, though of such a trifle.”

Nemesis also has her crown, by reason of the invidious and malignant nature of the vulgar, who generally rejoice, triumph, and crown her, at the fall of the fortunate and the powerful. And for the javelin in her right hand, it has regard to those whom she has actually struck and transfixed. But whoever escapes her stroke, or feels not actual calamity or misfortune, she affrights with a black and dismal sight in her left hand; for doubtless, mortals on the highest pinnacle of felicity have a prospect of death, diseases, calamities, perfidious friends, undermining enemies, reverses of fortune, &c., represented by the Ethiopians in her glass. Thus Virgil, with great elegance, describing the battle of Actium, says of Cleopatra, that, “she did not yet perceive the two asps behind her;”¹ but soon after, which way soever she turned, she saw whole troops of Ethiopians still before her.

¹ “Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro;
Necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues.”—Æn. viii. 696.

Lastly, it is significantly added, that Nemesis rides upon a stag, which is a very long-lived creature ; for though perhaps some, by an untimely death in youth, may prevent or escape this goddess, yet they who enjoy a long flow of happiness and power, doubtless become subject to her at length, and are brought to yield.

ACHELOUS, OR BATTLE.

EXPLAINED OF WAR BY INVASION.

THE ancients relate, that Hercules and Achelous being rivals in the courtship of Deianira, the matter was contested by single combat ; when Achelous having transformed himself, as he had power to do, into various shapes, by way of trial ; at length, in the form of a fierce wild bull, prepares himself for the fight ; but Hercules still retains his human shape, engages sharply with him, and in the issue broke off one of the bull's horns ; and now Achelous, in great pain and fright, to redeem his horn, presents Hercules with the cornucopia.

EXPLANATION.—This fable relates to military expeditions and preparations ; for the preparation of war on the defensive side, here denoted by Achelous, appears in various shapes, whilst the invading side has but one simple form, consisting either in an army, or perhaps a fleet. But the country that expects the invasion is employed infinite ways, in fortifying towns, blockading passes, rivers, and ports, raising soldiers, disposing garrisons, building and breaking down bridges, procuring aids, securing provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. So that there appears a new face of things every day ; and at length, when the country is sufficiently fortified and prepared, it represents to the life the form and threats of a fierce fighting bull.

On the other side, the invader presses on to the fight, fearing to be distressed in an enemy's country. And if after the battle he remains master of the field, and has now broke, as it were, the horn of his enemy, the besieged, of course, retire inglorious, affrighted, and dismayed, to their stronghold, there endeavouring to secure themselves, and repair their strength ; leaving, at the same time, their country a prey to the conqueror, which is well expressed by the Amalthean horn, or cornucopia.

DIONYSUS, OR BACCHUS.

EXPLAINED OF THE PASSIONS.

THE fable runs, that Semele, Jupiter's mistress, having bound him by an inviolable oath, to grant her an unknown request, desired he would embrace her in the same form and manner he used to embrace Juno ; and the promise being irrevocable she was burnt to death with lightning in the performance. The embryo, however, was sewed up, and carried in Jupiter's thigh till the complete time of its birth ; but the burthen thus rendering the father lame, and causing him pain, the

child was thence called Dionysus. When born, he was committed, for some years, to be nursed by Proserpina; and when grown up, appeared with so effeminate a face, that his sex seemed somewhat doubtful. He also died, and was buried for a time, but afterwards revived. When a youth, he first introduced the cultivation and dressing of vines, the method of preparing wine, and taught the use thereof; whence, becoming famous, he subdued the world, even to the utmost bounds of the Indies. He rode in a chariot drawn by tigers. There danced about him certain deformed demons called Cobali, &c. The Muses also joined in his train. He married Ariadne, who was deserted by Theseus. The ivy was sacred to him. He was also held the inventor and institutor of religious rites and ceremonies, but such as were wild, frantic, and full of corruption and cruelty. He had also the power of striking men with frenzies. Pentheus and Orpheus were torn to pieces by the frantic women at his orgies; the first for climbing a tree to behold their outrageous ceremonies, and the other for the music of his harp. But the acts of this god are much entangled and confounded with those of Jupiter.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to contain a little system of morality, so that there is scarce any better invention in all ethics. Under the history of Bacchus is drawn the nature of unlawful desire or affection, and disorder; for the appetite and thirst of apparent good is the mother of all unlawful desire, though ever so destructive, and all unlawful desires are conceived in unlawful wishes or requests, rashly indulged or granted before they are well understood or considered, and when the affection begins to grow warm, the mother of it (the nature of good) is destroyed and burnt up by the heat. And whilst an unlawful desire lies in the embryo, or unripened in the mind, which is its father, and here represented by Jupiter, it is cherished and concealed, especially in the inferior part of the mind, corresponding to the thigh of the body, where pain twitches and depresses the mind so far as to render its resolutions and actions imperfect and lame. And even after this child of the mind is confirmed, and gains strength by consent and habit, and comes forth into action, it must still be nursed by Proserpina¹ for a time; that is, it skulks and hides its head in a clandestine manner, as it were, underground, till at length, when the checks of shame and fear are removed, and the requisite boldness acquired, it either assumes the pretext of some virtue, or openly despises infamy. And it is justly observed, that every vehement passion appears of a doubtful sex, as having the strength of a man at first, but at last the impotence of a woman. It is also excellently added, that Bacchus died and rose again; for the affections sometimes seem to die and be no more; but there is no trusting them, even though they were buried, being always apt and ready to rise again whenever the occasion or object offers.

That Bacchus should be the inventor of wine carries a fine allegory with it; for every affection is cunning and subtle in discovering a proper matter to nourish and feed it; and of all things known to

¹ The Queen of Hell.

mortals, wine is the most powerful and effectual for exciting and inflaming passions of all kinds, being indeed like a common fuel to all.

It is again with great elegance observed of Bacchus, that he subdued provinces, and undertook endless expeditions, for the affections never rest satisfied with what they enjoy, but with an endless and insatiable appetite thirst after something further. And tigers are prettily feigned to draw the chariot; for as soon as any affection shall, from going on foot, be advanced to ride, it triumphs over reason, and exerts its cruelty, fierceness, and strength against all that oppose it.

It is also humorously imagined, that ridiculous demons dance and frisk about this chariot; for every passion produces indecent, disorderly, interchangeable, and deformed motions in the eyes, countenance, and gesture, so that the person under the impulse, whether of anger, insult, love, &c., though to himself he may seem grand, lofty, or obliging, yet in the eyes of others appears mean, contemptible, or ridiculous.

The Muses also are found in the train of Bacchus, for there is scarce any passion without its art, science, or doctrine to court and flatter it; but in this respect the indulgence of men of genius has greatly detracted from the majesty of the Muses, who ought to be the leaders and conductors of human life, and not the handmaids of the passions.

The allegory of Bacchus falling in love with a cast mistress, is extremely noble; for it is certain that the affections always court and covet what has been rejected upon experience. And all those who by serving and indulging their passions immensely raise the value of enjoyment, should know, that whatever they covet and pursue, whether riches, pleasure, glory, learning, or anything else, they only pursue those things that have been forsaken and cast off with contempt by great numbers in all ages, after possession and experience.

Nor is it without a mystery that the ivy was sacred to Bacchus, and this for two reasons: first, because ivy is an evergreen, or flourishes in the winter; and secondly, because it winds and creeps about so many things, as trees, walls, and buildings, and raises itself above them. As to the first, every passion grows fresh, strong, and vigorous by opposition and prohibition, as it were by a kind of contrast or antiperistasis, like the ivy in the winter. And for the second, the predominant passion of the mind throws itself, like the ivy, round all human actions, entwines all our resolutions, and perpetually adheres to, and mixes itself among, or even overtops them.

And no wonder that superstitious rites and ceremonies are attributed to Bacchus, when almost every ungovernable passion grows wanton and luxuriant in corrupt religions; nor again, that fury and frenzy should be sent and dealt out by him, because every passion is a short frenzy, and if it be vehement, lasting, and take deep root, it terminates in madness. And hence the allegory of Pentheus and Orpheus being torn to pieces is evident; for every headstrong passion is extremely bitter, severe, inveterate, and revengeful upon all curious inquiry, wholesome admonition, free counsel and persuasion.

Lastly, the confusion between the persons of Jupiter and Bacchus will justly admit of an allegory, because noble and meritorious

actions may sometimes proceed from virtue, sound reason, and magnanimity, and sometimes again from a concealed passion and secret desire of ill, however they may be extolled and praised, insomuch that it is not easy to distinguish betwixt the acts of Bacchus and the acts of Jupiter.

ATALANTA AND HIPPOMENES, OR GAIN.

EXPLAINED OF THE CONTEST BETWIXT ART AND NATURE.

ATALANTA, who was exceeding fleet, contended with Hippomenes in the course, on condition that if Hippomenes won, he should espouse her, or forfeit his life if he lost. The match was very unequal, for Atalanta had conquered numbers, to their destruction. Hippomenes, therefore, had recourse to stratagem. He procured three golden apples, and purposely carried them with him : they started ; Atalanta outstripped him soon ; then Hippomenes bowled one of his apples before her, across the course, in order not only to make her stoop, but to draw her out of the path. She, prompted by female curiosity, and the beauty of the golden fruit, starts from the course to take up the apple. Hippomenes, in the mean time, holds on his way, and steps before her ; but she, by her natural swiftness, soon fetches up her lost ground, and leaves him again behind. Hippomenes, however, by rightly timing his second and third throw, at length won the race, not by his swiftness, but his cunning.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to contain a noble allegory of the contest betwixt art and nature. For art, here denoted by Atalanta, is much swifter, or more expeditious in its operations than nature, when all obstacles and impediments are removed, and sooner arrives at its end. This appears almost in every instance. Thus fruit comes slowly from the kernel, but soon by inoculation or incision ; clay, left to itself, is a long time in acquiring a stony hardness, but is presently¹ burnt by fire into brick. So again in human life, nature is a long while in alleviating and abolishing the remembrance of pain, and assuaging the troubles of the mind ; but moral philosophy, which is the art of living, performs it presently. Yet this prerogative and singular efficacy of art is stopped and retarded to the infinite detriment of human life, by certain golden apples ; for there is no one science or art that constantly holds on its true and proper course to the end, but they are all continually stopping short, forsaking the track, and turning aside to profit and convenience, exactly like Atalanta. Whence it is no wonder that art gets not the victory over nature, nor, according to the condition of the contest, brings her under subjection ; but, on the contrary, remains subject to her, as a wife to a husband.

¹ Soon.

ICARUS AND SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS, OR THE MIDDLE WAY.

EXPLAINED OF MEDIOCRITY IN NATURAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

MEDIOCRITY, or the holding a middle course, has been highly extolled in morality, but little in matters of science, though no less useful and proper here; whilst in politics it is held suspected, and ought to be employed with judgment. The ancients described mediocrity in manners by the course prescribed to Icarus; and in matters of the understanding by the steering betwixt Scylla and Charybdis, on account of the great difficulty and danger in passing those straits.

Icarus, being to fly across the sea, was ordered by his father neither to soar too high nor fly too low, for, as his wings were fastened together with wax, there was danger of its melting by the sun's heat in too high a flight, and of its becoming less tenacious by the moisture if he kept too near the vapour of the sea. But he, with a juvenile confidence, soared aloft, and fell down headlong.

EXPLANATION.—The fable is vulgar, and easily interpreted; for the path of virtue lies straight between excess on the one side, and defect on the other. And no wonder that excess should prove the bane of Icarus, exulting in juvenile strength and vigour; for excess is the natural vice of youth, as defect is that of old age; and if a man must perish by either, Icarus chose the better of the two; for all defects are justly esteemed more depraved than excesses. There is some magnanimity in excess, that, like a bird, claims kindred with the heavens; but defect is a reptile, that basely crawls upon the earth. It was excellently said by Heraclitus,¹ "A dry light makes the best soul;" for if the soul contracts moisture from the earth, it perfectly degenerates and sinks. On the other hand, moderation must be observed, to prevent this fine light from burning, by its too great subtilty and dryness. But these observations are common.

In matters of the understanding, it requires great skill and a particular felicity to steer clear of Scylla and Charybdis. If the ship strikes upon Scylla, it is dashed in pieces against the rocks; if upon Charybdis, it is swallowed outright. This allegory is pregnant with matter; but we shall only observe the force of it lies here, that a mean be observed in every doctrine and science, and in the rules and axioms thereof, between the rocks of distinctions and the whirlpools of universalities; for these two are the bane and shipwreck of fine geniuses and arts.

SPHINX, OR SCIENCE.

EXPLAINED OF THE SCIENCES.

THEY relate that Sphinx was a monster, variously formed, having the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, and the talons of a

¹ Heraclitus was called the weeping philosopher, as Democritus was the laughing. Modern criticism pronounces both these characteristics fabulous, but there must surely have been some ground for the fable. Heraclitus was born at Ephesus in the 60th Olympiad. He was of a haughty and melancholy temper, and expressed himself in such enigmatical terms that he was called the Obscure.—Sect. 50.

griffin. She resided on the top of a mountain, near the city Thebes, and also beset the highways. Her manner was to lie in ambush and seize the travellers, and having them in her power, to propose to them certain dark and perplexed riddles, which it was thought she received from the Muses, and if her wretched captives could not solve and interpret these riddles, she with great cruelty fell upon them, in their hesitation and confusion, and tore them to pieces. This plague having reigned a long time, the Thebans at length offered their kingdom to the man who could interpret her riddles, there being no other way to subdue her. Œdipus, a penetrating and prudent man, though lame in his feet, excited by so great a reward, accepted the condition, and with a good assurance of mind, cheerfully presented himself before the monster, who directly asked him, "What creature that was, which being born four-footed, afterwards became two-footed, then three-footed, and lastly four-footed again?" Œdipus, with presence of mind, replied it was man, who, upon his first birth and infant state, crawled upon all fours in endeavouring to walk; but not long after, went upright upon his two natural feet: again, in old age walked three-footed, with a stick: and at last, growing decrepit, lay four-footed confined to his bed; and having by this exact solution obtained the victory, he slew the monster, and laying the carcass upon an ass, led her away in triumph; and upon this he was, according to the agreement, made king of Thebes.

EXPLANATION.—This is an elegant, instructive fable, and seems invented to represent science, especially as joined with practice. For science may, without absurdity, be called a monster, being strangely gazed at and admired by the ignorant and unskilful. Her figure and form is various, by reason of the vast variety of subjects that science considers; her voice and countenance are represented female, by reason of her gay appearance and volubility of speech; wings are added, because the sciences and their inventions run and fly about in a moment, for knowledge, like light communicated from one torch to another, is presently caught and copiously diffused; sharp and hooked talons are elegantly attributed to her, because the axioms and arguments of science enter the mind, lay hold of it, fix it down, and keep it from moving or slipping away. This the sacred philosopher observed, when he said, "The words of the wise are like goads or nails driven far in."¹ Again, all science seems placed on high, as it were on the tops of mountains that are hard to climb; for science is justly imagined a sublime and lofty thing, looking down upon ignorance from an eminence, and at the same time taking an extensive view on all sides, as is usual on the tops of mountains. Science is said to beset the highways, because through all the journey and peregrination of human life there is matter and occasion offered of contemplation.

Sphinx is said to propose various difficult questions and riddles to men, which she received from the Muses; and these questions, so long as they remain with the Muses, may very well be unaccompanied with severity, for while there is no other end of contemplation and inquiry but that of knowledge alone, the understanding is not oppressed, or

¹ Eccles. xii. 11.

driven to straits and difficulties, but expatiates and ranges at large, and even receives a degree of pleasure from doubt and variety; but after the Muses have given over their riddles to Sphinx, that is, to practice, which urges and impels to action, choice, and determination, then it is that they become torturing, severe, and trying, and, unless solved and interpreted, strangely perplex and harass the human mind, rend it every way, and perfectly tear it to pieces. All the riddles of Sphinx, therefore, have two conditions annexed, viz., dilaceration to those who do not solve them, and empire to those that do. For he who understands the thing proposed obtains his end, and every artificer rules over his work.

Sphinx has no more than two kinds of riddles, one relating to the nature of things, the other to the nature of man; and correspondent to these, the prizes of the solution are two kinds of empire,—the empire over nature, and the empire over man. For the true and ultimate end of natural philosophy is dominion over natural things, natural bodies, remedies, machines, and numberless other particulars, though the schools, contented with what spontaneously offers, and swollen with their own discourses, neglect, and in a manner despise, both things and works.

But the riddle proposed to Ædipus, the solution whereof acquired him the Theban kingdom, regarded the nature of man; for he who has thoroughly looked into and examined human nature, may in a manner command his own fortune, and seems born to acquire dominion and rule. Accordingly, Virgil properly makes the arts of government to be the arts of the Romans. It was, therefore, extremely apposite in Augustus Cæsar to use the image of Sphinx in his signet, whether this happened by accident or by design; for he of all men was deeply versed in politics, and through the course of his life very happily solved abundance of new riddles with regard to the nature of men; and unless he had done this with great dexterity and ready address, he would frequently have been involved in imminent danger, if not destruction.

It is with the utmost elegance added in the fable, that when Sphinx was conquered, her carcase was laid upon an ass; for there is nothing so subtle and abstruse, but after being once made plain, intelligible, and common, it may be received by the slowest capacity.

We must not omit that Sphinx was conquered by a lame man, and impotent in his feet; for men usually make too much haste to the solution of Sphinx's riddles; whence it happens, that she prevailing, their minds are rather racked and torn by disputes, than invested with command by works and effects.

PROSERPINE, OR SPIRIT.

EXPLAINED OF THE SPIRIT INCLUDED IN NATURAL BODIES.

THEY tell us, Pluto having, upon that memorable division of empire among the gods, received the infernal regions for his share, despaired of winning any one of the goddesses in marriage by an obsequious

courtship, and therefore through necessity resolved upon a rape. Having watched his opportunity, he suddenly seized upon Proserpine, a most beautiful virgin, the daughter of Ceres, as she was gathering narcissus flowers in the meads of Sicily, and hurrying her to his chariot, carried her with him to the subterranean regions, where she was treated with the highest reverence, and styled the Lady of Dis. But Ceres missing her only daughter, whom she extremely loved, grew pensive and anxious beyond measure, and taking a lighted torch in her hand, wandered the world over in quest of her daughter,—but all to no purpose, till, suspecting she might be carried to the infernal regions, she, with great lamentation and abundance of tears, implored Jupiter to restore her: and with much ado prevailed so far as to recover and bring her away, if she had tasted nothing there. This proved a hard condition upon the mother, for Proserpine was found to have eaten three kernels of a pomegranate. Ceres, however, desisted not, but fell to her entreaties and lamentations afresh, insomuch that at last it was indulged her that Proserpine should divide the year betwixt her husband and her mother, and live six months with the one and as many with the other. After this, Theseus and Perithous, with uncommon audacity, attempted to force Proserpine away from Pluto's bed, but happening to grow tired in their journey, and resting themselves upon a stone in the realms below, they could never rise from it again, but remain sitting there for ever. Proserpine, therefore, still continued queen of the lower regions, in honour of whom there was also added this grand privilege, that though it had never been permitted any one to return after having once descended thither, a particular exception was made, that he who brought a golden bough as a present to Proserpine, might on that condition descend and return. This was an only bough, that grew in a large dark grove, not from a tree of its own, but like the mistletoe, from another, and when plucked away a fresh one always shot out in its stead.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to regard natural philosophy, and searches deep into that rich and fruitful virtue and supply in subterraneous bodies, from whence all the things upon the earth's surface spring, and into which they again relapse and return. By Proserpine the ancients denoted that ethereal spirit shut up and detained within the earth, here represented by Pluto,—the spirit being separated from the superior globe, according to the expression of the poet.¹ This spirit is conceived as ravished, or snatched up by the earth, because it can no way be detained, when it has time and opportunity to fly off, but is only wrought together and fixed by sudden intermixture and comminution, in the same manner as if one should endeavour to mix air with water, which cannot otherwise be done than by a quick and rapid agitation, that joins them together in froth whilst the air is thus caught up by the water. And it is elegantly added, that Proserpine was ravished whilst she gathered narcissus flowers, which have their name from numbedness or stupefaction; for the spirit we speak of is in the fittest disposition to be embraced by terrestrial matter when it begins to coagulate, or grow torpid as it were.

¹ Ovid:—"Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alta
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli."—Metam. i. 80.

It is an honour justly attributed to Proserpine, and not to any other wife of the gods, that of being the lady or mistress of her husband, because this spirit performs all its operations in the subterranean regions, whilst Pluto, or the earth, remains stupid, or as it were ignorant of them.

The æther, or the efficacy of the heavenly bodies, denoted by Ceres, endeavours with infinite diligence to force out this spirit, and restore it to its pristine state. And by the torch in the hand of Ceres, or the æther, is doubtless meant the sun, which disperses light over the whole globe of the earth, and if the thing were possible, must have the greatest share in recovering Proserpine, or reinstating the subterranean spirit. Yet Proserpine still continues and dwells below, after the manner excellently described in the condition betwixt Jupiter and Ceres. For first, it is certain that there are two ways of detaining the spirit, in solid and terrestrial matter,—the one by condensation or obstruction, which is mere violence and imprisonment; the other by administering a proper aliment, which is spontaneous and free. For after the included spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it is not in a hurry to fly off, but remains as it were fixed in its own earth. And this is the moral of Proserpine's tasting the pomegranate: and were it not for this, she must long ago have been carried up by Ceres, who with her torch wandered the world over, and so the earth have been left without its spirit. For though the spirit in metals and minerals may perhaps be, after a particular manner, wrought in by the solidity of the mass, yet the spirit of vegetables and animals has open passages to escape at, unless it be willingly detained, in the way of sipping and tasting them.

The second article of agreement, that of Proserpine's remaining six months with her mother and six with her husband, is an elegant description of the division of the year; for the spirit diffused through the earth lives above-ground in the vegetable world during the summer months, but in the winter returns under-ground again.

The attempt of Theseus and Perithous to bring Proserpine away, denotes that the more subtle spirits, which descend in many bodies to the earth, may frequently be unable to drink in, unite with themselves, and carry off the subterranean spirit, but on the contrary be coagulated by it, and rise no more, so as to increase the inhabitants and add to the dominion of Proserpine.

The alchemists will be apt to fall in with our interpretation of the golden bough, whether we will or no, because they promise golden mountains, and the restoration of natural bodies from their stone, as from the gates of Pluto; but we are well assured that their theory has no just foundation, and suspect they have no very encouraging or practical proofs of its soundness. Leaving, therefore, their conceits to themselves, we shall freely declare our own sentiments upon this last part of the fable. We are certain, from numerous figures and expressions of the ancients, that they judged the conservation, and in some degree the renovation, of natural bodies to be no desperate or impossible thing, but rather abstruse and out of the common road than wholly impracticable. And this seems to be their opinion in the present case, as they have placed this bough among an infinite number

of shrubs, in a spacious and thick wood. They supposed it of gold, because gold is the emblem of duration. They feigned it adventitious, not native, because such an effect is to be expected from art, and not from any medicine or any simple or mere natural way of working.

METIS, OR COUNSEL.

EXPLAINED OF PRINCES AND THEIR COUNCIL.

THE ancient poets relate that Jupiter took Metis to wife, whose name plainly denotes counsel, and that he, perceiving she was pregnant by him, would by no means wait the time of her delivery, but directly devoured her; whence himself also became pregnant, and was delivered in a wonderful manner; for he from his head or brain brought forth Pallas armed.

EXPLANATION.—This fable, which in its literal sense appears monstrously absurd, seems to contain a state secret, and shows with what art kings usually carry themselves towards their council, in order to preserve their own authority and majesty not only inviolate, but so as to have it magnified and heightened among the people. For kings commonly link themselves as it were in a nuptial bond to their council, and deliberate and communicate with them after a prudent and laudable custom upon matters of the greatest importance, at the same time justly conceiving this no diminution of their majesty; but when the matter once ripens to a decree or order, which is a kind of birth, the king then suffers the council to go on no further, lest the act should seem to depend upon their pleasure. Now, therefore, the king usually assumes to himself whatever was wrought, elaborated, or formed, as it were, in the womb of the council (unless it be a matter of an invidious nature, which he is sure to put from him), so that the decree and the execution shall seem to flow from himself. And as this decree or execution proceeds with prudence and power, so as to imply necessity, it is elegantly wrapt up under the figure of Pallas armed.

Nor are kings content to have this seem the effect of their own authority, free will, and uncontrollable choice, unless they also take the whole honour to themselves, and make the people imagine that all good and wholesome decrees proceed entirely from their own head, that is, their own sole prudence and judgment.

THE SIRENS, OR PLEASURES.

EXPLAINED OF MEN'S PASSION FOR PLEASURES.

INTRODUCTION.—The fable of the Sirens is, in a vulgar sense, justly enough explained of the pernicious incentives to pleasure; but the ancient mythology seems to us like a vintage ill-pressed and trod; for though something has been drawn from it, yet all the more excellent parts remain behind in the grapes that are untouched.

FABLE.—The Sirens are said to be the daughters of Achelous¹ and Terpsichore,² one of the Muses. In their early days they had wings, but lost them upon being conquered by the Muses, with whom they rashly contended; and with the feathers of these wings the Muses made themselves crowns, so that from this time the Muses wore wings on their heads, excepting only the mother to the Sirens.

These Sirens resided in certain pleasant islands, and when, from their watch-tower, they saw any ship approaching, they first detained the sailors by their music, then, enticing them to shore, destroyed them.

Their singing was not of one and the same kind, but they adapted their tunes exactly to the nature of each person, in order to captivate and secure him. And so destructive had they been, that these islands of the Sirens appeared, to a very great distance, white with the bones of their unburied captives.

Two different remedies were invented to protect persons against them, the one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses commanded his associates to stop their ears close with wax; and he, determining to make the trial, and yet avoid the danger, ordered himself to be tied fast to a mast of the ship, giving strict charge not to be unbound, even though himself should entreat it; but Orpheus, without any binding at all, escaped the danger by loudly chanting to his harp the praises of the gods, whereby he drowned the voices of the Sirens.

EXPLANATION.—This fable is of the moral kind, and appears no less elegant than easy to interpret. For pleasures proceed from plenty and affluence, attended with activity or exaltation of the mind. Anciently their first incentives were quick, and seized upon men as if they had been winged, but learning and philosophy afterwards prevailing, had at least the power to lay the mind under some restraint, and make it consider the issue of things, and thus deprived pleasures of their wings.

This conquest redounded greatly to the honour and ornament of the Muses; for after it appeared, by the example of a few, that philosophy could introduce a contempt of pleasures, it immediately seemed to be a sublime thing that could raise and elevate the soul, fixed in a manner down to the earth, and thus render men's thoughts, which reside in the head, winged as it were, or sublime.

Only the mother of the Sirens was not thus plumed on the head, which doubtless denotes superficial learning,³ invented and used for delight and levity; an eminent example whereof we have in Petronius, who, after receiving sentence of death, still continued his gay frothy humour, and, as Tacitus observes, used his learning to solace or divert himself, and instead of such discourses as give firmness and constancy of mind, read nothing but loose poems and verses. Such learning as this seems to pluck the crowns again from the Muses' heads, and restore them to the Sirens.

The Sirens are said to inhabit certain islands, because pleasures generally seek retirement, and often shun society. And for their

¹ A river.

² The muse of dancing.

³ The dancing muse is well thus distinguished.

songs, with the manifold artifice and destructiveness thereof, this is too obvious and common to need explanation. But that particular of the bones stretching like white cliffs along the shores, and appearing afar off, contains a more subtle allegory, and denotes that the examples of others' calamity and misfortunes, though ever so manifest and apparent, have yet but little force to deter the corrupt nature of man from pleasures.

The allegory of the remedies against the Sirens is not difficult, but very wise and noble: it proposes, in effect, three remedies, as well against subtle as violent mischiefs, two drawn from philosophy, and one from religion.

The first means of escaping is to resist the earliest temptation in the beginning, and diligently avoid and cut off all occasions that may solicit or sway the mind; and this is well represented by shutting up the ears, a kind of remedy to be necessarily used with mean and vulgar minds, such as the retinue of Ulysses.

But nobler spirits may converse, even in the midst of pleasures, if the mind be well guarded with constancy and resolution. And thus some delight to make a severe trial of their own virtue, and thoroughly acquaint themselves with the folly and madness of pleasures, without complying or being wholly given up to them; which is what Solomon professes of himself when he closes the account of all the numerous pleasures he gave a loose to, with this expression: "But wisdom still continued with me."¹ Such heroes in virtue may, therefore, remain unmoved by the greatest incentives to pleasure, and stop themselves on the very precipice of danger; if, according to the example of Ulysses, they turn a deaf ear to pernicious counsel, and the flatteries of their friends and companions, which have the greatest power to shake and unsettle the mind.

But the most excellent remedy, in every temptation, is that of Orpheus, who, by loudly chanting and resounding the praises of the gods, confounded the voices, and kept himself from hearing the music of the Sirens; for divine contemplations exceed the pleasures of sense, not only in power but also in sweetness.

THE RIVER STYX.

EXPLAINED OF NECESSITY, IN THE OATHS OR SOLEMN LEAGUES
OF PRINCES.

THE only solemn oath, by which the gods irrevocably obliged themselves, is a well-known thing, and makes a part of many ancient fables. To this oath they did not invoke any celestial divinity, or divine attribute, but only called to witness the river Styx; which, with many meanders, surrounds the infernal court of Dis. For this form alone, and none but this, was held inviolable and obligatory: and the punish-

¹ Ecclesiastes ii. 9.

ment of falsifying it, was that dreaded one of being excluded, for a certain number of years, from the table of the gods.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems invented to show the nature of the compacts and confederacies of princes: which, though ever so solemnly and religiously sworn to, prove but little the more binding for it: so that oaths in this case seem used, rather for decorum, reputation, and ceremony, than for fidelity, security, and effectuating. And though these oaths were strengthened with the bonds of affinity, which are the links and ties of nature, and again, by mutual services and good offices, yet we see all this will generally give way to ambition, convenience, and the thirst of power: the rather, because it is easy for princes under various specious pretences, to defend, disguise, and conceal their ambitious desires and insincerity; having no judge to call them to account. There is, however, one true and proper confirmation of their faith, though no celestial divinity; but that great divinity of princes, Necessity; or, the danger of the state; and the securing of advantage.

This necessity is elegantly represented by Styx, the fatal river, that can never be crossed back. And this deity it was, which Iphicrates the Athenian invoked in making a league: and because he roundly and openly avows what most others studiously conceal, it may be proper to give his own words. Observing that the Lacedæmonians were inventing and proposing a variety of securities, sanctions, and bonds of alliance, he interrupted them thus: "There may indeed, my friends, be one bond and means of security between us: and that is, for you to demonstrate you have delivered into our hands, such things as that if you had the greatest desire to hurt us you could not be able." Therefore, if the power of offending be taken away, or if by a breach of compact there be danger of destruction or diminution to the state or tribute, then it is that covenants will be ratified, and confirmed, as it were by the Stygian oath, whilst there remains an impending danger of being prohibited and excluded the banquet of the gods; by which expression the ancients denoted the rights and prerogatives, the affluence and the felicities, of empire and dominion.

NEW ATLANTIS.

A WORK UNFINISHED.

TO THE READER.

This fable my lord devised, to the end that he might exhibit therein a model of description of a college, instituted for the interpreting of nature, and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of man, under the name of Solomon's House, or the College of the Six Days' Works. And even so far his lordship hath proceeded as to finish that part. Certainly the model is more vast and high than can possibly be imitated in all things, notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect. His lordship thought also in this present fable to have composed a frame of laws, or of the best state or mould of a commonwealth; but foreseeing it would be a long work, his desire of collecting the natural history diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it.

RAWLEY.

NEW ATLANTIS.

WE sailed from Peru, where we had continued for the space of one whole year, for China and Japan, by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months, and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more; but then the wind came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east, which carried us up, for all that we could do, towards the north; by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that, finding ourselves in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victuals, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, "who showeth his wonders in the deep," beseeching Him of His mercy, that as in the beginning He discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so He would now discover land to us, that we might not perish. And it came to pass that the next day about evening we saw, within a kenning before us, towards the north, as it were, thicker clouds, which did put us in some hope of land; knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown, and might have islands or continents that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land all that night; and in the dawning of the next day we might plainly discern that it was a land flat to our sight, and full of bosage, which made it show the more dark: and after an hour and a half's sailing we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city, not great indeed, but well

built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea. And we, thinking every minute long till we were on land, came close to the shore, and offered to land; but straightways we saw divers of the people with batons in their hands, as it were forbidding us to land, yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off by signs that they made. Whereupon, being not a little disconcerted, we were advising with ourselves what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small boat with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who made aboard our ship without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment, somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing-tables, but otherwise soft and flexible, and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written, in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish, these words: "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you: meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to merey." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread, but hanging downwards, and by them a cross. This being delivered, the officer returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer. Consulting hereupon amongst ourselves, we were much perplexed. The denial of landing, and hasty warning us away, troubled us much. On the other side, to find that the people had languages, and were so full of humanity, did comfort us not a little; and, above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and, as it were, a certain presage of good. Our answer was in the Spanish tongue: "That for our ship it was well, for we had rather met with calms and contrary winds than any tempests. For our sick, they were many, and in very ill case, so that if they were not permitted to land, they ran in danger of their lives." Our other wants we set down in particular, adding: "That we had some little store of merchandise, which, if it pleased them to deal for, it might supply our wants without being chargeable unto them." We offered some reward in pistolets unto the servant, and a piece of crimson velvet to be presented to the officer; but the servant took them not, nor would scarce look upon them; and so left us, and went back in another little boat which was sent for him.

About three hours after we had despatched our answer, there came towards us a person, as it seemed, of place. He had on him a gown, with wide sleeves of a kind of water-camlet, of an excellent azure colour, far more glossy than ours; his under-apparel was green, and so was his hat, being in the form of a turban, daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it. A reverend man was he to behold. He came in a boat, gilt in some part of it, with four persons more only in that boat, and was followed by another boat, wherein were some twenty. When he was come within a flight-shot of our ship, signs were made to us that we should send forth some to meet him upon the water: which we presently did in our ship's boat, sending the principal man

amongst us, save one, and four of our number with him. When we were come within six yards of their boat, they called to us to stay, and not to approach further, which we did. And thereupon the man whom I before described stood up, and with a loud voice, in Spanish, asked: "Are ye Christians?" We answered: "We were;" fearing the less because of the cross we had seen in the subscription. At which answer the said person lifted up his right hand towards heaven, and drew it softly to his mouth, which is the gesture they use when they thank God, and then said: "If you will swear, all of you, by the merits of the Saviour, that ye are no pirates, nor have shed blood, lawfully or unlawfully, within forty days past, you may have licence to come on land." We said: "We were all ready to take that oath." Whereupon one of those that were with him, being, as it seemed, a notary, made an entry of this act. Which done, another of the attendants of the great person, who was with him in the same boat, after his lord had spoken a little to him, said aloud: "My lord would have you know that it is not of pride or greatness that he cometh not aboard your ship; but for that in your answer you declare that you have many sick amongst you, he was warned by the conservator of health of the city that he should keep at a distance." We bowed ourselves towards him, and answered: "We were his humble servants; and accounted for great honour and singular humanity towards us that which was already done; but hoped well that the nature of the sickness of our men was not infectious." So he returned; and a while after came the notary to us aboard our ship, holding in his hand a fruit of that country, like an orange, but of colour between orange-tawny and scarlet, which casts a most excellent odour: he used it, as it seemeth, for a preservative against infection. He gave us our oath, "By the name of Jesus and his merits;" and after told us, that the next day by six o'clock in the morning we should be sent to, and brought to the Strangers'-House, so he called it, where we should be accommodated of things both for our whole and for our sick. So he left us; and when we offered him some pistolets, he, smiling, said: "He must not be twice paid for one labour;" meaning, as I take it, that he had salary sufficient of the state for his service; for, as I after learned, they call an officer that taketh rewards "twice paid."

The next morning early there came to us the same officer that came to us at first with his cane, and told us: "He came to conduct us to the Strangers'-House, and that he had prevented the hour, because we might have the whole day before us for our business: for," said he, "if you will follow my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you and see the place, and how it may be made convenient for you; and then you may send for your sick, and the rest of your number, which ye will bring on land." We thanked him, and said: "That this care which he took of desolate strangers God would reward." And so six of us went on land with him; and when we were on land he went before us, and turned to us, and said: "He was but our servant and our guide." He led us through three fair streets, and all the way we went there were gathered some people on both sides, standing in a row, but in so civil a fashion, as if it had been not to wonder at us, but to welcome us; and divers of them, as we passed by them, put their arms a little abroad, which is their

gesture when they bid any welcome. The Strangers'-House is a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer colour than our brick, and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought us first into a fair parlour above-stairs, and then asked us : "What number of persons we were, and how many sick?" We answered : "We were in all, sick and whole, one-and-fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen." He desired us to have patience a little, and to stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after ; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen. They having cast it, as it seemeth, that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company, and lodge them alone by themselves ; and the other fifteen chambers were to lodge us, two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dortoir, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar-wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty, many more than we needed, were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber ; for which purpose there were set jorth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little, as they do when they give any charge or command, said to us : "Ye are to know, that the custom of the land requireth that after this day and to-morrow, which we give you for removing your people from your ship, you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing ; and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said : "God surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets ; but he smiled, and only said : "What, twice paid?" and so he left us.

Soon after our dinner was served in, which was right good viands, both for bread and meat, better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good ; wine of the grape, a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear ; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country, a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick, which, they said, were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small gray or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep, which, they said, would hasten their recovery.

The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and when they were assembled said unto them : "My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep,

And now we are on land, we are but between death and life; for we are beyond both the Old World and New; and whether ever we shall see Europe God only knoweth: it is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither, and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity; let us not bring that confusion of face upon ourselves as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more; for they have by commandment, though in form of courtesy, cloistered us within these walls for three days: who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions; and if they find them bad, to banish us straightways; if good, to give us further time? For these men that they have given us for attendance may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people." Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired; during which time we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white, with a small red cross on the top; he had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner, as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us; whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest avoided the room. He said: "I am by office governor of this House of Strangers, and by vocation I am a Christian priest; and therefore am come to you to offer you my service both as strangers, and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The state hath given you licence to stay on land for the space of six weeks. And let it not trouble you if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient." Ye shall also understand that the Strangers'-House is at this time rich and much aforehand, for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years; for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part. And, therefore, take ye no care, the state will defray you all the time you stay, neither shall you stay one day less for that. As for any merchandise you have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return either in merchandise, or in gold and silver; for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not, for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan [that is with them a mile and a half] from the walls of the city without special leave." We answered,

after we had looked awhile upon one another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage : "That we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to express our thanks, and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us that we had before us a picture of our salvation in heaven ; for we that were awhile since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground." We added : "That our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths ere we should forget either this reverend person, or this whole nation in our prayers." We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden, laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said : "He was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward, which was our brotherly love, and the good of our souls and bodies." So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes ; and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying amongst ourselves : "That we were come into a land of angels which did appear to us daily, and present us with comforts which we thought not of, much less expected."

The next day, about ten o'clock, the governor came to us again, and after salutations said familiarly : "That he was come to visit us," and called for a chair, and sat him down : and being some ten of us (the rest were of the meaner sort, or else gone abroad), sat down with him. And when we were seated, he began thus : "We of this island of Bensalem [for so they call it in their language] have this, that by means of our solitary situation, and the laws of secrecy which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers, we know well most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore, because he that knoweth least is fittest to ask questions, it is more reason, for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions than that I ask you." We answered : "That we humbly thanked him that he would give us leave so to do, and that we conceived, by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all," we said, "since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven, for that we were both parts Christians, we desired to know, in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour walked on earth, who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith?" It appeared in his face that he took great contentment in this our question. He said : "Ye knit my heart to you by asking this question in the first place, for it showeth that you 'first seek the kingdom of heaven ;' and I shall gladly and briefly satisfy your demand :—

"About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour, it came to pass that there was seen by the people of Renfusa, a city upon the eastern coast of our island, within night (the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some miles in the sea, a great pillar of light, not sharp, but in form of a column or cylinder, rising from the sea, a great way up towards heaven, and on the top of it was seen a large cross of

light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar : upon which so strange a spectacle the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands to wonder, and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer ; so as the boats stood all as in a theatre, beholding this light as a heavenly sign. It so fell out that there was in one of the boats of the wise men of the Society of Solomon's House (which house or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom), who having a while attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face, and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, made his prayers in this manner :—

“ Lord God of heaven and earth, thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace to those of our order to know thy works of creation, and true secrets of them, and to discern (as far as appertaineth to the generations [of men] between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts ! I do here acknowledge and testify before this people, that the thing we now see before our eyes is thy finger and a true miracle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books that thou never workest miracles but to a divine and excellent end (for the laws of nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon good cause), we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy, which thou dost in some part secretly promise by sending it unto us.’

“ When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in moveable and unbound, whereas all the rest remained still fast ; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed towards the pillar : but ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light brake up, and cast itself abroad, as it were, into a firmament of many stars ; which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark or chest of cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam ; and in the fore-end of it, which was towards him, grew a small green branch of palm. And when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there was found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them (for we know well what the churches with you receive), and the Apocalypse itself ; and some other books of the New Testament which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words :—

“ I, Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation, and peace, and goodwill from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.’

“There were also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conformable to that of the apostles in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time in this land Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity, as the remain of the old world was from water, by an ark, through the apostolical and miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew.” And here he paused, and a messenger came and called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day the same governor came again to us immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying: “That the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend some time with us, if we held his company and conference agreeable.” We answered: “That we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past and fears to come, for the time we heard him speak, and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life.” He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again he said: “Well, the questions are on your part.” One of our number said, after a little pause: “There was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far; but encouraged by his rare humanity towards us, that we could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants, we would take the hardiness to propound it; humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he would pardon it, though he rejected it.” We said: “We well observed those his words which he formerly spake, that this happy island where we now stood was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world; which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our state and business: and yet we in Europe, notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age, never heard any of the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange, for that all nations have interknowledge one of another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them: and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller, yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge in some degree on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe, no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world that had made return from them. And yet the marvel rested not in this, for the situation of it, as his lordship said, in the secret conclave of such a vast sea, might cause it: but then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing we could not tell what to make of; for that it seemed to us a condition and property of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open and as in a light to them.” At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile, and said: “That we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked, for that it imported as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts

to bring them news and intelligence of other countries." It was answered by us all in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge that we knew that he spake it but merrily : "That we were apt enough to think there was somewhat supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a touch in his former speech, that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers." To this he said : "You remember it right : and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal ; but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

"You shall understand, that which perhaps you will scarce think credible, that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world, especially for remote voyages, was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves that I know not how much it is increased with you within these sixscore years ; I know it well : and yet I say, greater then than now. Whether it was that the example of the ark that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters, or what it was, but such is the truth. The Phœnicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets¹ ; so had the Carthaginians their colony, which is yet further west. Toward the east the shipping of Egypt and of Palestina was likewise great ; China also, and the great Atlantis, that you call America, which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships. This island, as appeareth by faithful registers of those times, had then fifteen hundred strong ships of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none ; but we have large knowledge thereof.

"At that time, this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named, and, as it cometh to pass, they had many times men of other countries that were no sailors that came with them ; as Persians, Chaldeans, Arabians ; so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither, of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas ; as to Pegu, which is the same with Cambalu, and Quinsay upon the Oriental seas, as far as to the borders of East Tartary.

"At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the narration and description which is made by a great man,² with you, of the descendants of Neptune planted there, and of the magnificent temple, palace, city, and hill, and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers, which, as so many chains, environed the same site and temple, and the several degrees of ascent, whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a *scala cali*, be all poetical and fabulous ; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well as that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms in arms, shipping, and riches ; so mighty, as at one

¹ They traded with Britain for tin.

² Plato describes the Island of Atlantis in Critias.

time, or at least within the space of ten years, they both made two great expeditions: they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea, and they of Coya, through the South Sea, upon this our island. And for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author amongst you, as it seemeth, had some relation from the Egyptian priest whom he citeth, for assuredly such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and the resistance of those forces, I can say nothing; but certain it is, there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us had better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the king of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so, as he cut off their land-forces from their ships, and entailed both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land, and compelled them to render themselves without striking stroke; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety. But the Divine revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises; for within less than the space of one hundred years, the great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed, not by a great earthquake, as your man saith, for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes, but by a particular deluge or inundation, those countries having at this day far greater rivers, and far higher mountains to pour down waters, than any part of the old world. But it is true, that the same inundation was not deep; not past forty foot in most places from the ground: so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned, perished for want of food, and other things necessary. So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people; for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people, younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood, and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains, peopled the country again slowly by little and little; and being simple and a savage people, not like Noah and his sons, which was the chief family of the earth, they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity. And having likewise, in their mountainous habitations, been used, in respect of the extreme cold of those regions, to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers, bears, and great hairy goats that they have in those parts; when, after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day: only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds; and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it by the infinite flight of birds that came up to the high

grounds while the waters stood below. So you see by this main accident of time we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom, of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce. As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following, whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time, navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and especially far voyages, the rather by the use of galleys and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean, were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of the intercourse which could be from other nations to sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased, except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause ; for I cannot say, if I shall say truly, but our shipping for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever ; and therefore why we should sit at home I shall now give you an account by itself, and it will draw nearer to give you satisfaction to your principal question.

“There reigned in this island, about one thousand nine hundred years ago, a king, whose memory of all others we most adore, not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man : his name was Solomona, and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation. This king had a large heart, inscrutable for good, and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner, being five thousand six hundred miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil in the greatest part thereof ; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this state, and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this land then was, so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better ; thought nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only, as far as human foresight might reach, to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established. Therefore amongst his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching the entrance of strangers, which at that time, though it was after the calamity of America, was frequent : doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law against the admission of strangers without licence is an ancient law in the kingdom of China, and yet continued in use ; but there it is a poor thing, and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For, first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed, whereof you have tasted.” At which speech, as reason was, we all rose up and bowed ourselves. He went on : “That king also—still desiring to join humanity and policy together, and thinking it against humanity to detain strangers here against their wills, and against policy, that they should return and discover their knowledge of this state, he took this course. He did ordain, that of the strangers that

should be permitted to land, as many, at all times, might depart as would, but as many as would stay should have very good conditions and means to live from the state. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only at several times that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad, I know not ; but you must think, whatsoever they have said could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China, for the Chinese sail where they will, or can ; which showeth that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath only one exception, which is admirable, preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt ; and I will now open it to you. And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will, by-and-by, find it pertinent. You shall understand, my dear friends, that amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an order or society, which we call Solomon's House, the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solomona's House ; but the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be denominated of the king of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no stranger to us, for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost ; namely, that natural history which he wrote of all plants, 'from the cedar of Lebanon to the moss that groweth out of the wall,' and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think that our king, finding himself to symbolize in many things with that king of the Hebrews which lived many years before him, honoured him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records this order or society is sometimes called Solomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days' Works ; whereby I am satisfied that our excellent king had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days, and therefore he instituting that house for the finding out of the true nature of all things, whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in their use of them, did give it also that second name. But now, to come to our present purpose. When the king had forbidden to all his people navigation in any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance, that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom two ships appointed to several voyages ; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Solomon's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed, and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world ; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind : that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return, and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. The

ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure, to remain with the brethren for the buying of such things and rewarding of such persons as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you, how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land, and how they that must be put on shore for any time, colour themselves under the names of other nations, and to what places these voyages have been designed, and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter, but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world."

And when he had said this he was silent, and so were we all; for indeed we were all astonished to hear so strange things so probably told. And he, perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat, but had it not ready, in great courtesy took us off, and descended to ask us questions of our voyage and fortunes; and in the end concluded, that we might do well to think with ourselves what time of stay we would demand of the state; and bade us not to scant ourselves, for he would procure such time as we desired. Whereupon we all rose up, and presented ourselves to kiss the skirt of his tippet; but he would not suffer us, and so took his leave. But when it came once amongst our people, that the state used to offer conditions to strangers that would stay, we had work enough to get any of our men to look to our ship, and to keep them from going presently to the governor to crave conditions; but with much ado we refrained them, till we might agree what course to take.

We took ourselves now for free men, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition, and lived most joyfully, going abroad, and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent within our tedder, and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality, at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take strangers as it were into their bosom, as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries; and continually we met with many things right worthy of observation and relation; as indeed, if there be a mirror in the world worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country. One day there were two of our company bidden to a feast of the family, as they call it; a most natural, pious, and reverend custom it is, showing that nation to be compounded of all goodness. This is the manner of it: it is granted to any man that shall live to see thirty persons descended of his body alive together, and all above three years old, to make this feast, which is done at the cost of the state. The father of the family, whom they call the tirsan, two days before the feast, taketh to him three of such friends as he liketh to choose, and is assisted also by the governor of the city or place where the feast is celebrated; and all the persons of the family of both sexes are summoned to attend him. These two days the tirsan sitteth in consultation concerning the good estate of the family. There, if there be any discord or suits between any of the family, they are compounded and appeased; there, if any of the family be distressed or decayed, order is taker for their relief, and competent means to

live; there, if any be subject to vice or take ill courses, they are reprov'd and censur'd. So likewise, direction is given touching marriages, and the courses of life which any of them should take, with divers other the like orders and advices. The governor assisteth to the end, to put in execution by his public authority the decrees and orders of the tirsan, if they should be disobey'd, though that seldom needeth, such reverence and obedience they give to the order of nature. The tirsan doth also then ever choose one man from amongst his sons to live in house with him, who is call'd ever after the son of the vine: the reason will hereafter appear. On the feast-day, the father or tirsan cometh forth, after divine service, into a large room where the feast is celebrated, which room hath an half-pace at the upper end. Against the wall, in the middle of the half-pace, is a chair plac'd for him, with a table and carpet before it: over the chair is a state made round or oval, and it is of ivy; an ivy somewhat whiter than ours, like the leaf of a silver asp, but more shining, for it is green all winter. And the state is curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colours, broiding or binding in the ivy, and is ever of the work of some of the daughters of the family, and veiled over at the top with a fine net of silk and silver: but the substance of it is true ivy, whereof, after it is taken down, the friends of the family are desirous to have some leaf or sprig to keep. The tirsan cometh forth with all his generation or lineage, the males before him, and the females following him. And if there be a mother from whose body the whole lineage is descended, there is a traverse plac'd in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a private door, and a carved window of glass, leaded with gold and blue, where she sitteth, but is not seen. When the tirsan is come forth, he sitteth down in the chair, and all the lineage place themselves against the wall, both at his back, and upon the return of the half-pace, in order of their years, without difference of sex, and stand upon their feet. When he is set, the room being always full of company, but well kept, and without disorder, after some pause there cometh in from the lower end of the room a taratan, which is as much as an herald, and on either side of him two young lads, whereof one carrieth a scroll of their shining yellow parchment, and the other a cluster of grapes of gold, with a long foot or stalk; the herald and children are clothed with mantles of sea-water green satin, but the herald's mantle is stream'd with gold, and hath a train. Then the herald, with three courtesies, or rather inclinations, cometh up as far as the half-pace, and there first taketh into his hand the scroll. This scroll is the king's charter, containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemptions, and points of honour granted to the father of the family; and it is ever styl'd and directed, to such an one, our well-belov'd friend and creditor, which is a title proper only to this case; for they say, the king is debtor to no man, but for propagation of his subjects. The seal set to the king's charter is the king's image, embossed or moulded in gold. And though such charters be expedited of course, and as of right, yet they are varied by discretion, according to the number and dignity of the family. This charter the herald readeth aloud; and while it is read, the father or tirsan standeth up, supported by two of his sons, such as he chooseth. Then the herald mounteth the half-pace, and delivereth the charter into his hand, and with that there is

an acclamation by all that are present, in their language, which is thus much, "Happy are the people of Bensalem." Then the herald taketh into his hand from the other child the cluster of grapes, which is of gold, both the stalk and the grapes, but the grapes are daintily enamelled; and if the males of the family be the greater number, the grapes are enamelled purple, with a little sun set on the top; if the females, then they are enamelled into a greenish yellow, with a crescent on the top. The grapes are in number as many as there are descendants of the family. This golden cluster the herald delivereth also to the tirsan, who presently delivereth it over to that son that he had formerly chosen to be in house with him, who beareth it before his father, as an ensign of honour when he goeth in public ever after, and is thereupon called the son of the vine. After this ceremony ended, the father or tirsan retireth, and after some time cometh forth again to dinner, where he sitteth alone under the state as before; and none of his descendants sit with him, of what degree or dignity soever, except he hap to be of Solomon's House. He is served only by his own children, such as are male, who perform unto him all service of the table upon the knee, and the women only stand about him, leaning against the wall. The room below his half-pace hath tables on the sides for the guests that are bidden, who are served with great and comely order; and toward the end of dinner, which in the greatest feasts with them lasteth never above an hour and a half, there is a hymn sung, varied according to the invention of him that composed it, for they have excellent poetry, but the subject of it is always the praises of Adam, and Noah, and Abraham; whereof the former two peopled the world, and the last was the father of the faithful: concluding ever with a thanksgiving for the nativity of our Saviour, in whose birth the births of all are only blessed. Dinner being done, the tirsan retireth again, and having withdrawn himself alone into a place where he maketh some private prayers, he cometh forth the third time to give the blessing, with all his descendants, who stand about him as at the first. Then he calleth them forth one by one, by name, as he pleaseth, though seldom the order of age be inverted. The person that is called, the table being before removed, kneeleth down before the chair, and the father layeth his hand upon his head, or her head, and giveth the blessing in these words: "Son of Bensalem, or daughter of Bensalem, thy father saith it, the man by whom thou hast breath and life speaketh the word; the blessing of the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and the Holy Dove be upon thee, and make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many." This he saith to every of them: and that done, if there be any of his sons of eminent merit and virtue, so they be not above two, he calleth for them again, and sayeth, laying his arm over their shoulders, they standing, "Sons, it is well you are born; give God the praise, and persevere to the end:" and withal delivereth to either of them a jewel, made in the figure of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in the front of their turban or hat. This done, they fall to music and dances, and other recreations after their manner, for the rest of the day. This is the full order of that feast.

