

LE NOUVEAU CYNÉE

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THE NEW CYNEAS

OF

ÉMERIC CRUCÉ

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THOMAS WILLING BALCH

















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THE NEW CYNEAS

LE  
NOUVEAU CYNÉE

DE  
ÉMERIC CRUCÉ

RÉIMPRESSION DU TEXTE ORIGINAL DE 1623  
AVEC INTRODUCTION ET TRADUCTION ANGLAISE

PAR

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PHILADELPHIE  
ALLEN, LANE ET SCOTT

1909

THE  
NEW CYNEAS

OF

ÉMERIC CRUCÉ

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATED  
INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ORIGINAL  
FRENCH TEXT OF 1623

BY

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MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

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1909



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BY THOMAS WILLING BALCH.

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TO

ERNEST NYS

JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF APPEAL OF BRUSSELS,  
JUDGE OF THE HAGUE INTERNATIONAL COURT,  
PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY  
OF BRUSSELS,

WHO IN THE YEAR 1890 BY HIS RESEARCHES AND  
LEARNING RESTORED TO THE AUTHOR OF THE

*NOUVEAU CYNÉE*

HIS TRUE NAME OF ÉMERIC CRUCÉ, IT GIVES ME GREAT  
PLEASURE TO DEDICATE THIS REPRINT  
AND TRANSLATION.



LE  
NOUVEAU CYNÉE

OU

DISCOURS D'ESTAT

REPRÉSENTANT LES OCCASIONS ET MOYENS  
D'ESTABLIR UNE PAIX GENERALE,  
ET LA LIBERTÉ DU COMMERCE  
PAR TOUT LE MONDE.

AUX MONARQUES ET PRINCES SOUVERAINS DE CE TEMPS

EM. CR. PAR.

A PARIS,  
CHEZ JACQUES VILLERY, AU PALAIS SUR LE PERRON ROYAL.  
M. DC. XXIII.

AVEC PRIVILÈGE DU ROY.





## PRELIMINARY NOTE.

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THIS publication of the original text of the *Nouveau Cynée*, together with an English translation of it, has involved much more labor than appears on the surface. The original text I copied, at the beginning of last July, from Charles Sumner's copy of the *Nouveau Cynée* in the Harvard Library, and afterwards in September the galley proofs were twice compared with the original. In offering this reprint to scholars—about the only persons whom it will interest—I hope they will not be too severe in judging what may seem like typographical errors of mine or of the printers, Messrs. Allen, Lane and Scott. For often a letter missing in some word of the original, which may have dropped out in the printing, had to be supplied. For example in the index, the letter *q* had to be added to the word *conquestent*. In other cases, letters, especially the letters *r* and *t*, were frequently difficult to decipher. In addition, Crucé sometimes gives the accents, and sometimes he does not. In the translation I have aimed to render rather the author's meaning than to give a smooth

English style, as the latter might cause Crucé to say what he did not intend. The translation has been reviewed both by my sister and my brother, who helped me very much.

I wish to thank Mr. T. J. Kiernan of the Harvard Library, who gave me every assistance possible, an assistance which he used to give me as readily and courteously when I was for four years an undergraduate in the University.

The page numbers of the original text will be found on the margin of this reprint of the French text. The index, a reprint of Crucé's index refers to this original pagination.

THOMAS WILLING BALCH.

PHILADELPHIA, October 28th, 1909.

## INTRODUCTION.

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THERE was published semi-anonymously at Paris, in the year 1623, a small book entitled:—

“Le Nouveau Cynée ou Discours d’Estat représentant les occasions et moyens d’establis une paix generale, et la liberté du commerce par tout le monde. Aux Monarques et Princes souverains de ce temps. Em. Cr. Par. A Paris, chez Jacques Vallery, au Palais, sur le perron royal. M.D.C.XXIII. Avec Privilège du Roy.”

This small book, with a preface of nine pages, and two hundred and twenty-six pages of text, is extremely rare. There are two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, one of the first edition of 1623, and the other of the second edition of 1624. There is another copy in the Harvard University Library, to whom it came in 1874 in the private library of Charles Sumner. For a long time the true name of the author was unknown. Publicists and jurisconsults generally attributed the authorship of the book to Émeric or Émery de La Croix. In the *Bibliographia politica* of Gabriel Naudé, published in 1642 by Charles Challine, he is so referred to. In the *Magasin pittoresque*, edited by

Edouard Charton, published at Paris, 1839, there is a biographical sketch in which it is said: "Émeric de La Croix is a thinker almost unknown and nevertheless, of all the thinkers who occupied their philosophical leisure to constitute hypothetically a future of peace, order and happiness for States, no one perhaps saw further and more surely than he. That is enough to say that Émeric de La Croix is not strictly speaking an utopist; but his contemporaries judged him to be one. For the great majority of men of all ages, is not only the present a reality? \* \* \* As a writer Émeric de La Croix has of Montaigne the flexibility of phrase and the vigor of expression; as philosopher he divides with Grotius the glory of having freed science in basing the law (*droit*) on natural law (*loi*) and in showing the identity of this law (*loi*) and of moral truth called sociability; as politician, he forges several centuries ahead of his contemporaries in revealing a future of order and peace which neither the Treaties of Westphalia nor the Congress of Vienna have as yet accomplished."

This latter article seems to have been the basis for an account of Crucé under the name of Émeric de La Croix in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, volume twenty-seven, published at Paris in 1858 under the editorship of Dr. Hoefer. This article which is signed B. H. (initials of Barthélemy Hauréau) says: "What shall we say besides of

his life? Nothing is known of it and that is a pity, for that obscure writer was not a common man.