By that time six or seven days were spent, I was fallen into strait acquaintance with a merchant of that city, whose name was Joabin:

he was a Jew, and circumcised, for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them, whom they leave to their own religion, which they may the better do, because they are of a far different disposition from the Jews in other parts. For whereas they hate the name of Christ, and have a secret inbred rancour against the people among whom they live; these contrariwise give unto our Saviour many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely. Surely this man of whom I speak, would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he was more than a man; and he would tell how God made Him ruler of the seraphims which guard his throne: and they call him also the Milken Way, and the Eliah of the Messiah, and many other high names; which, though they be inferior to his Divine Majesty, yet they are far from the language of other Jews. And for the country of Bensalem, this man would make no end of commending it, being desirous, by tradition among the Jews there, to have it believed, that the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham by another son, whom they call Nachoran; and that Moses by a secret cabala ordained the laws of Bensalem, which they now use; and that when the Messiah should come and sit in his throne at Jerusalem, the king of Bensalem should sit at his feet, whereas other kings should keep at a great distance. But yet, setting aside these Jewish dreams, the man was a wise man and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation. Amongst other discourses, one day I told him, I was much affected with the relation I had from some of the company, of their custom in holding the feast of the family, for that methought I had never heard of a solemnity wherein nature did so much preside. And because propagation of families proceedeth from the nuptial copulation, I desired to know of him what laws and customs they had concerning marriage, and whether they kept marriage well, and whether they were tied to one wife. For that where population is so much affected, and such as with them it seemed to be, there is commonly permission of plurality of wives. To this he said, "You have reason to commend that excellent institution of the feast of the family; and indeed we have experience that those families that are partakers of the blessings of that feast do flourish and prosper ever after in an extraordinary manner. But hear me now, and I will tell you what I know. You shall understand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem, nor so free from all pollution or foulness; it is the virgin of the world. I remember I have read in one of your European books, of an holy hermit amongst you that desired to see the spirit of fornication, and there appeared to him a little foul ugly Ethiop. But if he had desired to see the spirit of chastity of Bensalem, it would have appeared to him in the likeness of a fair beautiful cherubim; for there is nothing amongst mortal men more fair and admirable than the chaste minds of this people. Know, therefore, that with them there are no stews, no dissolute houses, no courtezans, nor anything of that kind; nay, they wonder with detestation at you in Europe which permit such things. They say you have put marriage out of office; for marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence, and natural concupiscence seemeth as a spur to marriage: but when men have at hand a remedy

more agreeable to their corrupt will, marriage is almost expulſed. And therefore there are with you ſeen infinite men that marry not, but chooſe rather a libertine and impure ſingle life than to be yoked in marriage; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and ſtrength of their years is paſt; and when they do marry, what is marriage to them but a very bargain, wherein is ſought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with ſome deſire almoſt indifferent of iſſue, and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife that was firſt inſtituted. Neither is it poſſible that thoſe that have caſt away ſo baſely ſo much of their ſtrength, ſhould greatly eſteem children, being of the ſame matter, as chaste men do. So neither during marriage is the caſe much amended, as it ought to be if thoſe things were tolerated only for neceſſity. No, but they remain ſtill as a very affront to marriage; the haunting of thoſe diſſolute places, or reſort to courtezans, is no more puniſhed in married men than in bachelors: and the depraved cuſtom of change, and the delight in meretricious embraces, where ſin is turned into art, maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of impoſition or tax. They hear you defend theſe things as done to avoid greater evils, as advoutries, deflowering of virgins, unnatural luſt, and the like: but they ſay this is a prepoſterous wiſdom, and they call it Lot's offer, who, to ſave his gueſts from abuſing, offered his daughters. Nay, they ſay further, that there is little gained in this, for that the ſame vices and appetites do ſtill remain and abound, unlawful luſt being like a furnace, that if you ſtop the flames altogether, it will quench, but if you give it any vent, it will rage. As for maſculine love, they have no touch of it; and yet there are not ſo faithful and inviolate friendships in the world again as are there: and to ſpeak generally, as I ſaid before, I have not read of any ſuch chaſtity in any people as theirs. And their uſual ſaying is, that whoſoever is unchaſte cannot reverence himſelf. And they ſay, that the reverence of a man's ſelf is, next religion, the chiefſt bridle of all vices." And when he had ſaid this, the good Jew pauſed a little. Whereupon I, far more willing to hear him ſpeak on than to ſpeak myſelf, yet thinking it decent that upon his pauſe of ſpeech I ſhould not be altogether ſilent, ſaid only this, "That I would ſay to him as the widow of Sarepta ſaid to Elias, that he was come to bring to memory our ſins; and that I confeſs the righteousneſs of Bensalem was greater than the righteousneſs of Europe." At which ſpeech he bowed his head, and went on in this manner: "They have alſo many wiſe and excellent laws touching marriage. They allow no polygamy. They have ordained that none do intermarry or contract until a month be paſt from their firſt interview. Marriage without conſent of parents they do not make void, but they mulct it in the inheritors; for the children of ſuch marriages are not admitted to inherit above a third part of their parents' inheritance. I have read in a book of one of your men of a feigned commonwealth,¹ where the married couple are permitted, before they contract, to ſee one another naked. This they diſlike, for they think it a ſcorn to give a reſuſal after ſo familiar knowledge: but becauſe of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, they have a more civil way; for they have near every town a

¹ Sir Thomas More's Utopia.

couple of pools, which they call Adam and Eve's pools, where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked."

And as we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich huke,¹ that spake with the Jew ; whereupon, he turned to me, and said, " You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste."

The next morning he came to me again, joyful, as it seemed, and said, " There is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Solomon's House will be here this day seven-night ; we have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state, but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry." I thanked him, and told him, " I was most glad of the news."

The day being come, he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth, with wide sleeves and a cape : his under-garment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same, and a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck : he had gloves that were curious, and set with stone, and shoes of peach-coloured velvet ; his neck was bare to the shoulders : his hat was like a helmet or Spanish montera, and his locks curled below it decently,—they were of colour brown : his beard was cut round, and of the same colour with his hair, somewhat lighter. He was carried in a rich chariot, without wheels, litter-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet, embroidered, and two footmen on either side in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt, and adorned with crystal, save that the fore-end had panels of sapphires set in borders of gold, and the hinder-end the like of emeralds of the Peru colour. There was also a sun of gold, radiant upon the top, in the midst ; and on the top before a small cherub of gold, with wings displayed. The chariot was covered with cloth of gold, tissued upon blue. He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats up to the mid-leg, and stockings of white silk, and shoes of blue velvet, and hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colours set round like hatbands. Next before the chariot went two men bareheaded, in linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet, who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff, like a sheep-hook ; neither of them of metal, but the crosier of balm-wood, the pastoral staff of cedar. Horsemen he had none, neither before nor behind his chariot, as it seemeth, to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his chariot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone upon cushions of a kind of excellent plush, blue, and under his foot curious carpets of silk of divers colours, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence. The street was wonderfully well kept ; so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but every one stood in them as if they had been placed. When the show was

past, the Jew said to me, "I shall not be able to attend you as I would, in regard of some charge the city hath laid upon me, for the entertaining of this great person."

Three days after, the Jew came to me again, and said, "Ye are happy men! for the father of Solomon's House taketh knowledge of your being here, and commanded me to tell you, that he will admit all your company to his presence, and have private conference with one of you that ye shall choose; and for this hath appointed the next day after to-morrow. And, because he meaneth to give you his blessing, he hath appointed it in the forenoon."

We came at our day and hour, and I was chosen by my fellows for the private access. We found him in a fair chamber, richly hung, and carpeted under-foot, without any degrees¹ to the state. He was seated upon a low throne, richly adorned, and a rich cloth of state over his head, of blue satin, embroidered. He was alone, save that he had two pages of honour, on either hand, one finely attired in white. His under-garments were the like that we saw him wear in the chariot; but instead of his gown, he had on him a mantle, with a cape of the same fine black, fastened about him. When we came in, as we were taught, we bowed low at our first entrance; and when we were come near his chair, he stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing; and we every one of us stooped down and kissed the hem of his tippet. That done, the rest departed, and I remained. Then he warned the pages forth of the room, and caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:—

"God bless thee, my son, I will give thee the greatest jewel I have; for I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Solomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Solomon's House, I will keep this order:—first, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation; secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works; thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned; and fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

"The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things, and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

"The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths: the deepest are sunk six hundred fathoms, and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill and the depth of the cave, they are (some of them) above three miles deep: for we find that the depth of a hill and the depth of a cave from the flat is the same thing, both remote alike from the sun and heaven's beams and from the open air. These caves we call "the lower region," and we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines, and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life in

¹ Steps

some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and, indeed, live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

“We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain; but we have them in greater variety, and some of them finer. We also have great variety of composts and soils for making of the earth fruitful.

“We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains; so that the advantage of the hill with the tower is, in the highest of them, three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region, accounting the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors; as winds, rain, snow, hail, and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them, in some places, are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

“We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies; for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools of which some do strain fresh water out of salt,¹ and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works wherein are required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds, to set also agoing divers motions.

“We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths; as tinted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals. And again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water which we call ‘water of paradise,’ being by that we do to it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

“We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors, as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies, and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air, as frogs, flies, and divers others.

“We have also certain chambers, which we call ‘chambers of health,’ where we qualify the air, as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health.

“We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man’s body from arefaction; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

“We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs; and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting

¹ An art now common.

and inoculating, as well of wild trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make, by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do ; we make them also, by art, much greater than their nature, and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure from their nature ; and many of them we so order that they become of medicinal use.

“ We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds ; and likewise to make divers new plants differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

“ We have also parks and inclosures of all sorts of beasts and birds ; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man ; wherein we find many strange effects : as, continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth ; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also poisons and other medicines upon them, as well of surgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or taller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth ; we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction ; whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds, and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture, what kind of those creatures will arise.

“ We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds.

“ We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use, such as are with you, your silkworms and bees.

“ I will not hold you long with recounting of our brewhouses, bake-houses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes, and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots ; and of mixtures with honey, sugar, manna, and fruits dried and decocted ; also of the tears, or woundings of trees, and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs and roots and spices, yea, with several fleshes and white-meats ; whereof some of the drinks are such, as they are in effect meat and drink both, so that divers, especially in age, do desire to live with them ; with little or no meat or bread. And above all we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness, or fretting ; insomuch as some of them put upon the back of your hand will, with a little stay, pass through to the palm, and yet taste mild to the mouth. We have also waters which we ripen in that fashion as they become nourishing, so that they are indeed excellent drink ; and

many will use no other. Breads we have of several grains, roots, and kernels; yea, and some of flesh and fish dried, with divers kinds of leavenings and seasonings; so that some do extremely move appetites; some do nourish so, as divers do live on them, without any other meat, who live very long. So for meats, we have some of them so beaten and made tender and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chylus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also, and breads and drinks, which taken by men enable them to fast long after; and some other that, used, make the very flesh of men's bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

"We have dispensatories, or shops of medicines, wherein you may easily think, if we have such variety of plants and living creatures more than you have in Europe (for we know what you have), the simples, drugs, and ingredients of medicines must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages, and long fermentations. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations and separations, and especially by gentle heats, and percolations through divers strainers, yea and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

"We have also divers mechanical arts which you have not, and stuffs made by them; as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others; and shops likewise as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use amongst us, as for those that are. For you must know, that of the things before recited many are grown into use throughout the kingdom; but yet, if they did flow from our invention, we have of them also for patterns and principles.

"We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats, fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But, above all, we have heats in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and, as it were, orbs, progresses, and returns, whereby we may produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dungs, and of bellies and maws of living creatures, and of their bloods and bodies; and of hays and herbs laid up moist; of lime unquenched, and such like. Instruments, also, which generate heat only by motion; and further, places for strong insulations; and, again, places under the earth which by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

"We have also perspective-houses, where we make demonstration of all lights and radiations, and of all colours; and of things uncoloured and transparent, we can represent unto you all several colours, not in rainbows, as it is in gems and prisms, but of themselves single. We represent, also, all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp as to discern small points and lines; also all colorations of light, all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colours; all demonstrations of shadows. We find, also, divers means yet unknown to you of procuring of light originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing

objects afar off, as in the heavens, and remote places ; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near, making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight far above spectacles and glasses in use. We have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies perfectly and distinctly, as the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains and flaws in gems, which cannot otherwise be seen ; observations in urine and blood, not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplication of visual beams of objects.

“ We have also precious stones of all kinds, many of them of great beauty, and to you unknown ; crystals likewise, and glasses of divers kinds, and amongst them some of metals vitrified, and other materials, besides those of which you make glass. Also a number of fossils and imperfect minerals which you have not ; likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue, and other rare stones both natural and artificial.

“ We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmonies, which you have not, of quarter-sounds, and lesser slides of sounds ; divers instruments likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have ; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep, likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp. We make divers tremblings and warbling of sounds, which in their original are entire ; we represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps, which set to the ear do further the hearing greatly. We have also divers strange and artificial echos reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it ; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller, and some deeper ; yea, some rendering the voice differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have also means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes in strange lines and distances.

“ We have also perfume-houses, wherewith we join also practises of taste : we multiply smells, which may seem strange ; we imitate smells, making all smells to breathe out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man's taste. And in this house we contain also a confiture-house, where we make all sweetmeats dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, in far greater variety than you have.

“ We also have engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets, or any engine that you have ; and to make them and multiply them more easily, and with small force, by wheels and other means ; and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war, and engines of all kinds ; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wildfires burning in water, and unquenchable ; also fireworks of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds : we have some degrees of flying in the air : we have ships and boats for going under water, and brooking of seas ;

also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents: we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for quality, fineness, and subtilty.

"We have also a mathematical house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

"We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures, and illusions and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we that have so many things truly natural, which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses, if we would disguise those things, and labour to make them more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

"These are, my son, the riches of Solomon's House.

"For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call 'merchants of light.'

"We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call 'depredators.'

"We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call 'mystery men.'

"We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call 'pioneers' or 'miners.'

"We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call 'compilers.'

"We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call 'dowry men,' or 'benefactors.'

"Then, after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call 'lamps.'

"We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call 'inoculators.'

"Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call 'interpreters of nature.'

"We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this

we do also; we have consultations which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not; and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think meet to keep secret, though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the state, and some not.

“For our ordinances and rites, we have two very long and fair galleries. In one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies; also the inventor of ships; your monk¹ that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder; the inventor of music; the inventor of letters; the inventor of printing; the inventor of observations of astronomy; the inventor of works in metal; the inventor of glass; the inventor of silk of the worm; the inventor of wine; the inventor of corn and bread; the inventor of sugars: and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works, which, since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value, we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statues are some of brass; some of marble and touch-stone; some of cedar, and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron; some of silver; some of gold.

“We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily of laud and thanks to God for His marvellous works; and forms of prayers imploring His aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning them into good and holy uses.

“Lastly, we have circuits or visits of divers principal cities of the kingdom, where, as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them.”

And when he had said this, he stood up; and I, as I had been taught, kneeled down, and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said, “God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made; I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other nations, for we here are in God’s bosom, a land unknown.” And so he left me, having assigned a value of about two thousand ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows; for they give great largesses where they come upon all occasions.

(The rest was not perfected.)

¹ Roger Bacon.

A COLLECTION OF APOPTHEGMS.

NEW AND OLD.

PREFACE.

JULIUS CÆSAR did write a collection of apophthegms, as appears in an epistle of Cicero ; so did Macrobius, a consular man. I need say no more for the worth of a writing of that nature. It is pity Cæsar's book is lost : for I imagine they were collected with judgment and choice ; whereas that of Plutarch and Stobæus, and much more the modern ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly they are of excellent use. They are *mucrones verborum*, pointed speeches. "The words of the wise are as goads," saith Solomon. Cicero prettily calleth them *salinas*, salt-pits, that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. They serve to be recited upon occasion of themselves. They serve, if you take out the kernel of them, and make them your own. I have, for my recreation amongst more serious studies, collected some few of them :¹ therein fanning the old ; not omitting any, because they are vulgar, for many vulgar ones are excellent good ; nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat ; and adding many new, that otherwise would have died.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, the morrow of her coronation, it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince, went to the chapel ; and in the great chamber, one of her courtiers, who was well known to her, either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition ; and before a great number of courtiers, besought her with a loud voice, "That now this good time, there might be four or five principal prisoners more released. Those were the four evangelists and the apostle St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in prison ; so as they could not converse with the common people. The Queen answered very gravely, "That it was best first to inquire of them, whether they would be released or no."

Queen Ann Bullen, at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, called one of the king's privy chamber to her, and said unto him, "Commend me to the king, and tell him, that he hath been ever

¹ This collection his lordship made out of his memory, without turning any book.

constant in his course of advancing me : from a private gentlewoman he made me a marchioness ; and from a marchioness a queen ; and now, that he hath left no higher degree of earthly honour, he intends to crown my innocency with the glory of martyrdom."

His majesty James the first, king of Great Britain, having made unto his parliament an excellent and large declaration, concluded thus : " I have now given you a clear mirror of my mind ; use it therefore like a mirror, and take heed how you let it fall, or how you soil it with your breath."

A great officer in France was in danger to have lost his place ; but his wife, by her suit and means making, made his peace ; whereupon a pleasant fellow said, " That he had been crushed, but that he saved himself upon his horns."

His majesty said to his Parliament at another time, finding there were some causeless jealousies sown amongst them : " That the king and his people, whereof the parliament is the representative body, were as husband and wife ; and therefore that of all other things jealousy between them was the most pernicious."

His majesty, when he thought his council might note in him some variety in businesses, though indeed he remained constant, would say, " That the sun many times shineth watery ; but it is not the sun which causeth it, but some cloud rising betwixt us and the sun : and when that is scattered, the sun is as it was, and comes to his former brightness."

His majesty, in his answer to the book of the cardinal Evereux, who had in a grave argument of divinity sprinkled many witty ornaments of poesy and humanity, saith ; " That these flowers were like blue, and yellow, and red flowers in the corn, which make a pleasant show to those that look on, but they hurt the corn."

Sir Edward Coke being vehement against the two provincial councils of Wales, and the North, said to the king : " There was nothing there but a kind of confusion and hotch-potch of justice : one while they were a star-chamber ; another while a king's bench ; another, a common-pleas ; another, a commission of oyer and terminer." His majesty answered : " Why, Sir Edward Coke, they be like houses in progress, where I have not, nor can have, such distinct rooms of state, as I have here at Whitehall, or at Hampton-court."

The commissioners of the treasury moved the king, for the relief of his estate, to disafforest some forests of his, explaining themselves of such forests as lay out of the way, not near any of the king's houses, nor in the course of his progress ; whereof he should never have use nor pleasure. " Why," saith the king, " do you think that Solomon had use and pleasure of all his three hundred concubines ?"

His majesty, when the committees of both houses of parliament presented unto them the instrument of union of England and Scotland, was merry with them ; and amongst other pleasant speeches, showed unto them the laird of Lawreston, a Scotchman, who was the tallest and greatest man that was to be seen, and said, " Well, now we are all one, yet none of you will say, But here is one Scotchman greater than any Englishman ;" which was an ambiguous speech : but it was thought he meant it of himself.

His majesty would say to the lords of his council, when they sat upon any great matter, and came from council in to him, "Well, you have sat, but what have you hatched?"

When the archduke did raise his siege from the Grave, the then secretary came to Queen Elizabeth. The queen, having first intelligence thereof, said to the secretary, "Wot you what? The archduke has risen from the Grave." He answered, "What, without the trumpet of the archangel?" The queen replied, "Yes, without the sound of trumpet."

Queen Elizabeth was importuned much by my lord of Essex, to supply divers great offices that had been long void; the queen answered nothing to the matter, but rose up on the sudden, and said, "I am sure my office will not be long void." And yet at that time there was much speech of troubles, and divisions about the crown, to be after her decease: but they all vanished; and king James came in, in a profound peace.

The council did make remonstrance unto Queen Elizabeth of the continual conspiracies against her life; and namely, that a man was lately taken, who stood ready in a very dangerous and suspicious manner to do the deed: and they showed her the weapon wherewith he thought to have acted it. And therefore they advised her that she should go less abroad to take the air weakly attended, as she used. But the queen answered, "That she had rather be dead, than put in custody."

The lady Paget, that was very private with Queen Elizabeth, declared herself much against the match with Monsieur. After Monsieur's death, the queen took extreme grief, at least as she made show, and kept in within her bed-chamber and one ante-chamber for three weeks' space, in token of mourning: at last she came forth into the privy-chamber, and admitted her ladies to have access unto her; and amongst the rest my lady Paget presented herself, and came to her with a smiling countenance. The queen bent her brows, and seemed to be highly displeased, and said to her, "Madam, you are not ignorant of my extreme grief, and do you come to me with a countenance of joy?" My lady Paget answered, "Alas, if it please your majesty, it is impossible for me to be absent from you three weeks, but that when I see you, I must look cheerfully." "No, no," saith the queen, not forgetting her former averseness to the match, "you have some other conceit in it, tell me plainly." My lady answered, "I must obey you; it is this. I was thinking how happy your majesty was, you married not Monsieur: for seeing you take such thought for his death, being but your friend; if he had been your husband, sure it would have cost you your life."

King Henry the Fourth of France was so punctual of his word, after it was once passed, that they called him, "The king of the faith."¹

The said king Henry the Fourth was moved by his Parliament to a war against the Protestants: he answered, "Yes, I mean it; I will make every one of you captains; you shall have companies assigned you." The Parliament observing whereunto his speech tended, gave over, and deserted his motion.

¹ A play on the term for the Huguenots, who called themselves "of the Faith."

Queen Elizabeth was wont to say, upon the commission of sales, "That the commissioners used her like strawberry wives, that laid two or three great strawberries at the mouth of their pot, and all the rest were little ones ; so they made her two or three good prizes of the first particulars, but fell straightways."

Queen Elizabeth used to say of her instructions to great officers, "That they were like to garments, strait at the first putting on, but did by and by wear loose enough."

A great officer at court, when my lord of Essex was first in trouble, and that he and those that dealt for him would talk much of my lord's friends, and of his enemies, answered to one of them, "I will tell you, I know but one friend and one enemy my lord hath, and that one friend is the queen, and that one enemy is himself."

The book for deposing king Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, supposed to be written by Dr. Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed queen Elizabeth ; and she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her counsel learned, "Whether there were any treason contained in it?" Who intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered, "No, Madam, for treason I cannot deliver an opinion that there is any, but very much felony." The queen, apprehending it gladly, asked, "How? and wherein?" Mr. Bacon answered, "Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus."

Queen Elizabeth being to resolve upon a great office, and being by some, that canvassed for others, put in some doubt of that person whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. Bacon, and told him, "She was like one with a lanthorn seeking a man ;" and seemed unsatisfied in the choice she had of a man for that place. Mr. Bacon answered her, "That he had heard that in old time there was usually painted on the church walls the day of doom, and God sitting in judgment, and St. Michael by him, with a pair of balances ; and the soul and the good deeds in the one balance, and the faults and the evil deeds in the other : and the soul's balance went up *too* light. Then was our lady painted with a great pair of beads, who cast them into the light balance, and brought down the scale : so, he said, place and authority, which were in her majesty's hands to give, were like our lady's beads, which though men, through any imperfections, were too light before, yet when they were cast in, made weight competent."

Queen Elizabeth was dilatory enough in suits, of her own nature ; and the lord treasurer Burleigh being a wise man, and willing therein to feed her humour, would say to her, "Madam, you do well to let suitors stay ; for I shall tell you, '*bis dat, qui cito dat*;' if you grant them speedily, they will come again the sooner."

Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was keeper of the great seal of England, when queen Elizabeth in her progress came to his house at Gorbambury, and said to him, "My lord, what a little house have you gotten !" answered her, "Madam, my house is well, but it is you that have made me too great for my house."

There was a conference in parliament between the Lords' house and the house of Commons, about a bill of accountants, which came

down from the Lords to the Commons ; which bill prayed, "That the lands of accountants, whereof they were seized when they entered upon their office, might be liable to their arrears to the queen." But the Commons desired, "That the bill might not look back to accountants that were already, but extend only to accountants hereafter." But the lord treasurer said, "Why, I pray you, if you had lost your purse by the way, would you look forwards, or would you look back? The queen hath lost her purse."

The lord keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by my lord of Leicester concerning two persons whom the queen seemed to think well of: "By my troth, my lord," said he, "the one is a grave counsellor ; the other is a proper young man ; and so he will be as long as he lives."

My lord of Leicester, favourite to queen Elizabeth, was making a large chase about Cornbury-park, meaning to inclose it with posts and rails ; and one day was casting up his charge what it would come to. Mr. Goldingham, a free spoken man, stood by, and said to my lord, "Methinks your lordship goeth not the cheapest way to work." "Why, Goldingham?" said my lord. "Marry, my lord," said Goldingham, "count you but upon the posts, for the country will find you railing."

The lord keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by queen Elizabeth of one of these monopoly licenses? And he answered, "Madam, will you have me speak the truth? *Licentia omnes deteriores sumus.*" We are all the worse for licenses.

My lord of Essex, at the succour of Roan, made twenty-four knights, which at that time was a great number. Divers of those gentlemen were of weak and small means ; which when queen Elizabeth heard, she said, "My lord might have done well to have built his almshouse, before he made his knights."

The deputies of the reformed religion, after the massacre which was at Paris upon St. Bartholomew's day, treated with the king and queen-mother, and some other of the council, for a peace. Both sides were agreed upon the articles. The question was, upon the security for the performance. After some particulars propounded and rejected, the queen-mother said, "Why, is not the word of a king sufficient security?" One of the deputies answered, "No, by St. Bartholomew, Madam."

There was a French gentleman speaking with an English, of the law Salique : that women were excluded from inheriting the crown of France. The English said, "Yes ; but that was meant of the women themselves, not of such males as claimed by women." The French gentleman said, "Where do you find that gloss?" The English answered, "I'll tell you, Sir ; look on the backside of the record of the law Salique, and there you shall find it indorsed ;" implying there was no such thing as the law Salique, but that it is a mere fiction.

A friar of France, being in an earnest dispute about the law Salique, would needs prove it by Scripture ; citing that verse of the Gospel: "*Lilia agra non laborant neque nent:*" the lilies of the field do neither labour nor spin ; applying it thus : That the flower-de-luces of France

cannot descend, neither to the distaff nor to the spade : that is, not to a woman, nor to a peasant.

When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels ; the lord Henry Howard, being then earl of Northampton, and a counsellor, was omitted. Whereupon the king said to him, " My lord, how happens it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest ? " My lord answered, according to the fable in Æsop : "*Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam.*"

The same earl of Northampton, then lord privy seal, was asked by king James, openly at the table, where commonly he entertained the king with discourse ; the king asked him upon the sudden, " My lord, have you not a desire to see Rome ? " My lord privy seal answered, " Yes, indeed, sir. " The king said, " And why ? " My lord answered, " Because, if it please your majesty, it was the seat of the greatest monarchy, and the seminary of the bravest men of the world, whilst it was heathen : and then, secondly, because afterwards it was the see of so many holy bishops in the primitive Church, most of them martyrs. " The king would not give it over, but said, " And for nothing else ? " My lord answered, " Yes, if it please your Majesty, for two things more : the one, to see him, who, they say, hath so great power to forgive other men their sins, to confess his own sins upon his knees before a chaplain or priest : and the other, to hear Antichrist say his creed. "

Sir Nicholas Bacon being appointed a judge for the northern circuit, and having brought his trials that came before him to such a pass, as the passing of sentence on malefactors, he was by one of the malefactors mightily importuned for to save his life ; which, when nothing that he had said did avail, he at length desired his mercy on account of kindred. " Prithee, " said my lord judge, " how came that in ? " " Why, if it please you, my lord, your name is Bacon, and mine is Hog, and in all ages Hog and Bacon have been so near kindred, that they are not to be separated. " " Ay, but, " replied judge Bacon, " you and I cannot be kindred except you be hanged ; for Hog is not Bacon until it be well hanged. "

Two scholars and a countryman travelling upon the road, one night lodged all in one inn, and supped together, where the scholars thought to have put a trick upon the countryman, which was thus : the scholars appointed for supper two pigeons, and a fat capon, which being ready was brought up, and they having sat down, the one scholar took up one pigeon, the other scholar took the other pigeon, thinking thereby that the countryman should have sat still, until that they were ready for the carving of the capon ; which he perceiving, took the capon and laid it on his trencher, and thus said, " Daintily contrived, every man a bird. "

Jack Roberts was desired by his tailor, when the reckoning grew somewhat high, to have a bill of his hand. Roberts said, " I am content, but you must let no man know it. " When the tailor brought him the bill, he tore it as in choler, and said to him, " You use me not well ; you promised me that no man should know it, and here you have put in, ' Be it known unto all men by these presents. ' "

Sir Walter Raleigh was wont to say of the ladies of queen Elizabeth's privy-chamber and bed-chamber, "that they were like witches, they could do no hurt, but they could do no good."

There was a minister deprived for inconformity, who said to some of his friends, "that if they deprived him, it should cost an hundred men's lives." The party understood it, as if, being a turbulent fellow, he would have moved sedition, and complained of him; whereupon being convented and apposed upon that speech, he said his meaning was, "that if he lost his benefice, he would practise physic, and then he thought he would kill an hundred men in time."

When Rabelais, the great jester of France, lay on his death-bed, and they gave him the extreme unction, a familiar friend came to him afterwards, and asked him how he did? Rabelais answered, "Even going my journey, they have greased my boots already."

Mr. Bromley, solicitor, giving in evidence for a deed, which was impeached to be fraudulent, was urged by the counsel on the other side with this presumption, "That in two former suits, when title was made, that deed was passed over in silence, and some other conveyance stood upon." Mr. Justice Catline taking in with that side, asked the solicitor, "I pray thee, Mr. Solicitor, let me ask you a familiar question; I have two geldings in my stable; I have divers times business of importance, and still I send forth one of my geldings, and not the other; would you not think I set him aside for a jade?" "No, my lord," said Bromley, "I would think you spared him for your own saddle."

Thales, as he looked upon the stars, fell towards water; whereupon it was after said, "that if he had looked into the water he might have seen the stars, but looking up to the stars he could not see the water."

A thief being arraigned at the bar for stealing a mare, in his pleading urged many things in his own behalf, and at last nothing availing, he told the bench, the mare rather stole him, than he the mare; which in brief he thus related: That passing over several grounds about his lawful occasions, he was pursued close by a fierce mastiff dog, and so was forced to save himself by leaping over a hedge, which being of an agile body he effected; and in leaping, a mare standing on the other side of the hedge, leaped upon her back, who running furiously away with him, he could not by any means stop her, until he came to the next town, in which town the owner of the mare lived, and there was he taken, and here arraigned.

Master Mason of Trinity college, sent his pupil to another of the fellows, to borrow a book of him, who told him, "I am loth to lend my books out of my chamber, but if it please thy tutor to come and read upon it in my chamber, he shall as long as he will." It was winter, and some days after the same fellow sent to Mr. Mason to borrow his bellows; but Mr. Mason said to his pupil, "I am loth to lend my bellows out of my chamber, but if thy tutor would come and blow the fire in my chamber, he shall as long as he will."

A notorious rogue being brought to the bar, and knowing his case to be desperate, instead of pleading, took to himself the liberty of jesting, and thus said, "I charge you in the king's name, to seize and

take away that man (meaning the judge) in the red gown, for I go in danger of my life because of him."

In Flanders by accident a Flemish tiler fell from the top of a house upon a Spaniard, and killed him, though he escaped himself; the next of the blood prosecuted his death with great violence, and when he was offered pecuniary recompence, nothing would serve him but *lex talionis*: whereupon the judge said to him, "that if he did urge that sentence, it must be that he go up to the top of the house, and then fall down upon the tiler."

A rough-hewn seaman, being brought before a wise just-ass for some misdemeanor, was by him sent away to prison, and being somewhat refractory after he heard his doom, insomuch as he would not stir a foot from the place where he stood, saying, "it were better to stand where he was than go to a worse place:" the justice thereupon to show the strength of his learning, took him by the shoulder, and said, "Thou shalt go *nogus vogus*," instead of *nolens volens*.

Francis the First of France used for his pleasure sometimes to go disguised: so walking one day in the company of the cardinal of Bourbon near Paris, he met a peasant with a new pair of shoes upon his arm: so he called unto him and said; "By our lady, these be good shoes, what did they cost thee?" The peasant said, "Guess." The king said, "I think some five sols." Saith the peasant, "You have lied; but a *carlois*." "What, villain," said the cardinal of Bourbon, "thou art dead, it is the king." The peasant replied; "The devil take him of you and me, that knew so much."

There was a young man in Rome that was very like Augustus Cæsar; Augustus took knowledge of him, and sent for the man, and asked him, "Was your mother ever at Rome?" He answered; "No Sir, but my father was."

A physician advised his patient that had sore eyes, that he should abstain from wine; but the patient said, "I think, rather, Sir, from wine and water; for I have often marked it in blue eyes, and I have seen water come forth, but never wine."

A debauched seaman being brought before a justice of the peace upon the account of swearing, was by the justice commanded to deposit his fine in that behalf provided, which was two shillings; he thereupon plucking out of his pocket half a crown, asked the justice what was the rate he was to pay for cursing; the justice told him sixpence: quoth he, "Then you are all a company of knaves and fools, and there's a half a crown for you, I will never stand changing of money."

Augustus Cæsar was invited to supper by one of his old friends, that had conversed with him in his less fortunes, and had but ordinary entertainment; whereupon at his going away, he said, "I did not know that you and I were so familiar."

Agathocles, after he had taken Syracuse, the men whereof, during the siege, had in a bravery spoken of him all the villany that might be, sold the Syracusans for slaves, and said; "Now if you use such words of me, I will tell your masters of you."

Dionysius the elder, when he saw his son in many things very inordinate, said to him, "Did you ever know me do such things?" His son answered, "No, but you had not a tyrant to your father."

The father replied, "No, nor you, if you take these courses, will have a tyrant to your son."

Callisthenes, the philosopher, that followed Alexander's court, and hated the king, being asked by one, how one should become the famousest man in the world, answered, "By taking away him that is."

Agesilaus, when one told him there was one did excellently counterfeit a nightingale, and would have had him hear him, said; "Why I have heard the nightingale herself."

A great nobleman, upon the complaint of a servant of his, laid a citizen by the heels, thinking to bend him to his servant's desire; but the fellow being stubborn, the servant came to his lord, and told him, "Your lordship, I know, hath gone as far as well you may, but it works not; for yonder fellow is more perverse than before." Said my lord, "Let's forget him awhile, and then he will remember himself."

One came to a cardinal in Rome, and told him, that he had brought his lordship a dainty white palfrey, but he fell lame by the way. Saith the cardinal to him, "I'll tell thee what thou shalt do; go to such a cardinal, and such a cardinal," naming him half-a-dozen cardinals, "and tell them as much; and so whereas by thy horse, if he had been sound, thou couldest have pleased but one, with thy lame horse thou mayest please half-a-dozen."

A witty rogue coming into a lace-shop, said, he had occasion for some lace; choice whereof being showed him, he at last pitched upon one pattern, and asked them, how much they would have for so much as would reach from ear to ear, for so much he had occasion for. They told him, for so much: so some few words passing between them, he at last agreed, and told down his money for it, and began to measure on his own head, thus saying; one ear is here, and the other is nailed to the pillory at Bristol, and I fear you have not so much of this lace by you at present as will perfect my bargain: therefore this piece of lace shall suffice at present in part of payment, and provide the rest with all expedition."

Iphicrates the Athenian, in a treaty that he had with the Lacedæmonians for peace, in which question was about security for observing the same, said, "The Athenians would not accept of any security, except the Lacedæmonians did yield up unto them those things, whereby it might be manifest, that they could not hurt them if they would."

Euripides would say of persons that were beautiful, and yet in some years, "In fairest bodies not only the spring is pleasant, but also the autumn."

There was a captain sent to an exploit by his general with forces that were not likely to achieve the enterprise; the captain said to him, "Sir, appoint but half so many." "Why?" saith the general. The captain answered, "Because it is better fewer die than more."

There was a harbinger who had lodged a gentleman in a very ill room, who expostulated with him somewhat rudely; but the harbinger carelessly said: "You will take pleasure in it when you are out of it."

There is a Spanish adage, "Love without end hath no end:" meaning, that if it were begun not upon particular ends it would last.

A woman being suspected by her husband for dishonesty, and being

by him at last pressed very hard about it, made him quick answer with many protestations, "that she knew no more of what he said than the man in the moon." Now the captain of the ship called the Moon, was the very man she so much loved.

Demosthenes when he fled from the battle, and that it was reproached to him, said, "that he that flies might fight again."

Gonsalvo¹ would say, "The honour of a soldier ought to be of a strong web;" meaning, that it should not be so fine and curious, that every little disgrace should catch and stick in it.

Bias gave in precept, "Love as if you should hereafter hate: and hate as if you should hereafter love."

Cineas was an excellent orator and statesman, and principal friend and counsellor to Pyrrhus; and falling in inward talk with him, and discerning the king's endless ambition, Pyrrhus opened himself unto him, that he intended first a war upon Italy, and hoped to achieve it: Cineas asked him, "Sir, what will you do then?" "Then," saith he, "we will attempt Sicily." Cineas said, "Well, Sir, what then?" Saith Pyrrhus, "If the gods favour us, we may conquer Africa and Carthage." "What then, Sir?" saith Cineas. "Nay, then," saith Pyrrhus, "we may take our rest, and sacrifice and feast every day, and make merry with our friends." "Alas, Sir," said Cineas, "may we not do so now without all this ado?"

Lamia the courtesan had all power with Demetrius king of Macedon, and by her instigations he did many unjust and cruel acts; whereupon Lysimachus said, "that it was the first time that ever he knew a courtesan play in a tragedy."

Epaminondas, when his great friend and colleague in war was suitor to him to pardon an offender, denied him; afterwards, when a concubine of his made the same suit, he granted it to her; which, when Pelopidas seemed to take unkindly, he said "Such suits are not to be granted to personages of worth."

Thales being asked when a man should marry, said, "Young men not yet, old men not at all."

A company of scholars going together to catch conies, carried one scholar with them which had not much more wit than he was born with; and to him they gave in charge, that if he saw any, he should be silent, for fear of scaring of them. But he no sooner espied a company of rabbits, before the rest, but he cried aloud, "*Ecce multi cuniculi,*" which in English signifies, "Behold many conies;" which he had no sooner said, but the conies ran to their burrows: and he being checked by them for it, answered, "Who the devil would have thought that the rabbits understood Latin?"

A Welchman being at a sessions-house, and seeing the prisoners hold up hands at the bar, related to some of his acquaintance there, "that the judges were good fortune-tellers; for if they did but look upon their hands, they could certainly tell whether they should live or die."

Solon compared the people unto the sea, and orators and counsellors to the winds: for that the sea would be calm and quiet, if the winds did not trouble it.

¹ The famous Spanish general called The Great Captain. He died 1515 A.D.

Socrates was pronounced by the oracle of Delphos to be the wisest man of Greece, which he would put from himself ironically, saying, "there would be nothing in him to verify the oracle, except this, that he was not wise, and knew it; and others were not wise, and knew it not."

Socrates, when there was showed him the book of Heraclitus the obscure, and was asked his opinion of it, answered, "Those things which I understood were excellent, I imagine so were those I understood not; but they require a diver of Delos."

Bion asked an envious man that was very sad, "what harm had befallen unto him, or what good had befallen unto another man?"

Stilpo the philosopher, when the people flocked about him, and that one said to him, "The people come wandering about you as if it were to see some strange beast!" "No," saith he, "it is to see a man which Diogenes sought with his lanthorn at noon-day."

A citizen of London passing the streets very hastily, came at last where some stop was made by carts, and some gentlemen talking together, who knew him: where being in some passion that he could not suddenly pass, one of them in this wise spoke unto him, "that others had passed by, and there was room enough, only they could not tell whether their horns were so wide as his."

A tinker passing Cheapside with his usual tone, "Have you any work for a tinker?" an apprentice standing at a door opposite to a pillory there set up, called the tinker, with an intent to put a jest upon him, and told him, "that he should do very well if he would stop those two holes in the pillory;" to which the tinker answered, "that if he would but put in his head and ears a while in that pillory, he would bestow both brass and nails upon him to hold him in, and give him his labour into the bargain."

There was in Oxford a cowardly fellow that was a very good archer. He was abused grossly by another, and moaned himself to Sir Walter Raleigh, then a scholar, and asked his advice, what he should do to repair the wrong had been offered him; Raleigh answered, "Why, challenge him at a match of shooting."

Whitehead, a grave divine, was much esteemed by queen Elizabeth, but not preferred, because he was against the government of bishops; he was of blunt stoical nature: he came one day to the queen, and the queen happened to say to him, "I like thee the better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried." He answered, "In troth, Madam, I like you the worse for the same cause."

Dr. Laud said, "that some hypocrites and seeming mortified men, that held down their heads like bulrushes, were like the little images that they place in the very bowing of the vaults of churches, that look as if they held up the church, but are but puppets."

There was a page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his clothes: and when his master bade him, said, "Take them you, for they are the hangman's fees."

There was a lady of the west country, that gave great entertainment at her house to most of the gallant gentlemen thereabouts, and amongst others Sir Walter Raleigh was one. This lady, though otherwise a stately dame, was a notable good housewife; and in the

morning betimes she called to one of her maids that looked to the swine, and asked, "Are the pigs served?" Sir Walter Raleigh's chamber was fast by the lady's, so as he heard her: a little before dinner, the lady came down in great state into the great chamber, which was full of gentlemen: and as soon as Sir Walter Raleigh set eye upon her, "Madam," saith he, "are the pigs served?" The lady answered, "You know best whether you have had your breakfast."

There were fishermen drawing the river at Chelsea: Mr. Bacon came thither by chance in the afternoon, and offered to buy their draught: they were willing. He asked them what they would take? They asked thirty shillings. Mr. Bacon offered them ten. They refused it. "Why, then," saith Mr. Bacon, "I will be only a looker on." They drew, and caught nothing. Saith Mr. Bacon, "Are not you mad fellows now, that might have had an angel in your purse, to have made merry withal, and to have warmed you thoroughly, and now you must go home with nothing." "Ay but," saith the fishermen, "we had hope then to make a better gain of it." Saith Mr. Bacon, "Well, my master, then I will tell you, hope is a good breakfast, but it is a bad supper."

A lady, walking with Mr. Bacon in Gray's Inn walks, asked him, "Whose that piece of ground lying next under the walls was?" He answered, "Theirs." Then she asked him, "If those fields beyond the walks were theirs too?" He answered, "Yes, Madam, those are ours, as you are ours, to look on, and no more."

His lordship, when he was newly made lord Keeper, was in Gray's Inn walks with Sir Walter Raleigh: one came and told him that the earl of Exeter was above. He continued upon occasion still walking a good while. At last when he came up, my lord of Exeter met him, and said, "My lord, I have made a great venture, to come up so high stairs, being a gouty man." His lordship answered, "Pardon me, my lord, I have made the greatest venture of all; for I have ventured upon your patience."

When Sir Francis Bacon was made the king's attorney, Sir Edward Coke was put up from being Lord Chief Justice of the common pleas, to be Lord Chief Justice of the king's bench; which is a place of greater honour but of less profit; and withal was made privy counsellor. After a few days, the Lord Coke meeting with the king's attorney, said unto him, "Mr. Attorney, this is all your doing; it is you that have made this stir." Mr. Attorney answered, "Ah, my lord! your lordship all this while has grown in breadth; you must needs now grow in height, or else you would be a monster."

One day queen Elizabeth told Mr. Bacon that my lord of Essex, after great protestation of penitence and affection, fell in the end but upon the suit of renewing of his farm of sweet wines. He answered "I read that in nature there be two kinds of motions or appetites in sympathy; the one as of iron to the adamant, for perfection; the other as of the vine to the stake, for sustentation; that her majesty was the one, and his suit the other."

Mr. Bacon, after he had been vehement in parliament against depopulation and inclosures; and that soon after the queen told him that she had referred the hearing of Mr. Mill's cause to certain coun-

sellors and judges ; and asked him how he liked of it? answered, " Oh, Madam, my mind is known ; I am against all inclosures, and especially against inclosed justice."

When Sir Nicholas Bacon the lord keeper lived, every room in Gorhambury was served with a pipe of water from the ponds, distant about a mile off. In the lifetime of Mr. Anthony Bacon, the water ceased. After whose death, his lordship coming to the inheritance, could not recover the water without infinite charge : when he was lord chancellor, he built Verulam house, close by the pond yard, for a place of privacy when he was called upon to dispatch any urgent business. And being asked, why he had built that house there ; his lordship answered, " that since he could not carry the water to his house, he would carry his house to the water."

When my lord president of the council came first to be lord treasurer, he complained to my lord chancellor of the troublesomeness of the place ; for that the exchequer was so empty ; the lord chancellor answered, " My lord, be of good cheer, for now you shall see the bottom of your business at the first."

When his lordship was newly advanced to the great seal, Gondomar¹ came to visit him. My lord said, that he was to thank God and the king for that honour ; but yet, so he might be rid of the burden, he could very willingly forbear the honour ; and that he formerly had a desire, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private life. Gondomar answered, that he would tell him a tale of an old rat, that would needs leave the world, and acquainted the young rats that he would retire into his hole, and spend his days solitarily, and would enjoy no more comfort ; and commanded them upon his high displeasure, not to offer to come in unto him. They forbore two or three days ; at last, one that was more hardy than the rest incited some of his fellows to go in with him, and he would venture to see how his father did ; for he might be dead. They went in, and found the old rat sitting in the midst of a rich Parmesan cheese. So he applied the fable after his witty manner.

Rabelais tells a tale of one that was very fortunate in compounding differences. His son undertook the said course, but could never compound any. Whereupon he came to his father, and asked him, what art he had to reconcile differences? He answered, " he had no other but this : to watch when the two parties were much wearied, and their hearts were too great to seek reconciliation at one another's hands ; then to be a means betwixt them, and upon no other terms." After which the son went home and prospered in the same undertakings.

Alonso Cartilio was informed by his steward of the greatness of his expense, being such as he could not hold out therewith. The bishop asked him, wherein it chiefly arose? His steward told him, in the multitude of his servants. The bishop bade him to make him a note of those that were necessary, and those that might be spared. Which he did. And the bishop taking occasion to read it before most of his servants, said to his steward, " Well, let these remain because I

¹ The Spanish ambassador, whose influence sent Raleigh to the block.

have need of them ; and these other also because they have need of me."

Mr. Marbury the preacher would say, "that God was fain to do with wicked men, as men do with frisking jades in a pasture, that cannot take them up, till they get them at a gate. So wicked men will not be taken up till the hour of death."

Pope Sixtus the fifth, who was a very poor man's son, and his father's house ill thatched, so that the sun came in in many places, would sport with his ignobility, and say, "that he was *nato di casa illustre* : son of an illustrious house."

When the king of Spain conquered Portugal, he gave special charge to his lieutenant that the soldiers should not spoil, lest he should alienate the hearts of the people: the army also suffered much scarcity of victual. Whereupon the Spanish soldiers would afterwards say, "that they had won the king a kingdom on earth, as the kingdom of heaven used to be won : by fasting and abstaining from that which is another man's."

They feigned a tale of Sixtus Quintus, whom they called Size-ace, that after his death he went to hell, and the porter of hell said to him, "You have some reason to offer yourself to this place, because you were a wicked man ; but yet, because you were a pope, I have order not to receive you : you have a place of your own, purgatory ; you may go thither." So he went away, and sought about a great while for purgatory, and could find no such place. Upon that he took heart, and went to heaven, and knocked ; and St. Peter asked, "Who was there?" He said, "Sixtus pope." Whereunto St. Peter said, "Why do you knock ? you have the keys." Sixtus answered, "It is true ; but it is so long since they were given, that I doubt the wards of the lock be altered."

Charles, king of Sweden, a great enemy of the Jesuits, when he took any of their colleges, he would hang the old Jesuits, and put the young to his mines, saying, "that since they wrought so hard above ground, he would try how they could work under ground."

In chancery, at one time when the counsel of the parties set forth the boundaries of the land in question, by the plot : and the counsel of one part said, "We lie on this side, my lord ;" and the counsel of the other part said, "And we lie on this side ;" the lord chancellor Hatton stood up and said ; "If you lie on both sides, whom will you have me to believe?"

Sir Edward Coke was wont to say, when a great man came to dinner to him, and gave him no knowledge of his coming, "Sir, since you sent me no word of your coming, you must dine with me ; but if I had known of it in due time, I would have dined with you."

Pope Julius the third, when he was made pope, gave his hat unto a youth, a favourite of his, with great scandal. Whereupon, at one time, a cardinal that might be free with him, said modestly to him, "What did your holiness see in that young man, to make him cardinal?" Julius answered, "What did you see in me to make me pope?"

The same Julius, upon like occasion of speech, why he should bear
50 great affection to the same young man ? would say, "that he found

by astrology that it was the youth's destiny to be a great prelate; which was impossible except himself were pope. And therefore that he did raise him, as the driver on of his own fortune."

Sir Thomas More had only daughters at the first, and his wife did ever pray for a boy. At last she had a boy, which being come to man's estate, proved but simple. Sir Thomas said to his wife, "Thou prayedst so long for a boy, that he will be a boy as long as he lives."

Sir Fulk Grevil, afterwards lord Brook, in parliament, when the House of Commons, in a great business, stood much upon precedents, said unto them, "Why do you stand so much upon precedents? The times hereafter will be good or bad. If good, precedents will do no harm; if bad, power will make a way where it finds none."

Sir Thomas More on the day that he was beheaded, had a barber sent to him, because his hair was long; which was thought would make him more commiserated with the people. The barber came to him, and asked him, "Whether he would be pleased to be trimmed?" "In good faith, honest fellow," saith Sir Thomas, "the king and I have a suit for my head; and till the title be cleared, I will do no cost upon it."

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a great champion of the popish religion, was wont to say of the Protestants who ground upon the Scripture, "That they were like posts, that bring truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths."

The former Sir Thomas More had sent him by a suitor in chancery two silver flagons. When they were presented by the gentleman's servant, he said to one of his men, "Have him to the cellar, and let him have of my best wine:" and, turning to the servant, said, "Tell thy master, if he like it, let him not spare it."

Michael Angelo, the famous painter, painting in the pope's chapel the portraiture of hell and damned souls, made one of the damned souls so like a cardinal that was his enemy, as everybody at first sight knew it. Whereupon the cardinal complained to Pope Clement, humbly praying it might be defaced. The pope said to him, "Why, you know very well, I have power to deliver a soul out of purgatory, but not out of hell."

There was an agent here for the Dutch, called Carroon; and when he used to move the queen for farther succours and more men, my lord Henry Howard would say, "That he agreed well with the name of Charon, ferryman of hell; for he came still for more men, to increase *regnum umbrarum*."

They were wont to call referring to the masters in chancery, committing. My lord keeper Egerton, when he was master of the rolls, was wont to ask, "What the cause had done that it should be committed?"

They feigned a tale, principally against doctors' reports in the chancery, that Sir Nicholas Bacon, when he came to heaven gate, was opposed, touching an unjust decree which had been made in the chancery. Sir Nicholas desired to see the order, whereupon the decree was drawn up; and finding it to begin, "*Veneris*," &c., "Why," saith he, "I was then sitting in the star-chamber; this concerns the

master of the rolls : let him answer it." Soon after came the master of the rolls, Cordal, who died indeed a small time after Sir Nicholas Bacon ; and he was likewise stayed upon it : and looking into the order he found, that upon the reading of a certificate of Dr. Gibson, it was ordered that his report should be decreed. And so he put it upon Dr. Gibson, and there it stuck.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, when a certain nimble-witted counsellor at the bar, who was forward to speak did interrupt him often, said unto him, " There is a great difference betwixt you and me : a pain to me to speak, and a pain to you to hold your peace."

The same Sir Nicholas Bacon, upon bills exhibited to discover where lands lay, upon proof that they had a certain quantity of land, but could not set it forth, was wont to say : " And if you cannot find your land in the country, how will you have me find it in the chancery?"

Mr. Howland, in conference with a young student, arguing a case, happened to say, " I would ask you but this question." The student presently interrupted him, to give him an answer. Whereunto Mr. Howland gravely said, " Nay, though I ask you a question, yet I did not mean you should answer me ; I mean to answer myself."

Pope Adrian the sixth was talking with the duke of Sesa, " that Pasquil¹ gave great scandal, and that he would have him thrown into the river : " but Sesa answered, " Do it not, holy father, for then he will turn frog ; and whereas now he chants but by day, he will then chant both by day and night."

There was a gentleman in Italy that wrote to a great friend of his, whom the pope had newly advanced to be cardinal, that he was very glad of his advancement, for the cardinal's own sake ; but he was sorry that himself had lost a good friend.

There was a king of Hungary² took a bishop in battle, and kept him prisoner ; whereupon the pope writ a monitory to him, for that he had broken the privilege of holy church, and taken his son. The king sent an embassy to him, and sent withal the armour wherein the bishop was taken, and this only in writing, "*Vide num hæc sit vestis filii tui* : — Know now whether this be thy son's coat."

Sir Amyas Pawlet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, " Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner."

A master of the requests to Queen Elizabeth had divers times moved for audience, and been put off. At last he came to the queen in a progress, and had on a new pair of boots. The queen, who loved not the smell of new leather, said to him, " Fy, sloven, thy new boots stink." " Madam," said he, " it is not my new boots that stink ; but it is the stale bills that I have kept so long."

At an act of the commencement, the answerer gave for his question, that an aristocracy was better than a monarchy. The replier, who was a dissolute man, did tax him, that being a private bred man,

¹ Pasquil was a statue which stood in the Roman Forum, on which the citizens used to affix satirical jests on public men and public occurrences.

² It was Richard Cœur de Lion who sent this message to the Pope with the armour of the Bishop of Beauvais.

he would give a question of state. The answerer said, that the replier did much wrong the privilege of scholars, who would be much straitened if they should give questions of nothing but such things wherein they are practised: and added, "We have heard yourself dispute of virtue, which no man will say you put much in practice."

Queen Isabella of Spain used to say, "Whosoever hath a good presence and a good fashion, carries continual letters of commendation."

Alonso of Arragon was wont to say in commendation of age, "That age appeared to be best in four things: old wood best to burn; old wine to drink; old friends to trust; and old authors to read."

It was said of Augustus, and afterwards the like was said of Septimius Severus, both which did infinite mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good towards their ends, "that they should either have never been born or never died."

Constantine the Great, in a kind of envy, himself being a great builder, as Trajan likewise was, would call Trajan *Parietaria*: wall-flower; because his name was upon so many walls.

Alonso of Arragon was wont to say of himself, "That he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead;" meaning of books.

Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, in a famine, sold all the rich vessels and ornaments of the church, to relieve the poor with bread; and said, "there was no reason that the dead temples of God should be sumptuously furnished, and the living temples suffer penury."

Many men, especially such as affect gravity, have a manner after other men's speech to shake their heads. A great officer of this land would say, "It was as men shake a bottle, to see if there were any wit in their heads or no."

After a great fight, there came to the camp of Gonsalvo the great captain, a gentleman, proudly horsed and armed. Diego de Mendoza asked the great captain, "Who is this?" Who answered, "It is Saint Ermin, who never appears but after a storm."

There was one that died greatly in debt: when it was reported in some company, where divers of his creditors casually were, that he was dead, one began to say, "Well, if he be gone, then he hath carried five hundred ducats of mine with him into the other world;" and another said, "And two hundred of mine;" and a third spake of great sums of his. Whereupon one that was amongst them said, "I perceive now, that though a man cannot carry any of his own with him into the next world, yet he may carry away that which is another man's."

Francis Carvajal, that was the great captain of the rebels of Peru, had often given the chase to Diego Centeno, a principal commander of the emperor's party: he was afterwards taken by the emperor's lieutenant Gasca, and committed to the custody of Diego Centeno, who used him with all possible courtesy; insomuch as Carvajal asked him, "I pray, Sir, who are you that use me with this courtesy?" Centeno said, "Do not you know Diego Centeno?" Carvajal answered, "Truly, Sir, I have been so used to see your back, as I knew not your face."

There was a merchant died that was very far in debt ; his goods and household stuff were set forth to sale. A stranger would needs buy a pillow there, saying, "This pillow sure is good to sleep upon, since he could sleep that owed so many debts."

A lover met his lady in a close chair, she thinking to have gone unknown ; he came and spake to her. She asked him, "How did you know me?" He said, "Because my wounds bleed afresh, alluding to the common tradition, that the wounds of a body slain will bleed afresh upon the approach of the murderer."

A gentleman brought music to his lady's window. She hated him, and had warned him often away ; and when he would not desist, she threw stones at him. Whereupon a gentleman said unto him that was in his company, "What greater honour can you have to your music, than that stones come about you, as they did to Orpheus?"

Coranus the Spaniard, at a table at dinner, fell into an extolling his own father, saying, "If he could have wished of God, he could not have chosen amongst men a better father." Sir Henry Savil said, "What, not Abraham?" Now Coranus was doubted to descend of a race of Jews.

Bresquet, jester to Francis the first of France, did keep a calendar of fools, wherewith he did use to make the king sport, telling him ever the reason why he put any one into his calendar. When Charles the fifth, emperor, upon confidence of the noble nature of Francis, passed through France, for the appeasing of the rebellion of Gaunt,¹ Bresquet put him into his calendar. The king asked him the cause. He answered, "Because you having suffered at the hands of Charles the greatest bitterness that ever prince did from another, nevertheless he would trust his person into your hands." "Why, Bresquet," said the king, "what wilt thou say, if thou seest him pass back in as great safety, as if he marched through the midst of Spain?" Saith Bresquet, "Why then I will put him out, and put in you."

Archbishop Grindall was wont to say, "that the physicians here in England were not good at the cure of particular diseases ; but had only the power of the Church, to bind and loose."

Cosmus duke of Florence was wont to say of perfidious friends, "that we read, that we ought to forgive our enemies ; but we do not read that we ought our friends."

A papist being opposed by a protestant, "that they had no Scripture for images," answered, "Yes ; for you read that the people laid their sick in the streets, that the shadow of St. Peter might come upon them ; and that a shadow was an image, and the obscurest of all images."

Sir Edward Dyer, a grave and wise gentleman, did much believe in Kelly the alchemist, that he did indeed the work, and did make gold ; insomuch that he went into Germany, where Kelly then was, to inform himself fully thereof. After his return, he dined with my lord of Canterbury ; where at that time was at the table Dr. Brown the physician. They fell in talk of Kelly. Sir Edward Dyer, turning to the archbishop, said, "I do assure your grace, that what I shall tell you is

¹ Ghent.

truth ; I am an eye-witness thereof ; and if I had not seen it, I should not have believed it. I saw Mr. Kelly put of the base metal into the crucible ; and after it was set a little upon the fire, and a very small quantity of the medicine put in, and stirred with a stick of wood, it came forth in great proportion, perfect gold ; to the touch, to the hammer, and to the test." My lord archbishop said ; " You had need take heed what you say, Sir Edward Dyer, for here is an infidel at the board." Sir Edward Dyer said again pleasantly, " I should have looked for an infidel sooner in any place than at your grace's table." " What say you, Dr. Brown ?" said the archbishop. Dr. Brown answered, after his blunt and huddling manner ; " The gentleman hath spoken enough for me." " Why," said the archbishop, " what hath he said ?" " Marry," saith Dr. Brown, " he said, he would not have believed it, except he had seen it : and no more will I."

Doctor Johnson said, that in sickness there were three things that were material ; the physician, the disease, and the patient : and if any two of these joined, then they get the victory ; for "*Ne Hercules quidem contra duos.*" If the physician and the patient join, then down goes the disease ; for then the patient recovers : if the physician and the disease join, that is a strong disease ; and the physician mistaking the cure, then down goes the patient : if the patient and the disease join, then down goes the physician ; for he is discredited.

Mr. Bettenham said, that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not out their sweet smell, till they be broken or crushed.

There was a painter became a physician : whereupon one said to him ; " You have done well ; for before the faults of your work were seen ; but now they are unseen."

There was a gentleman that came to the tilt all in orange-tawney, and ran very ill. The next day he came again all in green, and ran worse. There was one of the lookers-on asked another ; " What is the reason that this gentleman changeth his colours ?" The other answered, " Sure, because it may be reported, that the gentleman in the green ran worse than the gentleman in the orange-tawney."

Zelim was the first of the Ottomans that did shave his beard, whereas his predecessors wore it long. One of his bashaws asked him why he altered the custom of his predecessors ? He answered, " Because you bashaws may not lead me by the beard, as you did them."

Æneas Sylvius, that was Pope Pius Secundus, was wont to say ; that the former popes did wisely to set the lawyers a-work to debate, whether the donation of Constantine the Great to Sylvester, of St. Peter's patrimony, were good or valid in law or no ? the better to skip over the matter in fact, whether there was ever any such thing at all or no.

The lord bishop Andrews was asked at the first coming over of the archbishop of Spalato, whether he were a protestant or no ? He answered : " Truly I know not ; but I think he is a detestant ;" that was, of most of the opinions of Rome.

It was said amongst some of the grave prelates of the council of Trent, in which the school-divines bare the sway, that the school-

men were like astronomers, who, to save the phenomena, framed to their conceit eccentrics and epicycles, and a wonderful engine of orbs, though no such things were : so they, to save the practice of the church, had devised a great number of strange positions.

Æneas Sylvius would say, that the Christian faith and law, though it had not been ¹ confirmed by miracles, yet was worthy to be received for the honesty thereof.

Mr. Bacon would say, that it was in his business, as it is frequently in the ways : that the next ² way is commonly the foulest ; and that if a man will go the fairest way, he must go somewhat about.

Mr. Bettenham, reader of Gray's Inn, used to say, that riches were like muck ; when it lay in a heap it gave but a stench and ill odour ; but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit.

Cicero married his daughter to Dolabella, that held Cæsar's party : Pompey had married Julia, that was Cæsar's daughter. After, when Cæsar and Pompey took arms one against the other, and Pompey had passed the seas, and Cæsar possessed Italy, Cicero stayed somewhat long in Italy, but at last sailed over to join with Pompey ; when he came to him, Pompey said, " You are welcome ; but where left you your son-in-law ? " Cicero answered, " With your father-in-law."

Vespasian and Titus his eldest son were both absent from Rome when the empire was cast upon Vespasian ; Domitian his younger son was at Rome, who took upon him the affairs ; and being of a turbulent spirit, made many changes, and displaced divers officers and governors of provinces, sending them successors. So when Vespasian returned to Rome, and Domitian came into his presence, Vespasian said to him : " Son, I looked when you would have sent me a successor."

Galba succeeded Nero, and his age being despised, there was much licence and confusion in Rome during his empire ; whereupon a senator said in full senate : " It were better to live where nothing is lawful, than where all things are lawful."

Augustus Cæsar did write to Livia, who was over-sensible of some ill words that had been spoken of them both : " Let it not trouble thee, my Livia, if any man speak ill of us ; for we have enough that no man can do ill unto us."

Chilon said, that kings' friends, and favourites, were like casting counters, that sometimes stood for one, sometimes for ten, sometimes for an hundred.

Theodosius, when he was pressed by a suitor, and denied him, the suitor said, " Why, sir, you promised it." He answered : " I said it, but I did not promise it, if it be unjust."

The Romans, when they spake to the people, were wont to style them, Ye Romans : when commanders in war spake to their army, they styled them, My soldiers. There was a mutiny in Cæsar's army, and somewhat the soldiers would have had, yet they would not declare themselves in it, but only demanded a mission, or discharge ; though

¹ Even if it had not been.

² Nearest.

with no intention it should be granted : but, knowing that Cæsar had at that time great need of their service, thought by that means to wrench him to their other desires : whereupon with one cry they asked mission. Cæsar, after silence made, said : " I for my part, ye Romans." This title did actually speak them to be dismissed : which voice they had no sooner heard, but they mutinied again, and would not suffer him to go on with his speech until he had called them by the name of his soldiers : and so with that one word he appeased the sedition.

Cæsar would say of Sylla, for that he did resign his dictatorship : " Sylla was ignorant of letters, he could not dictate."

Seneca said of Cæsar, " that he did quickly show the sword, but never leave it off."

Diogenes begging, as divers philosophers then used, did beg more of a prodigal man, than of the rest which were present. Whereupon one said to him : " See your baseness, that when you find a liberal mind, you will take most of him." " No," said Diogenes, " but I mean to beg of the rest again."

Themistocles, when an ambassador from a mean estate did speak great matters, said to him, " Friend, thy words would require a city."

They would say of the Duke of Guise, Henry, " that he was the greatest usurer in France, for that he had turned all his estate into obligations." Meaning, that he had sold and oppignerated all his patrimony to give large donatives to other men.

Cæsar Borgia, after long division between him and the lords of Romagna, fell to accord with them. In this accord there was an article, that he should not call them at any time all together in person. The meaning was, that knowing his dangerous nature, if he meant them treason, he might have opportunity to oppress them all together at once. Nevertheless, he used such fine art, and fair carriage, that he won their confidence to meet all together in council at Cinigaglia ; where he murdered them all. This act when it was related unto pope Alexander, his father, by a cardinal, as a thing happy, but very perfidious ; the pope said, " It was they that broke their covenant first, in coming all together."

Titus Quinctius was in the council of the Achaians, what time they deliberated, whether in the war then to follow, between the Romans and king Antiochus, they should confederate themselves with the Romans, or with king Antiochus ? In that council the Ætolians, who incited the Achaians against the Romans, to disable their forces, gave great words, as if the late victory the Romans had obtained against Philip king of Macedon, had been chiefly by the strength of forces of the Ætolians themselves : and on the other side the ambassador of Antiochus did extol the forces of his master ; sounding what an innumerable company he brought in his army ; and gave the nations strange names ; as Elymæans, Caducians, and others. After both their harangues, Titus Quinctius, when he rose up, said : " It was an easy matter to perceive what it was that had joined Antiochus and the Ætolians together ; that it appeared to be by the reciprocal lying of each, touching the other's forces."

The Lacedæmonians were besieged by the Athenians in the port of

Pyle, which was won, and some slain, and some taken. There was one said to one of them that was taken, by way of scorn, "Were they not brave men that lost their lives at the port of Pyle?" He answered, "Certainly a Persian arrow is much to be set by, if it can choose out a brave man."

Clodius was acquitted by a corrupt jury, that had palpably taken shares of money: before they gave up their verdict, they prayed of the senate a guard, that they might do their consciences, for that Clodius was a very seditious young nobleman. Whereupon all the world gave him for condemned. But acquitted he was. Catulus, the next day seeing some of them that had acquitted him together, said to them, "What made you ask of us a guard? Were you afraid your money should be taken from you?"

At the same judgment, Cicero gave in evidence upon oath: and when the jury, which consisted of fifty-seven, had passed against his evidence, one day in the senate Cicero and Clodius being in altercation, Clodius upbraided him, and said, "The jury gave you no credit." Cicero answered, "Five-and-twenty gave me credit: but there were two-and-thirty that gave you no credit, for they had their money beforehand."

Sir Henry Savil was asked by my lord of Essex his opinion touching poets? He answered my lord: "that he thought them the best writers, next to them that writ prose."

Diogenes, having seen that the kingdom of Macedon, which before was contemptible and low, began to come aloft when he died, was asked, how he would be buried? He answered, "With my face downwards; for within a while, the world will be turned upside down, and then I shall lie right."

Cato the elder was wont to say, that the Romans were like sheep; a man were better to drive a flock of them, than one of them.

When Lycurgus was to reform and alter the state of Sparta, in consultation one advised, that it should be reduced to an absolute popular equality: but Lycurgus said to him, "Sir, begin it in your own house."

Bion, that was an atheist, was showed in a port city, in a temple of Neptune, many tables of pictures, of such as had in tempests made their vows to Neptune, and were saved from shipwreck: and was asked, "How say you now? Do you not acknowledge the power of the gods?" But saith he, "Ay, but where are they painted that have been drowned after their vows?"

Cicero was at dinner, where there was an ancient lady that spake of her own years, and said, "she was but forty years old." One that sat by Cicero rounded him in the ear, and said, "She talks of forty years old; but she is far more out of question." Cicero answered him again, "I must believe her, for I have heard her say so any time these ten years."

There was a soldier that vaunted before Julius Cæsar of the hurts he had received in his face. Julius Cæsar, knowing him to be but a coward, told him, "You were best take heed next time you run away, how you look back."

There was a suitor to Vespasian, who, to lay his suit fairer, said it

was for his brother ; whereas indeed it was for a piece of money. Some about Vespasian told the emperor to cross him, that the party his servant spoke for, was not his brother ; but that he did it upon a bargain. Vespasian sent for the party interested, and asked him, "Whether his mean employed by him was his brother or no?" He durst not tell untruth to the emperor, and confessed he was not his brother. Whereupon the emperor said, "This do, fetch me the money and you shall have your suit despatched." Which he did. The courtier, which was the mean, solicited Vespasian soon after about his suit : "Why," saith Vespasian, "I gave it last day to a brother of mine."

Vespasian asked of Apollonius, what was the cause of Nero's ruin ? Who answered, "Nero could tune the harp well, but in government he did always wind up the strings too high, or let them down too low."

Dionysius the tyrant, after he was deposed and brought to Corinth, kept a school. Many used to visit him ; and amongst others, one, when he came in, opened his mantle and shook his clothes ; thinking to give Dionysius a gentle scorn ; because it was the manner to do so for them that came in to see him while he was a tyrant. But Dionysius said to him, "I pritheee do so, rather, when thou goest out, that we may see thou stealest nothing away."

Diogenes, one terrible frosty morning, came into the market-place, and stood naked, to show his tolerance.¹ Many of the people came about him pitying him : Plato passing by, and knowing he did it to be seen, said to the people as he went by, "If you pity him indeed, let him alone to himself."

Aristippus was earnest suitor to Dionysius for some grant, who would give no ear to his suit. Aristippus fell at his feet, and then Dionysius granted it. One that stood by said afterwards to Aristippus, "You a philosopher, and be so base as to throw yourself at the tyrant's feet to get a suit." Aristippus answered, "The fault is not mine, but the fault is in Dionysius, that carries his ears in his feet."

Solon, when he wept for his son's death, and one said to him, "Weeping will not help ;" answered, "Alas, therefore I weep, because weeping will not help."

The same Solon being asked, whether he had given the Athenians the best laws ? answered, "The best of those that they would have received."

One said to Aristippus, "'Tis a strange thing, why men should rather give to the poor, than to philosophers." He answered, "Because they think themselves may sooner come to be poor, than to be philosophers."

Trajan would say of the vain jealousy of princes, that seek to make away those that aspire to their succession, "that there was never king that did put to death his successor."

When it was represented to Alexander, to the advantage of Antipater, who was a stern and imperious man, that he only of all his lieutenants wore no purple, but kept the Macedonian habit of black ; Alexander said, "Yea, but Antipater is all purple within."

¹ His power of endurance.

Alexander used to say of his two friends, Craterus and Hephæstion, that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the king.

It fell out so, that as Livia went abroad in Rome, there met her naked young men that were sporting in the streets, which Augustus went about severely to punish in them; but Livia spake for them, and said, "It was no more to chaste women than so many statues."

Philip of Macedon was wished to banish one for speaking ill of him; but Philip answered, "Better he speak where we are both known, than where we are both unknown."

Lucullus entertained Pompey in one of his magnificent houses: Pompey said, "This is a marvellous fair and stately house for the summer; but methinks it should be very cold for winter." Lucullus answered, "Do you not think me as wise as divers fowls are, to change my habitation in the winter season?"

Plato entertained some of his friends at a dinner, and had in the chamber a bed, or couch,¹ neatly and costly furnished. Diogenes came in, and got up upon the bed, and trampled it, saying, "I trample upon the pride of Plato." Plato mildly answered, "But with greater pride, Diogenes."

Pompey being commissioner for sending grain to Rome in time of dearth, when he came to the sea, found it very tempestuous and dangerous, insomuch as those about him advised him by no means to embark; but Pompey said, "It is of necessity that I go, not that I live."

Demosthenes was upbraided by Æschines, that his speeches did smell of the lamp. But Demosthenes said, "Indeed there is a great deal of difference between that which you and I do by lamp-light."

Demades the orator, in his old age was talkative, and would eat hard: Antipater would say of him, that he was like a sacrifice, that nothing was left of it but the tongue and the paunch.

Themistocles, after he was banished, and had wrought himself into great favour afterwards, so that he was honoured and sumptuously served, seeing his present glory, said unto one of his friends, "If I had not been undone, I had been undone."

Philo Judæus saith, that the sense is like the sun; for the sun seals up the globe of heaven, and opens the globe of earth; so the sense doth obscure heavenly things, and reveals earthly things.

Alexander, after the battle of Granicum, had very great offers made him by Darius; consulting with his captains concerning them, Parmenio said, "Sure I would accept of these offers, if I were as Alexander." Alexander answered, "So would I if I were as Parmenio."

Augustus Cæsar would say, that he wondered that Alexander feared he should want work, having no more worlds to conquer: as if it were not as hard a matter to keep as to conquer.

Antigonus, when it was told him that the enemy had such volleys of arrows that they did hide the sun, said, "That falls out well, for it is hot weather, and so we shall fight in the shade."

Cato the elder, being aged, buried his wife, and married a young woman. His son came to him, said, "Sir, what have I offended, that

¹ The custom of the ancients was to recline on couches at meals.

you have brought a step-mother into your house?" The old man answered, "Nay, quite contrary, son : thou pleasest me so well, as I would be glad to have more such."

Crassus the orator had a fish which the Romans called *Muræna*, that he made very tame and fond of him ; the fish died, and Crassus wept for it. One day falling in contention with Domitius in the senate, Domitius said, "Foolish Crassus, you wept for your *Muræna*." Crassus replied, "That is more than you did for both your wives."

Philip, Alexander's father, gave sentence against a prisoner what time he was drowsy, and seemed to give small attention. The prisoner, after sentence was pronounced, said, "I appeal." The king, somewhat stirred, said, "To whom do you appeal?" The prisoner answered, "From Philip when he gave no ear, to Philip when he shall give ear."

There was a philosopher that disputed with the emperor Adrian, and did it but weakly. One of his friends that stood by, afterwards said unto him, "Methinks you were not like yourself last day, in argument with the emperor ; I could have answered better myself." "Why," said the philosopher, "would you have me contend with him that commands thirty legions?"

When Alexander passed into Asia, he gave large donatives to his captains, and other principal men of virtue ; inasmuch as Parmenio asked him, "Sir, what do you keep for yourself?" He answered, "Hope."

Vespasian set a tribute upon urine ; Titus his son emboldened himself to speak to his father of it : and represented it as a thing indign and sordid. Vespasian said nothing for the time ; but a while after, when it was forgotten, sent for a piece of silver out of the tribute-money, and called to his son, bidding him to smell to it ; and asked him, whether he found any offence ? Who said, "No." "Why so ?" saith Vespasian again ; "yet this comes out of urine."

Nerva the emperor succeeded Domitian, who had been tyrannical ; and in his time many noble houses were overthrown by false accusations ; the instruments whereof were chiefly Marcellus and Regulus. The emperor Nerva one night supped privately with some six or seven : amongst whom there was one that was a dangerous man ; and began to take the like courses as Marcellus and Regulus had done. The emperor fell into discourse of the injustice and tyranny of the former time ; and by name of the two accusers ; and said, "What should we do with them, if we had them now ?" One of them that was at supper, and was a free-spoken senator, said, "Marry, they should sup with us."

There was one that found a great mass of money, digging under ground in his grandfather's house ; and being somewhat doubtful of the case, signified it to the emperor that he had found such treasure. The emperor made a rescript thus : "Use it." He writ back again, that the sum was greater than his estate or condition could use. The emperor writ a new rescript, thus : "Abuse it."

Julius Cæsar, as he passed by, was, by acclamation of some that stood in the way, termed King, to try how the people would take it. The people showed great murmur and distaste at it. Cæsar, finding where the wind stood, slighted it, and said, "I am not king but Cæsar ;"

as if they had mistaken his name. For *Rex* was a surname among the Romans, as King is with us.

When Cræsus, for his glory, showed Solon his great treasures of gold, Solon said to him, "If another king come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold."

Aristippus being reprehended of luxury by one that was not rich, for that he gave six crowns for a small fish, answered, "Why, what would you have given?" The other said, "Some twelve pence." Aristippus said again, "And six crowns is no more with me."

Plato reprehended severely a young man for entering into a dissolute house. The young man said to him, "Why reprehend so sharply for so small a matter?" Plato replied, "But custom is no small matter."

Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, having received from Philip, king of Macedon, after Philip had won the victory of Charonea upon the Athenians, proud letters, writ back to him, "That if he measured his own shadow, he would find it no longer than it was before his victory."

Pyrrhus, when his friends congratulated to him his victory over the Romans, under the conduct of Fabricius, but with great slaughter of his own side, said to them again, "Yes, but if we have such another victory, we are undone."

Plato was wont to say of his master Socrates, that he was like the apothecaries' gallypots: that had on the outside apes, and owls, and satyrs; but within precious drugs.

Alexander sent to Phocion a great present of money. Phocion said to the messenger, "Why doth the king send to me, and to none else?" The messenger answered, "Because he takes you to be the only good man in Athens." Phocion replied, "If he thinks so, pray let him suffer me to be so still."

At a banquet where those that were called the seven wise men of Greece were invited by the ambassador of a barbarous king, the ambassador related, that there was a neighbour mightier than his master, picked quarrels with him, by making impossible demands, otherwise threatening war: and now at that present had demanded of him, to drink up the sea. Whereunto one of the wise men said, "I would have him undertake it." "Why," saith the ambassador, "how shall he come off?" "Thus," saith the wise man; "let that king first stop the rivers which run into the sea, which are no part of the bargain, and then your master will perform it."

At the same banquet, the ambassador desired the seven, and some other wise men that were at the banquet, to deliver every one of them some sentence or parable, that he might report to his king the wisdom of Græcia, which they did: only one was silent; which the ambassador perceiving, said to him, "Sir, let it not displease you; why do not you say somewhat that I may report?" He answered, "Report to your lord, that there are of the Grecians that can hold their peace."

The Lacedæmonians had in custom to speak very short, which being an empire, they might do at pleasure: but after their defeat at Leuctra, in an assembly of the Grecians, they made a long invective against Epaminondas; who stood up, and said no more than this; "I am glad we have brought you to speak long."

Fabius Maximus being resolved to draw the war in length, still

waited upon Hannibal's progress to curb him; and for that purpose he encamped upon the high ground: but Terentius his colleague fought with Hannibal, and was in great peril of overthrow: but then Fabius came down from the high grounds, and got the day. Whereupon Hannibal said, "that he did ever think that that same cloud that hanged upon the hills, would at one time or other give a tempest."

Hanno the Carthaginian was sent commissioner by the state, after the second Carthaginian war, to supplicate for peace, and in the end obtained it; yet one of the sharp senators said, "You have often broken with us the peaces whereunto you have been sworn; I pray, by what god will you swear?" Hanno answered; "By the same gods that have punished the former perjury so severely."

Cæsar, when he first possessed Rome, Pompey being fled, offered to enter the sacred treasury to take the moneys that were there stored; and Metellus, tribune of the people, did forbid him: and when Metellus was violent in it, and would not desist, Cæsar turned to him, and said; "Presume no farther, or I will lay you dead." And when Metellus was with those words somewhat astonished, Cæsar added; "Young man, it had been easier for me to do this, than to speak it."

Caius Marius was general of the Romans against the Cimbers, who came with such a sea of people upon Italy. In the fight there was a band of the Cadurcians of a thousand, that did notable service; whereupon, after the fight, Marius did denison them all for citizens of Rome, though there was no law to warrant it. One of his friends did present it unto him, that he had transgressed the law, because that privilege was not to be granted but by the people. Whereunto Marius answered; "that for the noise of arms he could not hear the laws."

Pompey did consummate the war against Sertorius, when Metellus had brought the enemy somewhat low. He did also consummate the war against the fugitives, whom Crassus had before defeated in a great battle. So when Lucullus had had great and glorious victories against Mithridates and Tigranes; yet Pompey, by means his friends made, was sent to put an end to that war. Whereupon Lucullus taking indignation, as a disgrace offered to himself, said; "that Pompey was a carrion crow: when others had stricken down the bodies, then Pompey came and preyed upon them."

Antisthenes being asked of one what learning was most necessary for man's life? answered; "To unlearn that which is nought."

Alexander visited Diogenes in his tub; and when he asked him, what he would desire of him? Diogenes answered; "That you would stand a little aside, that the sun may come to me."

The same Diogenes, when mice came about him as he was eating, said; "I see, that even Diogenes nourisheth parasites."

Hiero visited by Pythagoras, asked him, "of what condition he was?" Pythagoras answered; "Sir, I know you have been at the Olympian games." "Yes," saith Hiero. "Thither," saith Pythagoras, "come some to win the prizes. Some come to sell their merchandize, because it is a kind of mart of all Greece. Some come to meet their friends, and to make merry; because of the great confluence of all sorts. Others come only to look on. I am one of them that come to look on." Meaning it, of philosophy, and the contemplative life.

Heraclitus the obscure said ; " The dry light is the best soul : " meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not drenched, or, as it were, blooded by the affections.

One of the philosophers was asked ; " what a wise man differed from a fool ? " He answered, " Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive."

There was a law made by the Romans against the bribery and extortion of the governors of provinces. Cicero saith in a speech of his to the people, " that he thought the provinces would petition to the state of Rome to have that law repealed. For," saith he, " before the governors did bribe and extort as much as was sufficient for themselves ; but now they bribe and extort as much as may be enough not only for themselves, but for the judges, and jurors, and magistrates."

Aristippus sailing in a tempest, showed signs of fear. One of the seamen said to him, in an insulting manner : " We that are plebeians are not troubled ; you that are a philosopher are afraid." Aristippus answered ; " That there is not the like wager upon it, for you to perish, and for me."

There was an orator that defended a cause of Aristippus, and prevailed. Afterwards he asked Aristippus ; " Now, in your distress, what did Socrates do you good ? " Aristippus answered ; " Thus, in making that which you said of me to be true."

There was an Epicurean vaunted, that divers of other sects of philosophers did after turn Epicureans ; but there never were any Epicureans that turned to any other sect. Whereupon a philosopher that was of another sect, said ; " The reason was plain, for that cocks may be made capons, but capons could never be made cocks."

Chilon would say, " That gold was tried with the touchstone, and men with gold."

Simonides being asked of Hiero, " what he thought of God ? " asked a seven-night's time to consider of it ; and at the seven-night's end, he asked a fortnight's time ; at the fortnight's end, a month. At which Hiero marvelling, Simonides answered ; " that the longer he thought upon the matter, the more difficult he found it."

A Spaniard was censuring to a French gentleman the want of devotion amongst the French ; in that, whereas in Spain, when the sacrament goes to the sick, any that meets with it turns back and waits upon it to the house whither it goes ; but in France they only do reverence, and pass by. But the French gentleman answered him, " There is reason for it ; for here with us Christ is secure amongst His friends ; but in Spain there be so many Jews and Moranos,¹ that 't is not amiss for him to have a convoy."

Mr. Popham, afterwards lord chief justice Popham, when he was speaker, and the house of commons had sat long, and done in effect nothing, coming one day to queen Elizabeth, she said to him, " Now, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the commons house ? " He answered, " If it please your majesty, seven weeks."

Themistocles in his lower fortune, loved a young gentleman who scorned him ; but when he grew to his greatness, which was soon after,

¹ Moors.

he sought him : Themistocles said, " We are both grown wise, but too late."

Bion was sailing, and there fell out a great tempest ; and the mariners, that were wicked and dissolute fellows, called upon the gods ; but Bion said to them, " Peace, let them not know you are here."

The Turks made an expedition into Persia ; and because of the strait jaws of the mountains of Armenia, the bashaws consulted which way they should get in. One that heard the debate said, " Here is much ado how you shall get in ; but I hear nobody take care how you should get out."

Philip king of Macedon maintained arguments with a musician in points of his art, somewhat peremptorily ; but the musician said to him, " God forbid, Sir, your fortune were so hard, that you should know these things better than myself."

Antalcidas, when an Athenian said to him, " Ye Spartans are unlearned," said again, " True, for we have learned no evil nor vice of you."

Pace, the bitter fool, was not suffered to come at queen Elizabeth, because of his bitter humour. Yet at one time, some persuaded the queen that he should come to her ; undertaking for him that he should keep within compass : so he was brought to her, and the queen said, " Come on, Pace ; now we shall hear of our faults." Saith Pace, " I do not use to talk of that that all the town talks of."

Bishop Latimer said, in a sermon at court, " That he heard great speech that the king was poor ; and many ways were propounded to make him rich : for his part he had thought of one way, which was, that they should help the king to some good office, for all his officers were rich."

After the defeat of Cyrus the younger, Falinus was sent by the king to the Grecians, who had for their part rather victory than otherwise, to command them to yield their arms : which when it was denied, Falinus said to Clearchus, " Well, then, the king lets you know, that if you remove from the place where you are now encamped, it is war : if you stay, it is truce. What shall I say you will do ?" Clearchus answered, " It pleaseth us, as it pleaseth the king," " How is that ?" saith Falinus. Saith Clearchus, " If we remove, war : if we stay, truce ;" and so would not disclose his purpose.

Alcibiades came to Pericles, and stayed a while ere he was admitted. When he came in, Pericles civilly excused it, and said : " I was studying how to give mine account." But Alcibiades said to him, " If you will be ruled by me, study rather how to give no account."

Mendoza, that was viceroy of Peru, was wont to say, " That the government of Peru was the best place that the king of Spain gave, save that it was somewhat too near Madrid."

When Vespasian passed from Jewry to take upon him the empire, he went by Alexandria, where remained two famous philosophers, Apollonius and Euphrates. The emperor heard them discourse touching matter of state, in the presence of many. And when he was weary of them, he brake off, and in secret derision, finding their discourses but speculative, and not to be put in practice, said, " O that I might govern wise men, and wise men govern me."

Cardinal Ximenes, upon a muster, which was taken against the Moors, was spoken to by a servant of his to stand a little out of the smoke of the harquebus: but he said again, "that that was his incense."

Nero was wont to say of his master, Seneca, "That his style was like mortar without lime."

Augustus Cæsar, out of great indignation against his two daughters, and Posthumus Agrippa, his grandchild; whereof the two first were infamous, and the last otherwise unworthy; would say, "That they were not his seed, but some imposthumes that had broken from him."

A seaman coming before the judges of the admiralty for admittance into an office of a ship bound for the Indies, was by one of the judges much slighted, as an insufficient person for that office he sought to obtain; the judge telling him, "that he believed he could not say the points of his compass." The seaman answered; "that he could say them, under favour, better than he could say his *Pater-noster*." The judge replied, "that he would wager twenty shillings with him upon that." The seaman taking him up, it came to trial: and the seaman began, and said all the points of his compass very exactly: the judge likewise said his *Pater-noster*: and when he had finished it, he required the wager according to agreement; because the seaman was to say his compass better than he his *Pater-noster*, which he had not performed. "Nay, I pray, Sir, hold," quoth the seaman, "the wager is not finished; for I have but half done:" and so he immediately said his compass backward very exactly; which the judge failing of in his *Pater-noster*, the seaman carried away the prize.

There was a conspiracy against the emperor Claudius by Scribonianus, examined in the senate; where Claudius sat in his chair, and one of his freed servants stood at the back of his chair. In the examination, that freed servant, who had much power with Claudius, very saucily, had almost all the words: and amongst other things, he asked in scorn one of the examines, who was likewise a freed servant of Scribonianus; "I pray, Sir, if Scribonianus had been emperor, what would you have done?" He answered; "I would have stood behind his chair and held my peace."

One was saying that his great-grandfather, and grandfather, and father, died at sea: said another that heard him, "And I were as you, I would never come at sea." "Why," saith he, "where did your great-grandfather, and grandfather, and father die?" He answered; "Where but in their beds?" He answered; "And I were you, I would never come in bed."

There was a dispute, whether great heads or little heads had the better wit? And one said, "It must needs be the little: for that it is a maxim, '*Omne majus continet in se minus.*'"

Sir Thomas More, when the counsel of the party pressed him for a longer day to perform the decree, said; "Take saint Barnaby's day, which is the longest day in the year." Now saint Barnaby's day was within few days following.

One of the fathers saith, "That there is but this difference between the death of old men and young men; that old men go to death, and death comes to young men."

Cassius, after the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, whose weapons were chiefly arrows, fled to the city of Cuarras, where he durst not stay any time, doubting to be pursued and besieged ; he had with him an astrologer, who said to him, "Sir, I would not have you go hence, while the moon is in the sign of Scorpio." Cassius answered, "I am more afraid of that of Sagittarius."

Jason the Thessalian was wont to say, "that some things must be done unjustly, that many things may be done justly."

Cato Major would say, "That wise men learned more by fools, than fools by wise men."

When it was said to Anaxagoras ; "The Athenians have condemned you to die ;" he said again, "And Nature them."

Alexander, when his father wished him to run for the prize of the race at the Olympian games, for he was very swift, answered : "He would, if he might run with kings."

Antigonus used often to go disguised, and to listen at the tents of his soldiers ; and at a time heard some that spoke very ill of him. Whereupon he opened the tent a little, and said to them : "If you would speak ill of me, you should go a little farther off."

Aristippus said : "That those that studied particular sciences, and neglected philosophy, were like Penelope's wooers, that made love to the waiting woman."

The ambassadors of Asia Minor came to Antonius, after he had imposed upon them a double tax, and said plainly to him ; "That if he would have two tributes in one year, he must give them two seed-times and two harvests."

An orator of Athens said to Demosthenes ; "The Athenians will kill you if they wax mad." Demosthenes replied, "And they will kill you if they be in good sense."

Epictetus used to say ; "That one of the vulgar, in any ill that happens to him, blames others ; a novice in philosophy blames himself ; and a philosopher blames neither the one nor the other."

Cæsar, in his book that he made against Cato, which is lost, did write, to show the force of opinion and reverence of a man that had once obtained a popular reputation ; "There were some that found Cato drunk, and were ashamed instead of Cato."

There was a nobleman said of a great counsellor, "that he would have made the worse farrier in the world ; for he never shod horse but he cloyed him : for he never commended any man to the king for service, or upon occasion of suit, or otherwise, but that he would come in in the end with a *but*, and drive in a nail to his disadvantage."

Diogenes called an ill physician, Cock. "Why?" saith he. Diogenes answered ; "Because when you crow men used to rise."

There was a gentleman fell very sick, and a friend of his said to him ; "Surely you are in danger ; I pray send for a physician." But the sick man answered ; "It is no matter, for if I die, I will die at leisure."

Cato the elder, what time many of the Romans had statues erected in their honour, was asked by one in a kind of wonder, "Why he had none?" He answered, "He had much rather men should ask and wonder why he had no statue, than why he had a statue."

A certain friend of Sir Thomas More's, taking great pains about a book, which he intended to publish, being well conceited of his own wit, which no man else thought worthy of commendation, brought it to Sir Thomas More to peruse it, and pass his judgment upon it: which he did; and finding nothing therein worthy the press, he said to him with a grave countenance; "That if it were in verse it would be more worthy." Upon which words, he went immediately and turned it into verse, and then brought it to Sir Thomas again; who looking thereon, said soberly; "Yes, marry, now it is somewhat, for now it is rhyme: whereas before it was neither rhyme nor reason."

Sir Henry Wotton used to say, "That critics were like brushers of noblemen's clothes."

Hannibal said of Fabius Maximus, and of Marcellus, whereof the former waited upon him, that he could make no progress, and the latter had many sharp fights with him; "That he feared Fabius like a tutor and Marcellus like an enemy."

When King Edward the second was amongst his torturers, who hurried him to and fro, that no man should know where he was, they set him down upon a bank; and one time, the more to disguise his face, shaved him, and washed him with cold water of a ditch by: the king said; "Well, yet I will have warm water for my beard;" and so shed abundance of tears.

One of the Seven was wont to say; "That laws were like cobwebs; where the small flies were caught, and the great break through."

Lewis the eleventh of France, having much abated the greatness and power of the peers, nobility, and court of parliament, would say, "That he had brought the crown out of ward."

There was a cowardly Spanish soldier, that in a defeat the Moors gave, ran away with the foremost. Afterwards, when the army generally fled, the soldier was missing. Whereupon it was said by some that he was slain. "No sure," said one, "he is alive; for the Moors eat no hare's flesh."

A gentleman that was punctual of his word, and loved the same in others, when he heard that two persons had agreed upon a meeting about serious affairs, at a certain time and place; and that the one party failed in the performance, or neglected his hour: would usually say of him, "He is a young man then."

Anacharsis would say, concerning the popular estates of Græcia, that "he wondered how at Athens wise men¹ did propose, and fools dispose."

When Queen Elizabeth had advanced Raleigh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my lord of Oxford and another nobleman stood by. It fell out so, that the ledge before the jacks² was taken away, so as the jacks were seen: my lord of Oxford and the other nobleman smiled, and a little whispered. The queen marked it, and would needs know what the matter was? My lord of Oxford answered; "That they smiled to see that when jacks went up, heads went down."

Sir Thomas More, who was a man, in all his lifetime, that had

¹ Wise men of Greece.

² The hammers.

an excellent vein in jesting, at the very instant of his death, having a pretty long beard, after his head was upon the block, lift it up again, and gently drew his beard aside, and said ; " this hath not offended the king."

Demonax the philosopher, when he died, was asked touching his burial. He answered, " Never take care for burying me, for stink will bury me." He that asked him said again : " Why, would you have your body left to the dogs and ravens to feed upon?" Demonax answered ; " Why, what great hurt is it if, having sought to do good, when I lived, to men, my body do some good to beasts, when I am dead."

Phocion the Athenian, a man of great severity, and no ways flexible to the will of the people, one day, when he spake to the people, in one part of his speech, was applauded : whereupon he turned to one of his friends, and asked, " What have I said amiss?"

Bion¹ was wont to say ; " That Socrates, of all the lovers of Alcibiades, only held him by the ears."

There was a philosopher about Tiberius, that looking into the nature of Caius, said of him ; " that he was mire mingled with blood."

There was a bishop that was somewhat a delicate person, and bathed twice a day. A friend of his said to him ; " My lord, why do you bathe twice a day?" The bishop answered ; " Because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice."

When Sir Thomas More was lord chancellor, he did use, at mass, to sit in the chancel ; and his lady in a pew. And because the pew stood out of sight, his gentleman-usher, ever after service, came to the lady's pew, and said, " Madam, my lord is gone." So when the chancellor's place was taken from him, the next time they went to church, Sir Thomas himself came to his lady's pew, and said, " Madam, my lord is gone."

A Grecian captain advising the confederates that were united against the Lacedæmonians, touching their enterprise, gave opinion, that they should go directly upon Sparta, saying, " That the state of Sparta was like rivers ; strong when they had run a great way, and weak towards their head."

One was examined upon certain scandalous words spoken against the king. He confessed them, and said, " It is true, I spake them, and if the wine had not failed, I had said much more."

Trajan would say, " That the king's exchequer was like the spleen ; for when that did swell, the whole body did pine."

Charles the Bald allowed one, whose name was Scottus, to sit at the table with him, for his pleasure : Scottus sat on the other side of the table. One time the king being merry with him, said to him, " What is there between Scott and sot?" Scottus answered, " The table only."

There was a marriage between a widow of great wealth and a gentleman of a great house, that had no estate or means. Jack Roberts said, " That marriage was like a black pudding ; the one brought blood, and the other brought suet and oatmeal."

Cræsus said to Cambyses, " That peace was better than war ;

¹ One of the seven wise men.

because in peace the sons did bury their fathers, but in the wars the fathers did bury their sons."

Carvajal,¹ when he was drawn to execution, being fourscore and five years old, and laid upon the hurdle, said, "What! young in cradle, old in cradle!"

Diogenes was asked in a kind of scorn, "What was the matter, that philosophers haunted rich men, and not rich men philosophers?" He answered, "Because the one knew what they wanted, the other did not."

Demetrius, king of Macedon, had a petition offered him divers times by an old woman, and still answered, "He had no leisure." Whereupon the woman said aloud, "Why then give over to be king."

There were two gentlemen, otherwise of equal degree, save that the one was of the ancients house. The other in courtesy asked his hand to kiss: which he gave him; and he kissed it: but said withal, to right himself by way of friendship, "Well, I and you against any two of them:" putting himself first.

Themistocles would say of himself, "That he was like a plane tree, that in tempests men fled to him, and in fair weather men were ever cropping his leaves."

Themistocles said of speech, "That it was like arras, that spread abroad shows fair images, but contracted is but like packs."

Lycurgus would say of divers of the heroes of the heathen, "That he wondered that men should mourn upon their days for them as mortal men, and yet sacrifice to them as gods."

Fabricius, in conference with Pyrrhus, was tempted to revolt to him; Pyrrhus telling him that he should be partner of his fortunes, and second person to him. But Fabricius answered, in a scorn, to such a motion, "Sir, that would not be good for yourself: for if the Epirotes once knew me, they will rather desire to be governed by me than by you."

Thales said, "that life and death were all one." One that was present asked him, "Why do not you die, then?" Thales said again, "Because they are all one."

An Egyptian priest having conference with Solon, said to him, "You Grecians are ever children; you have no knowledge of antiquity, nor antiquity of knowledge."

Diogenes was one day in the market-place with a candle in his hand; and being asked, "What he sought?" he said, "He sought a man."

Bias being asked, "How a man should order his life?" answered, "As if a man should live long, or die quickly."

Queen Elizabeth was entertained by my lord Burleigh at Theobalds; and at her going away, my lord obtained of the queen to make seven knights. They were gentlemen of the country, of my lord's friends and neighbours. They were placed in a rank, as the queen should pass by the hall, and to win antiquity of knighthood, in order, as my lord favoured: though indeed the more principal gentlemen were placed lowest. The queen was told of it, and said nothing; but

¹ Captain of the rebels in Peru.

when she went along, she passed them all by, as far as the skreen, as if she had forgot it: and when she came to the skreen, she seemed to take herself with the manner, and said, "I had almost forgot what I promised." With that she turned back, and knighted the lowest first, and so upward. Whereupon Mr. Stanhope, of the privy-chamber, a while after told her, "Your majesty was too fine for my lord Burleigh." She answered, "I have but fulfilled the Scripture; 'the first shall be last, and the last first.'"

Sir Fulke Grevill had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good; yet he would say merrily of himself, "That he was like Robin Goodfellow; for when the maids split the milkpans, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: so what tales the ladies about the queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him."

There was a politic sermon, that had no divinity in it, preached before the king. The king, as he came forth, said to bishop Andrews, "Call you this a sermon?" The bishop answered, "And it please your majesty, by a charitable construction it may be a sermon."

Henry Noel would say, "That courtiers were like fasting-days; they were next the holy-days, but in themselves they were the most meagre days of the week."

Cato said, "The best way to keep good acts in memory, was to refresh them with new."

Aristippus said, "He took money of his friends, not so much to use it himself, as to teach them how to bestow their money."

Democritus said, "That truth did lie in profound pits, and when it was got, it needed much refining."

Diogenes said of a young man that danced daintily, and was much commended, "The better, the worse."

There was a nobleman that was lean of visage, but immediately after his marriage he grew pretty plump and fat. One said to him, "Your lordship doth contrary to other married men; for they at the first wax lean, and you wax fat." Sir Walter Raleigh stood by, and said, "Why, there is no beast, that if you take him from the common, and put him into the several, but he will wax fat."

Plutarch said well, "It is otherwise in a commonwealth of men than of bees: the hive of a city or kingdom is in best condition when there is least of noise or buzz in it."

The same Plutarch said of men of weak abilities set in great place. "That they were like little statues set on great bases, made to appear the less by their advancement."

He said again, "Good fame is like fire. When you have kindled it, you may easily preserve it; but if once you extinguish it, you will not easily kindle it again; at least, not make it burn as bright as it did."

Queen Elizabeth seeing Sir Edward — in her garden, looked out at her window, and asked him in Italian, "What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?" Sir Edward, who had not had the effect of some of the queen's grants so soon as he hoped and desired, paused a little; and then made answer, "Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise." The queen shrunk in her head, but was heard to say,

“Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you. Anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor.”

When any great officer, ecclesiastical or civil, was to be made, the queen would inquire after the piety, integrity, and learning of the man. And when she was satisfied in these qualifications, she would consider of his personage. And upon such an occasion, she pleased once to say to me, “Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority, when the man is despised?”

In eighty-eight, when the queen went from Temple-bar along Fleet-street, the lawyers were ranked on one side, and the companies of the city on the other; said Mr. Bacon to a lawyer who stood next to him, “Do but observe the courtiers; if they bow first to the citizens, they are in debt; if first to us, they are in law.”

King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country houses. And sometimes he would say thus to them, “Gentlemen, at London you are like ships at sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things.”

Soon after the death of a great officer, who was judged no advancer of the king's matters, the king said to his solicitor Bacon, who was his kinsman, “Now tell me truly, what say you of your cousin that is gone?” Mr. Bacon answered, “Sir, since your majesty doth charge me, I'll e'en deal plainly with you, and give you such a character of him, as if I were to write his story. I do think he was no fit counsellor to make your affairs better; but yet he was fit to have kept them from growing worse.” The king said, “On my so'l, man, in the first thou speakest like a true man, and in the latter like a kinsman.”

King James, as he was a prince of great judgment, so he was a prince of a marvellous pleasant humour; and there now come into my mind two instances of it. As he was going through Lusen, by Greenwich, he asked what town it was? They said, Lusen. He asked a good while after, “What town is this we are now in?” They said still, 'twas Lusen. “On my so'l,” said the king, “I will be king of Lusen.”

In some other of his progresses, he asked how far it was to a town whose name I have forgotten. They said, Six miles. Half an hour after, he asked again. One said, Six miles and a half. The king alighted out of his coach and crept under the shoulder of his led horse. And when some asked his majesty what he meant? “I must stalk,” said he, “for yonder town is shy, and flies me.”

Count Gondomar sent a compliment to my lord St. Alban, wishing him a good Easter. My lord thanked the messenger, and said, “He could not at present requite the count better than in returning him the like; that he wished his lordship a good Passover.”¹

My lord Chancellor Elsmere, when he had read a petition which he disliked, would say, “What, you would have my hand to this now?” And the party answering, “Yes;” he would say farther, “Well, so you shall: nay, you shall have both my hands to it.” And so would, with both his hands, tear it in pieces.

Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say of an angry man who sup-

¹ Gondomar the Spanish ambassador, was thought to be a Jew.

pressed his passion, "That he thought worse than he spake;" and of an angry man that would chide, "That he spoke worse than he thought."

He was wont also to say, "That power in an ill man was like the power of a black witch; he could do hurt, but no good with it." And he would add, "That the magicians could turn water into blood, but could not turn the blood again to water."

When Mr. Attorney Coke, in the exchequer, gave high words to Sir Francis Bacon, and stood much upon his higher place; Sir Francis said to him, "Mr. Attorney, the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I shall think of it; and the more the less."

Sir Francis Bacon coming into the Earl of Arundel's garden, where there were a great number of ancient statues of naked men and women, made a stand, and, as astonished, cried out, "The resurrection."

Sir Francis Bacon, who was always for moderate counsels, when one was speaking of such a reformation of the Church of England, as would in effect make it no Church; said thus to him, "Sir, the subject we talk of is the eye of England; and if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour to take them off; but he were a strange oculist who would pull out the eye."

The same Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say, "That those who left useful studies for useless scholastic speculations, were like the Olympic gamesters, who abstained from necessary labours, that they might be fit for such as were not so."

He likewise often used this comparison: "The empirical philosophers are like to pismires; they only lay up and use their store. The rationalists are like the spiders; they spin all out of their own bowels. But give me a philosopher, who like the bee hath a middle faculty, gathering from abroad, but digesting that which is gathered by his own virtue."

The lord St. Alban, who was not over hasty to raise theories, but proceeded slowly by experiments, was wont to say to some philosophers who would not go his pace, "Gentlemen, nature is a labyrinth, in which the very haste you move with will make you lose your way."

The same lord, when he spoke of the Dutchmen, used to say, "That we could not abandon them for our safety, nor keep them for our profit." And sometimes he would express the same sense in this manner: "We hold the Belgic lion by the ears."

The same lord, when a gentleman seemed not much to approve of his liberality to his retinue, said to him, "Sir, I am all of a piece; if the head be lifted up, the inferior parts of the body must too."

The lord Bacon was wont to commend the advice of the plain old man at Buxton, that sold besoms; a proud lazy young fellow came to him for a besom upon trust; to whom the old man said, "Friend, hast thou no money? borrow of thy back, and borrow of thy belly, they'll ne'er ask thee again, I shall be dunning thee every day."

Jack Weeks said of a great man, just then dead, who pretended to some religion, but was none of the best livers, "Well, I hope he is in heaven. Every man thinks as he wishes; but if he be in heaven, 'twere pity it were known."

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

*To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent PRINCE CHARLES, Prince of Wales,
Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c.*

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—In part of my acknowledgment to your Highness, I have endeavoured to do honour to the memory of the last king of England, that was ancestor to the king your father and yourself; and was that king to whom both unions may in a sort refer: that of the roses being in him consummate, and that of the kingdoms by him begun: besides, his times deserve it. For he was a wise man, and an excellent king; and yet the times were rough and full of mutations and rare accidents. And it is with times as it is with ways: some are more uphill and downhill, and some are more flat and plain; and the one is better for the liver, and the other for the writer. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light. It is true your highness hath a living pattern, incomparable, of the king your father; but it is not amiss for you also to see one of these ancient pieces. God preserve your Highness.—Your Highness's most humble and devoted servant,

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

AFTER that Richard, the third of that name, king in fact only, but tyrant both in title and regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was, by the Divine revenge, favouring the design of an exiled man, overthrown and slain at Bosworth-field, there succeeded in the kingdom the earl of Richmond, thenceforth styled Henry the Seventh. The king immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused "Te Deum laudamus" to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of military election or recognition, saluted king. Meanwhile the body of Richard, after many indignities and reproaches, the *diriges* and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants, was obscurely buried. For though the king of his nobleness gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the religious people themselves, being not free from the humours of the vulgar, neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any man's blame or censure: no man thinking any ignominy or contumely unworthy of him that had been the executioner of King Henry the Sixth, that innocent prince, with his own hands; the contriver of the death of the duke of Clarence, his brother; the murderer of his two nephews, one of them his lawful king in the present, and the other in the future,

failing of him ; and vehemently suspected to have been the impoisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his bed, for a marriage within the degrees forbidden. And although he were a prince in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker, for the ease and solace of the common people ; yet his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues and merits ; and, in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned and affected things to serve his ambition, than true qualities ingenerate in his judgment or nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great understanding, who, seeing his after-acts, looked back upon his former proceedings, that even in the time of King Edward his brother he was not without secret trains and mines to turn envy and hatred upon his brother's government ; as having an expectation and a kind of divination, that the king, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leave his sons of tender years ; and then he knew well, how easy a step it was, from the place of a protector, and first prince of the blood, to the crown. And that out of this deep root of ambition it sprung, that as well at the treaty of peace that passed between Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh of France concluded by interview of both kings at Piqueny, as upon all other occasions, Richard, then duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially of the nobles and soldiers, upon himself ; as if the king, by his voluptuous life and mean marriage, were become effeminate and less sensible of honour and reason of state than was fit for a king. And as for the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the brokage of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himself, that the true obligations of sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign, and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest king in the newness of his estate ; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his person, three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom by precedent pact with the party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long-disputed title both by plea and arms, of the house of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person. The third, the title of the sword or conquest, for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two-and-twenty years' reign of King Edward the Fourth, had been fully made capable of the clearness of the title of the white rose, or house of York ; and by the mild and plausible reign of the same king towards his latter time, were become affectionate to that line. But then it lay plain before his eyes, that if he relied upon that title, he could be but a king at courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than a regal power ; the right remaining in his

queen, upon whose decease, either with issue or without issue, he was to give place and be removed. And though he should obtain by parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a king that holdeth his crown by a civil act of estates, and one that holdeth it originally by the law of nature and descent of blood. Neither wanted there even at that time secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles, that the two young sons of King Edward the Fourth, or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living : which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of the Lady Elizabeth. On the other side, if he stood upon his own title of the house of Lancaster, inherent in his person, he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm, and that it tended directly to the disinherison of the line of York, held then the indubitate heirs of the crown. So that if he should have no issue by the Lady Elizabeth, which should be descendants of the double line, then the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, upon the competition of both houses, would again return and revive.

As for conquest, notwithstanding Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in the battle, and was found amongst the spoils, upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title ; yet he remembered well upon what conditions and agreements he was brought in ; and that to claim as conqueror, was to put as well his own party, as the rest, into terror and fear ; as that which gave him power of disannulling of laws, and disposing of men's fortunes and estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that William himself, commonly called the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a conqueror to reward his Normans, yet he forbore to use that claim in the beginning, but mixed it with a titular piety, grounded upon the will and designation of Edward the Confessor. But the king, out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the die ; and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts, and knowing there could not be any interreign, or suspension of title, and preferring his affection to his own line and blood, and liking that title best which made him independent ; and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day ; resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage and that of battle, but as supporters, the one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute : not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown, and might have proved a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince. Whereupon the king presently that very day, being the two-and-twentieth of August, assumed the style of king in his own name, without mention of the Lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted : which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles. The

king, full of these thoughts, before his departure from Leicester, despatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, where were kept in safe custody, by King Richard's commandment, both the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward, and Edward Plantagenet, son and heir to George, duke of Clarence. This Edward was by the king's warrant delivered up from the constable of the castle to the hand of Sir Robert Willoughby, and by him with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of London, where he was shut up close prisoner. Which act of the king's, being an act merely of policy and power, proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Dr. Shaw's tale at Paul's Cross for the bastarding of Edward the Fourth's issues, in which case this young gentleman was to succeed, for that fable was ever exploded, but upon a settled disposition to depress all eminent persons of the line of York. Wherein still the king out of strength of will, or weakness of judgment, did use to show a little more of the party than of the king.

For the Lady Elizabeth, she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the queen dowager her mother; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour. In the mean season the king set forward by easy journeys to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry. For they thought generally, that he was a prince, as ordained and sent down from heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses; which although they had had, in the times of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and a part of Henry the Sixth, on the one side, and the times of Edward the Fourth on the other, lucid intervals and happy pauses; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great wisdom, not ignorant of the affections and fears of the people, to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest, had given order, that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike march or manner; but rather like unto the progress of a king in full peace and assurance.

He entered the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him.

The mayor and companies of the city received him at Shoreditch; whence with great and honourable attendance, and troops of noblemen, and persons of quality, he entered the city; himself not being on horseback, or in any open chair or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into the people, than to fawn upon them.

He went first into St. Paul's Church, where, not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle, he made

offertory of his standards, and had orisons and "Te Deum" again sung; and went to his lodging prepared in the bishop of London's palace, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his council and other principal persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his promise to marry with the Lady Elizabeth. This he did, the rather, because having at his coming out of Britain¹ given artificially, for serving his own turn, some hopes, in case he obtained the kingdom, to marry Anne, inheritress to the duchy of Britain, whom Charles the Eighth of France soon after married, it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of England so much desired: which conceit also, though it were but talk and discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady Elizabeth herself. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired it, and desired also it should be so believed, the better to extinguish envy and contradiction to his other purposes, yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the consummation thereof, till his coronation and a parliament were past. The one, lest a joint coronation of himself and his queen might give any countenance of participation of title; the other, lest in the entailing of the crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by parliament, the votes of the parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, a disease then new: which by the accidents and manner thereof they called the sweating sickness. This disease had a swift course, both in the sick body, and in the time and period of the lasting thereof; for they that were taken with it, upon four and twenty hours escaping, were thought almost assured. And as to the time of the malice and reign of the disease ere it ceased, it began about the one-and-twentieth of September, and cleared up before the end of October, insomuch as it was no hindrance to the king's coronation, which was the last of October; nor, which was more, to the holding of the parliament, which began but seven days after. It was a pestilent fever, but, as it seemeth, not seated in the veins or humours, for that there followed no carbuncles, no purple or livid spots, or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits; which stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience, that this disease was rather a surprise of nature than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked unto. For if the patient were kept in an equal temper,² both for clothes, fire, and drink, moderately warm, with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work were neither irritated by heat, nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered by the predispositions of seasons; and the speedy cessation declared as much.

On Simon and Jude's eve, the king dined with Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal; and from Lambeth went by land over the bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made

¹ Brittany.

² Temperature.

twelve knights bannerets. But for creations he dispensed them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a field so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three: Jasper, earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas, the Lord Stanley, the king's father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, earl of Devon; though the king had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of parliament; bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his creations, some to honour his coronation, and some his parliament.

The coronation followed two days after, upon the thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1485; at which time Innocent the Eighth was pope of Rome; Frederick the Third, emperor of Almain;¹ and Maximilian his son, newly chosen king of the Romans; Charles the Eighth, king of France; Ferdinando and Isabella, kings of Spain; and James the Third, king of Scotland: with all which kings and states the king was at that time in good peace and amity. At which day also, as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers, under a captain to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard: and yet, that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of what he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after. The seventh of November the king held his parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a parliament, and that so speedily, were chiefly three: first, to procure the crown to be entailed upon himself; next, to have the attainders of all his party, which were in no small number, reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attain by parliament the heads and principals of his enemies; the third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon: not being ignorant in how great a danger a king stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his danger. Unto these three special motives of a parliament was added, that he, as a prudent and moderate prince, made this judgment, that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their king, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing of the crown, more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of special entail, he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure: for he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right; as, on the other side, he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance, but chose rather a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words: "that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king," &c., which words might be easily applied, that the crown should continue to him; but whether as having former right to

¹ Germany.

it, which was doubtful, or having it then in fact and possession, which no man denied, was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go farther than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs ; but leaving that to the law to decide : so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and his children, than a total disinherison to the house of York. And in this form was the law drawn and passed. Which statute he procured to be confirmed by the pope's bull the year following, with mention nevertheless, by the way of recital, of his other titles, both of descent and conquest. So as now the wreath of three, was made a wreath of five ; for to the first three titles of the two houses, or lines, and conquest, were added two more, the authorities parliamentary and papal.

The king likewise, in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his will ; and acts did pass accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to divers persons in the House of Commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in parliament, being disabled in the highest degree ; and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make laws, who themselves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King Richard been strongest, and most declared for the king's party, were returned knights and burgesses for the parliament ; whether by care or recommendation from the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people ; many of which had been by Richard the Third attainted by outlawries, or otherwise. The king was somewhat troubled with this ; for though it had a grave and specious show, yet it reflected upon his party. But wisely not showing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a case in law, and wished the judges to be advised thereupon ; who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the exchequer-chamber, which is the council-chamber of the judges, and upon deliberation they gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience ; which was, that the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of law should forbear to come into the house, till a law were passed for the reversal of their attainders.

It was at that time incidently moved amongst the judges in their consultation, what should be done for the king himself, who likewise was attainted ? But it was with unanimous consent resolved, "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood ; and that from the time the king did assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged." But nevertheless, for honour's sake, it was ordained by parliament, that all records, wherein there was any memory or mention of the king's attainer, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the king's enemies there were by parliament attainted, the late duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third ; the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of degree and quality. In which bills of attainer, nevertheless, there were contained many just and temperate clauses, savings,

and provisoes, well showing and fore-tokening the wisdom, stay, and moderation of the king's spirit of government. And for the pardon of the rest, that had stood against the king, the king, upon a second advice thought it not fit it should pass by parliament, the better, being matter of grace, to impropriate the thanks to himself; using only the opportunity of a parliament time, the better to disperse it into the veins of the kingdom. Therefore during the parliament he published his royal proclamation, offering pardon and grace of restitution to all such as had taken arms, or been participant of any attempts against him, so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to him. Whereupon many came out of sanctuary, and many more came out of fear, no less guilty than those that had taken sanctuary.

As for money or treasure, the king thought it not seasonable or fit to demand any of his subjects at this parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any general pardon, being prevented therein by the coronation pardon passed immediately before; but chiefly, for that it was in every man's eye, what great forfeitures and confiscations he had at that present to help himself; whereby those casualties of the crown might in reason spare the purses of the subject; especially in a time when he was in peace with all his neighbours. Some few laws passed at that parliament, almost for form sake: amongst which there was one, to reduce aliens, being made denizens, to pay strangers' customs; and another, to draw to himself the seizures and compositions of Italians' goods, for not employment; being points of profit to his coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful, and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early providence, which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people, could likewise have attempered his nature therein. He added, during parliament, to his former creations, the ennoblement or advancement in nobility of a few others: the Lord Chandos of Britain was made earl of Bath; Sir Giles Daubeney was made Lord Daubeney; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brook.

The king did also, with great nobleness and bounty, which virtues at that time had their turns in his nature, restore Edward Stafford, eldest son to Henry, duke of Buckingham, attainted in the time of King Richard, not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and possessions, which were great: to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the duke was the man that moved the first stone against the tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the king a bridge to the crown upon his own ruins. Thus the parliament broke up.

The parliament being dissolved, the king sent forthwith money to redeem the Marquis Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier; whom he had left as his pledges at Paris, for money which he had borrowed, when he made his expedition for England. And thereupon he took fit occasion to send the lord treasurer and master Bray, whom he used as counsellor, to the lord mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest¹ of six thousand marks; but after many parleys, he could obtain but

¹ A loan

two thousand pounds ; which nevertheless the king took in good part, as men use to do, that practise to borrow money when they have no need. About this time the king called unto his privy-council John Morton and Richard Fox, the one bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter ; vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs, before he came to the crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton soon after, upon the death of Bouchier, he made archbishop of Canterbury. And for Fox, he made him lord keeper of his privy-seal, and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For although the king loved to employ and advance bishops, because having rich bishoprics, they carried their reward upon themselves ; yet he did use to raise them by steps, that he might not lose the profit of the first fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied.

At last, upon the eighteenth of January, was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired marriage, between the king and the Lady Elizabeth ; which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations, especially on the people's part, of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation ; which the king rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his lifetime, while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him, for she died before him, he showed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the house of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed.

Towards the middle of the spring, the king, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and the enjoying of a kingdom : yet, as a wise and watchful king, he would not neglect anything for his safety ; thinking nevertheless to perform all things now, rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the Third, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the king, in his account of peace and calms, did much overcast his fortunes, which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news, that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell ; which advertisement the king despised, and continued his journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement, that the Lord Lovel was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester, to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it ; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth-field, and

had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people, whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovel, to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured, being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted, under the conduct of the duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in: which the duke, upon the approach to the Lord Lovel's camp, did perform. And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the Lord Lovel, upon proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the lady Margaret.¹ And his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the King's Bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the king having by this journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

In September following, the queen was delivered of her first son, whom the king, in honour of the British race, of which himself was, named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient worthy king of the Britons, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous. The child was strong and able, though he was born in the eighth month, which the physicians do prejudice.

There followed this year, being the second of the king's reign, a strange accident of state, whereof the relations which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it, for it hath fallen out often, but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore we shall make our judgment upon the things themselves, as they give light one to another, and, as we can, dig truth out of the mine. The king was green in his estate; and, contrary to his own opinion and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the realm. The root of all was the discountenancing of the house of York, which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that, after his marriage, and after a son born, the king did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a

¹ Margaret of York, sister to Edward IV., who had married, and was now the widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the opponent of Louis XI. of France, and father of the beautiful Mary of Burgundy, of whose children the dowager duchess took the tenderest care Margaret was greatly beloved in the Low Countries for her virtues.

matrimonial crown ; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread abroad, whether by error, or the cunning of malecontents, that the king had a purpose to put to death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower : whose case was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the king a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King Richard. And all this time it was still whispered everywhere, that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living : which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark : the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtile priest called Richard Simon,¹ that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son, named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years, a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came into the priest's fancy, hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishopric, to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the Fourth, supposed to be murdered ; and afterwards, (for he changed his intention in the manage,) the Lord Edward Plantagenet,² then prisoner in the Tower ; and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the part he was to play. This is that which, as was touched before, seemeth scarcely credible ; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times ; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject fellow, to enterprise so great a matter ; for high conceits do sometimes come streaming into the imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunk with news and talk of the people. But here is that which hath no appearance : that this priest, being utterly unacquainted with the true person, according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player, either in gesture and fashions ; or in recounting past matters of his life and education ; or in fit answers to questions, or the like ; any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one, that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few ; but a youth, that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the duke of Clarence's death, would not indeed restore his son, of whom we speak, to be duke of Clarence, but yet created him earl of Warwick, reviving his honour on the mother's side ;³ and used him honourably during his time, though Richard the Third afterwards

¹ The priest's name was William Simonds, and the youth was the son of . . . an organ-maker in Oxford, as the priest declared before the whole convocation of the clergy at Lambeth, Feb. 17, 1486. Vide Reg. Morton, f. 34. MS. Sicroft.

² Clarence's son.

³ Clarence had married Warwick's eldest daughter Isabel

confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts, is, that it was the queen dowager, from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched: which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and [she] was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could. Nevertheless, it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this enterprise, and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the king; and that done, they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the king's first acts to cloister the queen dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate: and this by a close council, without any legal proceeding, upon far-fetched pretences that she had delivered her two daughters out of sanctuary to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the king, upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of examinations, for that the priest Simon himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution; no, not so much as to public trial, as many clergymen were upon less treasons, but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the earl of Lincoln, a principal person of the house of York, was slain in Stoke-field, the king opened himself to some of his council that he was sorry for the earl's death, because by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself: Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard, duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth; and this was at such a time as it was voiced that the king purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet, prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking, and too much perspective into his disguise, if he should show it here in England; he thought good, after the manner of scenes in stage-plays and masks, to show it afar off; and therefore

sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the house of York was most in height. The king had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepared for revolt and sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first address was to the Lord Thomas Fitzgerard, earl of Kildare, and deputy of Ireland, before whose eyes he did cast such a mist, by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour, as joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and affection in the earl's own mind, left him fully possessed that it was the true Plantagenet. The earl presently communicated the matter with some of the nobles and others there, at the first secretly; but finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad, because they thought it not safe to resolve till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in fury, entertaining this airy body or phantasm with incredible affection, partly out of their great devotion to the house of York, partly out of a proud humour in the nation, to give a king to the realm of England. Neither did the party, in this heat of affection, much trouble themselves with the attainder of George, duke of Clarence, having newly learned, by the king's example, that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward the Fourth, they thought King Richard had said enough for them, and took them to be but as of the king's party, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemnity to the castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served, and honoured as king; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did betray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed king in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the Sixth, there being not a sword drawn in King Henry's quarrel.

The king was much moved with this unexpected accident when it came to his ears, both because it struck upon that string which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a place where he could not with safety transfer his own person to suppress it. For partly through natural valour, and partly through an universal suspicion, not knowing whom to trust, he was ever ready to wait upon all his achievements in person. The king, therefore, first called his council together at the charter-house at Shine;¹ which council was held with great secrecy, but the open decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

¹ Sheen—a favourite palace near Richmond.

The first was, that the queen dowager, for that she, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with King Henry, had nevertheless delivered her daughters out of sanctuary into King Richard's hands, should be cloistered in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that Edward Plantagenet, then close prisoner in the Tower, should be, in the most public and notorious manner that could be devised, showed unto the people; in part to discharge the king of the envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower, but chiefly to make the people see the levity and imposture of the proceedings in Ireland, and that their Plantagenet was indeed but a puppet or a counterfeit.

The third was, that there should be again proclaimed a general pardon to all that would reveal their offences, and submit themselves by a day. And that this pardon should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no high-treason, no not against the king's own person, should be excepted. Which though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise king, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the king and his council were immediately put in execution. And first, the queen dowager was put into the monastery of Bermondsey, and all her estates seized into the king's hands; whereat there was much wondering, that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had shown no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the king and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the king's mind, be so severely handled.

This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first, from a distressed suitor and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor king, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had endured a strange eclipse by the king's flight, and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy in that she had by him fair issue, and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction, which did stir great envy in the lords of the king's side, who counted her blood a disparagement to be mingled with the king's. With which lords of the king's blood joined also the king's favourite, the Lord Hastings, who, notwithstanding the king's great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while, nevertheless, she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes; but afterwards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a king to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex; yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery, where it was almost thought

dangerous to visit her or see her, and where not long after she ended her life, but was by the king's commandment buried with the king, her husband, at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's College in Cambridge. For this act the king sustained great obloquy, which nevertheless, besides the reason of state, was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

About this time also, Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal streets of London, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility, and others of quality, especially of those that the king most suspected, and knew the person of Plantagenet best, had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse, which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with so many as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the king, and gave out that the king, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people, and not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession the more to countenance the fable.

The general pardon likewise near the same time came forth, and the king therewithal omitted no diligence in giving strait order for the keeping of the ports, that fugitives, malecontents, or suspected persons, might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders.

Meanwhile the rebels in Ireland had sent privy messengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in England they won to their party John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward the Fourth's eldest sister. This earl was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations for a time; for Richard the Third had a resolution, out of his hatred to both his brethren, King Edward and the duke of Clarence, and their lines, having had his hand in both their bloods, to disable their issues upon false and incompetent pretences—the one of attainder, the other of illegitimation; and to design this gentleman, in case himself should die without children, for inheritor of the crown. Neither was this unknown to the king, who had secretly an eye upon him. But the king, having tasted the envy of the people for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind, by the imprisonment of De la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a co-rival unto the other. The earl of Lincoln was induced to participate with the action of Ireland, not lightly upon the strength of the proceedings there, which was but a bubble, but upon letters from the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, in whose succours and declaration for the enterprise there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for reputation and forces. Neither did the earl refrain the business, for

that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol.¹ But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false Plantagenet than the true, because the false being sure to fall away of himself, and the true to be made sure by the king, it might open and pave a fair and prepared way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly into Flanders, where was a little before arrived the Lord Lovel, leaving a correspondence here in England with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great power and dependencies in Lancashire. For before this time, when the pretended Plantagenet was first received in Ireland, secret messengers had been also sent to the Lady Margaret, advertising her what was passed in Ireland, imploring succours in an enterprise, as they said, so pious and just, that God had so miraculously prospered the beginning thereof, and making offer that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the sovereign patroness and protectress of the enterprise. Margaret was second sister to King Edward the Fourth, and had been second wife to Charles, surnamed the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, by whom having no children of her own, she did with singular care and tenderness intend the education of Philip and Margaret, grandchildren to her former husband, which won her great love and authority among the Dutch. This princess, having the spirit of a man and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house, and had set up King Henry as a mark, at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of the king's ascent and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this overture. And upon counsel taken with the earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Lovel, and some other of the party, it was resolved with all speed, that the two lords, assisted with a regiment of two thousand Almaines,² being choice and veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experimented captain, should pass over into Ireland to the new king, hoping that when the action should have the face of a received and settled regality, with such a second person as the earl of Lincoln, and the conjunction and reputation of foreign succours, the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the party of the confederates and malecontents within the realm of England to give them assistance when they should come over there. And for the person of the counterfeit, it was agreed that if all things succeeded well he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received, wherein, nevertheless, the earl of Lincoln had his particular hopes. After they were come into Ireland, and that the party took courage, by seeing themselves together in a body, they grew very confident of success, conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better cards to overthrow King Henry, than King Henry had to overthrow

¹ A mere representative of a reality.

² Germans, or more probably Flemings

King Richard, and that if there were not a sword drawn against them in Ireland, it was a sign the swords in England would be soon sheathed or beaten down. And first, for a bravery upon this accession of power, they crowned their new king in the cathedral church of Dublin, who formerly had been but proclaimed only; and then sat in council what should farther be done. At which council, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the seat of the war, and to draw King Henry thither in person, by whose absence they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in England; yet because the kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their army together, nor pay their German soldiers, and for that also the sway of the Irishmen, and generally of the men of war, which, as in such cases of popular tumults is usual, did in effect govern their leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes upon England, it was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into England. The king, in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees with their king: when he heard afterwards that the earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the Lady Margaret was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was, and saw plainly that his kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the earl of Lincoln's sailing into Ireland out of Flanders, that he should be assailed both upon the east parts of the kingdom of England, by some impression from Flanders, and upon the north-west out of Ireland. And, therefore, having ordered musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally designed two generals, Jasper, earl of Bedford, and John, earl of Oxford, meaning himself also to go in person where the affairs should most require it, and nevertheless not expecting any actual invasion at that time, the winter being far on, he took his journey himself towards Suffolk and Norfolk, for the confirming of those parts. And being come to St. Edmond's-Bury, he understood that Thomas, Marquis Dorset, who had been one of the pledges in France, was hasting towards him, to purge himself of some accusations which had been made against him. But the king, though he kept an ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the earl of Oxford to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower, with a fair message, nevertheless, that he should bear that disgrace with patience, for that the king meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt either to the king's service or to himself, and that the king should always be able, when he had cleared himself, to make him reparation.

From St. Edmond's-Bury he went to Norwich, where he kept his Christmas. And from thence he went, in a manner of pilgrimage, to Walsingham, where he visited Our Lady's church famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance. And from thence he returned by Cambridge to London. Not long after, the rebels, with their king, under the leading of the earl of Lincoln, the

earl of Kildare, the Lord Lovel, and Colonel Swart, landed at Fouldrey in Lancashire ; whither there repaired to them Sir Thomas Broughton, with some small company of English. The king, by that time, knowing now the storm would not divide, but fall in one place, had levied forces in good number ; and in person, taking with him his two designed generals, the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he sent forth a troop of light horsemen for discovery, and to intercept some stragglers of the enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their progress and purposes, which was accordingly done ; though the king otherwise was not without intelligence from espials in the camp.

The rebels took their way towards York, without spoiling the country, or any act of hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the people, and to personate their king ; who, no doubt, out of a princely feeling, was sparing and compassionate towards his subjects ; but their snow-ball did not gather as it went. For the people came not in to them ; neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them ; which was caused partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity ; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England, to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgment on the party of the rebels, for them to take their way towards York : considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends, yet it was there, where the Lord Lovel had so lately disbanded, and where the king's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The earl of Lincoln, deceived of his hopes of the country's concourse unto him, in which case he would have temporized ; and seeing the business past retract, resolved to make on where the king was, and to give him battle ; and thereupon marched towards Newark, thinking to have surprised the town. But the king was somewhat before this time come to Nottingham, where he called a council of war, at which was consulted whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the rebels. In which council the king himself, whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions, which few else knew, inclined to the accelerating a battle ; but this was presently put out of doubt, by the great aids that came in to him in the instant of this consultation, partly upon missives, and partly voluntaries from many parts of the kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the king's aid, were the earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Strange, of the nobility ; and of knights and gentlemen, to the number of at least threescore and ten persons, with their companies, making in the whole, at the least, six thousand fighting men, besides the forces that were with the king before. Whereupon the king, finding his army so bravely reinforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former resolution, and marched speedily, so as to put himself between the enemies' camp and Newark ; being loth their army should get the commodity of that town. The earl, nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a

little village called Stoke, and there encamped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a hill. The king the next day presented him battle upon the plain, the fields there being open and champain. The earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle the relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent, though it be an action of so recent memory, as they rather declare the success of the day, than the manner of the fight. They say, that the king divided his army into three battails; whereof the vant-guard¹ only, well strengthened with wings, came to fight: that the fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours, before the victory inclined either way; save that judgment might be made by that, the king's vant-guard² of itself maintained fight against the whole power of the enemies, the other two battails remained out of action, what the success was like to be in the end: that Martin Swart with his Germans performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness; but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins,³ it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest: that there died upon the place all the chieftains; that is, the earl of Lincoln, the earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton; all making good the fight, without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report, that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the farther side, by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault.⁴ The number that was slain in the field was of the enemies' part, four thousand at the least; and of the king's part one half of his vant-guard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners, amongst others, the counterfeit Plantagenet, now Lambert Simnell again, and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax, that others had tempered and moulded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that, in a kind of *mattacina* of human fortune, he turned a broach, that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the king loving to seal up his own dangers.

After the battle the king went to Lincoln, where he caused supplica-

¹ Van—i.e. Avant-guard—led by the Earl of Oxford.

² Henry prudently remained with the rear guard, which never came into action.

³ A short sword or knife.

⁴ Nearly two hundred years after this battle, some workmen accidentally discovered a subterranean room at Minster Lovel, Cambridgeshire, Lord Lovel's seat. In the chamber was the skeleton of a man sitting on a chair, its head resting on the table. This discovery, made long after Bacon's time, seems to explain the fate of the unfortunate man, who was probably starved in his hiding-place.

tions and thanksgivings to be made for his deliverance and victory. And that his devotions might go round in circle, he sent his banner to be offered to our Lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows. And thus delivered of this so strange an engine, and new invention of fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind ; thinking now, 'hat all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the speech of the common people in the beginning of his reign, that said, It was a token he should reign in labour, because his reign began with a sickness of sweat. But howsoever the king thought himself now in a haven, yet such was his wisdom, as his confidence did seldom darken his foresight, especially in things near hand. And therefore, awakened by so fresh and unexpected dangers, he entered into due consideration, as well how to weed out the partakers of the former rebellion, as to kill the seeds of the like in time to come : and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented persons, where they might hatch and foster rebellions, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet again make a progress from Lincoln to the northern parts, though it were indeed rather an itinerary circuit of justice than a progress. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law, and partly by commission, were punished the adherents and aiders of the late rebels. Not all by death, for the field had drawn much blood, but by fines and ransoms, which spared life, and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a bruit and rumour, a little before the field fought, "that the rebels had the day ; and that the king's army was overthrown, and the king fled." Whereby it was supposed that many succours, which otherwise would have come unto the king, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which charge and accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not affected to the king's part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour to cover their neglect and coldness, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the king would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and causes of the like commotions in time to come, the king began to find where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing the house of York that did rankle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in that kind, at least in ceremony, he resolved at last to proceed to the coronation of his queen. And, therefore, at his coming to London, where he entered in state, and in a kind of triumph, and celebrated his victory with two days of devotion (for the first day he repaired to Paul's and had the hymn of "Te Deum" sung, and the morrow after he went in procession, and heard the sermon at the cross), the queen was with great solemnity crowned at Westminster, the five-and-twentieth of November, in the third year of his reign, which was about two years after the marriage ; like an old christening that had stayed long for god-fathers. Which strange and unusual distance of time made

it subject to every man's note, that it was an act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soon after, to show that it was now fair weather again, and that the imprisonment of Thomas, Marquis Dorset, was rather upon suspicion of the time, than of the man, he, the said marquis, was set at liberty, without examination or other circumstance. At that time also the king sent an ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his marriage; and that now, like another Æneas, he had passed through the floods of his former troubles, and travels, and was arrived unto a safe haven: and thanking his Holiness that he had honoured the celebration of his marriage with the presence of his ambassador; and offering both his person and the forces of his kingdom, upon all occasions, to do him service.

The ambassador making his oration to the pope, in the presence of the cardinals, did so magnify the king and queen, as was enough to glut the hearers. But then he did again so extol and deify the pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his master and mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertained, and extremely much made on by the pope: who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the pope a very just and honourable bull, qualifying the privileges of sanctuary wherewith the king had been extremely galled, in three points.

The first, that if any sanctuary man did by night, or otherwise, get out of sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary for ever after. The second, that howsoever the person of the sanctuary man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not. The third, that if any took sanctuary for case of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.

The king also, for the better securing of his estate against mutinous and malecontented subjects, whereof he saw the realm was full, who might have their refuge into Scotland, which was not under key, as the ports were; for that cause, rather than for any doubt of hostility from those parts, before his coming to London, when he was at Newcastle, had sent a solemn ambassage unto James the Third, king of Scotland, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The ambassadors were, Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of the king's house, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the king of Scotland labouring of the same disease that king Henry did, though more mortal, as afterwards appeared, that is, discontented subjects, apt to rise and raise tumult, although in his own affection he did much desire to make a peace with the king; yet finding his nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a truce for seven years; giving nevertheless promise in private, that it should be renewed from time to time during the two kings' lives.

Hitherto the king had been exercised in settling his affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign business. Charles the Eighth, the

French king, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, Charles the Seventh, his grandfather, and Lewis the Eleventh, his father, received the kingdom of France in more flourishing and spread estate than it had been of many years before : being redintegrate in those principal members, which anciently had been portions of the crown of France, and were afterward dissevered, so as they remained only in homage, and not in sovereignty, being governed by absolute princes of their own ; Anjou, Normandy, Provence, and Burgundy. There remained only Britain¹ to be reunited, and so the monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient terms and bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that duchy ; which his ambition was a wise and well-weighted ambition ; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprises of Italy. For at that time, being newly come to the crown, he was somewhat guided by his father's counsels, counsels not counsellors, for his father was his own council, and had few able men about him. And that king, he knew well, had ever distasted the designs of Italy, and in particular had an eye upon Britain. There were many circumstances that did feed the ambition of Charles with pregnant and apparent hopes of success : the duke of Britain old, and entered into a lethargy, and served with mercenary counsellors, father of two only daughters,² the one sickly and not like to continue ; King Charles himself in the flower of his age, and the subjects of France at that time well trained for war, both for leaders and soldiers ; men of service being not yet worn out since the wars of Lewis against Burgundy. He found himself also in peace with all his neighbour princes. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise, Maximilian, king of the Romans, his rival in the same desires (as well for the duchy, as the daughter), feeble in means ; and King Henry of England, as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to justify his warring upon Britain ; for that the duke had received and succoured Lewis duke of Orleans, and other of the French nobility, which had taken arms against their king. Wherefore King Charles, being resolved upon that war, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King Henry should, either upon policy of state, in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the duke of Britain for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent ambassadors unto him to pray his assistance, or at least that he would stand neutral. Which ambassadors found the king at Leicester, and delivered their ambassage to this effect : They first imparted unto the king the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian, in recovery of certain towns from him : which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardness towards the king ; as if the French king did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part

¹ Brittany.

² Anne and Isabella.

In his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After this compliment, and some gratulation for the king's victory, they fell to their errand; declaring to the king, That their master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary war with the duke of Britain, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors and declared enemies unto his person and state. That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infest and invade his; the head of them being the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and the second person of France. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their master's part a defensive war than an offensive; as that that could not be omitted or forborne, if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive, for that no wise prince would stay for, but the first provocation, or at least the first preparation; nay, that this war was rather a suppression of rebels, than a war with a just enemy; where the case is, that his subjects, traitors, are received by the duke of Britain his homager. That King Henry knew well what went upon it in example, if neighbour princes should patronize and comfort rebels against the law of nations and of leagues. Nevertheless, that their master was not ignorant, that the king had been beholden to the duke of Britain in his adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their king, in aiding him when the duke of Britain, or his mercenary counsellors, failed him, and would have betrayed him; and that there was a great difference between the courtesies received from their master, and the duke of Britain: for that the duke might have ends of utility and bargain; whereas their master could not have proceeded but out of entire affection; for that, if it had been measured by a politic line, it had been better for his affairs, that a tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than such a prince, whose virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be master of his affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation which the king might owe to the duke of Britain, yet their master was well assured, it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel. Therefore, since this war, which their master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their king hoped the king would show the like affection to the conservation of their master's estate, as their master had, when time was, showed to the king's acquisition of his kingdom. At the least, that according to the inclination which the king had ever professed of peace, he would look on, and stand neutral; for that their master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the war, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the duchy of Britain to the crown of France, either by war, or by marriage with the daughter of Britain, the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced, in their conference with

the king, the assured purpose of their master to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the king also with some wandering discourses of their king's purpose, to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person; all to remove the king from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Britain, otherwise than for quenching of the fire which he feared might be kindled in his own estate.

The king, after advice taken with his council, made answer to the ambassadors: and first returned their compliment, showing he was right glad of the French king's reception of those towns from Maximilian. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures and victory passed. As to the business of Britain, the king answered in few words; that the French king, and the duke of Britain, were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that he should think himself very unhappy if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a Christian king, and a common friend to them, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a mediator of an accord and peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their king's estate, and honour both, would be preserved with more safety and less envy than by a war; and that he would spare no costs or pains, no, if it were to go on pilgrimage, for so good an effect; and concluded, that in this great affair, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an ambassage, which he would speedily despatch unto the French king for that purpose. And in this sort the French ambassadors were dismissed: the king avoiding to understand anything touching the reannexing of Britain, as the ambassadors had avoided to mention it; save that he gave a little touch of it in the word *envy*. And so it was, that the king was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the French for the investing himself of Britain. But first, he was utterly unwilling, howsoever he gave out, to enter into war with France. A fame of a war he liked well, but not an achievement; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer; and he was possessed with many secret fears touching his own people, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding, as a prudent and courageous prince, he was not so averse from a war, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have Britain carried by France, being so great and opulent a duchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy England, either for coast or trade. But the king's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the French, especially in the court of a young king, and partly by the native power of Britain itself, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great party that the duke of Orleans had in the kingdom of France, and thereby means to stir up civil troubles, to divert the French king from the enterprise of Britain. And lastly, in regard of the power of Maximilian, who was co-rival to the French king in that pursuit, the enterprise would either bow to a peace, or break in itself. In all which the king measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the French king Christopher

Urswick, his chaplain, a person by him much trusted and employed; choosing him the rather, because he was a churchman, as best sorting with an embassy of pacification: and giving him also a commission, that if the French king consented to treat, he should thence repair to the duke of Britain, and ripen the treaty on both parts. Urswick made declaration to the French king, much to the purpose of the king's answer to the French ambassadors here, instilling also tenderly some overture of receiving to grace the duke of Orleans, and some taste of conditions of accord. But the French king on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation in this treaty; having for his end, to gain time, and so put off the English succours under hope of peace, till he had got good footing in Britain by force of arms. Wherefore he answered the ambassador, that he would put himself into the king's hands, and make him arbiter of the peace; and willingly consented, that the ambassador should straightways pass into Britain, to signify this his consent, and to know the duke's mind likewise; well foreseeing that the duke of Orleans, by whom the duke of Britain was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no treaty of peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings: and should withal endear himself in the affections of the king of England, as one that had committed all to his will; nay, and which was yet more fine, make faith in him, that although he went on with the war, yet it should be but with the sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of peace; and so the king should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the treaty to be kept on foot till the very last instant, till he were master of the field.

Which grounds being by the French king wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the English ambassador came to the court of Britain, the duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the duke of Orleans, who gave audience to the chaplain Urswick, and upon his ambassage delivered made answer in somewhat high terms: That the duke of Britain having been an host, and a kind of parent or foster-father to the king, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for at this time from King Henry, the renowned king of England, rather brave troops for his succours, than a vain treaty of peace. And if the king could forget the good offices of the duke done unto him aforetime; yet, he knew well, he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own safety and reputation, both in foreign parts, and with his own people, not to suffer Britain, the old confederate of England, to be swallowed up by France, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast be in the command of so potent a neighbour king, and so ancient an enemy. And therefore humbly desired the king to think of this business as his own: and therewith brake off, and denied any farther conference for treaty.

Urswick returned first to the French king, and related to him what had passed. Who, finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them, and said: That the ambassador might perceive now that which

ne for his part partly imagined before. The considering in what hand the duke of Britain was, there would be no peace but by a mixed treaty of force and persuasion : and therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the king not to desist from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the king's power, to rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented unto the king by Urswick at his return, and in such a fashion, as if the treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better hour, till the hammer had wrought and beat the party of Britain more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually packets and despatches between the two kings, from the one out of desire, and the other out of dissimulation, about the negotiation of peace. The French king meanwhile invaded Britain with great forces, and distressed the city of Nantz with a strait siege, and, as one, who though he had no great judgment, yet had that, that he could dissemble at home, the more he did urge the prosecution of the war, the more he did, at the same time, urge the solicitation of the peace. Insomuch as during the siege of Nantz, after many letters and particular messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation, and to refresh the treaty, he sent Bernard d'Aubigney, a person of good quality, to the king, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the business howsoever.

The king was no less ready to revive and quicken the treaty ; and thereupon sent three commissioners, the abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Tunstal, and chaplain Urswick formerly employed, to do their utmost endeavours to manage the treaty roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord Woodvile, uncle to the queen, a valiant gentleman and desirous of honour, sued to the king that he might raise some power of voluntaries underhand, and without license or passport (wherein the king might any ways appear), go to the aid of the duke of Britain. The king denied his request, or at least seemed so to do, and laid strait commandment upon him, that he should not stir, for that the king thought his honour would suffer therein, during a treaty, to better a party. Nevertheless this lord, either being unruly, or out of conceit that the king would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow, sailed directly over into the Isle of Wight, whereof he was governor, and levied a fair troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into Britain, and joined himself with the duke's forces. The news whereof, when it came to the French court, put divers young bloods into such a fury, as the English ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the French king, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and being conscious to himself, that in the business of peace he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact or word against their persons or followers. And presently came an agent from the king, to purge himself touching the Lord Woodvile's going over ; using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority nor could much advance the Britain affairs. To which message although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied. Soon after the English ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the duke of

Britain, and found things in no other terms than they were before. Upon their return they informed the king of the state of affairs, and how far the French king was from any true meaning of peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course; neither was the king himself led all this while with credulity merely, as was generally supposed; but his error was not so much facility of belief, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other party.

For, as was partly touched before, the king had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own judgment, that the war of Britain, in respect of the strength of the towns and of the party, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived, that the counsels of a war, that was undertaken by the French king, then childless, against an heir apparent of France, would be very faint and slow: and, besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of France should be embroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise, that Maximilian, king of the Romans, was a prince warlike and potent; who, he made account, would give succours to the Britons roundly. So then judging it would be a work of time, he laid his plot, how he might best make use of that time for his own affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament; knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrel of Britain, would give treasure largely: which treasure, as a noise of war would draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived, and lulled asleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace, laying it down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of honour, in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the envy the French king met with, by occasion of this war of Britain, in strengthening himself with new alliances; as namely, that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent even in nature and customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interested. So that in substance he promised himself money, honour, friends, and peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges or points of wit. The king was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive that the council of France would be wary to put the king into a war against the heir apparent of France; yet he did not consider that Charles was not guided by any of the principal of the blood or nobility, but by mean men, who would make it their master-piece of credit and favour, to give venturous counsels, which no great or wise man durst or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a greater matter than he was; his unstable and necessitious courses being not then known.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought him no other new than he expected before, though he would not seem to know it

till then, he presently summoned his parliament, and in open parliament propounded the cause of Britain to both houses, by his chancellor Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who spake to this effect.

“ My lords and masters, the king’s grace, our sovereign lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the causes that have moved him at this time to summon this his parliament ; which I shall do in a few words, craving pardon of his grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

“ His grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful memory the love and loyalty showed to him by you, at your last meeting, in establishment of his royalty ; freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his traitors and rebels ; more than which could not come from subjects to their sovereign, in one action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a resolution to himself, to communicate with so loving and well approved subjects, in all affairs that are of public nature, at home or abroad.

“ Two therefore are the causes of your present assembling : the one, a foreign business ; the other, matter of government at home.

“ The French king, as no doubt ye have heard, maketh at this present hot war upon the duke of Britain. His army is now before Nantz, and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the principal city, if not in ceremony and pre-eminence, yet in strength and wealth, of that duchy. Ye may guess at his hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the war first. The cause of this war he knoweth best. He allegeth the entertaining and succouring of the duke of Orleans, and some other French lords, whom the king taketh for his enemies. Others divine of other matters. Both parts have, by their ambassadors, divers times prayed the king’s aids ; the French king, aids or neutrality ; the Britons, aids simply : for so their case requireth. The king, as a Christian prince, and blessed son of the holy church, hath offered himself, as a mediator, to treat of peace between them. The French king yielded to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the war. The Britons, that desire peace most, hearken to it least ; not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the war goes on. So as the king, after as much pains and care to effect a peace, as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the prosecution on the one side, nor the distrust on the other, caused by that prosecution, hath let fall the treaty ; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this narrative you now understand the state of the question, whereupon the king prayeth your advice ; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Britons against France?

“ And the better to open your understandings in this affair, the king hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the persons that do intervene in this business ; and somewhat of the consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this kingdom, and somewhat of the example of it in general : making nevertheless no conclusion or judgment of any point, until his Grace hath received your faithful and politic advices.

“ First, for the king our sovereign himself, who is the principal person you are to eye in this business ; his grace doth profess, that he

truly and constantly desireth to reign in peace. But his grace saith, he will neither buy peace with dishonour, nor take it up at interest of danger to ensue; but shall think it a good change, if it please God to change the inward troubles and seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised, into an honourable foreign war. And for the other two persons in this action, the French king and the duke of Britain, his grace doth declare unto you, that they be the men unto whom he is of all other friends and allies most bounden: the one having held over him his hand of protection from the tyrant; the other having reached forth unto him his hand of help for the recovery of his kingdom. So that his affection toward them in his natural person is upon equal terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his grace was enforced to fly out of Britain into France, for doubts of being betrayed: his grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the duke of Britain, in defacement of his former benefits; for that he is thoroughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him, during the time of his sickness, altogether without his consent or privity.

“But howsoever these things do interest his grace in this particular, yet he knoweth well, that the higher bond that tieth him to procure by all means the safety and welfare of his loving subjects, doth disinterest him of these obligations of gratitude, otherwise than thus; that if his grace be forced to make a war, he do it without passion or ambition.

“For the consequence of this action towards this kingdom, it is much as the French king’s intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his subjects to reason, who bear themselves stout upon the strength of the duke of Britain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French king’s purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one as if it were sought, that the French king shall make a province of Britain, and join it to the crown of France; then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatness of France, by the addition of such a country, that stretcheth his boughs unto our seas, as in depriving this nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured confederates as the Britons have always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas not long since this realm was mighty upon the continent, first in territory, and after in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Britain, which were confederates indeed, but dependent confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the greatness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France; and this island shall remain confined in effect within the salt waters, and girt about with the coast countries of two mighty monarchs.

“For the example, it resteth likewise upon the same question, upon the French king’s intent. For if Britain be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad, apt to impute and construe the actions of princes to ambition, conceive it will; then it is an example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser neighbour state should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland towards England; of Portugal towards Spain; of the smaller estates of

Italy towards the greater ; and so of Germany ; or as if some of you of the commons might not live and dwell safely besides some of these great lords. And the bringing in of this example will be chiefly laid to the king's charge, as to him that was most interested, and most able to forbid it. But then on the other side, there is so fair a pretext on the French king's part (and yet pretext is never wanting to power), in regard the danger imminent to his own estate is such, as may make this enterprise seem rather a work of necessity than of ambition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the example. For that the example of that which is done in a man's own defence cannot be dangerous ; because it is in another's power to avoid it. But in all this business, the king remits himself to your grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely."

This was the effect of the lord chancellor's speech touching the cause of Britain ; for the king had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the parliament towards the business ; but without engaging the king in any express declaration.

The chancellor went on :—

"For that which may concern the government at home, the king had commanded me to say unto you ; that he thinketh there was never any king, for the small time that he hath reigned, had greater and juster cause of the two contrary passions of joy and sorrow, than his grace hath. Joy, in respect of the rare and visible favours of Almighty God, in girding the imperial sword upon his side, and assisting the same his sword against all his enemies ; and likewise in blessing him with so many good and loving servants and subjects which have never failed to give him faithful counsel, ready obedience, and courageous defence. Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheath his sword, as he greatly desired, otherwise than for administration of justice, but that he hath been forced to draw it so oft, to cut off traitorous and disloyal subjects, whom, it seems, God hath left, a few among so many good, as the Canaanites amongst the people of Israel, to be thorns in their sides, to tempt and try them ; though the end hath been always, God's name be blessed therefore, that the destruction hath fallen upon their own heads.

"Wherefore his grace saith, That he seeth that it is not the blood spilt in the field that will save the blood in the city : nor the marshal's sword that will set this kingdom in perfect peace : but that the true way is, to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings ; and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws against riots, and unlawful assemblies of people, and all combinations and confederacies of them, by liveries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependence ; that the peace of the land may by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force, both in court, country, and private houses, be suppress. The care hereof, which so much concerneth yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth instantly call for, his grace commends to your wisdoms.

"And because it is the king's desire, that this peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you leaves, for you to sit under the shade of them in safety ; but also should bear

you fruit of riches, wealth, and plenty : therefore his grace prays you to take into consideration matter of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren employment of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges ; that they may be, as their natural use is, turned upon commerce, and lawful and royal trading. And likewise that our people be set on work in arts and handicrafts ; that the realm may subsist more of itself ; that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for foreign manufactures stopped. But you are not to rest here only, but to provide farther, that whatsoever merchandise shall be brought in from beyond the seas, may be employed upon the commodities of this land ; whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished by any over-trading of the foreigner.

“ And lastly, because the king is well assured, that you would not have him poor, that wishes you rich ; he doubteth not but that you will have care, as well to maintain his revenues of customs and all other natures, as also to supply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the king is a good husband,¹ and but a steward in effect for the public ; and that what comes from you, is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud, and falls back upon the earth again. And you know well, how the kingdoms about you grow more and more in greatness, and the times are stirring ; and therefore not fit to find the king with an empty purse. More I have not to say to you ; and wish, that what hath been said, had been better expressed : but that your wisdoms and good affections will supply. God bless your doings.”

It was no hard matter to dispose and affect the parliament in this business ; as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy ; as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by invasion, or by interruption of traffic. The parliament was also moved with the point of oppression ; for although the French seemed to speak reason, yet arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for suspicions. Wherefore they did advise the king roundly to embrace the Britons' quarrel, and to send them speedy aids ; and with much alacrity and forwardness granted to the king a great rate of subsidy, in contemplation of these aids. But the king, both to keep a decency towards the French king, to whom he profest himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to show war than to make it, sent new solemn ambassadors to intimate unto him the decree of his estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from hostility ; or if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Britons as their ancient friends and confederates, he did send them succours ; with protestation nevertheless, that, to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he had limited his forces, to proceed in aid of the Britons, but in no wise to war upon the French, otherwise than as they maintained

the possession of Britain. But before this formal ambassage arrived, the party of the duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declaration. For near the town of St. Alban in Britain, a battle had been given, where the Britons were overthrown, and the Duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange taken prisoners, there being slain on the Britons' part six thousand men, and amongst them the Lord Woodville, and almost all his soldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the French part, one thousand two hundred, with their leader, James Galeot, a great commander.

When the news of this battle came over into England, it was time for the king, who had now no subterfuge to continue farther treaty, and saw before his eyes that Britain went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes : knowing also that with his people, and foreigners both, he sustained no small envy and disreputation for his former delays, to despatch with all possible speed his succours into Britain ; which he did under the conduct of Robert, Lord Brooke, to the number of eighty thousand choice men well armed ; who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in Britain, and joined themselves forthwith to those Briton forces that remained after the defeat, and marched straight on to find the enemy, and encamped fast by them. The French wisely husbanding the possession of a victory, well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battle. But meanwhile, to harass and weary the English, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their light horse ; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers.

But upon these achievements Francis, duke of Britain, deceased ; an accident that the king might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckoned upon and provided for, but that the point of reputation, when news first came of the battle lost, that somewhat must be done, did overbear the reason of war.

After the duke's decease, the principal persons of Britian, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion ; so as the English not finding head or body with whom to join their forces, and being in jealousy of friends, as well as in danger of enemies, and the winter begun, returned home five months after their landing. So the battle of St. Alban, the death of the duke, and the retire of the English succours, were, after some time, the causes of the loss of that duchy ; which action some accounted as a blemish of the king's judgment, but most but as the misfortune of his times.

But howsoever the temporary fruit of the parliament, in their aid and advice given for Britain, took not nor prospered not ; yet the lasting fruit of parliament, which is good and wholesome laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the lord chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained concerning the points which the king recommended.

First, the authority of the Star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of

ordinary justice, besides the high court of Parliament, in which distribution the King's Bench holdeth the pleas of the crown, the Common Pleas pleas civil, the Exchequer pleas concerning the king's revenue, and the Chancery the pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was, nevertheless, always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's council in causes that might in example or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth, which if they were criminal the council used to sit in the chamber called the Star-chamber, if civil in the white-chamber or white-hall. And as the Chancery had the pretorian power for equity, so the Star-chamber had the censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This court of Star-chamber is compounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of persons—counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes—forces, frauds, crimes various of stellation, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons.

From the general peace of the country the king's care went on to the peace of the king's house, and the security of his great officers and counsellors. But this law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the king's servants under the degree of a lord do conspire the death of any of the king's council or lord of the realm, it is made capital. This law was thought to be procured by the lord chancellor, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal enemies in court, provided for his own safety, drowning the envy of it in a general law, by communicating the privilege with all other counsellors and peers, and yet not daring to extend it farther than to the king's servants in check-roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen and other commons of the kingdom, who might have thought their ancient liberty and the clemency of the laws of England invaded, if the will in any case of felony should be made the deed. And yet the reason which the act yieldeth, that is to say, that he that conspireth the death of counsellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the death of the king himself, is indifferent to all subjects, as well as to servants in court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the lord chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a general law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the country as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the king's house the king's care extended to the peace of private houses and families. For there was an excellent moral law moulded thus: the taking and carrying away of women, forcibly and against their will, except female-wards and bond-women was made capital. The parliament wisely and justly conceiving that the obtaining of women by force into possession, howsoever afterwards assent might follow by allurements, was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another law for peace in general, and repressing of murders and manslaughters, and was in amendment of the

common laws of the realm, being this : That whereas by the common law the king's suit, in case of homicide, did expect the year and the day, allowed to the party's suit by way of appeal ; and that it was found by experience that the party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the suit, so that in the end such suit was left fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution at the king's suit by indictment, which is ever best, *flagrante crimine*, neglected ; it was ordained that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and the day, as after, not prejudicing nevertheless the party's suit.

The king began also then, as well in wisdom as in justice, to pare a little the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment and that they might carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act's sake, the king himself was after branded, by Perkin's proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

Another law was made for the better peace of the country ; by which law the king's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds, in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in routs and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws that were made for repressing of force, which those times did chiefly require ; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politic laws that parliament, against usury, which is the bastard use of money ; and against unlawful chievances¹ and exchanges, which is bastard usury ; and also for the security of the king's customs ; and for the employment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchant strangers, upon the native commodities of the realm ; together with some other laws of less importance.

But howsoever the laws made in that parliament did bear good and wholesome fruit ; yet the subsidy granted at the same time bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn, but it was after a storm. For when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Duresm² ; the people upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly, That they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. This, no doubt, proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts ; and if the vessel was but stirred, it would come up. And, no doubt, it was partly also by the instigation of some factious malcontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the commissioners being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the earl of Northumberland, who was the principal man of authority in those parts. The earl forthwith wrote unto the court, signifying to the king plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those countries, and praying the king's direction. The king wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by

¹ Unlawful bargains—traffic in which money is extorted.

² Durham.

parliament; both because it might encourage other countries to pray the like release or mitigation; and chiefly because he would never endure that the base multitude should frustrate the authority of the parliament, wherein their votes and consents were concluded. Upon this despatch from court, the earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country; and speaking to them in that imperious language, wherein the king had written to him, which needed not, save that a harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man, did not only irritate the people, but make them conceive, by the stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the king's errand, that himself was the author or principal persuader of that counsel; whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assaulting the earl in his house, slew him, and divers of his servants: and rested not there, but creating for their leader Sir John Egremont, a factious person, and one that had of a long time borne an ill talent towards the king; and being animated also by a base fellow, called John a Chamber, a very *boutefeuf*,¹ who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entered into open rebellion; and gave out in flat terms, that they would go against King Henry, and fight with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the king was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that took him every year, after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent Thomas, earl of Surrey, whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to special favour, with a competent power against the rebels, who fought with the principal band of them, and defeated them, and took alive John a Chamber, their firebrand. As for Sir John Egremont, he fled into Flanders to the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king. John a Chamber was executed at York in great state; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a traitor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief accomplices were hanged upon the lower story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the king himself omit his custom, to be first or second in all his warlike exploits, making good his word, which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, that he desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the earl of Surrey, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the victory, yet he went on as far as York, to pacify and settle those countries; and that done, returned to London, leaving the earl of Surrey for his lieutenant in the northern parts, and Sir Richard Tunstal for his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, whereof he did not remit a denier.

About the same time that the king lost so good a servant as the earl of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithful friend and ally of James the Third, king of Scotland, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his nobility and people breaking forth at times into seditious and alterations of court, was at last distressed by them, having taken arms,

¹ Incendiary.

and surprised the person of Prince James, his son, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the kingdom to the king of England, to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of those arms. Whereupon the king, finding himself too weak, sought unto King Henry, as also unto the pope, and the king of France, to compose those troubles between him and his subjects. The kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a round and princely manner: not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way of protestation and menace; declaring, That they thought it to be the common cause of all kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign, and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the rebels, that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect. And fury prevailing above fear, made answer, That there was no talking of peace, except the king would resign his crown. Whereupon treaty of accord taking no place, it came to a battle at Bannocksbourn by Strivelin: in which battle the king, transported with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderably fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was, notwithstanding the contrary express and strait commandment of the prince his son, slain in the pursuit, being fled to a mill, situate in a field, where the battle was fought.

As for the pope's embassy, which was sent by Adrian de Castello, an Italian legate, and perhaps, as those times were, might have prevailed more, it came too late for the embassy, but not for the ambassador. For passing through England and being honourably entertained, and received of King Henry, who ever applied himself with much respect to the see of Rome, he fell into great grace with the king, and great familiarity and friendship with Morton the chancellor: insomuch as the king taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the bishopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells, and employed him in many of his affairs of state, that had relation to Rome. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity in business of state; and having not long after ascended to the degree of cardinal, paid the king large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of Italy. Nevertheless, in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conspiracy, which Cardinal Alphonso Petrucci and some other cardinals had plotted against the life of Pope Leo. And this offence, in itself so heinous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that, as was generally believed, he was animated to expect the papacy by a fatal mockery, the prediction of a soothsayer, which was, "That one should succeed pope Leo, whose name should be Adrian, an aged man of mean birth, and of great learning and wisdom." By which character and figure he took himself to be described, though it were fulfilled of Adrian the Fleming, son of a Dutch brewer, cardinal of Tortosa, and preceptor unto Charles the Fifth; the same that, not changing his christian name, was afterwards called Adrian the Sixth.

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this king. But in the end of the fourth year the king had called again his parliament, not, as it seemeth, for any particular occasion of state: but the former parliament being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the preparation for Britain,¹ the king thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good laws, which evermore was his retribution for treasure. And finding by the insurrection in the north, there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the subsidy, he thought it good to give his subjects yet farther contentment and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good commonwealth's laws did excel. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best lawgiver to this nation, after King Edward the First: for his laws, whose marks them well, are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.

First, therefore, he made a law, suitable to his own acts and times: for as himself had in his person and marriage made a final concord, in the great suit and title for the crown; so by this law he settled the like peace and quiet in the private possessions of the subjects: ordaining, "That fines thenceforth should be final, to conclude all strangers' rights;" and that upon fines levied and solemnly proclaimed, the subject should have his time of watch for five years after his title accrued; which if he forepassed, his right should be bound for ever after; with some exception nevertheless of minors, married women, and such incompetent persons.

This statute did in effect but restore an ancient statute of the realm, which was itself also made but in affirmance of the common law. The alteration had been by a statute, commonly called the statute of *non-claim*, made in the time of Edward the Third. And surely this law was a kind of prognostic of the good peace, which since his time hath, for the most part, continued in this kingdom until this day: for statutes of *non-claim* are fit for times of war, when men's heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their estate; but statutes that quiet possessions are fittest for times of peace, to extinguish suits and contentions, which is one of the banes of peace.

Another statute was made, of singular policy, for the population apparently, and, if it be thoroughly considered, for the soldiery and military forces of the realm.

Enclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land, which could not be manured without people and families, was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenances for years, lives, and at will, whereupon much of the yeomanry lived, were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and, by consequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. The king likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and diminution of subsidies and taxes; for the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience the king's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time. Enclosures they would not forbid, for that

¹ Brittany.

had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom ; nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility ; but they took a course to take away depopulating enclosures and depopulating pasturage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious express prohibition, but by consequence. The ordinance was, " That all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever ; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them ; " and in no wise to be severed from them, as by another statute, made afterwards in his successor's time, was more fully declared : this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by seizure of the land itself by the king and lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houses and lands were restored. By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller ; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Now, how much this did advance the military power of the kingdom, is apparent by the true principles of war and the examples of other kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars, howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of case, that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks and labourers, or else mere cottagers, which are but housed beggars, you may have a good cavalry, but never good stable bands of foot ; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briers, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy, and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry, I speak of people out of towns, and no middle people ; and therefore no good forces of foot : insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers, and the like, for their battalions of foot. Whereby also it comes to pass, that those nations have much people, and few soldiers. Whereas the king saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet should have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have. Thus did the king secretly sow Hydra's teeth ; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of the kingdom.

The king also, having care to make his realm, as well by sea as by land, for the better maintenance of the navy, ordained, " That wines and woads from the parts of Gascoign and Languedoc should not be brought but in English bottoms ; " bowing the ancient policy of this

estate, from consideration of plenty to consideration of power. For that almost all the ancient statutes incite by all means merchant-strangers to bring in all sorts of commodities ; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power.

The king also made a statute in that parliament, monitory and minatory towards justices of peace, that they should duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them, first to their fellow-justices, then to the justices of assize, then to the king or chancellor : and that a proclamation which he had published of that tenor should be read in open sessions four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his laws executed, and thereby to reap either obedience or forfeitures, wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand, he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion to be put in by the confederates of the delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure ; and pleading them in bar of the informations, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the mint, and counterfeiting of foreign coin current. And that no payment in gold should be made to any merchant-stranger, the better to keep treasure within the realm, for that gold was the metal that lay in the least room.

He made also statutes for the maintenance of drapery, and the keeping of wools within the realm ; and not only so, but for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth, one for the finer, and another for the coarser sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities ; and because of the wise model of this act, not prescribing prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate ; that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good statutes were made that parliament, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those into whose hands this work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the laws that were made in this king's reign. Whereof I have these reasons ; both because it was the pre-eminent virtue and merit of this king to whose memory I do honour ; and because it hath some correspondence to my person ; but chiefly because, in my judgment, it is some defect even in the best writers of history, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable laws that passed in the times whereof they writ, being indeed the principal acts of peace. For though they may be had in original books of law themselves ; yet that informeth not the judgment of kings and counsellors, and persons of estate, so well as to see them described, and entered in the table and portrait of the times.

About the same time the king had a loan from the city of four thousand pounds ; which was double to that they lent before, and was duly and orderly paid back at the day, as the former likewise had been : the king ever choosing rather to borrow too soon, than to pay too late, and so keeping up his credit.

Neither had the king yet cast off his cares and hopes touching

Britain, but thought to master the occasion by policy, though his arms had been unfortunate; and to bereave the French king of the fruit of his victory. The sum of his design was, to encourage Maximilian to go on with his suit, for the marriage of Anne, the heir of Britain, and to aid him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of Maximilian were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders; especially those of Bruges and Gaunt,¹ whereof the town of Bruges, at such time as Maximilian was there in person, had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his principal officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him and some of his counsellors, to take a solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless Frederick the emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son to pass, but made sharp wars upon Flanders, to reclaim and chastise the rebels. But the Lord Ravenstein, a principal person about Maximilian, and one that had taken the oath of abolition with his master, pretending the religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and, as it was thought, instigated and corrupted from France, forsook the emperor and Maximilian his lord, and made himself a head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of Ipres² and Sluice³ with both the castles: and forthwith sent to the Lord Cordes, governor of Picardy under the French king, to desire aid; and to move him, that he, on the behalf of the French king, would be protector of the united towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. The Lord Cordes was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater forces than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aid of the Lord Ravenstein and the Flemings, with instructions to invest the towns between France and Bruges. The French forces besieged a little town called Dixmude, where part of the Flemish forces joined with them. While they lay at this siege, the king of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English pale about Calais, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the states of Britain about this marriage, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men, under the Lord D'Aubigny, then deputy of Calais, with secret instructions to aid Maximilian, and to raise the siege of Dixmude. The Lord D'Aubigny, giving it out that all was for the strengthening of the English marches, drew out of the garrisons of Calais, Hammes, and Guines, to the number of a thousand men more. So that with the fresh succours that came under the conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up to the number of two thousand or better. Which forces joining with some companies of Almans, put themselves into Dixmude, not perceived by the enemies; and passing through the town, with some reinforcement from the forces that were in the town assailed the enemies' camp negligently guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody fight, in which the English and their partakers obtained the victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss on the English part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst

¹ Ghent.² Ypres.³ Sluys.

whom was the Lord Morley. They took also their great ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to Newport; whence the Lord D'Aubigny returned to Calais, leaving the hurt men and some other voluntaries in Newport. But the Lord Cordes being at Ipres with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and disgrace of the fight at Dixmude, came presently on, and sat down before Newport, and besieged it; and after some days' siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an assault. Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal tower and fort in that city, and planted upon it the French banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh succours arriving by good fortune, at the instant, in the haven of Newport. Whereupon the Lord Cordes, discouraged, and measuring the new succours, which were small, by the success, which was great, levied his siege. By this means matters grew more exasperate between the two kings of England and France, for that, in the war of Flanders, the auxiliary forces of French and English were much blooded one against another. Which blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord Cordes, that declared himself an open enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present service; making it a common by-word of his, "That he could be content to lie in hell seven years, so he might win Calais from the English."

The king having thus upheld the reputation of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his marriage with Britain to a conclusion. Which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed, both with the young lady and with the principal persons about her, as the marriage was consummated by proxy, with a ceremony at that time in these parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated, as a bride, and solemnly bedded; and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian's ambassador with letters of procuration, and in the presence of sundry noble personages, men and women, put his leg, stripped naked to the knee, between the espousal sheets; to the end, that that ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation and actual knowledge. This done, Maximilian, whose property¹ was to leave things then when they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill archers, that draw not their arrows up to the head; and who might as easily have bedded the lady himself, as to have made a play and disguise of it, thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his farther proceeding, and intended his wars. Meanwhile the French king, consulting his divines, and finding that this pretended consummation was rather an invention of court, than any ways valid by the laws of the church, went more really to work, and by secret instruments and cunning agents, as well matrons about the young lady as counsellors, first sought to remove the point of religion and honour out of the mind of the lady herself, wherein there was a double labour. For Maximilian was not only contracted unto the lady, but Maximilian's daughter was likewise contracted to King Charles. So as the marriage halted upon both feet, and was not clear on either side. But for the contract with King Charles, the exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian's daughter was under

¹ Characteristic.

years of consent, and so not bound by law, but a power of disagreement left to either part. But for the contract made by Maximilian with the lady herself, they were harder driven : having nothing to allege, but that it was done without the consent of her sovereign lord King Charles, whose ward and client she was, and he to her in place of a father : and therefore it was void and of no force for want of such consent. Which defect, they said, though it would not evacuate a marriage after cohabitation and actual consummation, yet it was enough to make void a contract. For as for the pretended consummation, they made sport with it, and said, "That it was an argument that Maximilian was a widower, and a cold wooer, that could content himself to be a bridegroom by deputy, and would not make a little journey to put all out of question." So that the young lady, wrought upon by these reasons, finely instilled by such as the French king, who spared for no rewards or promises, had made on his side ; and allured likewise by the present glory and greatness of King Charles, being also a young king, and a bachelor, and loth to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war, secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret treaty with the lady, the better to save it from blasts of opposition and interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted arts, and thinking to carry the marriage as he had carried the wars, by entertaining the king of England in vain belief, sent a solemn ambassage by Francis Lord of Luxemburg, Charles Marignian, and Robert Gagvien, general of the order of the *Bons Hommes* of the Trinity, to treat a peace and league with the king ; accoupling it with an article in the nature of a request, that the French king might with the king's good will, according unto his right of seigniory and tutelage dispose of the marriage of the young duchess of Britain, as he should think good ; offering by a judicial proceeding to make void the marriage of Maximilian by proxy. Also all this while, the better to amuse the world, he did continue in his court and custody the daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him, to be bred and educated in France ; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly that he meant to proceed with that match. And that for the duchess of Britain, he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him.

When the three commissioners came to the court of England, they delivered their ambassage unto the king, who remitted them to his council, where some days after they had audience, and made their proposition by the prior of the Trinity, who though he were third in place, yet was held the best speaker of them, to this effect :—

"My lords, the king our master, the greatest and mightiest king that reigned in France since Charles the Great, whose name he beareth, hath nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his greatness at this time to propound a peace, yea, and to pray a peace with the king of England. For which purpose he hath sent us his commissioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample power to treat and conclude, giving us farther in charge, to open in some other business the secrets of his own intentions. These be indeed the precious love-tokens between great kings, to communicate one with another the

true state of their affairs, and to pass by nice points of honour, which ought not to give law unto affection. This I do assure your lordship—it is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordial love that the king our master beareth to your sovereign, except you were near him as we are. He useth his name with so great respect, he remembereth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment, nay, he never speaks of him, but that presently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great kings, in that they cannot converse with their equals, but with servants. This affection to your king's person and virtues God hath put into the heart of our master, no doubt for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet unknown to us all. For other root it cannot have, since it was the same to the earl of Richmond that it is now to the king of England. This is, therefore, the first motive that makes our king to desire peace and league with your sovereign—good affection, and somewhat that he finds in his own heart. This affection is also armed with reason of estate. For our king doth in all candour and frankness of dealing open himself unto you, that having an honourable, yea, and an holy purpose, to make a voyage and war in remote parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect, in point of reputation to his enterprise, if it be known abroad that he is in good peace with all his neighbour princes, and especially with the king of England, whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

“But now, my lords, give me leave to use a few words to remove all scruples and misunderstanding between your sovereign and ours concerning some late actions, which if they be not cleared may perhaps hinder this peace. To the end that for matters past neither king may conceive unkindness of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindness of him. The late actions are two: that of Britain and that of Flanders. In both which it is true that the subjects' swords of both kings have encountered and stricken, and the ways and inclinations also of the two kings, in respect of their confederates and allies, have severed.

“For that of Britain, the king your sovereign knoweth best what hath passed. It was a war of necessity on our master's part. And though the motives of it were sharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that war rather with an olive branch than a laurel branch in his hand, more desiring peace than victory. Besides, from time to time he sent, as it were, blank papers to your king to write the conditions of peace. For though both his honour and safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious to put into the king of England's hands. Neither doth our king on the other side make any unfriendly interpretation of your king's sending of succours to the duke of Britain; for the king knoweth well that many things must be done of kings for satisfaction of their people; and it is not hard to discern what is a king's own. But this matter of Britain is now, by the act of God, ended and passed; and, as the king hopeth, like the way of a ship in the sea, without leaving any impression in either of the kings' minds, as he is sure for his part it hath not done in his.

“For the action of Flanders, as the former of Britain was a war of necessity, so this was a war of justice, which with a good king is of

equal necessity with danger of estate, for else he should leave to be a king. The subjects of Burgundy are subjects in chief to the crown of France, and their duke the homager and vassal of France. They had wont to be good subjects, howsoever Maximilian hath of late distempered them. They fled to the king for justice and deliverance from oppression. Justice he could not deny; purchase he did not seek. This was good for Maximilian, if he could have seen it in people mutinied, to arrest fury and prevent despair. My lords, it may be this I have said is needless, save that the king our master is tender in anything that may but glance upon the friendship of England. The amity between the two kings, no doubt, stands entire and inviolate, and that their subjects' swords have clashed it is nothing unto the public peace of the crowns, it being a thing very usual in auxiliary forces of the best and straitest confederates to meet and draw blood in the field. Nay, many times there be aids of the same nation on both sides, and yet it is not, for all that, a kingdom divided in itself.

"It resteth, my lords, that I impart unto you a matter that I know your lordships all will much rejoice to hear, as that which importeth the Christian common-weal more than any action that hath happened of long time. The king our master hath a purpose and determination to make war upon the kingdom of Naples, being now in the possession of a bastard slip of Arragon, but appertaining unto his majesty by clear and undoubted right, which if he should not by just arms seek to recover, he could neither acquit his honour nor answer it to his people. But his noble and Christian thoughts rest not here; for his resolution and hope is, to make the reconquest of Naples but as a bridge to transport his forces into Grecia, and not to spare blood or treasure, if it were to the impawning of his crown and dispeopling of France, till either he hath overthrown the empire of the Ottomans or taken it in his way to paradise. The king knoweth well that this is a design that could not arise in the mind of any king that did not steadfastly look up unto God, whose quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the will and the deed; but yet is agreeable to the person that he beareth, though unworthy, of the thrice Christian king and the eldest son of the Church. Whereunto he is also invited by the example, in more ancient time, of King Henry the Fourth of England, the first renowned king of the house of Lancaster, ancestor, though not progenitor to your king, who had a purpose, towards the end of his time, as you know better, to make an expedition into the Holy Land; and by the example also, present before his eyes, of that honourable and religious war which the king of Spain¹ now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for the recovery of the realm of Granada from the Moors. And although this enterprize may seem vast and unmeasured, for the king to attempt that by his own forces, wherein heretofore a conjunction of most of the Christian princes hath found work enough, yet his majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller forces being united under one command are more effectual in proof, though not so promising in opinion and fame, than much greater forces, variously compounded by associations and leagues, which commonly in a short time after their beginnings turn to dis-

¹ Ferdinand.

sociations and divisions. But, my lords, that which is as a voice from heaven, that calleth the king to this enterprise, is a rent at this time in the house of the Ottomans. I do not say but there hath been brother against brother in that house before, but never any that had refuge to the arms of the Christians, as now hath Gemes, brother unto Bajazet that reigneth, the far braver man of the two, the other being between a monk and a philosopher, and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes, than able to wield the sceptre of so warlike an empire. This, therefore, is the king our master's memorable and heroic resolution for an holy war. And because he carrieth in this the person of a Christian soldier, as well as of a great temporal monarch, he beginneth with humility, and is content for this cause to beg peace at the hands of other Christian kings. There remaineth only rather a civil request than any essential part of our negotiation which the king maketh to the king your sovereign. The king, as all the world knoweth, is lord in chief of the duchy of Britain. The marriage of the heir belongeth to him as guardian. This is a private patrimonial right, and no business of estate; yet, nevertheless, to run a fair course with your king, whom he desires to make another himself, and to be one and the same thing with him, his request is, that with the king's favour and consent he may dispose of her in marriage as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended marriage of Maximilian, according to justice. This, my lords, is all that I have to say, desiring your pardon for my weakness in the delivery."

Thus did the French ambassadors with great show of their king's affection, and many sugared words, seek to addulce¹ all matters between the two kings, having two things for their ends—the one to keep the king quiet till the marriage of Britain was past; and this was but a summer fruit, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soon gathered. The other was more lasting, and that was to put him into such a temper as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for Italy. The lords of the council were silent, and said only, "That they knew the ambassadors would look for no answer till they had reported to the king," and so they rose from council. The king could not well tell what to think of the marriage of Britain. He saw plainly the ambition of the French king was to impatronize himself of the duchy; but he wondered he would bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially considering who was his successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Britain for lost, but resolved to make his profit of this business of Britain as a quarrel for war, and that of Naples as a wrench and mean for peace, being well advertised how strongly the king was bent upon that action. Having, therefore, conferred divers times with his council, and keeping himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the chancellor for a formal answer to the ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his council. And after calling the chancellor to him apart, bade him speak in such language as was fit for a treaty that was to end in a breach; and gave him also a special caveat that he should not use any words to discourage the voyage of Italy. Soon after the ambassadors were sent for to the council, and the lord chancellor spake to them in this sort:—

¹ To sweeten.

“ My lords ambassadors, I shall make answer, by the king’s commandment, unto the eloquent declaration of you, my lord prior, in a brief and plain manner. The king forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the king your master: but of this there needeth no repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

“ For the business of Britain, the king findeth it a little strange that the French king maketh mention of it as a matter of well deserving at his hand: for that deserving was no more but to make him his instrument to surprise one of his best confederates. And for the marriage, the king would not meddle with it, if your master would marry by the book and not by the sword.

“ For that of Flanders, if the subjects of Burgundy had appealed to your king as their chief lord, at first by way of supplication, it might have had a show of justice: but it was a new form of process, for subjects to imprison their prince first, and to slay his officers, and then to be complainants. The king saith, that sure he is, when the French king and himself sent to the subjects of Scotland, that had taken arms against their king, they both spake in another style, and did in princely manner signify their detestation of popular attentates upon the person or authority of princes. But, my lords ambassadors, the king leaveth these two actions thus: that on the one side he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them to refuse to treat of peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the war of Naples, and the design against the Turk: the king hath commanded me expressly to say, that he doth wish with all his heart to his good brother the French king, that his fortunes may succeed according to his hopes and honourable intentions. And whensoever he shall hear that he is prepared for Grecia, as your master is pleased now to say that he beggeth a peace of the king, so the king will then beg of him a part in that war.

“ But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the king’s part: the king your master hath taught our king what to say and demand. You say, my lord prior, that your king is resolved to recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his honour, nor answer it to his people. Think, my lords, that the king our master saith the same thing over again to you touching Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, yea, and the kingdom of France itself. I cannot express it better than in your own words. If, therefore, the French king shall consent that the king our master’s title to France, at least tribute for the same, be handled in the treaty, the king is content to go on with the rest, otherwise he refuseth to treat.”

The ambassadors, being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat: That they doubted not, but the king their sovereign’s sword would be able to maintain his sceptre: and they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of France either in territory or regality: but, howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no commission. It was replied, that the king looked for no other answer from them

but would forthwith send his own ambassadors to the French king, There was a question also asked at the table—whether the French king would agree to have the disposing of the marriage of Britain with an exception and exclusion, that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered; That it was so far out of their king's thoughts, as they had received no instructions touching the same. Thus were the ambassadors dismissed, all save the prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas, earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston, prior of Christ-Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space, Lionel, bishop of Concordia, was sent as nuncio from Pope Alexander the Sixth¹ to both kings, to move a peace between them. For Pope Alexander, finding himself pent and locked up by a league and association of the principal states of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house, which he immoderately thirsted after, was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better; casting the net, not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark. And doubting lest the fears from England might stay the French king's voyage into Italy, despatched this bishop to compose all matters between the two kings, if he could: who first repaired to the French king, and finding him well inclined, as he conceived, took on his journey towards England, and found the English ambassadors at Calais, on their way towards the French king. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where he had audience of the king. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a peace, nothing followed: for in the mean time the purpose of the French king to marry the duchess could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the English ambassadors, finding how things went, took their leave, and returned. And the prior also was warned from hence to depart out of England. Who, when he turned his back, more like a pedant than an ambassador, dispersed a bitter libel, in Latin verse, against the king; unto which the king, though he had nothing of a pedant, yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like verse; and that as speaking in his own person, but in a style of scorn and sport.

About this time also was born the king's second son Henry, who afterwards reigned. And soon after followed the solemnization of the marriage between Charles and Anne, duchess of Britain, with whom he received the duchy of Britain as her dowry, the daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home. Which, when it came to the ears of Maximilian, who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the principal in deceiving himself, though in this the French king did very handsomely second it, in tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow, with such a double scorn, be defeated, both of the marriage of his daughter and his own, upon both which he had fixed high imaginations, he lost all patience, and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great kings, even when their blood is hottest, and most risen, fell to bitter invectives against the person and actions of the French king. And, by how much he was the less able to do, talking so much the more, spake all the

¹ The infamous Borgia.

injuries he could devise of Charles, saying: That he was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an advowtry and a rape; which was done, he said, by the just judgment of God; to the end that, the nullity thereof being so apparent to all the world, the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in France. And forthwith he sent ambassadors as well to the king of England, as to the king of Spain, to incite them to war, and to treat a league offensive against France, promising to concur with great forces of his own. Hereupon the king of England, going nevertheless his own way, called a parliament, it being the seventh year of his reign; and the first day of the opening thereof, sitting under his cloth of estate, spake himself unto his lords and commons in this manner:—

“My lords, and you the commons, when I purposed to make a war in Britain, by my lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my chancellor. But now that I mean to make a war upon France in person, I will declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man’s right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by accident, but we hope this shall end in victory.

“The French king troubles the Christian world: that which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Britain: he maintaineth the rebels in Flanders: and he threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect; and from neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our confederates: he denieth our tribute: in a word, he seeks war: so did not his father, but sought peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good counsel or time shall make him see as much as his father did.

“Meanwhile, let us make his ambition our advantage; and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or acknowledgement, but, by the favour of Almighty God, try our right for the crown of France itself; remembering that there hath been a French king prisoner in England, and a king of England crowned in France. Our confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier hand than ever, and never more provoked. Britain cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New acquets are more burden than strength. The malecontents of his own kingdom have not been base, popular, nor titulary impostors, but of a higher nature. The king of Spain, doubt ye not, will join with us, not knowing where the French king’s ambition will stay. Our holy father the pope likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter of confederates is rather to be thought on than reckoned on. For God forbid but England should be able to get reason of France without a second.

“At the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, we were of ourselves. France hath much people, and few soldiers. They have no stable bands of foot. Some good horse they have; but those are forces which are least fit for a defensive war, where the actions are in the assailant’s choice. It was our discords only that lost France; and, by the power of God, it is the good peace which we now enjoy that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my sword. I have, in this time that I have reigned, weeded out my bad subjects, and tried my good. My people and I know one another, which breeds confidence and if

there should be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable foreign war will vent it or purify it. In this great business let me have your advice and aid. If any of you were to make his son knight, you might have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood and spurs of the kingdom, whereof I am father; and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it: but for matter of treasure let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. France is no wilderness; and I, that profess good husbandry, hope to make the war, after the beginnings, to pay itself. Go together in God's name, and lose no time; for I have called this parliament wholly for this cause."

Thus spake the king; but for all this, though he showed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise, except the two bishops and a few more, yet nevertheless in his secret intentions he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war, to make his return in money. He knew well that France was now entire and at unity with itself, and never so mighty many years before. He saw by the taste that he had of his forces sent into Britain, that the French knew well enough how to make war with the English, by not putting things to the hazard of a battle, but wearing them by long sieges of towns, and strong fortified encampings. James the Third of Scotland, his true friend and confederate, gone; and James the Fourth, that had succeeded, wholly at the devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain and Maximilian, he could make no foundation upon them. For the one had power, and not will; and the other had will, and not power. Besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken breath from the war with the Moors; and merchanted at this time with France for the restoring of the counties of Russignon and Perpignian, oppignorated¹ to the French. Neither was he out of fear of the discontents and ill blood within the realm; which having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond sea, and engaged in war. Finding therefore the inconveniences and difficulties in the prosecution of a war, he cast with himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the declaration and inchoation of a war to make his profit. The other, how to come off from the war with the saving of his honour. For profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; like a good merchant, that maketh his gain both upon the commodities exported, and imported back again. For the point of honour, wherein he might suffer for giving over the war, he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for supports of war, so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions to accept of peace. These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap as he desired.

For as for the parliament, it presently took fire, being affectionate, of old, to the war of France; and desirous afresh to repair the

¹ Pledg'd—mortgaged.

dishonour they thought the king sustained by the loss of Britain. Therefore they advised the king, with great alacrity, to undertake the war of France. And although the parliament consisted of the first and second nobility, together with principal citizens and townsmen, yet worthily and justly respecting more the people, whose deputies they were, than their own private persons, and finding by the lord chancellor's speech the king's inclination that way, they consented that commissioners should go forth for the gathering and levying of a benevolence from the more able sort. This tax, called a benevolence, was devised by Edward the Fourth, for which he sustained much envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third by act of parliament, to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was now revived by the king, but with consent of parliament, for so it was not in the time of King Edward the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great sums. Insomuch as the City of London, in those days, contributed nine thousand pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a tradition of a *dilemma*, that bishop Morton the chancellor used, to raise up the benevolence to higher rates; and some called it his fork, and some his crotch. For he had couched an article in the instructions to the commissioners who were to levy the benevolence; "That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, that they must needs have, because they laid up: and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living." So neither kind came amiss.

This parliament was merely a parliament of war; for it was in substance but a declaration of war against France and Scotland, with some statutes conducing thereunto: as the severe punishment of mort-pays, and keeping back of soldiers' wages in captains; the like severity for the departure of soldiers without licence; strengthening of the common law in favour of protections for those that were in the king's service; and the setting the gate open or wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war; and lastly, the voiding of all Scottish men out of England. There was also a statute for the dispersing of the standard of the exchequer throughout England; thereby to size weights and measures; and two or three more of less importance.

After the parliament was broken up, which lasted not long, the king went on with his preparations for the war of France; yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of Maximilian for the quieting of Flanders, and restoring him to his authority amongst his subjects. For at that time the lord of Ravenstein, being not only a subject rebelled, but a servant revolted, and so much the more malicious and violent, by the aid of Bruges and Gaunt, had taken the town and both the castles of Sluice, as we said before: and having, by the commodity of the haven, gotten together certain ships and barks, fell to a kind of piratical trade; robbing and spoiling, and taking prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations, and passed along the coast towards the mart of Antwerp, or into any part of Brabant, Zealand, or Friezeland; being ever well victualled from Picardy, besides the commodity of victuals from Sluice, and the

country adjacent, and the avails of his own prizes. The French assisted him still underhand; and he likewise, as all men do that have been of both sides, thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third person.

There was a small town some two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam; which was a fort and approach to Bruges, and had a relation also to Sluice.

This town the king of the Romans had attempted often, not for any worth of the town in itself, but because it might choke Bruges, and cut it off from the sea, and ever failed. But therewith the duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the person of an umpire, to compose things between Maximilian and his subjects; but being, indeed, fast and assured to Maximilian. Upon this pretext of neutrality and treaty, he repaired to Bruges; desiring of the estates of Bruges, to enter peaceably into their town, with a retinue of some number of men of arms fit for his estate; being somewhat the more, as he said, the better to guard him in a country that was up in arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance for their good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his carriages and harbingers before him, to provide his lodging. So that his men of war entered the city in good array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before inquired still for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested there all night; and so went on till they came to the gate that leadeth directly towards Dam: and they of Bruges only gazed upon them, and gave them passage. The captains and inhabitants of Dam also suspected no harm from any that passed through Bruges; and discovering forces afar off, supposed they had been some succours that were come from their friends, knowing some dangers towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well till it was too late, suffered them to enter their town. By which kind of slight,¹ rather than stratagem, the town of Dam was taken, and the town of Bruges shrewdly blocked up, whereby they took great discouragement.

The duke of Saxony, having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the king to let him know, that it was Sluice chiefly, and the Lord Ravenstein that kept the rebellion of Flanders in life: and that if it pleased the king to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land and so cut out the core of those wars.

The king, willing to uphold the authority of Maximilian, the better to hold France in awe, and being likewise sued unto by his merchants, for that the seas were much infested by the barks of the Lord Ravenstein, sent straightways Sir Edward Poynings, a valiant man, and of good service, with twelve ships, well furnished with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Englishmen did not only coop up the Lord Ravenstein, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait siege the maritime part of the town, but also assailed one of the castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days' space, issuing still out of their ships at the ebb, as they made great slaughter of them of the castle; who continually

¹ Trick—sleight.

fought with them to repulse them, though of the English part also were slain a brother of the Earl of Oxford's, and some fifty more.

But the siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the castles, which were the principal strength of the town, being distressed, the one by the duke of Saxony and the other by the English; and a bridge of boats, which the lord of Ravenstein had made between both castles, whereby succours and relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the English; he despairing to hold the town, yielded at the last the castles to the English, and the town to the duke of Saxony by composition. Which done, the duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges, to submit themselves to Maximilian their lord, which after some time they did, paying in some good part the charge of the war, whereby the Almains and foreign succours were dismissed. The example of Bruges other of the revolted towns followed, so that Maximilian grew to be out of danger, but, as his manner was to handle matters, never out of necessity. And Sir Edward Poynings, after he had continued at Sluice some good while till all things were settled, returned unto the king, being then before Boloign.

Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, signifying the final conquest of Granada from the Moors, which action, in itself so worthy, king Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the showing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom, showing amongst other things that the king would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had at first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground. That likewise, before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by a herald from the height of that tower that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous apostle Saint James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth, together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not from his camp till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians, that had lived in bonds and servitude as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption, and that he had given tribute unto God by alms and relief extended to them all for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation.

The king, ever willing to put himself into the consort or choir of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the king of Spain, as far as one king can affect another, partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoise to France, upon the receipt of these letters sent all his nobles and prelates that were about the court, together with the mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the church of Paul, there to hear a declaration from the lord chancellor, now cardinal. When they were assembled, the cardinal, standing upon the uppermost step, or half-pace, before the choir, and all the nobles, relates,

and governors of the city at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them, letting them know that they were assembled in that consecrated place to sing unto God a new song. For that, said he, these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the infidels, nor enlarged and set farther the bounds of the Christian world. But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, who have, to their immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of Granada and the populous and mighty city of the same name from the Moors, having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more; for which this assembly and all Christians are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the king of Spain, who in this is not only victorious but apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces to the Christian faith. And the rather for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood; whereby it is to be hoped that there shall be gained not only new territory, but infinite souls to the Church of Christ, whom the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. And after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after the solemnity, the king kept his Mayday at his palace of Shene, now Richmond; where, to warm the blood of his nobility and gallants against the war, he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney during all that month. In which space it so fell out that Sir James Parker and Hugh Vaughan, one of the king's gentlemen ushers, having had a controversy touching certain arms that the king-at-arms had given Vaughan, were appointed to run some courses one against another. And by accident of a faulty helmet that Parker had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place. Which, because of the controversy precedent and the death that followed, was accounted amongst the vulgar as a combat or trial of right. The king, towards the end of this summer, having put his forces wherewith he meant to invade France in readiness, but so as they were not yet met or mustered together, sent Urswick, now made his almoner, and Sir John Risley, to Maximilian, to let him know that he was in arms, ready to pass the seas into France, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to join with him, according to his promise made unto him by Countebalt, his ambassador.

The English ambassadors having repaired to Maximilian, did find his power and promise at a very great distance, he being utterly unprovided of men, money, and arms for any such enterprise. For Maximilian, having neither wing to fly on, for that his patrimony of Austria was not in his hands, his father being then living, and on the other side his matrimonial territories of Flanders being partly in dowry to his mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable in respect of the late rebellions, was thereby destitute of means to enter into war. The ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the king thereof, rather than to return themselves, till the king's farther pleasure

were known ; the rather for that Maximilian himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory answers, so as the formal part of their ambassage might well warrant and require their farther stay. The king hereupon, who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning, wrote back to the ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they found Maximilian as a secret, till they heard farther from him ; and meanwhile went on with his voyage royal for France, suppressing for a time this advertisement touching Maximilian's poverty and disability.

But this time was drawn together a great and puissant army into the city of London, in which were Thomas marquis Dorset, Thomas earl of Arundel, Thomas earl of Derby, George earl of Shrewsbury, Edmond earl of Suffolk, Edward earl of Devonshire, George earl of Kent, the earl of Essex, Thomas Earl of Ormond, with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen, and amongst them Richard Thomas, much noted for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales. The army rising in the whole to the number of five-and-twenty thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, over which the king, constant in his accustomed trust and employment, made Jasper duke of Bedford and John earl of Oxford generals under his own person. The ninth of September, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the sea, all men wondering that he took that season, being so near winter, to begin the war, and some thereupon gathering it was a sign that the war would not be long. Nevertheless the king gave out the contrary, thus :—"That he intending not to make a summer business of it, but a resolute war, without term prefixed, until he had recovered France, it skilled not much when he began it, especially having Calais at his back, where he might winter if the season of the war so required." The sixth of October he embarked at Sandwich, and the same day took land at Calais, which was the rendezvous where all his forces were assigned to meet. But in this his journey towards the seaside, wherein, for the cause that we shall not speak of, he hovered so much the longer, he had received letters from the Lord Cordes, who the hotter he was against the English in time of war, had the more credit in a negotiation of peace, and besides, was held a man open and of good faith. In which letters there was made an overture of peace from the French king, with such conditions as were somewhat to the king's taste ; but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The king was no sooner come to Calais, but the calm winds of peace began to blow. For first, the English ambassadors returned out of Flanders from Maximilian, and certified the king that he was not to hope for any aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether unprovided. His will was good, but he lacked money. And this was made known and spread through the army. And although the English were therewithal nothing dismayed, and that it be the manner of soldiers upon bad news to speak the more bravely ; yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a peace. Instantly in the neck of this, as the king had laid it, came news that Ferdinando and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, had concluded a peace with King Charles, and that Charles had

restored unto them the counties of Russignon and Perpignian, which formerly were mortgaged by John, king of Arragon, Ferdinando's father, unto France for three hundred thousand crowns, which debt was also upon this peace by Charles clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the peace, both because so potent a confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought, so as the king should not be the sole merchant in this peace. Upon these airs of peace the king was content that the bishop of Exeter and the Lord d'Aubigny, governor of Calais, should give a meeting unto the Lord Cordes, for the treaty of a peace. But himself, nevertheless, and his army, the fifteenth of October, removed from Calais, and in four days' march sat him down before Boloign.

During this siege of Boloign, which continued near a month, there passed no memorable action nor accident of war; only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain, riding about the walls of the town to take a view. The town was both well fortified and well manned, yet it was distressed and ready for an assault; which, if it had been given, as was thought, would have cost much blood, but yet the town would have been carried in the end. Meanwhile a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both the kings' lives. Where there was no article of importance, being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred and forty-five thousand ducats in present, for his charges in that journey; and five-and-twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aid of the Britons. For which annual, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand as much as the principal debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely when it should determine or expire, which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the king and to his son King Henry the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the French king, unto all the king's principal councillors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present; which, whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business, that was displeasing to his people, was diversely interpreted. For certainly the king had no great fancy to own this peace. And, therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace, under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is this peace was welcome to both kings:—To Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Britain, and freed the enterprise of Naples; to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, "That the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself." And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in Parliament, "That after the war was once begun,

he doubted not but to make it pay itself," saying, he had kept promise.

Having risen from Boloign he went to Calais, where he stayed some time. From whence also he wrote letters, which was a courtesy that he sometimes used, to the mayor of London, and the aldermen his brethren, half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace, knowing well that full coffers of the king is ever good news to London. And better news it would have been, if their benevolence had been but a loan. And upon the seventeenth of December following he returned to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas.

Soon after the king's return, he sent the Order of the Garter to Alphonso, duke of Calabria, eldest son to Ferdinando, king of Naples, an honour sought by that prince to hold him up in the eyes of the Italians, who, expecting the arms of Charles, made great account of the amity of England for a bride to France. It was received by Alphonso with all the ceremony and pomp that could be devised, as things used to be carried that are intended for opinion. It was sent by Urswick, upon whom the king bestowed this ambassage to help him after many dry employments.

At this time the king began again to be haunted with spirits, by the magic and curious arts of the Lady Margaret, who raised up the ghost of Richard, duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth, to walk and vex the king. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel, better done and worn upon greater hands, being graced after with the wearing of a king of France and a king of Scotland, not of a duchess of Burgundy only. And for Simnel there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth, of whom we are now to speak, was such a mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own part if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this being one of the strangest examples of a personation that ever was in elder or later times, it deserveth to be discovered and related at the full; although the king's manner of showing things by pieces, and by dark lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery¹ to this day.

The Lady Margaret, whom the king's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief, for a foundation of her particular practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion, that Richard, duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth, was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive. For that those who were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnel, would draw at one time or other some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a farther diligence, not committing all to chance; for she had some secret espials, like to the Turks' commissioners for

¹ There appear to be good grounds for thinking he was no impostor. See Hepworth Dixon's "Two Queens," Appendix to "Catherine."

children of tribute, to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets and dukes of York. At the last she did light on one in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit of Richard, duke of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity, and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or, as the king called him, such a landloper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his nest and parcuts. Neither again could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance, which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time, that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter—which is, that King Edward the Fourth was his godfather. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip¹ in so mean a house, and might make a man think that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the house of York; so at the least, though that were not, it might give the occasion to the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps in sport King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into his head. For tutor he had none, for ought that appears, as Lambert Simnel had, until he came unto the Lady Margaret, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to pass:—There was a townsman of Tournay, that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catherine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London in King Edward the Fourth's days; during which time he had a son by her, and being known in court, the king, either out of religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter. But afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin, or Perkin. For as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for a good time; living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the espials of the Lady Margaret into her presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune; and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour; thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of

¹ Sponsor.

the duke of York. She kept him by her a great while, but with extreme secrecy. The while she instructed him by many cabinet conferences. First, in princely behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard, duke of York, which he was to act; describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen his pretended parents; and of his brother and sisters, and divers others, that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the king's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape, she knew they were things that a very few could control; and therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters, warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what account he should give of his peregrination abroad, intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest; but still making them to hang together with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions, which were like to be asked of him. But in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own wit and readiness; and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and farther promises; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown if things went well, and a sure refuge to her court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the horizon of Ireland; for there had the like meteor strong influence before. The time of the apparition to be, when the king should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe, for that the two kings were then upon terms of peace. Therefore she wheeled about; and to put all suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her, for that she knew secrets are not long-lived, she sent him unknown into Portugal with the Lady Brampton, an English lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time, with some *privado* of her own, to have an eye upon him; and there he was to remain, and to expect her farther directions. In the mean time she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome and accepting, not only in the kingdom of Ireland, but in the court of France. He continued in Portugal about a year; and by that time the king of England called his parliament, as hath been said, and declared open war against France. Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was come, under which Perkin should appear. And therefore he was straight

sent unto by the duchess to go for Ireland, according to the first designment. In Ireland he did arrive at the town of Cork. When he was thither come, his own tale was, when he made his confession afterwards, that the Irishmen, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down that he was the duke of Clarence that had been there before. And after that he was Richard the Third's base son. And lastly, that he was Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward the Fourth. But that he, for his part, renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the holy evangelists, that he was no such man; till at last they forced it upon him, and bade him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the duke of York, and drew unto him complices and partakers by all the means he could devise. Insomuch as he wrote his letters unto the earls of Desmond and Kildare, to come in to his aid, and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the duchess had also gained unto her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue; an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles, the French king, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the king. Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the king of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret, forthwith despatched one Lucas and this Frion, in the nature of ambassadors to Perkin, to advertise him of the king's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to recover his right against King Henry, an usurper of England, and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in heaven now that he was invited by so great a king in so honourable a manner; and imparting unto his friends in Ireland for their encouragement, how fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into France. When he was come to the court of France, the king received him with great honour: saluted, and stiled him by the name of the duke of York; lodged him, and accommodated him with in great state. And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person, whereof the Lord Congresall was captain. The courtiers likewise, though it be ill mocking with the French, applied themselves to their king's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality: Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more; and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frion, of whom we spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this on the French king's part was but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace. And therefore upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boloign, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French king deliver him up to King Henry, as he was laboured to do, for his honour's sake, but warned him away and dismissed him. And Perkin, on his

part, was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into Flanders, unto the duchess of Burgundy; pretending that having been variously tossed by fortune, he directed his course thither as to a safe harbour: no ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The duchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him; pretending, at the first, that she was taught and made wise by the example of Lambert Simnel, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff; though even in that, she said, she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first, and that was ever in the presence of others, to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him as if he were risen from death to life; and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismissal out of France, they interpreted it, not as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver, but contrariwise, that it did show manifestly unto the world, that he was some great matter; for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace; being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin, for his part, wanting to himself, either in gracious or princely behaviour, or in ready and opposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself; insomuch as it was generally believed, as well amongst great persons as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continued counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar to a believer. The duchess, therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, and giving him the delicate title of the White Rose of England: and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the duke of York; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent; in some upon ambition; in some upon levity and desire of change; in some few upon conscience and belief; but in most upon simplicity; and in divers out of dependence upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the king and his government, taxing him for a

great taxer of his people, and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Britain, and the peace with France, were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his queen, in that he did not reign in her right. Wherefore they said that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the house of York, that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet, as it fareth in the things which are current with the multitude, and which they affect, these fames grew so general, as the authors were lost in the generality of speakers. They being like running weeds that have no certain root; or like footings up and down, impossible to be traced; but after a while these ill humours drew to a head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons—which were, Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the king's household, the lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly, but two, Sir Robert Clifford and Master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent indeed from the party of the conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of moneys from hence; provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford, being a gentleman of fame and family, was extremely welcome to the Lady Margaret; who, after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that, in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard, duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.

The king on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy forces yet, he thought would but show fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected; but for the rest, he chose to work by countermine. His purposes were two: the one, to lay open the abuse; the other, to break the knot of the conspirators. To detect the abuse, there were but two ways: the first, to make it manifest to the world that the duke of York was indeed murdered; the other, to prove that were he dead or alive, yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the duke of York: Sir James Tirrel, the employed man from King Richard, John Dighton and Miles Forrest, his servants, the two butchers or tormentors, and the priest of the Tower, that buried them; of which four Miles Forrest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tirrel and John Dighton. These two the king caused to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out, to this effect: that King Richard having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to Brackenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused; whereupon the king;

directed his warrant to Sir James Tirrel, to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant, for the space of a night, for the king's special service. That Sir James Tirrel accordingly repaired to the Tower by night, attended by his two servants aforementioned, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the stair-foot, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed ; and, that done, called up their master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to King Richard, that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tirrel great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too base for them that were king's children ; whereupon, another night, by the king's warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower, and buried by him in some place, which, by means of the priest's death soon after could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those examinations ; but the king, nevertheless, made no use of them in any of his declarations ; whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tirrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower-yard for other matters of treason. But John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, the king used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of Perkin. To this purpose he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into Flanders, divers secret and nimble scouts and spies, some feigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to adhere unto him ; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's parents, birth, person, travels up and down ; and in brief, to have a journal, as it were, of his life and doings. He furnished these his employed men liberally with money to draw on and reward intelligences ; giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one advertisement and discovery called up another, he employed other new men, where the business did require it. Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his pioneers in the main countermine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal persons of the party in Flanders, and so to learn what associates they had, and correspondents, either here in England, or abroad ; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try or board. And as this for the persons, so for the actions themselves, to discover to the bottom, as they could, the utmost of Perkin's and the conspirators', their intentions, hopes, and practices. These latter best-be-trust spies had some of them farther instructions, to practise and draw off the best friends and servants of Perkin, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his enterprise and hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a king they had to deal ; and to reconcile them to the king, with promise of pardon and good conditions of reward. And, above the rest, to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert Clifford ; and to win him, if they could, being the man that

knew most of their secrets, and who, being won away, would most appal and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the knot.

There is a strange tradition, that the king, being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men; and for the better credit of his espials abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's, by name, amongst the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These espials plied their charge so roundly, as the king had an anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford, in especial, won to be assured to the king, and industrious and officious for his service. The king, therefore, receiving a rich return of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of particulars, first divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances thereof, throughout the realm; not by proclamation, because things were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or the less, but by court-fames, which commonly print better than printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an ambassage unto Archduke Philip,¹ into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he employed Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir William Warham, doctor of the canon law. The archduke was then young, and governed by his council, before whom the ambassadors had audience; and Dr. Warham spake in this manner:—

“My lords, the king our master is very sorry, that England and your country here of Flanders, having been counted as man and wife for so long time, now this country of all others should be the stage where a base counterfeit should play the part of a king of England; not only to his grace's disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorn and reproach of all sovereign princes. To counterfeit the dead image of a king in his coin is a high offence by all laws, but to counterfeit the living image of a king in his person, exceedeth all falsifications, except it should be that of a Mahomet, or an antichrist, that counterfeit divine honour. The king hath too great an opinion of this sage council, to think that any of you is caught with this fable, though way may be given by you to the passion of some, the thing in itself is so improbable. To set testimonies aside of the death of Duke Richard, which the king hath upon record, plain and infallible, because they may be thought to be in the king's own power, let the thing testify for itself. Sense and reason no power can command. Is it possible, trow you, that King Richard should damn his soul, and foul his name with so abominable a murder, and yet not mend his case? Or do you think that men of blood, that were his instruments, did turn to pity in the midst of their execution? Whereas in cruel and savage beasts, and men also, the first draught of blood doth yet make them more fierce and enraged. Do you not know, that the bloody executioners of tyrants do go to such errands with a halter about their neck; so that if they perform not, they are sure to die for it? And do you think that these men would hazard their own lives, for sparing another's? Admit they

should have saved him ; what should they have done with him ? Turn him into London streets, that the watchmen, or any passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a justice, and so all come to light ? Or should they have kept him by them secretly ? That surely would have required a great deal of care, charge, and continual fears. But, my lords, I labour too much in a clear business. The king is so wise, and hath so good friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his cradle. And because he is a great prince, if you have any good poet here, he can help him with notes to write his life ; and to parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the king's falconer. And therefore, to speak plainly to your lordships, it is the strangest thing in the world, that the Lady Margaret, excuse us if we name her, whose malice to the king is both causeless and endless, should now, when she is old, at the time when other women give over child-bearing, bring forth two such monsters ; being not the births of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not able to help themselves, she bringeth forth tall striplings, able soon after their coming into the world to bid battle to mighty kings. My lords, we stay unwillingly upon this part. We would to God that lady would once taste the joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her in beholding her niece to reign in such honour and with so much royal issue, which she might be pleased to account as her own. The king's request unto the archduke and your lordships might be, that according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But because the king may justly expect more from an ancient confederate than from a new reconciled enemy, he maketh his request unto you to deliver him up into his hands ; pirates and impostors of this sort being fit to be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and no ways to be protected by the law of nations."

After some time of deliberation, the ambassadors received this short answer :—

"That the archduke, for the love of King Henry, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended duke, but in all things conserve the amity he had with the king ; but for the duchess dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own."

The king, upon the return of the ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this answer ; for well he knew that a patrimonial dowry carried no part of sovereignty or command of forces. Besides, the ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the duchess had a great party in the archduke's council ; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivance, yet the archduke underhand gave aid and fartherance to Perkin. Wherefore, partly out of courage, and partly out of policy, the king forthwith banished all Flemings, as well their persons as their wares, out of his kingdom ; commanding his subjects likewise, and by name his merchants adventurers, which had a residence² at Antwerp, to return, translating the mart, which commonly followed the English cloth, unto Calais, and embarred also all farther trade for the future.

¹ Hinder.

² A residence.

This the king did, being sensible in point of honour not to suffer a pretender to the crown of England to affront him so near at hand, and he to keep terms of friendship with the country where he did set up. But he had also a farther reach ; for that he knew well that the subjects of Flanders drew so great commodity from the trade of England, as by this embargo they would soon wax weary of Perkin, and that the tumult of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the prince to displease the people. Nevertheless, for form's sake, by way of requital, the archduke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders, which in effect was done to his hand.

The king, being well advertised that Perkin did more trust upon friends and partakers within the realm than upon foreign arms, thought it behoved him to apply the remedy where the disease lay, and to proceed with severity against some of the principal conspirators here within the realm, thereby to purge the ill humours in England and to cool the hopes in Flanders ; wherefore he caused to be apprehended, almost at an instant, John Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubigney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Of these the Lord Fitzwalter was conveyed to Calais, and there kept in hold and in hope of life, until soon after, either impatient or betrayed, he dealt with his keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William D'Aubigney, were beheaded immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others, clerks and laics, amongst which were two Dominican friars, and William Worseley, dean of Paul's, which latter sort passed examination, but came not to public trial.

The lord chamberlain at that time was not touched, whether it were that the king would not stir too many humours at once, but, after the manner of good physicians, purge the head last, or that Clifford, from whom most of these discoveries came, reserved that piece for his own coming over, signifying only to the king, in the meantime, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the king farther account when he came to his presence.

Upon Allhallows-day even, being now the tenth year of the king's reign, the king's second son Henry was created duke of York ; and as well the duke as divers others, noblemen, knights-bachelors, and gentlemen of quality, were made knights of the Bath, according to the ceremony. Upon the morrow after Twelfth-day, the king removed from Westminster, where he had kept his Christmas, to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement that Sir Robert Clifford, in whose bosom or budget most of Perkin's secrets were laid up, was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if Clifford should accuse any of the great ones, they might, without suspicion or noise, or sending abroad of warrants, be presently attached, the court and prison being within the cincture of one wall. After a day or two the king drew unto him a selected council, and admitted Clifford to his presence, who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the king's pardon ;

which the king then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did, amongst many others, of himself, not interrogated, impeach Sir William Stanley,¹ the lord chamberlain of the king's household.

The king seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this lord, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature as to save his life and set the crown upon his head, a man that enjoyed by his favour and advancement so great a fortune both in honour and riches,—a man that was tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the king's mother,—and, lastly, a man to whom he had committed the trust of his person, in making him his chamberlain; that this man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in fear, should be false unto him. Clifford was required to say over again and again the particulars of his accusation, being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a servant of the king's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the king, finding that he did sadly and constantly, without hesitation or varying, and with those civil protestations that were fit, stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life, he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his council there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be restrained in his own chamber where he lay before, in the square tower; and the next day he was examined by the lords. Upon his examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault; so that, not very wisely, thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation. It was conceived that he trusted much to his former merits, and the interest that his brother had in the king. But those helps were overweighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the king's nature and mind. First, an over-merit; for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with kings. Next, the sense of his power; for the king thought that he that could set him up was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom, there being found in his castle of Holt forty thousand marks in ready money and plate, besides jewels, household-stuff, stocks upon his grounds, and other personal estate, exceeding great. And for his revenue in land and fee it was three thousand pounds a-year of old rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the nature of the time; for if the king had been out of fear of his own estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life. But the cloud of so great a rebellion hanging over his head made him work sure. Wherefore, after some six weeks' distance of time, which the king did honourably interpose, both to give space to his brother's intercession, and to show to the world that he had a conflict with himself what he should do, he was arraigned of high treason and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in dark memory, both what the case of

¹ Stanley had turned the issue of the battle of Bosworth Field by passing over to Richmond.

this noble person was for which he suffered, and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the king. His case was said to be this : that in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him he had said, "That if he were sure that that young man were King Edward's son he would never bear arms against him." This case seems somewhat a hard case, both in respect of the conditional and in respect of the other words. But for the conditional, it seemeth the judges of that time, who were learned men, and the three chief of them of the privy-council, thought it was a dangerous thing to admit ifs and ands, to qualify words of treason, whereby every man might express his malice and blanch his danger. And it was like to the case, in the following times, of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, who had said, "That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Catherine his wife again, he should be deprived of his crown, and die the death of a dog." And infinite cases may be put of like nature, which it seemeth the grave judges taking into consideration, would not admit of treasons on condition. And as for the positive words, "That he would not bear arms against King Edward's son," though the words seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct overruling of the king's title, either by the line of Lancaster or by Act of Parliament ; which no doubt pierced the king more than if Stanley had charged his lance upon him in the field. For if Stanley would hold that opinion that a son of King Edward had still the better right, he being so principal a person of authority and favour about the king, it was to teach all England to say as much ; and therefore, as those times were, that speech touched the quick. But some writers do put this out of doubt, for they say that Stanley did expressly promise to aid Perkin, and sent him some help of treasure.

Now for the motive of his falling off from the king. It is true that at Bosworth Field the king was beset, and in a manner enclosed round about by the troops of King Richard, and in manifest danger of his life, when this Stanley was sent by his brother with three thousand men to his rescue, which he performed so that King Richard was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit than the king received by the hands of Stanley, being like the benefit of Christ, at once to save and crown ; for which service the king gave him great gifts, made him his counsellor and chamberlain, and somewhat contrary to his nature, had winked at the great spoils of Bosworth Field, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet, nevertheless, blown up with the conceit of his merit, he did not think he had received good measure from the king, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant and unbounded, as he became suitor to the king for the earldom of Chester, which ever being a kind of appendage to the principality of Wales, and using to go to the king's son, his suit did not only end in a denial, but in a distaste ; the king perceiving thereby that his desires were intemperate, and his cogitations vast and irregular, and that his former benefits were but cheap and lightly regarded by him ; wherefore the king began not to brook him well. And as a little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits, the king's wit began now to

suggest unto his passion that Stanley at Bosworth Field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his fall.

After him was made lord chamberlain, Giles, Lord D'Aubigny, a man of great sufficiency and valour, the more because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford, who now was become the state informer, was from the beginning an emissary and spy of the king's; and that he fled over into Flanders with his consent and privy. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of grace which he had with the king before his going over; and chiefly, for that the discovery which he had made touching the lord chamberlain, which was his great service, grew not from any thing he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These executions, and especially that of the lord chamberlain, which was the chief strength of the party, and by means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most inward man of trust amongst them, did extremely quail the design of Perkin and his complices, as well through discouragement as distrust; so that they were now, like sand without lime, ill bound together; especially as many as were English, who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking, that the king, what with his baits, and what with his nets, would draw them all unto him that were anything worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the thread, sometimes one, and sometimes another. Barley, that was joint commissioner with Clifford, did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his peace at the length. But the fall of this great man, being in so high authority and favour, as was thought, with the king; and the manner of carriage of the business as if there had been secret inquisition upon him for a great time before; and the cause for which he suffered, which was little more than for saying in effect that the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster—which was the case of almost every man, at the least in opinion—was matter of great terror amongst all the king's servants and subjects; insomuch as no man almost thought himself secure, and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another, but there was a general diffidence everywhere: which nevertheless made the king rather more absolute than more safe. For "bleeding inwards, and shut vapours, strangle soonest, and oppress most."

Hereupon presently came forth swarms and volleys of libels, which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained, and the females of sedition, containing bitter invectives and slanders against the king and some of the council: for the contriving and dispersing whereof, after great diligence of inquiry, five mean persons were caught up and executed.

Meanwhile the king did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where these mushrooms and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence for the better settling of his affairs there, commissioners of both robes, the prior of Lanthony, to be his chancellor in that kingdom; and Sir Edward Poynings, with

a power of men, and a marshal commission, together with a civil power of his lieutenant, with a clause, that the earl of Kildare, then deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in the pale fled to them; so that Sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish; where, in respect of the mountains and fastnesses, he did little good. Which, either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace, he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the earl of Kildare; every light suspicion growing upon the earl, in respect of the Kildare that was in the action of Lambert Simnel, and slain at Stokefield. Wherefore he caused the earl to be apprehended, and sent into England; where, upon examination, he cleared himself so well, as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings, the better to make compensation of the meagreness of his service in the wars by acts of peace, called a parliament; where was made that memorable act, which at this day is called Poynings' law, whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland: for before they were not, neither are any now in force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time, which was the tenth year of the king.

About this time began to be discovered in the king that disposition, which afterwards, nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times: which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects' purses, by forfeitures upon penal laws. At this men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the king's nature, and not out of his necessity, he being now in float for treasure: for that he had newly received the peace-money from France, the benevolence-money from his subjects, and great casualties upon the confiscations of the lord chamberlain, and divers others. The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Capel, alderman of London; who, upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the king for sixteen hundred: and yet after, Empson would have cut another chop out of him, if the king had not died in the instant.

The summer following, the king, to comfort his mother, whom he did always tenderly love and revere, and to make open demonstration to the world, that the proceedings against Sir William Stanley, which were imposed upon him by necessity of state, had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to Thomas his brother, went in progress to Latham to make merry with his mother and the earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress, Perkin Warbeck, finding that time and temporizing, which, whilst his practices were covert and wrought well in England, made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him, for that when matters once go down the hill, they stay not without a new force; resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon England—hoping still upon the affections of the common people towards the house of York. Which body of common people he thought was not to be practised upon, as

persons of quality are ; but that the only practice upon their affections was to set up a standard in the field. The place where he should make his attempt he chose to be the coast of Kent.

The king by this time was grown to such a height of reputation for cunning and policy, that every accident and event that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before : as in this particular of Perkin's design upon Kent. For the world would not believe afterwards, but the king, having secret intelligence of Perkin's intention for Kent, the better to draw it on, went of purpose into the north afar off, laying an open side unto Perkin, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in Kent beforehand.

But so it was, that Perkin had gathered together a power of all nations, neither in number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons, contemptible, but in their nature and fortunes to be feared, as well of friends as enemies ; being bankrupts, and many of them felons, and such as lived by rapine. These he put to sea, and arrived upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal in Kent, about July (1495).

There he cast anchor, and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men to land, making great boasts of the power that was to follow. The Kentish men, perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most of them base people and freebooters, fitter to spoil a coast than to recover a kingdom, resorting unto the principal gentlemen of the country, professed their loyalty to the king, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the king's service. The gentlemen, entering into consultation, directed some forces in good number to show themselves upon the coast : and some of them to make signs to entice Perkin's soldiers to land, as if they would join with them : and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them, the better to encourage them to land. But Perkin, who by playing the prince, or else taught by Secretary Frion, had learned thus much, that people under command do use to consult, and after to march in order, and rebels contrariwise run upon a head together in confusion, considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly and not tumultuary arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily youth would not set one foot out of his ship, till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the king's forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their ships. In which skirmish, besides those that fled and were slain, there were taken about a hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the king thought, that to punish a few for example was gentleman's pay, but for rascal people, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprise : and likewise for that he saw, that Perkin's forces would now consist chiefly of such rabble and scum of desperate people, he therefore hanged them all for the greater terror. They were brought to London all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in a cart, and were executed, some of them at London and Wapping, and the last at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk,

for sea-marks or light-houses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast. The king being advertised of the landing of the rebels thought to leave his progress; but being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his progress, and sent Sir Richard Guildford into Kent in message; who calling the country together, did much commend from the king their fidelity, manhood, and well handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and, in private, promised reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of November, this being the eleventh year of the king, was holden the serjeants' feast at Ely Place, there being nine serjeants of that call. The king, to honour the feast, was present with his queen at the dinner; being a prince that was ever ready to grace and countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, that as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year also the king entered into league with the Italian potentates for the defence of Italy against France; for King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples, and lost it again, in a kind of felicity of a dream. He passed the whole length of Italy without resistance; so that it was true which Pope Alexander was wont to say, "That the Frenchmen came into Italy with chalk in their hands, to mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight." He likewise entered and won, in effect, the whole kingdom of Naples itself, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many errors, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome. He gave no contentment to the barons of Naples, of the faction of the Angeovines; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. He put all Italy upon their guard, by the seizing and holding of Ostia, and the protecting of the liberty of Pisa: which made all men suspect that his purposes looked farther than his title of Naples. He fell too soon at differences with Ludovico Sfortia (Sforza), who was the man that carried the keys which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some relics of the war. And lastly, in regard of his easy passage through Italy without resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the arms of the Italians; whereby he left the realm of Naples, at his departure, so much the less provided. So that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to Ferdinando the younger, and the French were quite driven out. Nevertheless, Charles did make both great threats and great preparations to re-enter Italy once again. Wherefore at the instance of divers of the states of Italy, and especially of Pope Alexander, there was a league concluded between the said pope, Maximilian, king of the Romans, Henry, king of England, Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, for so they are constantly placed in the original treaty throughout, Augustino Barbado, duke of Venice, and Ludovico Sfortia, duke of Milan, for the common defence of their estates; wherein, though Ferdinando of Naples was not named as principal, yet no doubt the kingdom of Naples was tacitly included as a fee of the Church.

There died also this year Cecile, duchess of York, mother to King Edward the Fourth, at her castle of Barkhamsted, being of extreme

years, and who had lived to see three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.¹

This year also, the king called his parliament, where many laws were made of a more private and vulgar nature than ought to detain the reader of a history. And it may be justly suspected by the proceedings following, that as the king did excel in good commonwealth laws, so nevertheless he had, in secret, a design to make use of them, as well for collecting of treasure as for correcting of manners; and so meaning thereby to harrow his people, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal law that was made this parliament, was a law of a strange nature, rather just than legal, and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain: That no person that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the king for the time being, should after be impeached therefor, or attainted, either by the course of the law or by act of parliament. But if any such act of attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the king's title, or quarrel; and it was agreeable to good conscience that, whatsoever the fortune of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague, who said, "If I have sinned, strike me; but what have these sheep done?" Neither wanted this law parts of prudent and deep foresight; for it did the better take away occasion for the people to busy themselves to pry into the king's title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless it did take off from his party that great tie and spur of necessity, to fight and go victors out of the field, considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety and protected, whether they stood to it or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it, by a precedent act of parliament to bind or frustrate a future. For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed, no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will, that if he made any latter will it should be void. And for the case of the act of parliament, there is a notable precedent of it in King Henry the Eighth's time, who, doubting he might die in the minority of his son, procured an act to pass, that no statute made during the minority of a king should bind him or his successors, except it were confirmed by the king under his great seal at his full age. But the first act that passed in King Edward the Sixth's time was an act of repeal of that former act, at which time, nevertheless, the king was minor. But things that do not bind may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or under-propping act for the benevolence—to make the sums which any person had agreed to pay, and

¹ She had made a second marriage after Richard of York's death

nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by course of law ; which act did not only bring in the arrears, but did indeed counteriaince the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those that had been forward to pay.

This parliament also was made that good law which gave the attain upon a false verdict between party and party, which before was a kind of evangile, and irremediable. It extends not to causes capital, as well because they are for the most part at the king's suit, as because in them, if they be followed in course of indictment, there passeth a double jury, the indicters and the triers, and so not twelve men, but four-and-twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason ; for this reason holdeth not in the appeal. But the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of jurors in cases of life and death, if they should be subject to suit and penalty where the favour of life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any suit where the demand is under the value of forty pounds, for that in such cases of petty value it would not quit the charge to go about again.

There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced by their husbands or their husbands' ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the heirs, or those in remainder, of the lands whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that charitable law for the admission of poor suitors *in forma pauperis*, without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk, whereby poor men became rather able to vex than unable to sue.

There were divers other good laws made that parliament, as we said before ; but we still observe our manner, in selecting out those that are not of a vulgar nature.

The king this while, though he sat in parliament as in full peace, and seemed to account of the designs of Perkin, who was now returned into Flanders, but as a May-game ; yet having the composition of a wise king, stout without and apprehensive within, had given order for the watching of beacons upon the coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful eye where this wandering cloud would break. But Perkin, advised to keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood, alive with continual blowing, sailed again into Ireland, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of France than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that people. But in the space of time between, the king's diligence and Poyning's commission had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for Perkin but the blustering affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was advised by his council, to seek aid of the king of Scotland, a prince young and valorous, and in good terms with his nobles and people, and ill affected to King Henry. At this time also both Maximilian and Charles of France began to bear no good will to the king ; the one being displeased with the king's prohibition of commerce with Flanders, the other holding the king for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the Italians. Wherefore, besides the open aids of the duchess of Burgundy, which did with sails and oars put on and advance Perkin's designs, there wanted not some secret tides from Maximilian and Charles, which

did farther his fortunes ; insomuch as they, both by their secret letters and messages, recommended him to the king of Scotland.

Perkin therefore coming into Scotland upon those hopes, with a well-appointed company, was by the king of Scots, being formerly well prepared, honourably welcomed, and soon after his arrival admitted to his presence, in a solemn manner : for the king received him in state in his chamber of presence, accompanied with divers of his nobles. And Perkin well attended, as well with those that the king had sent before him, as with his own train, entered the room where the king was, and coming near to the king, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice, that all that were present might hear him, made his declaration in this manner :—

“ High and mighty king, your grace, and these your nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your ears, to hear the tragedy of a young man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the ball of a kingdom ; but by fortune is made himself a ball, tossed from misery to misery, and from place to place. You see here before you the spectacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from the nursery to the sanctuary ; from the sanctuary to the direful prison ; from the prison to the hand of the cruel tormentor ; and from that hand to the wide wilderness, as I may truly call it, for so the world hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great kingdom, hath not ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth by your princely favour. Edward the Fourth, late king of England, as your grace cannot but have heard, left two sons, Edward and Richard, duke of York, both very young. Edward, the eldest, succeeded their father in the crown, by the name of King Edward the Fifth : but Richard, duke of Gloucester, their unnatural uncle, first thirsting after the kingdom, through ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their blood, out of desire to secure himself, employed an instrument of his, confident to him, as he thought, to murder them both. But this man that was employed to execute that execrable tragedy, having cruelly slain King Edward, the eldest of the two, was moved, partly by remorse, and partly by some other means, to save Richard his brother ; making a report nevertheless to the tyrant, that he had performed his commandment to both brethren. This report was accordingly believed, and published generally : so that the world hath been possessed of an opinion, that they both were barbarously made away ; though ever truth hath some sparks that fly abroad, until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stopped the mouth of the lion, and saved little Joash from the tyranny of Athaliah, when she massacred the king’s children, and did save Isaac, when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him, preserved the second brother. For I myself, that stand here in your presence, am that very Richard, duke of York, brother of that unfortunate prince, King Edward the Fifth, now the most rightful surviving heir male to that victorious and most noble Edward, of that name the fourth, late king of England. For the manner of my escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or, at least, in a more secret relation ; for that it may concern some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had

then a mother living, a queen, and one that expected daily such a commandment from the tyrant, for the murdering of her children. Thus in my tender age escaping by God's mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over sea ; where after a time the party that had me in charge, upon what new fears, change of mind, or practice, God knoweth, suddenly forsook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean conditions for the sustaining of my life. Wherefore distracted between several passions, the one of fear to be known, lest the tyrant should have a new attempt upon me, the other of grief and disdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did ; I resolved with myself to expect the tyrant's death, and then to put myself into my sister's hands, who was next heir to the crown. But in this season it happened one Henry Tudor, son to Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, to come from France and enter into the realm, and by subtle and foul means to obtain the crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertained ; so that it was but a change from tyrant to tyrant. This Henry, my extreme and mortal enemy, so soon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtle ways and means he could, to procure my final destruction ; for my mortal enemy hath not only falsely surmised me to be a feigned person, giving me nick-names, so abusing the world, but also, to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offered large sums of money to corrupt the princes and their ministers, with whom I have been retained ; and made importune labours to certain servants about my person, to murder or poison me, and others to forsake and leave my righteous quarrel, and to depart from my service, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every man of reason may well perceive that Henry, calling himself king of England, needed not to have bestowed such great sums of treasure, nor so to have busied himself with importune and incessant labour and industry, to compass my death and ruin, if I had been such a feigned person. But the truth of my cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the lady duchess dowager of Burgundy, my most dear aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above, for the good of this whole island, and the knitting of these two kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait concord and amity, by so great an obligation, hath reserved the placing of me in the imperial throne of England for the arms and succours of your grace. Neither is it the first time that a king of Scotland hath supported them that were bereft and spoiled of the kingdom of England, as of late, in fresh memory, it was done in the person of Henry the Sixth. Wherefore, for that your grace hath given clear signs, that you are in no noble quality inferior to your royal ancestors ; I, so distressed a prince, was hereby moved to come and put myself into your royal hands, desiring your assistance to recover my kingdom of England ; promising faithfully to bear myself towards your grace no otherwise than if I were your own natural brother ; and will, upon the recovery of mine inheritance, gratefully do you all the pleasure that is in my utmost power."

After Perkin had told his tale, King James answered bravely and wisely : "That whosoever he were, he should not repent him of

putting himself into his hands." And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him that would have persuaded him that all was but an illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a war against King Henry, he entertained him in all things, as became the person of Richard, duke of York; embraced his quarrel; and, the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great prince, and not a representation only, he gave consent that this duke should take to wife the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the king himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the king of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entered with a great army, though it consisted chiefly of borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly, into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a perfume before him as he went, caused to be published a proclamation¹ of this tenor following, in the name of Richard, duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England:—

"It hath pleased God, who putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble, and suffereth not the hopes of the just to perish in the end, to give us means at the length to show ourselves armed unto our lieges and people of England. But far be it from us to intend their hurt or damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver ourselves and them from tyranny and oppression. For our mortal enemy Henry Tudor, a false usurper of the crown of England, which to us by natural and lineal right appertaineth, knowing in his own heart our undoubted right, we being the very Richard, duke of York, younger son, and now surviving heir male of the noble and victorious Edward the Fourth, late king of England, hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means sought to betray us, and bereave us of our life. Yet if his tyranny only extended itself to our person, although our royal blood teacheth us to be sensible of injuries, it should be less to our grief. But this Tudor, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a tyrant, hath ever since his first entrance into his usurped reign, put little in practice, but tyranny and the feats thereof.

"For King Richard, our unnatural uncle, although desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions, like a true Plantagenet, was noble, and loved the honour of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people. But this our mortal enemy, agreeable to the meanness of his birth, hath trodden under-foot the honour of this nation; selling our best confederates for money, and making merchandize of the blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects, by feigned wars, and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful misgovernment and evil deportments at home. First, he hath, to fortify his false quarrel, caused divers nobles of this our realm, whom he held suspect and stood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered; as our cousin Sir William Stanley, lord

¹ The original of this proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy preserver and treasurer of rare antiquities, from whose manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this work. (Bacon.)

chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William D'Aubigny, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their lives with intolerable ransoms : some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin, Edward, son and heir to our uncle, duke of Clarence, and others : withholding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their legiances. He also married by compulsion certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our said cousin the earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the royal blood, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree ; and putting apart all well disposed nobles, he had none in favour and trust about his person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Risely, Tuberville, Tiler, Chomley, Empson, James Obart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other caitiffs and villains¹ of birth, which by subtile inventions, and pilling of the people, have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the misrule and mischief now reigning in England.

“ We, remembering these premises, with the great and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberties and franchises of our mother the holy church, upon pretences of wicked and heathenish policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, and daily pilling of the people by dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, with many other heinous effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm : shall by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood, with the counsel of other sad persons, see that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the same ; the intercourse of merchandize betwixt realm and realm to be ministered and handled as shall more be to the common weal and prosperity of our subjects ; and all such dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be foredone and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors, kings of England, have of old time been accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects, and true liege-men.

“ And farther, we do, out of our grace and clemency, hereby as well publish and promise to all our subjects remission and free pardon of all by-past offences whatsoever, against our person or estate, in adhering to our said enemy, by whom we know well they have been misled, if they shall within time convenient submit themselves unto us. And for such as shall come with the foremost to assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make them so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, as shall be highly for the comfort of them and theirs, both during their life and after their death . as also we shall, by all means which God shall put

¹ Of low birth—villeins or serfs.

into our hands, demean ourselves to give royal contentment to all degrees and estates of our people, maintaining the liberties of holy church in their entire, preserving the honours, privileges, and pre-eminences of our nobles, from contempt and disparagement according to the dignity of their blood. We shall also unyoke our people from all heavy burdens and endurances, and confirm our cities, boroughs, and towns, in their charters and freedoms, with enlargement where it shall be deserved; and in all points give our subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonair government of our noble father King Edward, in his last times, is in us revived.

“And forasmuch as the putting to death, or taking alive of our said mortal enemy, may be a mean to stay much effusion of blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by compulsion or fair promises he shall draw after him any number of our subjects to resist us, which we desire to avoid, though we be certainly informed, that our said enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the land, having already made over great masses of the treasure of our crown, the better to support him in foreign parts, we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take or distress our said enemy, though the party be of never so mean a condition, he shall be by us rewarded with a thousand pound in money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and a hundred marks by the year of inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant.

“Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we take also God to witness, that whereas God hath moved the heart of our dearest cousin, the king of Scotland, to aid us in person in this our righteous quarrel; it is altogether without any pact or promise, or so much as demand of any thing that may prejudice our crown or subjects: but contrariwise, with promise on our said cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our enemy, which we hope will be very suddenly, he will forthwith peaceably return into his own kingdom; contenting himself only with the glory of so honourable an enterprise, and our true and faithful love and amity: which we shall ever by the grace of Almighty God, so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both kingdoms.”

But Perkin's proclamation did little edify with the people of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the king of Scotland seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred anywhere in his favour, turned his enterprise into a road;¹ and wasted and destroyed the county of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland with great spoils, deferring farther prosecution till another time. It is said, that Perkin, acting the part of a prince handsomely, when he saw the Scottish fell to waste the country, came to the king in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, that that might not be the manner of making the war; for that no crown was so dear to his mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country. Whereunto the

¹ A raid

king answered half in sport, that he doubted much he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy, to save the country to his use.

By this time, being the eleventh year of the king, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore: which moved them, by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively, to open the intercourse again; wherein time favoured them. For the archduke and his council began to see that Perkin would prove but a runagate and citizen of the world; and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies. And the king on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account in any consultation of state. But that that moved him most was, that being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate vein, which disperseth that blood. And yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the merchant adventurers likewise, being a strong company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, and good order, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London to treat: on the king's part, Bishop Fox, lord privy seal, Viscount Wells, Kendal, prior of Saint John's, Warham, master of the rolls, who began to gain much upon the king's opinion; Urswick, who was almost ever one; and Risely: on the archduke's part, the Lord Bevers, his admiral, the Lord Verunsel, president of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty, both of amity and intercourse, between the king and the archduke; containing articles both of state, commerce, and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day *intercursus magnus*; both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties of the third and fourth year of the king; and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the one-and-twentieth year of the king, which they call *intercursus malus*. In this treaty, there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by other; purporting, That if any such rebel should be required, by the prince whose rebel he was, of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid the country: which if he did not within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of protection. But nevertheless in this article Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipped of his followers that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the duchess dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy.

The winter following, being the twelfth year of his reign, the king called again his parliament; where he did much exaggerate both the malice, and the cruel predatory war lately made by the king of Scotland: that that king, being in amity with him, and no ways provoked,

should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the lees and dregs of Perkin's intoxication, who was everywhere else detected and discarded : and that when he perceived it was out of his reach to do the king any hurt, he had turned his arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the laws both of war and peace, concluding, that he could neither with honour, nor with the safety of his people, to whom he did owe protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The parliament understood him well, and gave him a subsidy, limited to the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteens : for his wars were always to him as a mine of treasure of a strange kind of ore ; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom. At this parliament, for that there had been so much time spent in making laws the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish war, there were no laws made to be remembered. Only there passed a law, at the suit of the merchant adventurers of England, against the merchant adventurers of London, for monopolizing and exacting upon the trade : which it seemeth they did a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of trade. But those innovations were taken away by parliament.

But it was fatal to the king to fight for his money ; and though he avoided to fight with enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with rebels at home : for no sooner began the subsidy to be levied in Cornwall, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The Cornish being a race of men stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country, and many of them could, for a need, live under ground, that were tanners. They muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir of the Scots, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments : and said, it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat their bread that they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up, there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough ; so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains of the rout. The one was Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier of Bodmin, a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of ; the other was Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion that the law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion, and never break the peace. He told the people, that subsidies were not to be granted, nor levied in this case ; that is, for wars of Scotland : for that the law had provided another course, by service of escuage, for those journeys ; much less when all was quiet, and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people. And therefore that it was good they should not stand like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness, and take weapons in their hands. Yet to do no creature hurt, but go and deliver the king a strong petition, for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that counsel ; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come. And said, for his part, he did not see how they

could do the duty of true Englishmen, and good liege-men, except they did deliver the king from such wicked ones, that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the king's screens in this envy.

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men to be their leaders, which they said would be ere long: telling them further, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the west-end and the east-end of England to meet in so good a quarrel; and that all, rightly understood, was but for the king's service. The people, upon these seditious instigations, did arm, most of them with bows, and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people, and forthwith under the command of their leaders, which in such cases is ever at pleasure, marched out of Cornwall through Devonshire unto Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton they killed in fury an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells, where the Lord Audley, with whom their leaders had before some secret intelligence, a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them, with great gladness and cries of joy, accepted as their general; they being now proud that they were led by a nobleman. The Lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish people, who, in effect, led their leaders, had a mind to be led into Kent, fancying that the people there would join with them; contrary to all reason or judgment, considering the Kentish men had showed great loyalty and affection to the king so lately before. But the rude people had heard Flammock say, that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England. And upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But when they were come into Kent, the country was so well settled, both by the king's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the earl of Kent, the Lord Abergavenny, and the Lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army, and went home: but the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appal them, that the people came not in to them; so it did no less encourage them, that the king's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham; threatening either to bid battle to the king, for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray, or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less fear than wealth.

But to return to the king. When first he heard of this commotion of the Cornish men, occasioned by the subsidy, he was much troubled

therewith; not for itself, but in regard of the concurrence of other dangers that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted, lest a war from Scotland, a rebellion from Cornwall, and the practices and conspiracies of Perkin and his partakers, would come upon him at once, knowing well that it was a dangerous triplicity to a monarchy, to have the arms of a foreigner, the discontents of subjects, and the title of a pretender to meet. Nevertheless the occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the parliament had broken up, the king had presently raised a puissant army to war upon Scotland. And King James of Scotland likewise, on his part, had made great preparations, either for defence, or for new assailing of England. But as for the king's forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the conduct of D'Aubigny, the lord chamberlain. But as soon as the king understood of the rebellion of Cornwall, he stayed those forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he despatched the earl of Surrey into the north, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the Scots should stir. But for the course he held towards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his former custom and practice: which was ever full of forwardness and celerity to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides, that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition of a crown, it was a time when the various appearance to his thoughts of perils of several natures, and from divers parts, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom: according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him to alter his counsel. For neither did the rebels spoil the country, in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his people: neither on the other side did their forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them before they grew too strong. And lastly, both reason of estate and war seemed to agree with this course: for that insurrections of base people are commonly more furious in their beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at vantage, being tired and harassed with a long march; and more at mercy, being cut off far from their country, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to retreat, and to renew the troubles.

When, therefore, the rebels were encamped on Blackheath upon the hill, whence they might behold the city of London, and the fair valley about it, the king knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to despatch with them, that it might appear to have been no coldness in fore-slowing, but wisdom in choosing his time, resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with that providence and surety, as should leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts—the first was led by the earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the earls of Essex and Suffolk. These noblemen were appointed, with some

cornets of horse, and bands of foot, and good store of artillery, wheeling about to put themselves beyond the hill where the rebels were encamped ; and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay towards London ; thereby to have these wild beasts, as it were, in a toil. The second part of his forces, which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the fortune of the day, he did assign to be led by the lord chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the rebels in front, from that side which is towards London. The third part of his forces, being likewise great and brave forces, he retained about himself, to be ready upon all events to restore the fight, or consummate the victory ; and meanwhile to secure the city. And for that purpose he encamped in person in Saint George's Fields, putting himself between the city and the rebels. But the city of London, especially at the first, upon the near encampment of the rebels, was in great tumult : as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities, especially those which for greatness and fortune are queens of their regions, who seldom see out of their windows, or from their towers, an army of enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no composition, or condition, or orderly treating, if need were ; but likely to be bent altogether upon rapine and spoil. And although they had heard that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly by the way as they went, yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite to fall upon spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side : giving themselves alarms and panic fears continually. Nevertheless, both Tate the Lord Mayor, and Shaw and Haddon the sheriffs, did their part stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people. And the king likewise did adjoin some captains of experience in the wars, to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the king had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person between the rebels and them, and that the great care was, rather how to impound the rebels that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them, they grew to be quiet and out of fear ; the rather for the confidence they reposed, which was not small, in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and D'Aubigny ; all men well famed and loved amongst the people. As for Jasper, duke of Bedford, whom the king used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the two-and-twentieth of June, and a Saturday, which was the day of the week the king fancied, when the battle was fought ; though the king had, by all the art he could devise, given out a false day, as if he prepared to give the rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had some days before planted themselves, as at the receipt, in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, which was done, the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day, the

Lord D'Aubigny marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford Bridge, where they fought manfully ; but, being in no great number, were soon driven back, and fled up to their main army upon the hill. The army, at that time, hearing of the approach of the king's forces, were putting themselves in array, not without much confusion. But neither had they placed, upon the first high ground towards the bridge, any forces to second the troops below, that kept the bridge ; neither had they brought forwards their main battle, which stood in array far into the heath, near to the ascent of the hill. So that the earl with his forces mounted the hill, and recovered the plain without resistance. The Lord D'Aubigny charged them with great fury ; insomuch as it had like, by accident, to have branded the fortune of the day : for, by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting at the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and for their persons shewed no want of courage ; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without horse or artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three leaders, the Lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men, suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels' part were some two thousand men ; their army amounting, as it is said, unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were, in effect, all taken ; for that the hill, as was said, was encompassed with the king's forces round about. On the king's part there died about three hundred, most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a tailor's yard : so strong and mighty a bow the Cornishmen were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the king created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field, whither he rode in person to perform the said creation, as in St. George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of liberality, he did, by open edict, give the goods of all the prisoners unto those that had taken them ; either to take them in kind, or compound for them, as they could. After matter of honour and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution. The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower Hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms ; the arms reversed, the coat torn, and he at Tower Hill beheaded. Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn : the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle, as it seemeth by words that he uttered, to think that he should be famous in after times. The king was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more terror : but being advertised that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the people farther. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the field, the king did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

It was a strange thing to observe the variety and inequality of the king's executions and pardons : and a man would think it, at the first,

a kind of lottery or chance. But, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more, perhaps, than after so long a distance of time, we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion, which was but a handful of men, there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; and in this so mighty a rebellion but three. Whether it were that the king put to account the men that were slain in the field, or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause, or that the harmless behaviour of this people, that came from the west of England to the east, without mischief almost, or spoil of the country, did somewhat mollify him, and move him to compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want.

After the Cornishmen were defeated, there came from Calais to the king an honourable ambassage from the French king, which had arrived at Calais a month before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles, but honourably entertained and defrayed. The king, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little smoke, that was raised in his country, were over, which would soon be; slighting, as his manner was, that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This ambassage concerned no great affair, but only the prolongation of days for payment of moneys, and some other particulars of the frontiers. And it was, indeed, but a wooing ambassage, with good respects to entertain the king in good affection; but nothing was done or handled to the derogation of the king's late treaty with the Italians.

But during the time that the Cornishmen were in their march towards London, the king of Scotland, well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of a war from England, whensoever those stirs were appeased, neglected not his opportunity; but thinking the king had his hands full, entered the frontiers of England again with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person, with part of his forces, sending the rest to forage the country. But Fox, bishop of Duresme, a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future, doubting as much before, had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition; and had manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers, more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault than a long siege. And for the country, likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy approach; and sent in post to the earl of Surrey, who was not far off, in Yorkshire, to come in diligence to the succour. So as the Scottish king both failed of doing good upon the castle, and his men had but a catching harvest of their spoils: and when he understood that the earl of Surrey was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland. The earl, finding the castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into Scotland, hoping to have overtaken the Scottish king, and to have given him battle; but, not attaining him in time, sat down before the castle of Aton, one of the strongest places, then esteemed, between Berwick and Edinburgh, which in a small time he took. And soon after, the Scottish king retired farther into his country, and the weather being extraordinary

foul and stormy, the earl returned into England. So that the expeditions on both parts were, in effect, but a castle taken, and a castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the forces, nor to the heat of the quarrel, nor to the greatness of the expectation.

Amongst these troubles, both civil and external, came into England from Spain, Peter Hialas, some call him Elias, surely he was the forerunner of the good hap that we enjoy at this day: for his ambassage set the truce between England and Scotland; the truce drew on the peace; the peace the marriage; and the marriage the union of the kingdoms; a man of great wisdom, and, as those times were, not unlearned; sent from Ferdinando and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, unto the king, to treat a marriage between Catherine, their second daughter, and Prince Arthur. This treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some conference which he had with the king touching this business, the king, who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of the ambassadors of foreign princes, if he liked the men, insomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea, and employ them in his service, fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the debates and differences with Scotland. For the king naturally did not love the barren wars with Scotland, though he made his profit of the noise of them. And he wanted not in the council of Scotland, those that would advise their king to meet him at the half-way, and to give over the war with England; pretending to be good patriots, but indeed favouring the affairs of the king. Only his heart was too great to begin with Scotland for the motion of peace. On the other side, he had met with an ally of Ferdinando of Arragon, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King Ferdinando had, upon assured confidence of the marriage to succeed, taken upon him the person of a fraternal ally to the king, he would not let, in a Spanish gravity, to counsel the king in his own affairs. And the king on his part, not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the council of Ferdinando. Wherefore he was content that Hialas, as in a matter moved and advised from Hialas himself, should go into Scotland, to treat of a concord between the two kings. Hialas took it upon him, and coming to the Scottish king, after he had with much art brought King James to hearken to the more safe and quiet counsels, wrote unto the king, that he hoped that peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor of his own, that might treat of the conditions. Whereupon the king directed Bishop Fox, who at that time was at his castle of Norham, to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from the Scottish king. The commissioners of both sides met. But after much dispute upon the articles and conditions of peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a peace. The chief impediment thereof was the demand of the king to have Perkin delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations. The king of Scotland, on

the other side, peremptorily denied so to do, saying, that he, for his part, was no competent judge of Perkin's title ; but that he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with his arms, upon the belief that he was a prince ; and therefore, that he could not now with his honour so unrip, and, in a sort, put a lie upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his enemies. The bishop likewise, who had certain proud instructions from the king, at the least in the front, though there were a pliant clause at the foot, that remitted all to the bishop's discretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms, after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of Perkin, did move a second point of his instructions, which was, that the Scottish king would give the king an interview in person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish king, his answer was, that he meant to treat a peace, and not to go a begging for it. The bishop also, according to another article of his instructions, demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the Scottish, or damages for the same. But the Scottish commissioners answered that that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again ; and that the king's people were better able to bear the loss, than their master to repair it. But in the end, as persons capable of reason, on both sides they made rather a kind of recess than a breach of treaty, and concluded upon a truce for some months following. But the king of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far ; yet in his private opinion upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together ; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him ; and that, to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people, whom he might not hold in any long discontent : and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile : telling him withal, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that, upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side ; but nevertheless, he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was, that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands ; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire. Perkin, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the king in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come ; but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the king. Taking his leave, he would not think of Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him since the treaty of the archduke, concluded the year before ; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland.

This twelfth year of the king, a little before this time, Pope Alex-

ander, who loved best those princes that were furthest off, and with whom he had least to do, taking very thankfully the king's late entrance into league for the defence of Italy, did remunerate him with an hallowed sword and cap of maintenance sent by his nuncio. Pope Innocent had done the like, but it was not received in that glory: for the king appointed the mayor and his brethren to meet the pope's orator at London Bridge, and all the streets between the bridge foot, and the palace of Paul's, where the king then lay, were garnished with the citizens standing in their liveries. And the morrow after, being Allhallows day, the king, attended with many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession to Paul's, and the cap and sword were borne before him. And after the procession, the king himself remaining seated in the quire, the lord archbishop, upon the greeze¹ of the quire, made a long oration: setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the pope, in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction, had done the king; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts, they used to be bestowed: and then recited the king's principal acts and merits, which had made him appear worthy in the eyes of his holiness, of this great honour.

All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, whereof we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they used to do upon the top of water. The king's lenity (by that time the Cornish rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and, as it was said, many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings apiece, were come down into their country), had rather emboldened them, than reclaimed them; insomuch as they stuck not to say to their neighbours and countrymen, that the king did well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind: and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtlest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three; Herne, a mercer, that had fled for debt; Skelton, a tailor, and Astley, a scrivener; for Secretary Frion was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the king's nose; and the other a nation so distasted with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at Westminster before this time. For these kings, as he had now experience, would sell poor princes for shoes. But he must rely wholly upon the people; and there-

fore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall; which accordingly he did; having in his company four small barks, with some six score or seven score fighting men. He arrived in September at Whitsand Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town; where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the king and his government. And as it fareth with smoke, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest, he did now before his end raise his style, entitling himself no more Richard, duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, king of England. His council advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled town; as well to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty; as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have an ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the city of Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts.

When they were come before Exeter, they forbore to use any force at the first, but made continual shouts and outcries to terrify the inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places call and talk to them from under the walls, to join with them, and be of their party: telling them, that the king would make them another London, if they would be the first town that should acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, agents or chosen men, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The citizens on their part showed themselves stout and loyal subjects; neither was there so much as any tumult or division amongst them, but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence, and making good the town. For well they saw, that the rebels were of no such number or power, that they needed to fear them as yet; and well they hoped, that before their numbers increased, the king's succours would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of the evils to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly people. Wherefore, setting all things in good order within the town, they nevertheless let down with cords, from several parts of the walls privily, several messengers, that if one came to mischance another might pass on, which should advertise the king of the state of the town, and implore his aid. Perkin also doubted that succours would come ere long, and therefore resolved to use his utmost force to assault the town; and for that purpose having mounted scaling-ladders in divers places upon the walls, made at the same instant an attempt to force one of the gates. But having no artillery nor engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with logs of timber, nor by the use of iron bars, and iron crows, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of the gates on fire, which he did. But the citizens well perceiving the danger, before the gate could be fully consumed, blocked up the gate, and some space about it on the inside, with faggots and other fuel, which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire: and in the mean time raised up rampiers of earth, and cast up deep trenches, to serve instead of wall and gate. And for the

scaladoes, they had so bad success, as the rebels were driven from the walls with the loss of two hundred men.

The king when he heard of Perkin's siege of Exeter, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that the king of rakhells was landed in the west, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the king, that he was indeed much ioyed with the news of Perkin's being in English ground, where he could have no retreat by land; thinking now, that he should be cured of those privy stitches which he had long had about his heart, and at some times broken his sleeps, in the midst of all his felicity. And to set all men's hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those that should now do him service to make an end of these troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the eleventh hour, and had the whole wages of the day. Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number came upon the stage at once. He sent the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Brook, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with expedite forces to speed to Exeter, to the rescue of the town, and to spread the fame of his own following in person with a royal army. The earl of Devonshire, and his son, with the Carews, and the Fulfordes, and other principal persons of Devonshire, uncalled from the court, but hearing that the king's heart was so much bent upon this service, made haste with troops that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the city of Exeter, and prevent¹ the king's succours. The duke of Buckingham likewise, with many brave gentlemen, put themselves in arms, not staying either the king's or the lord chamberlain's coming on, but making a body of forces of themselves, the more to endear their merit; signifying to the king their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that, according to the proverb, in the coming down, every saint did help.

Perkin, hearing this thunder of arms, and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown and another upon the sanctuary; though the Cornishmen were become like metal often fired and quenched, churlish, and would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him till the uttermost drop of their blood were split. He was at his rising from Exeter between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so great an enterprise, and to partake of the spoil; though upon the raising of the siege some did slip away. When he was come near Taunton, he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight, he fled with three-score horse to Bewdley² in the New Forest, where he and divers of his company registered themselves sanctuary men, leaving his Cornishmen to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his subjects' blood should be spilt. The king, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred

¹ Forestall—go before.

² Beaulieu Abbey.

horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the sea, or to that same little island called a sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do, was to beset the sanctuary, and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the king's pleasure were farther known. As for the rest of the rebels, they, being destitute of their head, without stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the king's mercy. And the king, who commonly drew blood, as physicians do, rather to save life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure; now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons, which he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Catherine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The king sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said that the king received her not only with compassion, but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen, to remain with her; giving her a very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life, and many years after. The name of the White Rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

The king went forwards on his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks: and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the ringleaders of the Cornishmen, in sacrifice to the citizens whom they had put in fear and trouble. At Exeter the king consulted with his council, whether he should offer life to Perkin if he would quit the sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The council were divided in opinion: some advised the king to take him out of sanctuary per force, and to put him to death, as in a case of necessity, which in itself dispenseth with consecrated places and things: wherein they doubted not also but the king should find the pope tractable to ratify his deed, either by declaration, or, at least, by indulgence. Others were of opinion, since all was now safe, and no further hurt could be done, that it was not worth the exposing of the king to new scandal and envy. A third sort fell upon the opinion, that it was not possible for the king ever, either to satisfy the world well touching the imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the conspiracy, except by promise of life and pardon, and other fair means, he should get Perkin into his hands. But they did all in their preambles much bemoan the king's case, with a kind of indignation at his fortune; that a prince of his high wisdom and virtue, should have been so long and so oft exercised and vexed with idols. But the king said, that it was the vexation of God Almighty Himself to be vexed with idols, and therefore that that was not to

trouble any of his friends ; and that for himself, he always despised them ; but was grieved that they had put his people to such trouble and misery. But in conclusion, he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin : who seeing himself prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, and found all either false, faint or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the condition. The king did also, while he was at Exeter, appoint the Lord Darcy, and others, commissioners, for the finding of all such as were of any value, and had any hand or partaking in the aid of Perkin, or the Cornishmen, either in the field or in the flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought into the king's court, but not to the king's presence ; though the king, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in show at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the king to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage, in his new person of a sycophant or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision not only of the courtiers, but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along ; that one might know afar off where the owl was, by the flight of birds, some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of : so that the false honour and respects which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the king gave also the city the solace of this May-game ; for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower ; and from thence back again to Westminster, with the churm¹ of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance off Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been sergeant farrier to the king. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take a holy habit than a holy place, and clad himself like a hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined ; and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them, as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispersed abroad : wherein the king did himself no right : for as there was a laboured tale of particulars, of Perkin's father and mother, and grand-sire and grandmother, and uncles and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down ; so there was little or nothing to purpose of anything concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him ; nor the duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of, as the person that had put life and being into the whole business, so much

¹ Clamour—confused noises.

as named or pointed at. So that men, missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before ; but the king chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle coals. At that time also it did not appear by any new examination or commitments, that any other person of quality was discovered or approached, though the king's closeness made that a doubt dormant.

About this time a great fire in the night-time suddenly began at the king's palace of Shene, near unto the king's own lodgings, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household stuff, which gave the king occasion of building from the ground that fine pile of Richmond, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable accident: There was one Sebastian Gabato,¹ a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man seeing the success, and emulating perhaps the enterprise of Christophorus Columbus, in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been by him made some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west. And, surely, it may be he had more firm and pregnant conjectures of it, than Columbus had of this at the first. For the two great islands of the old and new world, being, in the shape and making of them, broad towards the north, and pointed towards the south, it is likely that the discovery first began where the lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery of some lands, which they took to be islands, and were indeed the continent of America, towards the north-west.² And it may be that some relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppressed (desirous rather to make his enterprise the child of his science and fortune, than the follower of a former discovery), did give him better assurance that all was not sea, from the west of Europe and Africa unto Asia, than either Seneca's prophecy, or Plato's antiquities, or the nature of the tides and land-winds, and the like, which were the conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have relied : though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten discovery, a little before, of a Spanish pilot, who died in the house of Columbus. But this Gabato, bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristol for the discovery of that island : with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return, and made a chart thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and a half, finding the seas still open. It is certain, also, that the king's fortune had a tender of that great empire of the West Indies. Neither was it a refusal on the king's part, but a delay by accident, that put by so great an acquist;³ for Christophorus Columbus, refused by the king of Portugal, who would not embrace at once both

¹ Cabot.

² These discoveries were made by the Norsemen.

³ Acquisition.

east and west, employed his brother, Bartholomæus Columbus, unto King Henry, to negotiate for his discovery ; and it so fortun'd, that he was taken by pirates at sea, by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the king : so long, that before he had obtained a capitulation with the king for his brother, the enterprise by him was achiev'd, and so the West Indies by providence were then reserved for the crown of Castile. Yet this sharpened the king so, that not only in this voyage, but again, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In this fourteenth year also, by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto His will, and hangeth great weights upon small wires, there fell out a trifling and untoward accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During the truce with Scotland, there were certain Scottish young gentlemen that came into Norham town, and there made merry with some of the English of the town : and having little to do, went sometimes forth and would stand looking upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility, either suspected them, or quarrell'd them for spies, whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, so that many were wounded of either side, and the Scottish men, being strangers in the town, had the worst, insomuch that some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complain'd on, and often debated before the wardens of the marches of both sides, and no good order taken, the king of Scotland took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a herald to the king to make protestation, that if reparation were not done, according to the conditions of the truce, his king did denounce war. The king, who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to peace, made answer, that what had been done was utterly against his will and without his privity ; but if the garrison soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the truce in all points to be preserved. But this answer seem'd to the Scottish king but a delay to make the complaint breathe out with time, and therefore it did rather exasperate him than satisfy him. Bishop Fox, understanding from the king that the Scottish king was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the Scottish king to appease him. Whereupon King James, mollified by the bishop's submissive and eloquent letters, wrote back unto him, that though he were in part moved by his letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied except he spake with him, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms. The bishop, advising first with the king, took his journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Melross, an abbey of the Cistercians, where the king then abode. The king first roundly uttered unto the bishop his offence conceived for the insolent breach of truce, by his men of Norham Castle ; whereunto Bishop Fox made such humble and smooth answer, as it was like oil unto the wound, whereby it began to heal : and this was done in the presence of the king and his council. After, the king spake with the

bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying, that these temporary truces and peaces were soon made and soon broken, but that he desired a straiter amity with the king of England ; discovering his mind, that if the king would give him in marriage the Lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, that indeed might be a knot indissoluble. That he knew well what place and authority the bishop deservedly had with his master : therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the bishop returning to the king, and giving account what had passed, and finding the king more than well disposed in it, gave the king advice, first to proceed to a conclusion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign, to continue for both the kings' lives, and the over-liver of them, and a year after. In this peace there was an article contained, that no Englishman should enter into Scotland, and no Scottishman into England, without letters commendatory from the kings of either nation. This at first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations ; but it was done to lock in the borderers.

This year there was also born to the king a third son, who was christened by the name of Edmund, and shortly after died. And much about the same time came news of the death of Charles, the French king, for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely obsequies.

It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stir ; for, deceiving his keepers, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea-coast. But presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of Bethlehem, called the Priory of Shene (which had the privilege of sanctuary), and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought a holy man, and much revered in those days. He came to the king, and besought the king for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the king's discretion. Many about the king were again more hot than ever to have the king to take him forth and hang him. But the king, that had a high stomach, and could not hate any that he despised, bid "Take him forth and set the knave in the stocks ;" and so promising the prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after, upon a scaffold set up in the Palace Court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the Cross in Cheapside, and in both places he read his confession, of which we made mention before ; and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the king was, as was partly touched before, grown to be such a partner with fortune, as nobody could tell what actions the one and what the other owned ; for it was believed generally that Perkin was betrayed, and that this escape was not without the king's privity, who had him all the time of his flight in a line, and that the king did this to pick a

quarrel to him to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once ; but this is not probable. For that the same instruments who observed him in his flight might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

But it was ordained that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree itself ; for Perkin, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in number—Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger. These varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his escape ; but knowing well that his own fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's hopes, and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none, he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot, which was to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower, whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young prince he thought the servants would look upon, though not upon himself ; and, therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the earl's consent, it was agreed that these four should murder their master the lieutenant secretly in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower and presently let forth Perkin and the earl. But this conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the opinion of the king's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait to entrap the earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working, as if that also had been the king's industry, it was fatal that there should break forth a counterfeit earl of Warwick, a cordwainer's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford, a young man taught and set on by an Augustine friar, called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out that this Wilford was the true earl of Warwick, but also the friar, finding some light credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the king's estate from the earl of Warwick, and thereby to colour the king's severity that followed, together with the madness of the friar so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason before it had gotten any manner of strength ; and the saving of the friar's life, which nevertheless was indeed but the privilege of his order, and the pity in the common people, which if it run in a strong stream, doth ever cast up scandal and envy, made it generally rather talked than believed that all was but the king's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon Perkin, that had offended against grace now the third time, was at the last proceeded with, and by commissioners of oyer and terminer, arraigned at Westminster, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom, for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner, and condemned, and a few days

after executed at Tyburn, where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for Perkin's three counsellors, they had registered themselves sanctuary men when their master did; and whether upon pardon obtained or continuance within the privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

There were executed with Perkin the mayor of Cork and his son, who had been principal abettors of his treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other persons about the Tower conspiracy, whereof four were lieutenant's men; but of those eight but two were executed. And immediately after was arraigned before the earl of Oxford, then for the time high-steward of England, the poor prince, the earl of Warwick; not for the attempt to escape simply, for that was not acted; and besides, the imprisonment not being for treason, the escape, by law, could not be treason, but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and to destroy the king: and the earl confessing the indictment, had judgment, and was shortly after beheaded on Tower-hill.

This was also the end, not only of this noble and commiserable person Edward the earl of Warwick, eldest son to the duke of Clarence, but likewise of the line male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and renown from the time of the famous king of England, King Henry the Second. Howbeit it was a race often dipped in their own blood. It hath remained since only transplanted into other names, as well of the imperial line as of other noble houses. But it was neither guilt of crime nor reason of state that could quench the envy that was upon the king for this execution, so that he thought good to export it out of the land, and to lay it upon his new ally, Ferdinando, king of Spain. For these two kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters showed out of Spain whereby, in the passages concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinando had written to the king in plain terms that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the earl of Warwick lived, and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers. But hereby, as the king did in some part remove the envy from himself, so he did not observe that he did withal bring a kind of malediction and infausting¹ upon the marriage as an ill prognostic, which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage, and the Lady Catharine herself, a sad and a religious woman, long after, when King Henry the Eighth his resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words that she had not offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood, meaning that of the earl of Warwick.

This fifteenth year of the king there was a great plague both in

¹ Fatality

London and in divers parts of the kingdom; wherefore the king, after often change of places, whether to avoid the danger of the sickness, or to give occasion of an interview with the archduke, or both, sailed over with his queen to Calais. Upon his coming thither the archduke sent an honourable ambassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those parts, as to let him know that if it pleased him he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal that the king might be pleased to appoint some place that were out of any walled town or fortress, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the French king; and though, he said, he made a great difference between the two kings, yet he would be loth to give a precedent, that might make it after to be expected at his hands by another whom he trusted less. The king accepted of the courtesy, and admitted of his excuse, and appointed the place to be at Saint Peter's Church without Calais. But withal he did visit the archduke with ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord St. John, and the secretary, unto whom the archduke did the honour, as, going to mass at St. Omer's, to set the Lord St. John on his right hand and the secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to church. The day appointed for the interview the king went on horseback some distance from Saint Peter's Church, to receive the archduke; and upon their approaching, the archduke made haste to light, and offered to hold the king's stirrup at his alighting, which the king would not permit, but descending from horseback they embraced with great affection, and withdrawing into the church to a place prepared, they had long conference, not only upon the confirmation of former treaties and the freeing of commerce, but upon cross marriages, to be had between the duke of York, the king's second son, and the archduke's daughter; and again between Charles,¹ the archduke's son and heir, and Mary, the king's second daughter. But these blossoms of unripe marriages were but friendly wishes and the airs of loving entertainment, though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in treaty, though not in effect. But during the time that the two princes convened and communed together in the suburbs of Calais, the demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the archduke; who, besides that he was a prince of an excellent good nature, being conscious to himself how drily the king had been used by his council in the matter of Perkin, did strive by all means to recover it in the king's affection. And having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who, in respect of their jealous hatred against the French king, did always advise the archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England, was glad upon this occasion to put in ure² and practice their precepts, calling the king patron and father, and protector,—these very words the king repeats when he certified of the loving behaviour of the archduke to the city, and what else he could devise to express his love and observance to the king. There came also to the king the governor of Picardy and the bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French king to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory and winning

¹ Afterwards the famous Emperor of Germany.

² Use.

of the duchy of Milan. It seemeth the king was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts while he was at Calais, for he did himself certify all the news and occurrences of them in every particular, from Calais, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which no doubt made no small talk in the city; for the king, though he could not entertain the good will of the citizens, as Edward the Fourth did, yet by affability and other princely graces did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also died John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of England, and cardinal. He was a wise man, and eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty; much accepted by the king, but envied by the nobility, and hated of the people. Neither was his name left out of Perkin's proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the king's casting counters, because he had the image and superscription upon him of the pope, in his honour of cardinal. He won the king with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes; and also for that, in his affections, he was not without an inveterate malice against the house of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the king, more than the king was willing to put upon him: for the king cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after show, that the bishop in feeding the king's humour did rather temper it. He had been by Richard the Third committed, as in custody, to the duke of Buckingham, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King Richard. But after the duke was engaged, and thought the bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest, the bishop was gotten into the cock-boat, and fled over beyond seas. But whatsoever else was in the man, he deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the principal mean of joining the two roses. He died of great years, but of strong health and powers.

The next year, which was the sixteenth year of the king, and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred, was the year of jubilee at Rome. But Pope Alexander, to save the hazard and charges of men's journeys to Rome, thought good to make over those graces by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient rate, seeing that they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into England, Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, the pope's commissioner, better chosen than were the commissioners of Pope Leo afterwards employed for Germany; for he carried the business with great wisdom, and semblance of holiness; insomuch as he levied great sums of money within this land to the pope's use, with little or no scandal. It was thought the king shared in the money. But it appeareth by a letter which Cardinal Adrian, the king's pensioner, wrote to the king from Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this cardinal, being to persuade Pope Julius, on the king's behalf, to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between Prince Henry and the Lady Catharine, finding the pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal argument concerning the king's merit towards that see,

that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by Pons in England. But that it might the better appear, for the satisfaction of the common people, that this was consecrated money, the same nuncio brought unto the king a brief from the pope, wherein the king was exhorted and summoned to come in person against the Turk; for that the pope, out of the care of an universal father, seeing almost under his eyes the successes and progresses of that great enemy of the faith, had had in the conclave, and with the assistance of the ambassadors of foreign princes, divers consultations about a holy war, and a general expedition of Christian princes against the Turk; wherein it was agreed and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians, should make a war upon Thracia; the French and Spaniards upon Græcia; and that the pope, willing to sacrifice himself in so good a cause, in person, and in company of the king of England, the Venetians, and such other states as were great in maritime power, would sail with a puissant navy through the Mediterranean unto Constantinople. And that to this end, his holiness had sent nuncios to all Christian princes; as well for a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, as for speedy preparations and contributions of forces and treasure for this sacred enterprise.

To this the king, who understood well the court of Rome, made an answer rather solemn than serious; signifying,

“That no prince on earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his person, and by all his possible forces and fortunes, to enter into this sacred war, than himself. But that the distance of place was such, as no forces that he should raise for the seas, could be levied or prepared but with double the charge, and double the time, at the least, that they might be from the other princes, that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his ships, having no galleys, nor the experience of his pilots and mariners, could be so apt for those seas as theirs. And therefore that his holiness might do well to move one of those other kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by sea. Whereby both all things would be sooner put in readiness, and with less charge, and the emulation and division of command, which might grow between those kings of France and Spain, if they should both join in the war by land upon Græcia, might be wisely avoided; and that for his part he would not be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet, notwithstanding, if both these kings should refuse, rather than his holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him as soon as he could be ready; always provided, that he might first see all differences of the Christian princes amongst themselves fully laid down and appeased, as for his own part he was in none, and that he might have some good towns upon the coast in Italy put into his hands, for the retreat and safeguard of his men.”

With this answer Jasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented; and yet this declaration of the king, as superficial as it was, gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the knights of Rhodes protector of their order; all things multiplying to honour in a prince, that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency.

There were these two last years some proceedings against heretics,

which was rare in this king's reign, and rather by penances than by fire. The king had, though he were no good schoolman, the honour to convert one of them by dispute at Canterbury.

This year, also, though the king were no more haunted with sprites, for that by the sprinkling, partly of blood and partly of water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain apparitions that troubled him, still showing themselves from one region, which was the house of York. It came so to pass, that the earl of Suffolk, son to Elizabeth, eldest sister to King Edward the Fourth, by John, duke of Suffolk, her second husband, and brother to John, earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stokefield, being of a hasty and choleric disposition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the king gave him his pardon. But, either willing to leave a cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his grace, produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought in the earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do; for the ignominy printed deeper than the grace. Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into Flanders unto his aunt the duchess of Burgundy. The king startled at it; but, being taught by troubles to use fair and timely remedies, wrought so with him by messages, the Lady Margaret also growing, by often failing in her alchemy, weary of her experiments; and partly being a little sweetened, for that the king had not touched her name in the confession of Perkin, that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the king.

In the beginning of the next year, being the seventeenth of the king, the Lady Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, arrived in England at Plymouth the second of October, and was married to Prince Arthur in Paul's the fourteenth of November following; the prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the lady about eighteen. The manner of her receiving, the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence, in regard of cost, show, and order. The chief man that took the care was Bishop Fox, who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and anything else that was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of the court or state of a great king. This marriage was almost seven years in treaty, which was in part caused by the tender years of the marriage couple, especially of the prince; but the true reason was, that these two princes, being princes of great policy and profound judgment, stood a great time looking upon one another's fortunes, how they would go; knowing well, that in the meantime the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them, which served on both sides to many purposes that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the fortunes of both the princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them they saw no better conditions, they shut it up.

The marriage money the princess brought, which was turned over to the king by act of renunciation, was two hundred thousand ducats; whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments

annual ; but part of it to be in jewels and plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The jointure or advancement of the lady, was the third part of the principality of Wales, and of the dukedom of Cornwall, and of the earldom of Chester, to be after set forth in severality ; and in case she came to be queen of England, her advancement was left indefinite, but thus,— that it should be as great as ever any former queen of England had.

In all the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomy : the lady being resembled to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus, and the old King Alphonsus, that was the great astronomer of kings, and was ancestor to the lady, was brought in, to be the fortune-teller of the match. And whosoever had those toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical ; but you may be sure, that King Arthur the Briton, and the descent of the Lady Catharine from the house of Lancaster, was in no wise forgotten. But as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars ; for this young prince, that drew upon him at that time, not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectations of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow castle, where he was sent to keep his residence and court, as Prince of Wales. Of this prince, in respect he died so young, and by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children, there is little particular memory ; only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great princes.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the divorce of King Henry the Eighth from the Lady Catharine did so much busy the world, whether Arthur was bedded with his lady or no, whereby that matter in fact, of carnal knowledge, might be made part of the case. And it is true, that the lady herself denied it, or at least her counsel stood upon it, and would not blanch that advantage, although the plenitude of the pope's power of dispensing was the main question. And this doubt was kept long open, in respect of the two queens that succeeded, Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimations were incompatible one with another, though their succession was settled by act of Parliament. And the times that favoured Queen Mary's legitimation would have it believed that there was no carnal knowledge between Arthur and Catharine. Not that they would seem to derogate from the pope's absolute power to dispense even in that case ; but only in point of honour, and to make the case more favourable and smooth. And the times that favoured Queen Elizabeth's legitimation, which were the longer and the latter, maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in memory, that it was half a year's time between the creation of Henry Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur's death, which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear whether the Lady Catharine were with child by Prince Arthur or no. Again, the lady herself procured a bull, for the better corroboration of the marriage, with a clause of *vel forsan cognitam*, which was not in the first bull. There was given in evidence also, when the cause of the divorce was handled, a pleasant passage, which was : that in a morning Prince Arthur, upon his up-rising from bed

with her, called for drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and finding the gentleman of his chamber that brought him the drink to smile at it, and to note it, he said merrily to him : that he had been in the midst of Spain, which was a hot region, and his journey had made him dry ; and that if the other had been in so hot a clime, he would have been drier than he. Besides, the prince was upon the point of sixteen years of age when he died, and forward, and able in body.

The February following, Henry, duke of York, was created prince of Wales, and earl of Chester and Flint ; for the dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by statute. The king also being fast-handed, and loth to part with a second dowry, but chiefly being affectionate both by his nature, and out of politic considerations to continue the alliance with Spain, prevailed with the prince, though not without some reluctance, such as could be in those years, for he was not twelve years of age, to be contracted with the Princess Catharine : the secret providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes.

The same year were the espousals of James, king of Scotland, with the Lady Margaret, the king's eldest daughter ; which was done by proxy, and published at Paul's Cross, the five-and-twentieth of January, and *Te Deum* solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the joy of the city thereupon showed, by ringing of bells and bonfires, and such other incense of the people, was more than could be expected, in a case of so great and fresh enmity between the nations, especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the war ; and therefore might be truly attributed to a secret instinct and inspiring which many times runneth not only in the hearts of princes, but in the pulse and veins of people, touching the happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This marriage was in August following consummated at Edinburgh ; the king bringing his daughter as far as Colliweston on the way, and then consigning her to the attendance of the earl of Northumberland, who, with a great troop of lords and ladies of honour, brought her into Scotland, to the king her husband.

This marriage had been in treaty by the space of almost three years from the time that the king of Scotland did first open his mind to Bishop Fox. The sum given in marriage by the king was ten thousand pounds ; and the jointure and advancement assured by the king of Scotland was two thousand pounds a year, after King James his death, and one thousand pounds a year in present, for the lady's allowance or maintenance. This to be set forth in lands, of the best and most certain revenue. During the treaty, it is reported that the king remitted the matter to his council ; and that some of the table, in the freedom of counsellors, the king being present, did put the case,—that if God should take the king's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the king of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the king himself replied : that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less ; and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question.

The same year was fatal, as well for deaths as marriages, and that with equal temper. For the joys and feasts of the two marriages were compensated with the mournings and funerals of Prince Arthur, of whom we have spoken, and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in childbed in the Tower, and the child lived not long after. There died also that year Sir Reginald Bray, who was noted to have had with the king the greatest freedom of any counsellor ; but it was but a freedom the better to set off flattery. Yet he bare more than his just part of envy for the exactions.

At this time the king's estate was very prosperous ; secured by the amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all domestic troubles quenched, and all noise of war, like a thunder afar off, going upon Italy. Wherefore nature, which many times is happily contained and refrained by some bands of fortune, began to take place in the king ; carrying, as with a strong tide, his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of treasure. And as kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour, he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. Those two persons being lawyers in science, and privy counsellors in authority, as the corruption of the best things is the worst, turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law ; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them ; and nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer, but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and errors to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment ; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and convent¹ them before themselves, and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission ; and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury, assuming to themselves there to deal both in pleas of the crown and controversies civil.

Then did they also use to intral and charge the subjects' lands with tenures *in capite*, by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seizins, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures, refusing upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices according to the law. Nay, the king's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also

¹ To call before a judge and jury.

vex men with informations of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles.

When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of law, which upon outlawries giveth forfeiture of goods; nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of outlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct, and if they did not, convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance. But their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete; but raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour, having ever a rabble of promoters, questmongers, and leading jurors at their command, so as they could have anything found either for fact or valuation.

There remaineth to this day a report that the king was on a time entertained by the earl of Oxford, that was his principal servant both for war and peace, nobly and sumptuously at his castle at Henningham: and at the king's going away, the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats, with cognizances, ranged on both sides, and made the king a lane. The king called the earl to him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech: these handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The earl smiled and said, "It may please your grace, that were not for mine own ease: they are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight; my attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks. And to show farther the king's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen long since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the king's hand almost to every leaf by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance;—

"Item, Received of such a one five marks, for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid: except the party be some other ways satisfied."

And over against this *Memorandum*, of the king's own hand,

"Otherwise satisfied."

Which I do the rather mention, because it shows in the king a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver, as it seemeth, helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.

But meanwhile, to keep the king awake, the earl of Suffolk, having been too gay at Prince Arthur's marriage, and sunk himself deep in debt, had yet once more a mind to be a knight-errant, and to seek adventures in foreign parts, and taking his brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That, no doubt, which gave him confidence, was the great murmur of the people against the king's government; and being a man of a light and rash spirit, he thought every vapour would be a tempest. Neither wanted he some party within the kingdom; for the murmur of people awakes the discontents of nobles; and again, that calleth up commonly some head of sedition. The king resorting to his wonted and tried arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle at Hammes, being at that time beyond sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the king, to fly from his charge, and to feign himself a servant of the earl's. This knight, having insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either hope or hold, advertised the king thereof in great secrecy; but nevertheless maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl. Upon whose advertisements, the king attached William Courtney, earl of Devonshire, his brother-in-law, married to the Lady Catherine, daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William De la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tirrel, and Sir John Windham, and some other meaner persons, and committed them to custody. George Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less suspicion, so in a freer restraint, and were soon after delivered. The earl of Devonshire being interested in the blood of York, that was rather feared than nocent; yet as one that might be the object of others plots and designs, remained prisoner in the Tower, during the king's life. William De la Pole was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for Sir James Tirrel, against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward the Fifth and his brother, did still "cry from under the altar," and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the credit of Curson, who belike had not yet done all his feats of activity, there was published at Paul's Cross, about the time of the said executions, the pope's bull of excommunication and curse against the earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson, and some others by name; and likewise in general against all the abettors of the said earl: wherein it must be confessed that heaven was made too much to bow to earth, and religion to policy. But soon after, Curson, when he saw the time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people. Upon whose return the earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of hopes, the Lady Margaret also, by tract of time and bad success, being now become cool in those attempts, after some wandering in France and Germany, and certain little projects, no better than squibs of an exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the protection of the Archduke Philip, in Flanders, who by the death of Isabella was at that time king of Castile in the right of Joan his wife.

This year, being the nineteenth of his reign, the king called his

parliament; wherein a man may easily guess how absolute the king took himself to be with his parliament, when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made speaker of the House of Commons. In this parliament there were not made any statutes memorable touching public government; but those that were, had still the stamp of the king's wisdom and policy.

There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents of lease or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve the king in his wars, against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the king's license; with an exception of certain persons of the long robe; providing nevertheless that they should have the king's wages from their house, till their return home again. There had been the like made before for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see by many statutes made in this king's time, that the king thought it safest to assist martial law by law of parliament.

Another statute was made prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or mixt with any other thread. But it was not of stuffs of whole piece, for that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time, but of knit silk, or texture of silk, as ribbons, laces, cauls, points, and girdles, &c., which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle: "That where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited;" for that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

There was a law also of resumption of patents of gaols, and the reannexing of them to the sheriffwicks; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice than privileged places.

There was likewise a law to restrain the by-laws, or ordinances of corporations, which many times were against the prerogative of the king, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject, being fraternities in evil. It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in execution, without the allowance of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief justices, or three of them, or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was, in effect, to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired coins of silver, not to be current in payments; without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the uncertainty; and so, upon the matter, to set the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of silver, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one, the dislike the parliament had of gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open example; the other, that in the statutes of this king's time, for this of the nineteenth year is not the only statute of that kind, there are ever coupled the punishment of vagabonds, and forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games, unto servants and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of alehouses, as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other.

As for riot and retainers, there passed scarce any parliament in this time without a law against them: the king ever having an eye to might and multitude.

There was granted also that parliament a subsidy, both from the temporality and the clergy. And yet, nevertheless, ere the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars nor fears. The same year the city gave five thousand marks for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of kings' reigns, than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats, now twelve-pences and six-pences. As for Empson and Dudley's mills, they did grind more than ever: so that it was a strange thing to see what golden showers poured down upon the king's treasury at once,—the last payments of the marriage-money from Spain, the subsidy, the benevolence, the recoinage, the redemption of the city's liberties, the casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the king had then no occasions at all of wars or troubles. He had now but one son and one daughter unbestowed. He was wise; he was of a high mind; he needed not to make riches his glory; he did excel in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition. Belike he thought to leave his son such a kingdom, and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness where he would.

This year was also kept the serjeants' feast, which was the second call in this king's days.

About this time Isabella, queen of Castile, deceased; a right noble lady, and an honour to her sex and times, and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain that hath followed. This accident the king took not for news at large, but thought it had a great relation to his own affairs, especially in two points, the one for example, the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the case of Ferdinando of Aragon, after the death of Queen Isabella, was his own case after the death of his own queen; and the case of Joan, the heir unto Castile, was the case of his own son prince Henry. For if both of the kings had their kingdoms in the right of their wives, they descended to the heirs, and did not accrue to the husbands. And although his own case had both steel and parchment more than the other, that is to say, a conquest in the field and an act of parliament, yet notwithstanding, that natural title of descent in blood did, in the imagination even of a wise man, breed a doubt that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to inquire and observe what became of the king of Aragon, in holding and continuing the kingdom of Castile; and whether he did hold it in his own right, or as administrator to his daughter, and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or to be put out by his son-in-law. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the state of Christendom might by this late accident have a turn; for whereas before time, himself with the conjunction of Aragon and Castile, which then was one, and the amity of Maximilian and Philip his son the archduke, was far too strong a party for France; he began to fear, that now the French king, who had great interest in the affections of Philip, the young king of Castile, and Philip himself, now

king of Castile, who was in ill terms with his father-in-law about the present government of Castile, and thirdly, Maximilian, Philip's father, who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest aim that could be taken was, that he would not be long as he had been last before, would all three, being potent princes, enter into some strait league and confederation among themselves; whereby though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor amity of Aragon; and whereas he had been heretofore a kind of arbiter of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a conjunction. He had also, as it seems, an inclination to marry, and bethought himself of some fit conditions abroad: and amongst others he had heard of the beauty and virtuous behaviour of the young queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of matronal years of seven and twenty; by whose marriage he thought that the kingdom of Naples, having been a goal for a time between the king of Aragon and the French king, and being but newly settled, might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the stakes. Therefore he sent in ambassage or message three confident persons, Francis Marsin, James Braybrooke, and John Stile, upon two several inquisitions rather than negotiations; the one touching the person and condition of the young queen of Naples, the other touching all particulars of estate that concerned the fortunes and intentions of Ferdinando. And because they may observe best, who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable pretexts; giving them letters of kindness and compliment from Catharine, the princess, to her aunt and niece, the old and young queen of Naples, and delivering to them also a book of new articles of peace; which, notwithstanding it had been delivered unto Doctor de Puebla, the lieger ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the king had been long without hearing from Spain, he thought good those messengers, when they had been with the two queens, should likewise pass on to the court of Ferdinando, and take a copy of the book with them. The instructions touching the queen of Naples were so curious and exquisite, being as articles whereby to direct a survey, or framing a particular of her person, for complexion, favour, feature, stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate, as, if the king had been young, a man would have judged him to be amorous; but, being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one woman, and so to settle his affections without ranging. But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors, that this young queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederick, yea, and during the time of Lewis the French king, in whose division her revenue fell; but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was assigned to the army and garrisons there, and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.

The other part of the inquiry had a grave and diligent return, informing the king at full of the present state of King Ferdinando. By this report it appeared to the king, that Ferdinando did continue the government of Castile, as administrator unto his daughter Joan, by

the title of Queen Isabella's will, and partly by the custom of the kingdom, as he pretended. And that all mandates and grants were expedited in the name of Joan, his daughter, and himself as administrator, without mention of Philip, her husband. And that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of king of Castile, yet meant to hold the kingdom without account, and in absolute command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit unto him the government of Castile during his life; which he had laid his plot to work him unto, both by some counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinando had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise, that in case Philip gave not way unto it, he would marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Aragon and Granada, in case he should have a son; and lastly, by representing unto him that the government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things, though wisely laid down and considered, Ferdinando had failed; but that Pluto was better to him than Pallas.

In the same report, also, the ambassadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous; for they declared plainly, that the people of Spain, both nobles and commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip, so he brought his wife with him, than to Ferdinando; and expressed the reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many taxes and tallages, which was the king's own case between him and his son.

There was also in this report a declaration of an overture of marriage, which Amason, the secretary of Ferdinando, had made unto the ambassadors in great secret, between Charles, prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter; assuring the king that the treaty of marriage then on foot for the said prince and the daughter of France would break; and that she the said daughter of France should be married to Angolesme, that was the heir apparent of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of marriage between Ferdinando and Madame de Fois, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in Spain.

The king, by the return of this ambassage, which gave great light unto his affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinando, king of Aragon, and Philip, his son-in-law, king of Castile; resolving with himself to do all that in him lay, to keep them at one within themselves; but howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate carriage, and bearing the person of a common friend, to lose neither of their friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the king of Aragon, but more laboured and officious with the king of Castile. But he was much taken with the overture of marriage with his daughter Mary; both because it was the greatest marriage of Christendom, and for that it took hold of both allies.

But to corroborate his alliance with Philip, the winds gave him an interview; for Philip choosing the winter season, the better to surprise the king of Aragon, set forth with a great navy out of Flanders for

Spain, in the month of January, the one-and-twentieth year of the king's reign. But himself was surprised with a cruel tempest, that scattered his ships upon the several coasts of England; and the ship wherein the king and queen were, with two other small barks only, torn and in great peril, to escape the fury of the weather, thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himself, having not been used, as it seems, to the sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his spirits, though it was against the opinion of his council, doubting it might breed delay, his occasions requiring celerity.

The rumour of the arrival of a puissant navy upon the coast made the country arm. And Sir Thomas Trenchard, with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to Weymouth. Where, understanding the accident, he did in all humbleness and humanity invite the king and queen to his house; and forthwith despatched posts to the court. Soon after came Sir John Carew likewise, with a great troop of men well armed; using the like humbleness and respects towards the king, when he knew the case. King Philip, doubting that they being but subjects, durst not let him pass away again without the king's notice and leave, yielded to their entreaties to stay till they heard from the court. The king, as soon as he heard the news, commanded presently the earl of Arundel to go to visit the king of Castile, and let him understand that as he was very sorry for his mishap, so he was glad that he had escaped the danger of the seas, and likewise of the occasion himself had to do him honour; and desiring him to think himself as in his own land; and that the king made all haste possible to come and embrace him. The earl came to him in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and, for more state, came by torch-light. After he had done the king's message, King Philip, seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the king at Windsor, and his queen followed by easy journeys. The two kings, at their meeting, used all the caresses and loving demonstrations that were possible. And the king of Castile said pleasantly to the king, "That he was now punished for that he would not come within his walled town of Calais, when they met last." But the king answered, "That walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise but to be served." After a day or two's refreshing, the kings entered into speech of renewing the treaty; the kings saying, that though King Philip's person were the same, yet his fortunes and state were raised; in which case a renovation of treaty was used amongst princes. But while these things were in handling, the king choosing a fit time, and drawing the king of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment, said to him, "Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours." The king of Castile asked him what he meant by that speech? "I mean it," saith the king, "by that same harebrain wild fellow, my subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool, when all others are weary of it." The king of Castile answered, "I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him." The king

replied, "Those hornets were best in their nest, and worst when they did fly abroad ; and that his desire was to have him delivered to him." The king of Castile, herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, "That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours ; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." The king presently said, "Then the matter is at an end, for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved." The king of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the king's amity, for that himself was new in his estate of Spain, and unsettled both with his father-in-law and with his people, composing his countenance, said, "Sir, you give law to me, but so will I to you. You shall have him, but, upon your honour, you shall not take his life." The king, embracing him, said, "Agreed." Saith the king of Castile, "Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as he may partly come with his own good will." The king said, "It was well thought of ; and if it pleased him, he would join with him, in sending to the earl a message to that purpose." They both sent severally, and meanwhile they continued feasting and pastimes. The king being, on his part, willing to have the earl sure before the king of Castile went ; and the king of Castile being as willing to seem to be enforced. The king also, with many wise and excellent persuasions, did advise the king of Castile to be ruled by the counsel of his father-in-law Ferdinando ; a prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The king of Castile, who was in no very good terms with his said father-in-law, answered, "That if his father-in-law would suffer him to govern his kingdoms, he should govern him."

There were immediately messengers sent from both kings, to recall the earl of Suffolk, who, upon gentle words used to him, was soon charmed, and willing enough to return ; assured of his life, and hoping of his liberty. He was brought through Flanders to Calais, and thence landed at Dover, and, with sufficient guard, delivered and received at the Tower of London. Meanwhile, King Henry, to draw out the time, continued his feastings and entertainments, and after he had received the king of Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son, the prince, admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his queen to the city of London ; where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph, that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower, which was the serious part, the jollities had an end, and the kings took leave. Nevertheless, during their being here, they, in substance, concluded that treaty, which the Flemings term "*intercursus malus*," and bears date at Windsor : for there be some things in it more to the advantage of the English, than of them ; especially, for that the free fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of "*undecimo*," was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirm former treaties being precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observed that the great tempest which drove Philip into England, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in

the fall, it fell upon a sign of the black eagle, which was in Paul's churchyard, in the place where the school-house now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down; which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the imperial house, which was, by interpretation also, fulfilled upon Philip, the emperor's son, not only in the present disaster of the tempest, but in that that followed; for Philip arriving into Spain, and attaining the possession of the kingdom of Castile without resistance, insomuch as Ferdinando, who had spoke so great before, was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his son-in-law, sickened soon after, and deceased. Yet after such time, as there was an observation by the wisest of that court, that if he had lived, his father would have gained upon him in that sort, as he would have governed his councils and designs, if not his affections. By this, all Spain returned into the power of Ferdinando in state, as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmity of Joan his daughter, who loving her husband, by whom she had many children, dearly well, and no less beloved of him, howsoever her father, to make Philip ill-beloved of the people of Spain, gave out that Philip used her not well, was unable in strength of mind to bear the grief of his decease, and fell distracted of her wits.¹ Of which malady, her father was thought no ways to endeavour the cure, the better to hold his legal power in Castile. So that, as the felicity of Charles the Eighth was said to be a dream, so the adversity of Ferdinando was said likewise to be a dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time, the king was desirous to bring into the house of Lancaster celestial honour, and became suitor to Pope Julius to canonize King Henry the Sixth for a saint; the rather, in respect of that his famous prediction of the king's own assumption to the crown. Julius referred the matter, as the manner is, to certain cardinals, to take the verification of his holy acts and miracles; but it died under the reference. The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the king would not come to his rates. But it is more probable, that that pope, who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the See of Rome, and of the acts thereof, knowing that King Henry the Sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.

The same year, likewise, there proceeded a treaty of marriage between the king and the Lady Margaret, duchess dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian, and sister to the king of Castile; a lady wise, and of great good fame. This matter had been in speech between the two kings at their meeting, but was soon after resumed; and therein was employed, for his first piece, the king's then chaplain, and after the great prelate, Thomas Wolsey. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample conditions for the king, but with promise *de futuro* only. It may be the king was the rather induced unto it, for that he had heard more and more of the marriage to go on between his great friend and ally, Ferdinando of Aragon, and Madame de

¹ She sat watching for days by the corpse, hoping that Philip would revive.

Fois, whereby that king began to piece with the French king, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest amities of kings at one time or other, to have a little of the wheel; nay, there is a farther tradition in Spain, though not with us, that the king of Aragon, after he knew that the marriage between Charles, the young prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter, went roundly on, which, though it was first moved by the king of Aragon, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by Maximilian, and the friends on that side entered into a jealousy, that the king did aspire to the government of Castilia, as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law; as if there should have been a competition of three for that government: Ferdinando, grandfather on the mother's side; Maximilian, grandfather on the father's side; and King Henry, father-in-law to the young prince. Certainly, it is not unlike but the king's government, carrying the young prince with him, would have been, perhaps, more welcome to the Spaniards, than that of the other two. For the nobility of Castilia, that so lately put out the king of Aragon in favour of king Philip, and had discovered themselves so far, could not be but in a secret distrust and distaste of that king; and as for Maximilian, upon twenty respects, he could not have been the man. But this purpose of the king's seemeth to me, considering the king's safe courses, never found to be enterprising or adventurous, not greatly probable, except he should have had a desire to breathe warmer, because he had ill lungs. This marriage with Margaret was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the king, who now, in the two-and-twentieth of his reign, began to be troubled with the gout; but the defluxion taking also into his breast, wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the phthisic; nevertheless, he continued to intend business with as great diligence, as before in his health; yet so, as upon this warning, he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come, and of making himself a saint, as well as King Henry the Sixth, by treasure better employed, than to be given to Pope Julius; for, this year, he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. He did also make haste with religious foundations; and in the year following, which was the three-and-twentieth, finished that of the Savoy. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppressions of Dudley and Empson, and their complices, partly by devout persons about him, and partly by public sermons, the preachers doing their duty therein, he was touched with great remorse for the same. Nevertheless, Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience, yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever; for the same three-and-twentieth year was there a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel, now the second time, and this was for matters of misgovernment in his mayoralty; the great matter being, that in some payments he had taken knowledge of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine

and beat it out, who were the offenders. For this, and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds; and being a man of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to pay a mite; and, belike, used some untoward speeches of the proceedings, for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the king's death. Knesworth likewise, that had been lately mayor of London, and both his sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered upon one thousand four hundred pounds paid. Hawis, an alderman of London, was put in trouble, and died with thought and anguish, before his business came to an end. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were put to the fine of one thousand pounds. And Sir Lawrence, for refusing to make payment, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel, if the faults were so light, and the rates so heavy, that the king's treasure of store, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted, as by tradition it is reported to have done, unto the sum of near eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; a huge mass of money even for these times.

The last act of state that concluded this king's temporal felicity, was the conclusion of a glorious match between his daughter Mary, and Charles, prince of Castile, afterwards the great emperor, both being of tender years; which treaty was perfected by Bishop Fox, and other his commissioners at Calais, the year before the king's death. In which alliance, it seemeth, he himself took so high contentment, as in a letter which he wrote thereupon to the city of London, commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same, he expresseth himself, as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom: when he had for his sons-in-law, a king of Scotland and a prince of Castile and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great king's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes, but an opportune death, to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune; which certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people, and the title of his son, being then come to eighteen years of age, and being a bold prince and liberal, and that gained upon the people by his very aspect and presence), had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last year of his reign, as well as his first, he did an act of piety, rare, and worthy to be taken into imitation. For he granted forth a general pardon; as expecting a second coronation in a better kingdom. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers.

And thus this Solomon of England, for Solomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions, having lived two-and-fifty years, and thereof reigned three-and-twenty years and eight months, being in perfect memory, and in a most blessed mind, in a great calm of a

consuming sickness passed to a better world, the two-and-twentieth of April, 1508, at his palace of Richmond, which himself had built.

This king, to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving, was one of the best sort of wonders ; a wonder for wise men. He had parts, both in his virtues and his fortune, not so fit for a common-place, as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear, for those times, through superstition, so he would be blinded, now and then, by human policy. He advanced churchmen : he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy ; and yet was he a great almsgiver in secret ; which showed, that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own.

He professed always to love and seek peace ; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung ; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active, and therefore, no doubt, it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars ; therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace, should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate ; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Audley, were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland, by peaces sought at his hands. That of Britain, by accident of the duke's death. The insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate : the rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he ever went in person : sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action ; and yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws : which, nevertheless, was no impediment to him to work his will ; for it was so handled, that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament. For mint, and wars, and martial discipline, things of absolute power, he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was party ; save also that the council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning ; but in that part both of justice and policy, which is the durable part, and cut, as it were, in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice, he was also a merciful prince ; as in whose time, there were but three of the nobility that suffered : the earl of Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Audley : though the first two were instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of

the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood, drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a scum of people.¹ His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected pardons, with severe executions; which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure. And as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people, into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers, did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who, as it after appeared, as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them; whereas Empson and Dudley, that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only, as the first did, but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his people; some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs, and to keep them low; some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece; some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts: but those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off, but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better, by comparison, set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required; and in his buildings was magnificent, but his rewards were very limited: so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory, than upon the deserts of others.

He was of a high mind, and loved his own will, and his own way; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man, he would have been termed proud. But in a wise prince, it was but keeping of distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach, either to his power, or to his secrets, for he was governed by none. His queen, notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do nothing with him. His mother he revered much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him

¹ Bacon's contempt for the people belonged to his age, but is certainly repulsive even with his excuse

for society, such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth, he had none; except we should account for such persons, Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were so much with him; but it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible, that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain glory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open. But rather such was his inquiry, and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them; yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies, or emulations upon foreign princes, which are frequent with many kings, he had never any; but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad; for foreigners, that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here; which were attending the court in great number; whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness, but, upon such conferences as passed with them, put them in admiration, to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world; which though he did suck chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms, concerning his wisdom and art of rule; nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him. Such a dexterity he had to inappropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad; wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioners, which he had both in the court of Rome, and other the courts of Christendom, but the industry and vigilance of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions were ever extreme, curious, and articulate; and in them more articles touching inquisition, than touching negotiation; requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in particular distinct articles, respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spials, which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it; he had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended; for if spials be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this farther good in his employing of these flies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept, no doubt, many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his queen he was nothing uxorious, nor scarce indulgent; but companiable and respective, and without jealousy. Towards his

children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his council he did refer much, and sat oft in person ; knowing it to be the way to assist his power, and inform his judgment. In which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty, both of advice, and of vote, till himself were declared. He kept a straight hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people ; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as, I am persuaded, it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign ; for that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the Eleventh was ; but contrariwise, he was served by the ablest men that were to be found ; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, D'Aubigny, Brooke, Poynings ; for other affairs, Morton, Fox, Bray, the prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ ; for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well ; for it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in twenty-four years' reign, he never put down, or discomposed counsellor, or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him : that of the three affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence, he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholden to the other two.

He was a prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts, and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons ; as, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like ; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale, that his monkey, set on as it was thought by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth ; whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accounts, was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions ; but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them ; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together ; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at sometimes weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that rumour which did him so much mischief, that the duke of York should be saved, and alive, was, at the first, of his own nourishing ; because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair spoken ;

and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade anything that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned, reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue; yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them; and yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile, touching the queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures, as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself; insomuch as in triumphs of justs and tourneys, and balls, and masks, which they then called disguises, he was rather a princely and gentle spectator, than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him, as in all men, and most of all in kings, his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers, when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes—rather strong at hand, than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his foresight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was, certain it is, that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes, there being no more matter out of which they grew, could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself:¹ for what he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman; and as it was not strange, or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

¹ It was by his own will.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret, his mother, had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night, that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund, earl of Richmond, the king's father, for her husband, neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth, whose innocency gave him holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said: "This is the lad that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for." But that, that was truly divine in him was that he had the fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great king, in living exercised, and dying repentant; so as he had a happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

AFTER the decease of that wise and fortunate king, Henry the Seventh, who died in the height of his prosperity, there followed, as useth to do, when the sun setteth so exceeding clear, one of the fairest mornings of a kingdom that hath been known in this land, or anywhere else. A young king, about eighteen years of age, for stature, strength, making, and beauty, one of the goodliest persons of his time. And though he were given to pleasure, yet he was likewise desirous of glory; so that there was a passage open in his mind, by glory, for virtue. Neither was he unadorned with learning, though therein he came short of his brother Arthur. He had never any the least pique, difference, or jealousy, with the king his father, which might give any occasion of altering court or council upon the change; but all things passed in a still.¹ He was the first heir of the White and Red rose; so that there was no discontented party now left in the kingdom, but all men's hearts turned towards him; and not only their hearts, but their eyes also; for he was the only son of the kingdom. He had no brother; which, though it be a comfortable thing for kings to have, yet it draweth the subjects' eyes a little aside. And yet, being a married man in those young years, it promised hope of speedy issue to succeed in the crown. Neither was there any queen mother, who might share any way in the government, or clash with his counsellors for authority, while the king intended his pleasure. No such thing as any great and mighty subject, who might any way eclipse or overshadow the imperial power. And for the people and state in general, they were in such lowness of obedience, as subjects were like to yield, who

¹ Quietly.

had lived almost four-and-twenty years under so politic a king as his father ; being also one who came partly in by the sword ; and had so high a courage in all points of regality ; and was ever victorious in rebellions and seditions of the people. The crown extremely rich and full of treasure, and the kingdom like to be so in a short time. For there was no war, no dearth, no stop of trade, or commerce ; it was only the crown which had sucked too hard, and now, being full, and upon the head of a young king, was like to draw less. Lastly, he was inheritor of his father's reputation, which was great throughout the world. He had strait alliance with the two neighbour states, an ancient enemy in former times, and an ancient friend,—Scotland and Burgundy. He had peace and amity with France, under the assurance, not only of treaty and league, but of necessity and inability in the French to do him hurt, in respect that the French king's designs were wholly bent upon Italy ; so that it may be truly said, there had scarcely been seen or known, in many ages, such a rare concurrence of signs and promises, and of a happy and flourishing reign to ensue, as were now met in this young king, called after his father's name, Henry the Eighth.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

BOTH nature and fortune conspired to render Queen Elizabeth the ambition of her sex, and an ornament to crowned heads. This is not a subject for the pen of a monk, or any such cloistered writer. For such men, though keen in style, are attached to their party ; and transmit things of this nature unfaithfully to posterity. Certainly this is a province for men of the first rank ; or such as have sate at the helm of states ; and been acquainted with the depths and secrets of civil affairs.

All ages have esteemed a female government a rarity ; if prosperous, a wonder ; and if both long and prosperous, almost a miracle. But this lady reigned forty-four years complete, yet did not outlive her felicity. Of this felicity I purpose to say somewhat, without running into praises ; for praise is the tribute of men, but felicity the gift of God.

And first, I account it a part of her felicity, that she was advanced to the throne from a private fortune. For it is implanted in the nature of men, to esteem unexpected success an additional felicity. But what I mean, is, that princes educated in courts, as the undoubted heirs of a crown, are corrupted by indulgence, and thence generally rendered less capable, and less moderate in the management of affairs. And, therefore, we find those the best rulers, who are disciplined by both fortunes. Such was, with us, King Henry the Seventh, and with the French, Louis the Twelfth, who both of them came to the crown almost at the same time, not only from a private, but also from an adverse and rugged fortune ; and the former proved famous for his prudence, the other for his justice. In the same manner this princess also had the dawn of her fortune chequered, but in her reign it proved unusually constant and steady. From her birth, she was entitled to

the succession, but afterwards disinherited, and then postponed. In the reign of her brother, her fortune was more favourable and serene; but in the reign of her sister, more hazardous and tempestuous. Nor was she advanced on a sudden from a prison to the throne, which might have made her haughty and vindictive, but being restored to her liberty, and still growing in hopes, at last in a happy calm, she obtained the crown without opposition or competitor. And this I mention to show that Divine Providence intending an excellent princess, prepared and advanced her by such degrees of discipline.

Nor ought the misfortunes of her mother to sully the glory of her birth, especially, because it is evident that King Henry the Eighth was engaged in a new amour before his rage kindled against Queen Anne; and because the temper of that king is censured by posterity, as exceedingly prone both to amours and jealousies, and violent in both, even to the effusion of blood. Add to this, that she was cut off through an accusation manifestly improbable, and built upon slight conjectures, as was then secretly whispered; and Queen Anne herself protested her innocence with an undaunted greatness of mind, at the time of her death. For, by a faithful and generous messenger, as she supposed, she, just before her execution, sent this message to the king: "That his majesty constantly held on in his purpose of heaping new honours upon her, for that first he raised her from a private gentlewoman, to the honour of a marchioness; next advanced her into a partnership of his bed and kingdom; and when now there remained no higher earthly honour, he designed to promote her an innocent to the crown of martyrdom." But the messenger durst not carry this to the king, now plunged in a new amour; though fame, the asserter of truth, has transmitted it to posterity.

Again, it is no inconsiderable part of Queen Elizabeth's felicity, that the course of her reign was not only long, but fell within that season of her life which is fittest for governing. Thus she began her reign at twenty-five, and continued it to the seventieth year of her age. So that she neither felt the harshness of a minority, the checks of a governor's power, nor the inconveniences of extreme old age, which is attended with miseries enough in private men, but in crowned heads, besides the ordinary miseries, it usually occasions a decay of the government, and ends with an inglorious exit. For scarce any king has lived to extreme old age, without suffering some diminution in empire and esteem. Of this we have an eminent instance in Philip the Second, king of Spain, a potent prince, and admirably versed in the arts of government, who, in the decline of life, was thoroughly sensible of this misfortune, and therefore wisely submitted to the necessity of things, voluntarily quitted his acquisitions in France, established a firm peace with that kingdom, and attempted the like with others, that so he might leave all quiet and composed to his successor. Queen Elizabeth's fortune, on the contrary, was so constant and fixed, that no declension of affairs followed her lively, though declining age; nay, for an assured monument of her felicity, she died not till the rebellion of Ireland ended in a victory, lest her glory should otherwise have appeared any way ruffled or incomplete.

It should likewise be considered over what kind of people she

reigned. For had her empire fallen among the Palmyrenians, or in soft unwarlike Asia, it had been a less wonder, since a female in the throne would have suited an effeminate people; but in England, a hardy military nation, for all things to be directed and governed by a woman, is a matter of the highest admiration.

Yet this temper of her people, eager for war, and impatient of peace, did not prevent her from maintaining it all her reign. And this peaceable disposition of hers joined with success, I reckon one of her chiefest praises; as being happy for her people, becoming her sex, and a satisfaction to her conscience. Indeed, about the tenth year of her reign, there rose a small commotion in the north of her kingdom, but it was presently suppressed. The rest of her reign passed in a secure and profound peace. And I judge it a glorious peace for two reasons, which, though they make nothing to its merit, yet contribute much to its honour. The one, that it was rendered more conspicuous and illustrious by the calamities of our neighbours, as by so many flames about us. The other, that the blessings of peace were not unattended with the glory of arms, since she not only preserved, but advanced the honour of the English name for martial greatness. For what by the supplies she sent into the Netherlands, France, and Scotland; the expeditions by sea to the Indies, and some of them round the world; the fleets sent to infest Portugal, and the coasts of Spain; and what by the frequent conquests and reductions of the Irish rebels, we suffered no decay in the ancient military fame and virtue of our nation.

It is likewise a just addition to her glory, that neighbouring princes were supported in their thrones by her timely aids; and that suppliant states, which, through the misconduct of their kings, were abandoned, devoted to the cruelty of their ministers, the fury of the multitude, and all manner of desolation, were relieved by her.

Nor were her counsels less beneficent than her supplies, as having so often interceded with the king of Spain, to reconcile him to his subjects in the Netherlands, and reduce them to obedience, upon some tolerable conditions. And she, with great sincerity, importuned the kings of France, by repeated admonitions, to observe their own edicts, that promised peace to their subjects. It is true her advice proved ineffectual, for the common interest of Europe would not allow the first, lest the ambition of Spain being uncurbed, should fly out, as affairs then stood, to the prejudice of the kingdoms and states of Christendom; and the latter was prevented by the massacre of so many innocent men, who, with their wives and children, were butchered in their own houses by the scum of the people, armed and let loose like so many beasts of prey upon them by public authority.¹ This bloodshed cried aloud for vengeance, that the kingdom stained by so horrible an impiety might be expiated by intestine slaughter. However, by interposing, she performed the part of a faithful, prudent, and generous ally.

There is also another reason for admiring this peaceful reign, so much endeavoured and maintained by the queen, viz., that it did not

¹ By Catherine de Medici and Charles IX. on the eve of the St. Bartholomew; when the Huguenots were massacred.

proceed from any disposition of the times, but from her own prudent and discreet conduct. For as she struggled with faction at home upon account of religion, and as the strength and protection of this kingdom was a kind of bulwark to all Europe against the extravagant ambition and formidable power of Spain, there wanted no occasion of war; yet, with her force and policy, she surmounted these difficulties. This appeared by the most memorable event in point of felicity, that ever happened through the whole course of affairs in our time. For when the Spanish Armada entered our seas, to the terror of all Europe, and with such assurance of victory, they took not a single boat of ours, nor burnt the least cottage, nor touched our shore, but were defeated in the engagement, dispersed by a miserable flight, and frequent wrecks, and so left us at home in the enjoyment of an undisturbed peace.

Nor was she less happy in disappointing conspiracies, than in subduing the forces of her open enemies. For several plots against her life were fortunately discovered, and defeated. And yet upon this account, she was not the more fearful or anxious of her person, for she neither doubted her guards, nor confined herself to her palace, but appeared in public as usual, remembering her deliverance, but forgetting her danger.

The nature of the times wherein she flourished must also be considered. For some ages are so barbarous and ignorant, that men may be as easily governed as sheep. But this princess lived in a learned and polite age, when it was impossible to be eminent without great parts, and a singular habit of virtue.

Again, female reigns are usually eclipsed by marriage, and all the praises thus transferred upon the husband; whilst those who live single appropriate the whole glory to themselves. And this is more peculiarly the case of Queen Elizabeth, because she had no supporters of her government but those of her own making: she had no brother, no uncle, nor any other of the royal family to partake her cares, and share in her administration. And for those she advanced to places of trust, she kept such a tight rein upon them, and so distributed her favours, that she laid each of them under the greatest obligation and concern to please her, whilst she always remained mistress of herself.

She was indeed childless, and left no issue behind her; which has been the case of many fortunate princes, as of Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, &c., and is a disputed point; some taking it for a diminution of felicity, as if men could not be completely happy unless blessed both in their own persons, and in their children; and others accounting it the perfection of felicity, which then alone seems to be complete, when fortune has no more power over it; which, if children are left behind, can never be the case.

She had likewise her outward embellishments; a tall stature, a graceful shape and make, a most majestic aspect, mixed with sweetness, and a happy state of health. Besides all this, she was strong and vigorous to the last; never experienced a reverse of fortune, nor felt the miseries of old age, and obtained that complacency in death which Augustus Cæsar so passionately desired, by a gentle and easy exit.¹ This is also recorded of that excellent emperor, Antoninus Pius,

¹ Unhappily this is a misrepresentation of Bacon's. Elizabeth died very miserably.

whose death resembled a sweet and gentle slumber. So likewise in the distemper of the queen, there was nothing shocking, nothing pre-saging, nothing unbecoming of human nature. She was not desirous of life, nor impatient under sickness, nor racked with pain. She had no dire or disagreeable symptom ; but all things were of that kind, as argued rather the frailty, than the corruption or disgrace of nature. Being emaciated by an extreme dryness of body, and the cares that attend a crown, and never refreshed with wine, or with a full and plentiful diet, she was, a few days before her death, struck with a dead-palsy ; yet, what is unusual in that distemper, retained, in some degree, her speech, memory, and motion. In this condition she continued but a little while, so that it did not seem the last act of her life, but the first step to her death. For to live long after our faculties are impaired, is accounted miserable ; but for death to hasten on with a gradual loss of the senses, is a gentle, a pleasing, and an easy dissolution.

To fill up the measure of her felicity, she was exceeding happy, not only in her own person, but also in the abilities and virtues of her ministers of state ; for she had the fortune to meet with such as perhaps this island never before produced at one time. But God, when he favours princes, raises up and adorns the spirits of their ministers also.

There remain two posthumous felicities, which may seem more noble and august than those that attended her living—the one is that of her successor, and the other of her memory ; for she had such a successor, who, though he may exceed and eclipse her greatness by his masculine virtues, his issue, and a new accession of empire, yet is zealous of her name and glory, and gives a kind of perpetuity to her acts, having made little change either in the choice of ministers or the method of government, so that a son rarely succeeds a father with less alteration or disturbance.

As for her memory, it is so much in the mouths and so fresh in the minds of men, that envy being extinguished, and her fame lit up by death, the felicity of her memory seems to vie with the felicity of her life ; for if through party zeal or difference in religion a factious report be spread abroad, it is neither true nor can be long-lived. And for this reason in particular I have made the present collection of her felicities and the marks of the Divine favour towards her, that no malicious person might dare to curse where God has so highly blessed.

If it should be here objected, as Cicero objected to Cæsar, “We have matter enough to admire, but would gladly see something to praise,” I answer, that true admiration is a superlative degree of praise. Nor could that felicity above described be the portion of any, but such as are remarkably supported and indulged by the Divine favour, and in some measure worked it out by their own morals and virtues. I shall, however, add a word or two as to the morals of the queen, but only in such particulars as have occasioned some malicious tongues to traduce her.

As to her religion, she was pious, moderate, constant, and an enemy to novelty ; and for her piety, though the marks of it are most con-

apicuous in her acts and administrations, yet there were visible marks of it, both in the course of her life and her ordinary conversation. She was seldom absent from divine service and other duties of religion, either in her chapel or closet; she was very conversant in the Scriptures and writings of the fathers, especially St. Augustine. Herself composed certain prayers upon some emergent occasions. When she mentioned the name of God, though in ordinary discourse, she generally added the title of Creator, and composed both her eyes and countenance to some sort of humility and reverence, which I have myself often observed.

As to what some have given out, that she was altogether unmindful of mortality, so as not to bear the mention of old age or death, it is absolutely false, for, several years before her death, she would often facetiously call herself "the old woman," and discourse about what kind of epitaph she liked, adding, that she was no lover of pompous titles, but only desired her name might be recorded in a line or two, which should briefly express "her name, her virginity, the time of her reign, the reformation of religion under it, and her preservation of peace." It is true, in the flower of her age, being importuned to declare her successor, she answered, "That she could by no means endure a shroud to be held before her eyes while she was living." And yet, some years before her death, at a time when she was thoughtful, and probably meditating upon her mortality, one of her familiars mentioning in conversation that several great offices and places in the state were kept vacant too long, she rose up and said, with more than ordinary warmth, "That she was sure her place would not be long vacant."

As to her moderation in religion, it may require some pause, because of the severity of the laws made against her subjects of the Romish persuasion; but I will mention such things as were well known and carefully observed by myself. It is certain she was in her sentiments averse to the forcing of conscience, yet, on the other hand, she would not suffer the state to be endangered under the pretence of conscience and religion. Hence she concluded, that to allow a liberty and toleration of two religions by public authority in a military and high-mettled nation, that might easily fall from difference in judgment to blows, would be certain destruction. Thus, in the beginning of her reign, when all things looked suspicious, she kept some of the prelates, who were of a more turbulent and factious spirit, prisoners at large, though not without the warrant of the law; but to the rest of both orders she used no severe inquisition, but protected them by a generous clemency. And this was the posture of affairs at first. Nor did she abate much of this clemency, though provoked by the excommunication of Pope Pius Quintus, which might have raised her indignation, and driven her to new measures, but still she retained her own generous temper; for this prudent and courageous lady was not moved with the noise of those terrible threats, being secure of the fidelity and affection of her subjects, and of the inability of the Popish faction within the kingdom to hurt her, unless seconded by a foreign enemy.

But about the three-and-twentieth year of her reign the face of affairs changed. This difference of the times is not artfully feigned to

serve a turn, but stands expressed in the public records, and engraven as it were in leaves of brass; for before that year none of her subjects of the Romish religion had been punished with any severity by the laws formerly enacted. But now the ambitious and monstrous designs of Spain, to conquer this kingdom, began by degrees to open themselves; a principal part of which was, by all public ways and means, to raise a faction in the heart of the kingdom of such as were disaffected and desirous of innovation, in order to join the enemy upon the invasion. Their hopes of effecting this were grounded upon the difference there was amongst us in religion, whence they resolved to labour this point effectually. And the seminaries at that time budding, priests were sent into England to sow and raise up an affection for the Romish religion, to teach and inculcate the validity of the pope's excommunication in releasing subjects from their allegiance, and to awaken and prepare men's minds to an expectation of a change in the government.

About the same time Ireland was attempted by an invasion and the name and government of Queen Elizabeth vilified and traduced by scandalous libels; in short, there was an unusual swelling in the state, the prognostic of a greater commotion. Yet I will not affirm that all the priests were concerned in the plot, or privy to the designs then carrying on, but only that they were corrupt instruments of other men's malice. It is, however, attested by the confession of many, that almost all the priests sent into this kingdom from the year above-mentioned to the thirtieth year of the queen, wherein the design of Spain and the pope was put in execution by the armada, had it in their instructions, among other parts of their function, to insinuate "That affairs could not possibly continue long as they were, that they would soon put on a new face, that the pope and the Catholic princes would take care for the English state, provided the English were not their own hindrance." Again, some of the priests had manifestly engaged themselves in plots and contrivances, which tended to the undermining and subverting of the government, and as the strongest proof, the whole train of the plot was discovered by letters intercepted from several parts, wherein it was expressly mentioned, "That the vigilancy of the queen and her council, in respect of the Catholics would be baffled, because the queen only watched that no nobleman or person of distinction should rise to head the Catholic faction; whereas the design they laid was, that all things should be disposed and prepared by private men of an inferior rank without their conspiring or consulting together, but wholly in the secret way of confession." And these were the artifices then practised, which are so familiar and customary to that order of men.

In such an impending storm of dangers the queen was obliged, by the law of necessity, to restrain such of her subjects as were disaffected and rendered incurable by these poisons, and who in the meantime began to grow rich by retirement and exemption from public offices; and accordingly some severer laws were enacted. But the evil daily increasing, and the origin thereof being charged upon the seminary priests, bred in foreign parts, and supported by the bounty and benevolence of foreign princes, the professed enemies of this kingdom,

which priests had lived in places where the name of Queen Elizabeth was always tacked to the titles of heretic, excommunicated, and accursed, and who, though they themselves were not engaged in the treasonable practices, yet were known to be the intimate friends of such as had set their hands to villanies of that kind, and who by their arts and poisonous insinuations had infected the whole body of the Catholics, which before was less malignant; there could no other remedy be found but the forbidding such persons all entrance into this kingdom upon pain of death, which at last, in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, was accordingly enacted.

Yet the event itself, which followed soon after, when so violent storm fell upon this kingdom with all its weight, did not in the least abate the envy and hatred of these men, but rather increased it, as if they had divested themselves of all affection to their country. And afterwards indeed, though our fears of Spain, the occasion of this severity, were abated; yet because the memory of the former times was deeply imprinted in men's minds, and because it would have looked like inconstancy to have abrogated the laws already made, or remissness to have neglected them, the very constitution and nature of affairs suggested to the queen that she could not with safety return to the state of things that obtained before the three-and-twentieth year of her reign.

To this may be added the industry of some to increase the revenues of the exchequer, and the earnestness of the ministers of justice, who usually regard no other safety of their country but what consists in the law, both which called loudly for the laws to be put in execution. However, the queen, as a specimen of her good nature, so far took off the edge of the law, that but a few priests in proportion were put to death. And this we may say not by way of defence, for the case needs none, as the safety of the kingdom turned upon it; and as the measure of all this severity came far short of those bloody massacres that are scarce fit to be named among Christians, and have proceeded rather from arrogance and malice than from necessity in the Catholic countries, and thus we think we have made it appear that the queen was moderate in the point of religion, and that the change which ensued was not owing to her nature, but to the necessity of the times.

The greatest proof of her constancy in religion and religious worship is, that notwithstanding popery, which in her sister's reign had been strenuously established by public authority and the utmost diligence, began now to take deep root, and was confirmed by the consent and zeal of all those in office and places of trust; yet because it was not agreeable to the Word of God, nor to the primitive purity, nor to her own conscience, she, with much courage and with very few helps, extirpated and abolished it. Nor did she do this precipitantly or in a heat, but prudently and seasonably, as may appear from many particulars, and among the rest from a certain answer she occasionally made; for upon her first accession to the throne, when the prisoners, according to custom, were released, as she went to chapel, a courtier who took a more than ordinary freedom, whether of his own motion or set on by a wiser head, delivered a petition into her hand, and in a great concourse of people, said aloud, "That there were still four:

or five prisoners unjustly detained, that he came to petition for their liberty as well as the rest, and these were the four Evangelists and the Apostle St. Paul, who had been long imprisoned in an unknown tongue, and not suffered to converse with the people." The queen answered with great prudence, "That it was best to consult them first, whether they were willing to be released or no." And by thus striking a surprising question with a wary, doubtful answer, she reserved the whole matter entirely in her own breast.

Nor yet did she introduce this alteration timorously, and by fits and starts, but orderly, gravely, and maturely; after a conference betwixt the parties, and calling a parliament; and thus, at length, within the compass of one year, she so ordered and established all things belonging to the church, as not to suffer the least alteration afterwards, during her reign. Nay, almost every session of parliament, her public admonition was, that no innovation might be made in the discipline or rites of the church. And thus much for her religion.

Some of the graver sort may, perhaps, aggravate her levities; in loving to be admired and courted, nay, and to have love-poems made on her; and continuing this humour longer than was decent for her years: yet to take even these matters in a milder sense, they claim a due admiration; being often found in fabulous narrations; as that of "a certain queen in the fortunate islands, in whose court love was allowed, but lust banished." Or if a harsher construction can be put upon them, they are still to be highly admired; as these gaieties did not much eclipse her fame, nor in the least obscure her grandeur, nor injure her government, nor hinder the administration of her affairs; for things of this sort are rarely so well tempered and regulated in princes.

This queen was certainly good and moral; and as such she desired to appear. She hated vice, and studied to grow famous by honourable courses. Thus, for example, having once ordered an express to be written to her ambassador, containing certain instructions, which he was privately to impart to the queen-mother of France, her secretary inserted a clause for the ambassador to use, importing, "That they were two queens, from whose experience and arts of government, no less was expected than from the greatest kings." She could not bear the comparison; but ordered it to be struck out, saying, "She used quite different arts and methods of government, from the queen-mother."

She was, also, not a little pleased, if any one by chance had dropped such an expression as this, "That though she had lived in a private station, her excellencies could not have passed unobserved by the eye of the world." So unwilling was she, that any of her virtue, or praise, should be owing to the height of her fortune.

But if I should enter upon her praises, whether moral or political, I must either fall into a common-place of virtues, which will be unworthy of so extraordinary a princess; or if I would give them their proper grace and lustre, I must enter into a history of her life; which requires more leisure and a richer vein than mine. To speak the truth, the only proper encomiast of this lady is time; which, for so many ages as it has run, never produced anything like her, of the same sex, for the government of a kingdom.

THE PRAISE OF HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

HENRY, prince of Wales, eldest son of the king of Great Britain, happy in the hopes conceived of him, and now happy in his memory, died on the 6th of November, 1612, to the extreme concern and regret of the whole kingdom, being a youth who had neither offended nor satiated the minds of men. He had by the excellence of his disposition excited high expectations among great numbers of all ranks; nor had through the shortness of his life disappointed them. One capital circumstance added to these was the esteem in which he was commonly held of being firm to the cause of religion: and men of the best judgment were fully persuaded that his life was a great support and security to his father from the danger of conspiracies; an evil against which our age has scarce found a remedy; so that the people's love of religion and the king overflowed to the prince; and this consideration deservedly heightened the sense of the loss of him. His person was strong and erect; his stature of a middle size; his limbs well made; his gait and deportment majestic; his face long and inclining to leanness; his habit of body full; his look grave, and the motion of his eyes rather composed than spirited. In his countenance were some marks of severity, and in his air some appearance of haughtiness. But whoever looked beyond these outward circumstances, and addressed and softened him with a due respect and seasonable discourse, found the prince to be gracious and easy, so that he seemed wholly different in conversation from what he was in appearance, and in fact raised in others an opinion of himself very unlike what his manner would at first have suggested. He was unquestionably ambitious of commendation and glory, and was strongly affected by every appearance of what is good and honourable, which in a young man is to be considered as virtue. Arms and military men were highly valued by him; and he breathed himself something war like. He was much devoted to the magnificence of buildings and works of all kinds, though in other respects rather frugal; and was a lover both of antiquity and arts. He showed his esteem of learning in general more by the countenance which he gave to it, than by the time which he spent in it. His conduct in respect of morals did him the utmost honour; for he was thought exact in the knowledge and practice of every duty. His obedience to the king his father was wonderfully strict and exemplary: towards the queen he behaved with the highest reverence: to his brother he was indulgent; and had an entire affection for his sister, whom he resembled in person as much as that of a young man could the beauty of a virgin. The instructors of his younger years (which rarely happens) continued high in his favour. In conversation, he both expected a proper decorum and practised it. In the daily business of life, and the allotment of hours for the several offices of it, he was more constant and regular than is usual at his age. His affections and passions were not strong, but rather equal than warm. With regard to that of love, there was a wonderful silence, considering his age, so that he passed that dangerous time of his youth in the highest fortune, and in a

vigorous state of health, without any remarkable imputation of gallantry. In his court no person was observed to have any ascendant over him, or strong interest with him: and even the studies with which he was most delighted had rather proper times assigned them, than were indulged to excess, and were rather repeated in their turns, than that any one kind of them had the preference of and controlled the rest: whether this arose from the moderation of his temper, and that in a genius not very forward, but ripening by slow degrees, it did not yet appear what would be the prevailing object of his inclination. He had certainly strong parts, and was endued both with curiosity and capacity; but in speech he was slow, and in some measure hesitating. But whoever diligently observed what fell from him, either by way of question or remark, saw it to be full to the purpose, and expressive of no common genius. So that under that slowness and infrequency of discourse, his judgment had more the appearance of suspense and solicitude to determine rightly, than of weakness and want of apprehension. In the meantime he was wonderfully patient in hearing, even in business of the greatest length; and this with unwearied attention, so that his mind seldom wandered from the subject, or seemed fatigued, but he applied himself wholly to what was said or done, which (if his life had been lengthened) promised a very superior degree of prudence. There were indeed in the prince some things obscure, and not to be discovered by the sagacity of any person, but by time only, which was denied him; but what appeared were excellent, which is sufficient for his fame.

He died in the nineteenth year of his age, of an obstinate fever, which during the summer, through the excessive heat and dryness of the season, unusual to islands, had been epidemical, though not fatal, but in autumn became more mortal. Fame, which, as Tacitus says, is more tragical with respect to the deaths of princes, added a suspicion of poison: but as no signs of this appeared, especially in his stomach, which uses to be chiefly affected by poison, this report soon vanished.

THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By the decease of Elizabeth, queen of England, the issues of King Henry the Eighth failed, being spent in one generation, and three successions. For that king, though he were one of the goodliest persons of his time, yet he left only by his six wives three children, who, reigning successively, and dying childless, made place to the line of Margaret, his eldest sister, married to James the Fourth, king of Scotland. There succeeded therefore to the kingdom of England, James the Sixth, then king of Scotland, descended of the same Margaret both by father and mother: so that by a rare event in the pedigrees of kings, it seemed as if the Divine Providence, to extinguish and take away all envy and note of a stranger, had doubled upon his person, within the circle of one age, the royal blood of England, by both parents. This succession drew towards it the eyes of all men,

being one of the most memorable accidents that had happened a long time in the Christian world. For the kingdom of France having been reunited in the age before in all the provinces thereof formerly dismembered ; and the kingdom of Spain being, of more fresh memory, united and made entire, by the annexing of Portugal in the person of Philip the Second ; there remained but this third and last union for the counterpoising of the power of these three great monarchies, and the disposing of the affairs of Europe thereby to a more assured and universal peace and concord. And this event did hold men's observations and discourses the more, because the island of Great Britain, divided from the rest of the world, was never before united in itself under one king, notwithstanding the people be of one language, and not separate by mountains or great waters ; and notwithstanding also that the uniting of them had been in former times industriously attempted both by war and treaty. Therefore it seemed a manifest work of Providence, and a case of reservation for these times ; insomuch that the vulgar conceived that now there was an end given, and a consummation to superstitious prophecies, the belief of fools, but the talk sometimes of wise men, and to an ancient tacit expectation which had by tradition been infused and inveterated into men's minds. But as the best divinations and predictions are the politic and probable foresight and conjectures of wise men, so in this matter the providence of King Henry the Seventh was in all men's mouths ; who being one of the deepest and most prudent princes of the world, upon the deliberation concerning the marriage of his eldest daughter into Scotland, had, by some speech uttered by him, showed himself sensible and almost prescient of this event.

Neither did there want a concurrence of divers rare external circumstances, besides the virtues and condition of the person, which gave great reputation to this succession. A king in the strength of his years, supported with great alliances abroad, established with royal issue at home, at peace with all the world, practised in the regiment of such a kingdom, as might rather enable a king by variety of accidents than corrupt him with affluence or vain-glory ; and one that, besides his universal capacity and judgment, was notably exercised and practised in matters of religion and the church, which in these times, by the confused use of both swords, are become so intermixed with considerations of estate, as most of the counsels of sovereign princes or republics depend upon them ; but nothing did more fill foreign nations with admiration and expectation of his succession than the wonderful and, by them, unexpected consent of all estates and subjects of England, for the receiving of the king without the least scruple, pause, or question. For it had been generally dispersed by the fugitives beyond the seas, who, partly to apply themselves to the ambition of foreigners, and partly to give estimation and value to their own employments, used to represent the state of England in a false light, that after Queen Elizabeth's decease there must follow in England nothing but confusions, interreigns, and perturbations of estate, likely far to exceed the ancient calamities of the civil wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, by how much more the dissensions were like to be more mortal and bloody when foreign

competition should be added to domestical, and divisions for religion to matter of title to the crown. And in special, Parsons the Jesuit, under a disguised name, had not long before published an express treatise, wherein, whether his malice made him believe his own fancies, or whether he thought it the fittest way to move sedition, like evil spirits, which seem to foretell the tempest they mean to move, he laboured to display and give colour to all the vain pretences and dreams of succession which he could imagine, and thereby had possessed many abroad that knew not the affairs here, with those his vanities. Neither wanted there here within this realm divers persons both wise and well affected, who, though they doubted not of the undoubted right, yet setting before themselves the waves of people's hearts, guided no less by sudden and temporary winds than by the natural course and motion of the waters, were not without fear what might be the event. For Queen Elizabeth being a princess of extreme caution, and yet one that loved admiration above safety, and knowing the declaration of a successor might in point of safety be disputable, but in point of admiration and respect assuredly to her disadvantage, had from the beginning set it down for a maxim of estate to impose a silence touching succession. Neither was it only reserved as a secret of estate, but restrained by severe laws, that no man should presume to give opinion or maintain argument touching the same; so, though the evidence of right drew all the subjects of the land to think one thing, yet the fear of danger of law made no man privy to others' thought. And therefore it rejoiced all men to see so fair a morning of a kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured of former apprehensions, as a man that awaketh out of a fearful dream. But so it was, that not only the consent but the applause and joy was infinite, and not to be expressed, throughout the realm of England, upon this succession; whereof the consent, no doubt, may be truly ascribed to the clearness of the right, but the general joy, alacrity, and gratulation, were the effects of differing causes. For Queen Elizabeth, although she had the use of many both virtues and demonstrations that might draw and knit unto her the hearts of her people, yet nevertheless carrying a hand restrained in gift, and strained in points of prerogative, could not answer the votes either of servants or subjects to a full contentment, especially in her latter days, when the continuance of her reign, which extended to five-and-forty years, might discover in people their natural desire and inclination towards change; so that a new court and a new reign were not to many unwelcome. Many were glad, and especially those of settled estate and fortune, that the fears and uncertainties were overblown, and that the die was cast. Others, that had made their way with the king, or offered their service in the time of the former queen, thought now the time was come for which they had prepared; and generally all such as had any dependence upon the late earl of Essex, who had mingled the service of his own ends with the popular pretence of advancing the king's title, made account their cause was amended. Again, such as might misdoubt they had given the king any occasion of distaste, did contend by their forwardness and confidence to show it was but their fastness to the former government, and that those affections ended with the time. The papists

nourished their hopes, by collating the case of the papists in England and under Queen Elizabeth, and the case of the papists in Scotland under the king ; interpreting that the condition of them in Scotland was the less grievous, and divining of the king's government here accordingly, besides the comfort they ministered to themselves from the memory of the queen his mother. The ministers, and those which stood for the presbytery, thought their cause had more sympathy with the discipline of Scotland than the hierarchy of England, and so took themselves to be a degree nearer their desires. Thus had every condition of persons some contemplation of benefit, which they promised themselves—over-reaching, perhaps, according to the nature of hope, but yet not without some probable ground of conjecture. At which time also there came forth in print the king's book, entitled *Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον*, containing matter of instruction to the prince his son touching the office of a king ; which book falling into every man's hand, filled the whole realm, as with a good perfume or incense, before the king's coming in ; for being excellently written, and having nothing of affectation, it did not only satisfy better than particular reports touching the king's disposition, but far exceeded any formal or curious edict or declaration, which could have been devised of that nature, wherewith princes in the beginning of their reigns do use to grace themselves, or at least express themselves gracious in the eyes of their people. And this was for the general the state and constitution of men's minds upon this change ; the actions themselves passed in this manner

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The rest is wanting.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS CÆSAR, at the first, encountered a rugged fortune, which turned to his advantage : for this curbed his pride, and spurred his industry. He was a man of unruly passions and desires ; but extremely clear and settled in his judgment and understanding : as appears by his ready address to extricate himself both in action and discourse ; for no man ever resolved quicker, or spoke clearer. But his will and appetite were restless, and ever launched out beyond his acquisitions ; yet the transitions of his actions were not rash, but well concerted : for he always brought his undertakings to complete and perfect periods. Thus, after having obtained numerous victories, and procured a great degree of security in Spain, he did not slight the remains of the civil war in that country ; but having, in person, seen all things fully composed and settled there, he immediately went upon his expedition against the Parthians.

He was, without dispute, a man of a great and noble soul ; though rather bent upon procuring his own private advantage, than good to the public : for he referred all things to himself, and was the truest centre of his own actions. Whence flowed his great and almost perpetual felicity and success ; for neither his country nor religion,

neither good offices, relations, nor friends, could check or moderate his designs. Again, he was not greatly bent upon preserving his memory; for he neither established a state of things, built lasting monuments, nor enacted laws of perpetuity, but worked entirely for his own present and private ends; thus confining his thoughts within the limits of his own times. It is true, he endeavoured after fame and reputation, as he judged they might be of service to his designs; but certainly, in his heart, he rather aimed at power than dignity, and courted reputation and honours only as they were instruments of power and grandeur. So that he was led, not by any laudable course of discipline, but by a kind of natural impulse, to the sovereignty; which he rather affected to seize, than appear to deserve.

This procedure ingratiated him with the people, who had no dignity to lose; but, among the nobility and gentry, who desired to retain their honours, it gained him the character of a bold, aspiring man. And certainly they judged right; for he was naturally very audacious, and never put on the appearance of modesty but to serve a turn. Yet this daring spirit of his was so tempered, that it neither subjected him to the censure of rashness, or intolerable haughtiness, nor rendered his nature suspected; but was taken to proceed from a certain simplicity and freedom of behaviour, joined with the nobility of his birth. And in all other respects he had the reputation, not of a cunning and designing, but of an open and sincere man. And though he was a perfect master of dissimulation, and wholly made up of art, without leaving anything to nature but what art had proved, yet nothing of design or affectation appeared in his carriage: so that he was thought to follow his own natural disposition. He did not, however, stoop to any mean artifices, which men unpractised in the world, who depend not upon their own strength, but the abilities of others, employ to support their authority: for he was perfectly skilled in all the ways of men, and transacted everything of consequence in his own person, without the interposition of others.

He had the perfect secret of extinguishing envy, and thought it proper in his proceedings to secure this effect, though with some diminution of his dignity. For being wholly bent upon real power, he almost constantly declined, and contentedly postponed all the empty show, and gaudy appearance of greatness: till at length, whether satiated with enjoyment, or corrupted by flattery, he affected even the ensigns of royalty, the style and diadem of a king, which proved his ruin. He entertained the thought of dominion from his very youth; and this was easily suggested to him by the example of Sylla the affinity of Marius, the emulation of Pompey, and the corruption and troubles of the times. But he paved his way to it in a wonderful manner: first, by a popular and seditious, and afterwards by a military and imperial force. For at the entrance he was to break through the power and authority of the senate; which remaining entire, there was no passage to an immoderate and extraordinary sovereignty. Next, the power of Crassus and Pompey was to be subdued, which could not be but by arms. And, therefore, like a skilful architect of his own fortune, he began and carried on his first structure by largesses; by corrupting the courts of justice; by renewing the memory of Caius

Marius and his party, whilst most of the senators and nobility were of Sylla's faction; by the Agrarian laws; by seditious tribunes, whom he instigated; by the fury of Catiline, and his conspirators, whom he secretly favoured; by the banishment of Cicero, upon whom the authority of the senate turned; and other the like artifices: but what finished the affair, was the alliance of Crassus and Pompey, joined with himself.

Having thus secured all matters on this side, he directly turned to the other; he was now made proconsul of Gaul for five years, and afterwards continued for five more; he was furnished with arms, legions, and commanded a warlike province, adjacent to Italy. For he knew that, after he had strengthened himself with arms and a military power, neither Crassus nor Pompey could make head against him; the one trusting to his riches, the other to his fame and reputation; the one decaying in age, the other in authority; and neither of them resting upon true and solid foundations. And all this succeeded to his wish; especially as he had bound and obliged all the senators, magistrates, and those who had any power, so firmly to himself, by private benefits, that he feared no conspiracy or combination against his designs; till he had openly invaded the state. And though this was ever his scheme, and at last put in execution, yet he did not unmask; but what by the reasonableness of his demands, his pretences of peace, and moderating his successes, he turned the whole load of envy upon the opposite party; and appeared to take arms of necessity, for his own preservation and safety. The emptiness of this pretence manifestly appeared when the civil wars were ended; all his rivals, that might give him any disturbance, slain; and he possessed of the regal power; for now he never once thought of restoring the republic, nor so much as pretended it. Which plainly showed, as the event confirmed, that his designs were all along upon the sovereignty; and, accordingly, he never seized occasions as they happened, but raised and worked them out himself.

His principal talent lay in military matters; wherein he so excelled, that he could not only lead, but mould an army to his mind. For he was as skilful in governing men's passions, as in conducting affairs; and this he did not by any ordinary discipline, that taught his soldiers obedience, stung them with shame, or awed them by severity; but in such a manner, as raised a suprising ardour and alacrity in them, and made them confident of victory and success; thus endearing the soldiery to him, more than was convenient for a free state. And as he was well versed in war of all kinds, and as he joined civil and military arts together, nothing could come so suddenly upon him, but he had an expedient ready for it; nothing so adverse, but he drew some advantage from it.

He had a due regard to his person; for in great battles he would sit in his pavilion, and manage all by adjutants. Whence he received a double advantage; as thus coming the seldomer in danger; and in case of an unfortunate turn, could animate and renew the fight, by his own presence, as by a fresh supply. In all his military preparations he did not square himself to precedents only, but ever with exquisite judgment, took new measures, according to the present exigence.

He was constant, singularly beneficent, and indulgent in his friendships; but made such choice of friends, as easily showed that he sought for those who might forward, and not obstruct his designs. And as he was both by nature and habit led, not to be eminent among great men, but to command among inferiors, he made friends of mean and industrious persons, to whom he alone gave law. As for the nobility, and his equals, he contracted friendship with them just as they might serve his turn; and admitted none to his intimacies, but such whose whole expectations centered upon him.

He was tolerably learned; but chiefly in what related to civil policy. For he was well versed in history; and perfectly understood both the edge and weight of words: and because he attributed much to his good stars, he affected to be thought skilful in astronomy. His eloquence was natural to him, and pure.

He was given to pleasures, and profuse in them, which served at his first setting out as a cloak to his ambition; for no danger was apprehended from one of this cast. Yet he so governed his pleasures, that they were no prejudice to himself, nor business; but rather whetted than blunted the vigour of his mind. He was temperate in diet, not delicate in his amours, and pleasant and magnificent at public shows.

This being his character, the same thing at last was the means of his fall which at first was a step to his rise, viz., his affectation of popularity: for nothing is more popular than to forgive our enemies. Through which virtue, or cunning, he lost his life.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

IF ever a mortal had a great, serene, well-regulated mind, it was Augustus Cæsar; as appears by the heroical actions of his early youth. For men of a turbulent nature commonly pass their youth in various errors, and in their middle age first begin to show themselves; but those of a sedate and calm disposition may shine even in the bud. And as the perfection of the mind, like that of the body, consists in health, gracefulness, and strength; in the latter he was inferior to his uncle Julius; but in beauty and health of mind superior. For Julius Cæsar, being of a restless, discomposed spirit, as those generally prove who are troubled with the falling-sicknesses, yet cleared the way to his own ends with the utmost address and prudence. His error was the not rightly fixing his ends; but with an insatiable and unnatural appetite still pursuing further views. Whereas Augustus, sober and mindful of his mortality, seemed to have thoroughly weighed his ends, and laid them down in admirable order. For first he desired to have the sovereign rule, next he endeavoured to appear worthy of it, then thought it but reasonable, as a man, to enjoy his exalted fortune, and lastly, he turned his thoughts to such actions as might perpetuate his name, and transmit some image and effect of his government to futurity. Hence in his youth he affected power; in his middle age, dignity; in his decline of life, pleasure; and in his old age, fame, and the good of posterity,

GLOSSARY

OF OBSOLETE WORDS, AND ALSO OF MODERN WORDS USED IN ANOTHER SENSE.



A.

Abate, v. t. to blunt, to depress
Able, adj. sufficient
Above, prep. more than
Absurd, adj. unreasonable, unaccountable; also eccentric, or ridiculous
Abuse, n. deception
 v. to deceive
Abusing, s. deceiving, taking advantage of
Accept of, v. t. receives
Accommodate, v. to adapt oneself, to conform to circumstances
Account upon, v. to reckon, to acknowledge
Acquaints them, v. makes them acquainted
Actor, s. used also as speaker in Essay XXV.
Aculeate, adj. pointed
Adamant, s. the loadstone, used figuratively for attraction
Admirable, wonderful
Admire to, to wonder at with admiration
Ado, s. fuss, bustle
Adust, p. p. parched, burnt up, burning inwardly. See Essay XXXVI.
Adventive, s. the thing or person that comes from without, accidental
Adventure, s. fortune, risk
Adventure to, v. to risk, to venture
Advised, v. careful in, deliberate
Adulteress, s. adulteress
Equinoctia, s. the equinoxes
Affect to, v. to aim at, to desire, to like
Affection, s. liking, inclination
Aim, to take an, v. to estimate, judge of
Alley, s. a walk or bowling green
All one, the same
Allow, v. to approve of
Almaigne, s. Germany.
Ambages, s. a needless multiplicity of words, circumlocution
Ambassy, s. embassy
Amiable, adj. lovable
And, used as if
Answered, p. p. guaranteed
Antechamber, s. an antechamber
Anti-mask, s. a comic interlude between the acts of a mask; to which it served as a foil
Antiques, s. grotesque figures introduced in an anti-mask

Apace, adv. hastily, fast, at a great rate
Apparent, adj. manifest
Appetite in, desirous of rising
Apposed, p. p. questioned
Approaches, s. encroachments
Apricocks, s. apricots
Apt, adj. adapted
Arbitrament, s. arbitration
Argument, s. matter for reflection or thought
Ariolation, s. an assault with a battering ram
Arras, s. tapestry—first made at the town of that name
Array, s. to set troops in order of battle
Artificer, s. skilled workmen
Artillery, s. Any engines of war were in the middle ages called artillery; the name is now applied only to the large cannon in use.
Ask, v. used in the sense of require, several times in the *Essays*, s. &c.
Asp, s. aspen tree
Aspects, s. used of the stars by astrologers, to indicate the appearance of a planet according to its position amongst the constellations
Assay, v. attempt
Assignment, s. appointments in the sense of orders
Assured, p. p. trustworthy
Athwart, prep. nautical term, across
Attemper, v. to moderate, curb, restrain
Aversion, s. aversion
Avert, v. to turn away
Avoided, p. p. left a place
Avoidances, s. outlets
Away, to, with anything, to remove it. See Isaiah l. 13: "The calling of assemblies I cannot away with."

B.

Babbler, s. an idle talker, one who speaks much and foolishly
Balladine, s. ballet-dancers
Banquet, is used in Essay XLV. for halls of general entertainment
Barbarous, adj. is used in Essay XXXVII., for barbarians; it is not expressive of cruelty
Barriers, s. lists the enclosed space for tournaments

Bartholomew-tide, s. 24th of August
Base, ad. lowered or degraded into, Essay XXIX.
Basilisk, s. a kind of large cannon.
Become, v. in Essay XLV. in the sense of to betake one's self
Bemoan, v. to lament
Bent, s. a grass, well known still by that name
Berecynthia, s. a name for Cybele
Bestowing of a child, placing, settling it
Beaver, s. the vizor of a helmet which had openings in it for the eyes; when down it covered the face
Births, s. offspring
Blab, s. a revealer of secrets from foolish talkativeness
Blanch, v. to flinch, to avoid, to slur, to pass over, to leave blank
Blushing, s. cause for blushing, shame. See Essay XXVII.
Board, s. table
Body-horse, s. the shaft-horse. (Wright)
Bonnets, s. hats of men as well as of women
Bosage, s. woodlands
Brave, adj. fine
Bravery, s. finery, or bravado
Break, v. to accustom, to train
Braiding, a. embroidering
Broke, v. to negotiate, or deal as brokers
Broke n music, s. occasional music as an accompaniment
Bruit, noise, cry

C.

Can, "not to can," not to be able
Canticle, s. a hymn or song, not generally here a divine song
Capable of, s. being equal to
Card, s. chart; or card on which the points of the compass are marked
Cast, v. to consider, to continue, to decide, to preponderate
Castoreum, s. castor, a substance found in the beaver
Catchpole, s. a bailiff
Cautels, s. cunning, subtlety, caution
Cavillations, s. cavellings
Celsitude, s. height, altitude
Censure, s. opinion

Certainty, s. trustworthiness, steadfastness
Concession, s. concession
Challenge to, v. to claim
Chamaeris, s. the dwarf Iris, or flag
Chapmen, s. cheapeners, buyers, sellers, a market man
Charge, s. cost
Chargeable, adj. expensive, costly
Charges, s. expenses
Check, v. to hinder
Choler, v. anger
Chop, v. to bandy words, to change or barter
Chopping, s. bargaining and exchanging
Churchmen, s. ecclesiastics
Civil, ad. orderly, refined, also belonging to ordinary civilization
Civility, s. civilization
Clamour, v. to disturb with a noise, to make a noise about
Clear, adj. open
Cloistered, s. surrounded with cloisters
Close, adj. secret
Closeness, s. secrecy, reserve, reticence
Clove gilly flower, s. a sort of small carnation
Coarctation, s. pressure, contraction, confinement, restraint
Coemtion, s. a buying up
Collect, v. to infer, to gather
Collier, s. an owner of coal mines
Colligation, s. the act of melting, a lix state of fluid in animal bodies
Colour, v. to make appear, to present the best aspect of a thing
Commendatory letters, s. letters of recommendation
Commiserable, adj., worthy of being commiserated
Commodities, s. In Essay XLII., "Commodities of usury," it means advantages.
Common, adj. belonging to all, public, belonging to two
Commonplaces, s. trite sayings, not new or striking
Communicate, p. p. shared
Communicate with, v. to share, to impart
Compass, s. circuit
Composition, s. temperament
Compose d, v. to settle
Comprehend, v. to include, to embrace
Condemned men, s. convicts
Confederate, pp. leagued, united
Conference, s. consultation
Confer, v. to consult
Confidence, credit, boldness
Conscience, used for consciousness in Essay XI.
Consenting, p. p. agreeing
Consort in, in concert, in company with
Consocial, to associate, to hold together
Contain, v. to restrict, to restrain
Contend, v. endeavour
Content, s. that which is contained
Content, v. to render content, to give satisfaction

Continence, that which contains
Contrariwise, adv. on the contrary
Controversy, s. disputes
Convenient, adj. suitable. See Prov. xxx. 8: "Feed me with food convenient for me."
Conversation, s. a man's manner of living, his conduct
Converse, v. to be engaged
Convert, v. to change
Convince, v. to refute
Copulate p. p. coupled with, united with
Cornelian tree, the cornelian cherry or dog wood, a tree yielding small edible fruit like cherries; it is also called the cornel tree
Cornelians, s. the fruit of the cornel or cornelian tree
Corn-master, s. a dealer or owner of grain
Correspondence, hold to, correspond to, to bear a proportion
Corroborate, strengthened, confirmed
Count, v. to consider
Countervail, v. to outvie
Courages, s. energy and bravery, valour
Course of, in Essay XXIV. it means "in its course," speaking of time
Course, out of, out of order
Creature, s. anything created
Cringe, s. servile gesture
Crook, to twist or pervert
Cross-clauses, s. opposing contradictory clauses
Cunningly, adv. skilfully, cleverly
Curious, adj. nice, or extremely accurate; in Essay IX., rare, not common
Curious arts, s. magical arts
Curiosities, s. nice, or extremely ingenious questions out of the common.
Curiosity, s. In Essay XLVI. "Of gardens," it means elaboration
Curiously, v. elaborately, or with great attention. Essay I.
Currently, adv. without intermission
Custom, s. tax, or impost

D.

Daintily, ad. elegantly, with great niceness
Dainty adj. elegant, nice
Damascene, s. damson
Deceivable, adj., deceptive
Deceive, v. to deprive the trees of nourishment. Essay XLVI., to defraud
Decent adj. becoming, graceful, proper
Deduced, p. p. brought down
Deep, adj. profound
Deface, v. to destroy
Defatigation, s. weariness
Deliver, v. to describe. Essay XLV.
Deliver, v. to let in, to admit. Essay XLVI., to bring in
Deprave, v. to misrepresent, to disparage. Essay XLIX.
Depravation, s. slander

Deputy, s. the title of the Viceroy of Ireland at that time
Derive, v. to turn aside. Essay IX.
Destitute, v. to leave destitute
Diet, to, v. to take one's food. Essay XVIII., "To diet in a place."
Difficiness, s. stubbornness
Digladation, s. a combat with swords, a quarrel
Disable, v. to damage
Disadvantageable, adj. disadvantageous
Discern, v. to observe or distinguish
Discoursing, adj. rambling, discursive
Discover, v. to disclose, to unveil
Discovery, s. disclosure
Dispeople, v. to depopulate
Displant, v. to displace, to drive out, or remove
Displeasure, v. to displease
Disposition, s. arrangement
Disreputation, s. disrepute
Dissolve, v. to annul, do away with
Distance, s. variance; also in Essay XV., separating
Distastid, p. p. disgusted
Ditty, s. a song
Divers, adj. different
Diversely, adv. differently
Doctor, s. a teacher
Doctrine, s. teaching
Do, v. In Essay LVIII. it means produce, as "I do not think these years do (produce) any good effects"
Dole, s. distribution in charity
Dol r, s. pain as well as grief
Donative, s. a gift of money
Dortoir or dorture, a dormitory
Doubt, v. to fear, to mistrust; also to expect, as in Essay LVIII.
Drive, v. carry on. We still say to drive a prosperous, or a thriving trade
Dry blow, s. a sarcasm, a smart hit, a joke

E.

Edge on, v. to incite, to stimulate
Effctual, adj. efficient
Effeminate, v. to become effeminate
Ejaculation, s. a darting forth, in Essay IX.
Elaborate, p. p. elaborated
Election, s. choice
El niches, s. fallacious arguments
Embase, v. to deteriorate
Embassa e, s. embassy
Emulation, s. strife or contention
Encrase s. produce
End, s. intention, aims
Entanger, v. to run the risk
Endangering, s. danger, peril
Engage into, to involve in
Engagement, s. obligation
Engines, s. skilful contrivances
Es signs, s. insignia
Esue, v. to result, to follow from
Enterlace, v. to insert
Enterpriser, v. an adventurer

Entertainment, s. a means of drawing off attention, a diversion
Epicure, s. Epicurean
Equipollent, adj. equivalent
Erecting, s. establishing
Espial, s. a spy
Estate, s. state, condition
Estivation, s. a summer-house or place for summer
Estuation, s. agitation
Ethiopi, s. Ethiopian
Evil-favoured, adj. ill-looking, bad
Exaltation, s. at its strongest influence. An allusion to the old astrology when a planet is said to be in exaltation
Except, v. to make exception
Excusation, s. excuse
Exercised, p.p. practised in
Expect, v. wait for
Exquisite, a. perfect, over particular, fastidious
Extenuate, v. to weaken
Externe, adj. external
Exulceration, s. corrosion, which forms an ulcer

F.

Facile, adj. easily talked over, fickle
Facility, s. a yielding to persuasion, knickness
Faculty, s. ability
Fain, adj. glad, or obliged to do anything
Faint, v. to become feeble, to lose confidence, to falter in work. "Lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds," Heb. xii. 3; and in many other verses of Scripture.
Fair, adv. handsomely
Fair, adj. beautiful or handsome
Fall v. to chance, to happen
Fallax, s. a fallacy
Fames, s. reputation; also rumours or reports
Fare, v. to happen
Fashion, s. habit
Fast, adj. firm, tenacious
Faster, adv. closer
Favour, s. countenance, features
Fears, s. objects of fear
Feat, a. ingenious, skilful, affected
Felicity, s. good fortune
Fellow, s. companion, equal
Fetchabout, v. to go about, to go a roundabout way to say a thing
Fetching, s. killing or striking at a distance
Flag, s. the Iris
Flash, s. metaphorically a short time. "The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash," i.e., as a flash of light appears and disappears rapidly. Essay XXIX.
Flashy, adj. showy, but without taste
Flos Africanus, s. the African marigold
Flout, s. a taunt, an insult, a jest
Flower de luce, s. the fleur-de-lis
Flux s. fluctuation
Following, s. sect, disciples, followers
Fond, adj. foolish, silly, weak

Footpace, s. a raised platform for a chair of state, a dais
Foreconceiving, p.p. preconceiving
Foresee, s. to provide, to look forward
Fowl, s. a bird of any kind
Fowler, s. a bird-catcher
Frame, out of, in disorder
Frettelaria, s. Fritillary
Friarly, a. friar-like
Froned, p.p. confronted
Froward, adj. perverse, cross
Frowardness, s. perversity, ill-humour
Fume, s. smoke, vapour
Funambulos, s. rope walkers or dancers
Furniture, s. trappings, harness
Futile, adj. loquacious

G.

Gadding, adj. going about without any fixed purpose
Galliard, s. a French dance then fashionable
Gallo-Græcia, s. Galatia
Garnished, p.p. ornamented
Gaudery, s. finery
Gemination, s. a doubling
Gingles, s. jingles or rattles
Ginniting, s. a Jenniting apple
Globe s. a world: in Essay XI. a world of precepts, a conglomeration of precepts
Gloious, adj. ostentatious, boastful
Glory, s. ostentation, display, lustre, boastfulness
Going about, s. trying to do a thing
Going forth, s. an outlet
Goings, s. movements, actions
Goody, adj. fine, handsome
Gracing, s. compliment
Gracious, adj. pleasing, amiable
Græcia, s. Greece
Græcians, s. Greeks
Gross, in, s. in the mass
Crowned, p.p. well founded
Ground, s. In music the name given to a composition in which the bass, consisting of a few bars of independent notes, is continually repeated to a continually varying melody.
Grounds, s. soils, lands
Grow behind, v. to get in arrears
Growing silk, s. the produce of the silk cotton tree of South America. (Authority, W. Aldis Wright)

H.

Habilitations, s. qualifications
Holflights, s. twilight, "between the lights" we say now
Handle, to treat of, to discuss
Handicraftsmen, s. artisans
Handywork, s. manufacture
Hap, v. to happen
Hardest, adj. hardest
Hardy, adj. bold
Healths, s. toasts
Harken to, v. to get information
Herba muscaria, s. the grape hyacinth (Wright)
Hyacinthus orientalis, s. the cultivated hyacinth, brought over towards the close of Elizabeth's reign

Hirelings, s. hired servants, still used
Hold, v. to adhere
Hold with, v. to agree with; still used by the people as "I don't hold with that"
Hortatives, s. exhortations
Huke, s. a cloak
Humaniaty, s. human nature
Humourous, ad'. fanciful, full of humours
Husband, to, v. to farm, to cultivate
Husband, s. an economist
Husbanding, s. cultivation of the soil, economising

I.

Ill, adj. bad
Illusions, s. ensnarings
Image y, s figures on tapestry, or in painting and sculpture
Imbase, v. to degrade
Imbussions, s. projections in buildings
Impari, to communicate
Impertinences, s. matters irrelevant to a subject
Impertinency, s. irrelevance
Impertinent, adj. irrelevant
Importeth not, v. is not of much consequence
Importune, ad. importunate
Impose upon, to lay a restraint upon
Impostumation, s. a tumour
Imprinting, adj. impressive
Improprate, v. to appropriate
Imbrwed windows, s. bay windows
Incensed, p.p. burnt
Inceptions, s. beginnings
Incommodities, s. disadvantages
Inconformity, s. want of agreement
Indifferent, adj. impartial
Indignities, s. acts to cause shame: Essay II.
Infamed, p.p. infamous
Infirm, v. to weaken
Infortunate, adj. unfortunate
Inordinate, adj. ungovernable
Inquisitions, v. investigat.ous
Inspire, v. to breathe in the spirit
Insolation, s. isolation
Intend, v. to aim at, to under stand
Intention, s. endeavour
Interlace, v. to mix up together
Interlocution, s. conversation
Intervient, adj. intervening
Inure, v. to make use of
Involved, p.p. intricate
Inward, adj. intimate, interior

J.

Jade, v. to overdrive, to weary
Jeopardy, s. deadly peril
Joy, io, v. to rejoice
Just, adj. exact
Just, s. a tournament or tilt

K.

Kind, s. way
Knaf, s. a knoll
Kneelumber, crooked branches of trees

Knit, used for, to fasten. Essay XV.
Kenning, s. knowledge or sight

L.

Laudatives, s. panegyrics, praises
Leadman, s. owner of lead mines
Lead, s. a leaded roof
Learnings, v. sciences
Leese, v. to lose
Let, v. to hinder
Lifts, step of a horse
Light, v. to happen, turn out
Light, adj. slight, of no importance
Lightly, adv. easily
Lightsome, v. light
Lively, adv. vividly
Loading, adj. laden, or to aggravate, in Essay XIII, i.e., "To be on the loading part."
Lodging, s. sleeping room
Looses, s. discharging an arrow from the sling
Lot, s. spell or charm
Lurch, v. to swallow or eat greedily

M.

Main, adj. great, of consequence
Main, s. the important part
Mainly, adv. vigorously
Maintain, v. to uphold
Makeforth, v. to proceed
Malign, adj. malignant
Managed, adj. ridden by a good horseman
Marish, adj. marshy
Mar, v. to spoil, to defeat
Masteries, to try, v. to contend for superiority
Mastery, s. rule, superiority
Mate, v. to overpower, or defeat
Material, adj. matter-of-fact
Mean, s. medium
Mere, adj. absolute, complete
Merely, adv. completely
Milestone, s. a boundary stone
Melocotone, s. a kind of wall fruit
Men of war, soldiers
Mercury rod, the Caduceus of Mercury
Mew, v. to moult
Militia, s. an armed force of any kind at that time, soldiers
Mintman, s. a man skilled in coinage
Mirabilitates, wonders or wonder seekers
Mistake, v. to dislike
Model, s. plan
Moi, v. to toil, to labour
Moderation, s. obsequiousness, fawning, obedience
Munite, v. to fortify
Musk melon, s. the common melon
Musk rose, s. moss rose
Mystery, s. a hidden meaning, something concealed, a play

N.

Name, s. reputation
Naught, adv. bad, worth little

Nestling, s. place for building nests
Nephew, s. used for a grandson in Essay XXIX.
New men, s. parvenus
Nice, adj. scrupulous, fastidious
Niceness, s. daintiness, fastidiousness
Noblesse, s. nobility
Notable, adj. remarkable
Note, s. observation
Novelties, s. innovations
Nourish, v. to receive nourishment

O.

Object, p p. exposed
Obliged, p p. bound
Obnoxious, to subject to, compelled to comply with
Obtain, v. to gain, also to attain to
Oss, s. spangles
Offer, s. an attempt
Officious, adj. ready to help or serve
Ointment, s. perfume
Opinion, s. reputation
Oraculous, adj. oracular
Orange-tawny, adj. of a dark orange colour
Ostensive, adj. showing, exhibiting
Ordering, s. arrangement
Over-great, adj. excessive
Over-greatness, excessive greatness
Over-live, v. to survive
Over-power, s. excessive power
Over-speaking, adj. speaking too much

P.

Proceed, v. to proceed
Pair, v. to impair
Palm, s. a handbreadth
Parson, s. permission. Essay XLIII.
Part, s. party
Particular, adj. partial
Pass, v. to surpass
Passages, s. digressions; also exchange of views
Passing, surpassingly, extremely, thought to be excellent
Pawns, s. pledges
Pennyworth, s. a purchase, the just value for the money
Percease, adj. perhaps
Perceiving, s. perception
Peremptory, adj. over-ruling, impossible to avoid
Period, s. termination
Perish, v. to destroy
Personage, s. a portrait or likeness either real or imaginary
Phantasm, s. a phantom
Piece, v. to fit
Pine-apple trees, s. pine trees
Plant, to colonise
Plantation, s. colony
Flash, s. a pond or pool
Platform, s. plan
Plausible, adj. deserving of applause
Play-pleasure, s. the pleasure of a spectator at a play

Pleasuring, p p. pleasing
Plentiful, adj. lavish
Play, s. a bend or twist
Point-à-vice, adj. in perfect order
Poler, s. an exacter of fees
Poling, s. levying fees
Politics, s. politicians
Poll, s. the lowest back-part of the head. Hence "the poll-tax," or head-tax, a tax on every one.
Popular, adj. democratic
Popularities, s. popular representatives
Poser, s. an examiner, especially one who tries to puzzle. Hence a difficult question is sometimes called a *poser*.
Practise, v. plot
Precedent, adj. previous
Pre digestion, s. premature digestion
Prefer before, v. to put before, to promote over another
Preoccupate, v. to anticipate
Prescription, s. a title to anything, a claim, the character for doing a thing
Presently, adv. directly, instantly
Presat, adj. ready, from *pret*, French
Pretend, v. to pretext, to claim
Prevail, v. to succeed
Prevail, v. to go before
Price s. value. See Matthew, xiii. 46
Prick, v. to set or plant out
Privado, s. private friend, confidant
Private, s. privacy
Privateness, privacy
Privy, ad. private
Proper, adj. belong to, are peculiar to
Propound, v. to set forth, or propose
Propriety, s. property, belonging to
Prospectives, s. magnifying glasses
Puling, s. whining
Puntos, s. punctilios
Purprise, s. precinct
Pythonissa, s. a pythoness or prophetess, the priestess of Apollo, possessed of the spirit of divination

Q.

Quadrins, s. codlings, an apple
Quality, s. rank
Quarrel, s. a reason or argument for
Quarter, to keep, v. to keep in its proper place
Queching, s. crying out
Quidnity, s. a barbarous old scholastic term, used for essence or a captious question
Quire, s. a choir

R.

Races of horses, s. breeds
Range, v. to set in order
Ranged, set in rows
Ranges, s. rows
Rasps, s. raspberries

Rathest, adv. soonest earliest
Ravening, adj. greedily for prey
Recamera, s. a back room
Receipt, s. a receptacle
Redargutions, s. refutations
Refrendaries, s. reforms
Rifraim, p.p. ' in check, curt. 1
Refraining, s. curbing or restraining
Regard in, because
Regiment, s. regimen
Reglement, s. regulation
Reins, s. the lower part of the back
Reluctation, s. repugnance
Remoras, s. delays: literally, the sucking fish
Remove, s. removal
Remover, v. a man who wishes constantly for change
Reposed, p.p. calm, settled
Reputed, p.p. how spoken of
Resemblance, s. in this sense. Essay LVI., a comparison
Resembled, p.p. compared
Resorts, s. places of assembly
Respect, v. to regard, to reverence
Rest, s. having decided to make a final or decisive risk on a battle
Rest, v. to remain
Restrained, p.p. curbed
Retardation, s. delay, hindrance
Retiring, s. retirement
Reverend, adj. venerable
Ribes, adj. the flowering currant tree
Right, adj. very: "it is very earth," Essay XXIII.
Round, adj. plain, straightforward, unvarnished.

S.

Sad, adj. sombre, dark coloured
Saltiness, s. wit, i.e., "attic salt"
Sanctuary men, s. men who claimed the privileges of sanctuary in churches, or in Bacon's time in Alsatia or Blackfriars.
Sarza, s. sarsaparilla
Scant, adv. scarcely
Scant, to, v. to diminish, or limit
Seat, s. site
Secret, adj. used for silent
Secrated, p.p. kept secret
Seek, to, v. to be at a loss
Sealed. See note at p. 69
Sensible of, sensitive to
Sensible, adj. sensitive and vivid
Sensual, adj. appealing to the senses
Sentence, s. opinion, decision
Sequester, v. to withdraw
Several, ad. separate
Shrewd, adj. mischievous
Shrift, s. confession
Simulation, s. pretence
Sindon, s. a wrapper, a sort of scarf
Singular, adj. single
Slug, s. hindrance
Smother, s. to stifle as with smoke
Soberly, adj. moderately
Softly, adv. gently
Sophy, s. the Shah of Persia

Sort, v. to agree, to associate with, to result from
Sorts, s. classes, kinds
Spangls, s. spangles
Speculative, adj. inquiring
Spend, v. to consume or exhaust
Spials, s. spies
Spinosity, crabbedness
Staddles, s. young trees left standing after the underwood has been cleared out
Staid, p.p. steady
Stale, s. sliatmate at chess
Stand, s. a standstill
Stand, with, v. to be consistent with
State, s. estate
Statua s. statue
Stick, v. hesitate, answer not readily
Stiff, adj. stubborn
Stirps, s. races, families
Stir, to move, to excite
Stonds, s. delays, standstills
Store, s. a quantity, a good supply
Stoved, p.p. warmed by a stove
Stout, adj. bold, determined, brave
Stoutest, adj. boldest, bravest
Straight, adv. immediately
Straightways, adv. directly
Strain, s. aim, also effort to strain upwards
Strait, adj. strict, narrow, tight
Substantive, adj. substantial
Success, s. result, whether good or bad, in Essay XLVII.
Sufficiency, s. ability, capacity
Sufficient, adj. able, capable
Sugarman, s. the owner of a sugar plantation
Suite, s. order, succession
Supplication, s. supplv. aid afforded
Surcharge, s. an overcharge
Sustentation, s. sustenance
Swelling, s. arrogance
Sweetwoods, s. cinnamon, &c.
Sybilla, the Sibyl

T.

Tables, s. tablets
Take, v. captivate, attract
Temper, s. temperament
Temperature, s. temperament
Tend, v. to wait on or attend to
Tender, adj. delicate
Tending, s. careful attendance, nursing
Tenderly, adv. with consideration, delicately
Term, s. the predicate of a logical proposition
Text, s. any quotation spoken on
Terrene, ad. earthly
Theologues, s. theologians
Theomachy, s. opposition to the divine will
Throughlights, s. windows opposite each other
Tiller, s. labourer of the ground
Timber-man, s. a man possessed of trees or timber
Touch, v. to refer to, to mention
Touch, s. touching speech, sensitiveness
Touching, prep. with reference to
Tourney, s. a tournament

Towardness, s. docility, promise
Townsmen, s. citizens
Toy, s. a mere trifle, a jest
Transcendancies, s. extravagancies
Trash, s. rubbish, anything despised
Travail, s. labour, toil, work
Treaties, Essay III., treatises
Tribunitions, adj. like a tribune, rebellious, turbulent
Triumph, s. a festival procession or feast
Trivial, adj. trite
Troth, s. truth
Turk, the Great, s. the Sultan of Turkey
Turn, s. a purpose
Typocosmy, s. a representation of the world

U.

Unawares, adv. unexpectedly
Unblessed, adj. cursed
Uncomely, adj. unbecoming
Under foot, adj. beneath its value
Under sheriffs, s. the offices of under sheriffs
Understanding, adj. intelligent, wise
Underletter, s. a contractor
Undertaking, adj. ready to undertake, enterprising
Unlike, adv. unlikely
Unpleasing, adj. unpleasant
Unproper, adj. improper
Unready, adj. obstinate, unmanageable
Unsecreting, s. disclosure, revelation
Ure, s. use
Use, s. interest, "use of money"
Used, p.p. practised

V.

Vein, s. disposition, inclination, turn of mind
Vecture, s. carriage
Ventosity, s. swelling
Vermiculate, a. resembling the tracks of worms
Version, s. direction, turn given to a thing
Vindicative, adj. vindictive
Visor, s. a mask, or the front-piece of the helmet.
Voice, v. to voice a thing is to proclaim it aloud
Volary, adj. voluntary, or the resolution of a votary
Vouch, v. to answer for
Vulgar, adj. common, well-known

W.

Waggishness, s. fun, jesting
Wait upon, v. to watch
Wanton, s. an idle or dissolute person
Warden, s. a large pear for baking
Wax, v. to grow
Way, to keep, to keep pace
Ways, no, adv. in no way

Weal, s. good, advantage, prosperity, the same as wealth, but used figuratively.

Well, s. a small cord covered with cloth and sewed on to seams or borders to strengthen them, called now pipings—used by Bacon for a border or casing.

Whiffles, s. people who frequently change their opinions, wavers.

Whisperer, s. a secret detractor.

Whit, s. the smallest bit. "Not a whit" is "not at all."

Will, v. to desire, to wish.

Windfall, s. anything blown down, also a sudden good gift.

With, s. a willow twig. See Judges, xvi., 7: "If they bind me with green *withs*."

Wonderments, s. surprises.

Wont, p. p. accustomed.

Z.

Zealant, s. zealot.

Zeals, s. zealous exertions.

THE END



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