\* \* \* Émeric de La Croix is a forerunner of the economists. He has their independence, their audacity; but he partakes also of their unfortunate prejudices concerning the moral sciences. He is even in this respect of an unusual intolerance; he cuts down all the *useful* sciences, the only ones worthy of esteem, to medicine and mathematics."

It was not until 1890 that the exact name of the author of the *Nouveau Cynée* was rediscovered. In that year the distinguished Belgian international jurist, Mr. Justice Nys,<sup>1</sup> of the Court of Appeal of Brussels, who has made such notable contributions to the science fathered by Gentilis<sup>2</sup> and Grotius,<sup>3</sup> became aware from a passage in a letter of Leibniz to the Abbé Castel de Saint Pierre of the existence of a book called the *Nouveau Cynée*. In a letter to the present editor, dated at Brussels, July 17th, 1909, Mr. Justice Nys describes how he found the book. He says:

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<sup>1</sup> Ernest Nys: *Histoire Littéraire du Droit International; Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*, Brussels, 1890, page 377 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Erskine Holland: *Alberico Gentili in Studies in International Law*, Oxford, 1898, pages 1-39.—Luigi Rava: *Alberico Gentili, Discorso pronunciato all' inaugurazione del monumento, in Sanginesio (26 Settembre, 1908)*, Rome, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> L. Oppenheim: *International Law*, London, 1905. Volume I, page 77 *et seq.*

“MY DEAR MR. BALCH:

“I hasten to satisfy your desire. As you know, every year, I pass my judicial holidays in going to work in some great library. In 1890, I worked at Paris and I tried to know at first hand the work entitled *Nouveau Cynée* according to a passage of Leibniz, and which was generally attributed to Emery La Croix or de La Croix. La Croix appeared, besides, in several biographies. I had the pleasure to be able to read at the Bibliothèque Nationale the little volume entitled, *Le Nouveau Cynée ou discours d'Etat représentant des occasions et moyens d'establir une paix générale et la liberté du commerce par tout le monde. Aux monarques et princes souverains de ce temps. Em. Cr. Par. A Paris, chez Jacques Villery, au Palais, sur le perron royal. Avec privilege du roy.*

“Ancient authors generally called the author *Emericus Crucejus*. The Latin form of the name was *Crucæus* (with *a* and *e* united). In a writing of *Crucæus*, *Silvarum frondatio*, which is an answer to a violent attack of John Frederick Gronovius against an edition of the works of Statius that the same *Crucæus* had published in 1618, there is an anagram in honor of the author:

“ ‘Anagramma in autorem hujus frondationis,  
Emericus Cruce  
Ecce Mercurius.’

“The fact was found. The name was Crucé, a name, moreover, that appears several times in the *Histoire Universelle* of Jacques de Thou. The French translation of de Thou says Cruce; the Latin edition of de Thou has Crucoeus (with *o* and *e*.) How right you are to publish the handsome book of the forerunner of the Abbé de Saint Pierre and our modern pacifists!”

About Émeric Crucé not a great deal is known. He was born at Paris about 1590<sup>4</sup> and died in 1648. Besides the *Nouveau Cynée* he published, a number of works in Latin. Among the latter is an annotated edition of the works of Statius, printed at Paris in 1618. Crucé's name appears on the title page in its Latin form: *Publii Papinii Statii Opera \* \* \* Emericus Cruceus recensuit.*<sup>5</sup>

In 1619 John Gaspard Gevartius of Antwerp, at the time residing in Paris, aversely criticised Crucé's editorial work. He spoke of the latter's annotations as the work of an ignoramus. “Inscitia, impudentia ac protervia hominis vanissimi,” he wrote in his own book, *Electorum libri tres.*<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, publiée par Didot Frères, under the direction of Dr. Hofer, Paris, 1858, Volume 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*, Brussels, 1909; page 597.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*, Brussels, 1909; page 597.

Another contemporaneous writer of the seventeenth century, John Frederick Gronovius, vigorously attacked Crucé's editorial work on Statius. Gronovius, who was born at Hamburg, September 8th, 1611, studied law and philosophy.<sup>7</sup> He then lived for a time in England, France and Italy, finally settling in Holland. In 1653 he was appointed to a professorship in Leyden University, and died in that city, December 28th, 1671. He knew well Hugo Grotius, first meeting him in Hamburg in 1636. The next year Gronovius published at The Hague *Diatribes in P. Papinii Statii poetæ Sylvas*, in which he attacked Crucé. Two years later the author of the *Nouveau Cynée* replied to his critic in a work printed at Paris; *P. Papinii Statii Silvarum frondatio sive anti-diatribes, Emerico Cruceo auctore*. To this answer of Crucé, Gronovius made a counter attack in *Elenchus Anti-Diatribes Mercurii Frondatoris ad Statii Sylvas*, to which again the Frenchman replied in 1640 in a polemic called: *Emerici Crucei ad P. Papinii Statii Silvas Muscarium sive Helelenchus*. From a passage in one of the German writer's books, we learn that the French author was a monk. "Hardly was my book, *Diatribes* printed," he writes, "than it encountered at once an adversary. It is Emericus Cruceus, monk and pedagogue, in I know not what college of

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<sup>7</sup> *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* publiée par Didot Frères, under the direction of Dr. Hoefer; Paris, 1857, Volume 21



Paris." "Vix prodiit liber meus et subito adversarium invenit. Is est Emericus Cruceus monachus et, nescio, in quo collegio Parisiensi paedagogus."

Among other opprobrious names that Gronovius called the French author, is that of *Mercurius*.

"The name of Mercury," answers Crucé, "designs sometimes the patron of theft, but more often the patron of fecundity; I do not understand the wit-ticism." This has a reference to the anagram in the work of Antoine Dorcal, *Emericus Crucé, Ecce Mercurius*, through which Mr. Justice Nys found in 1890 the name of the author of the *New Cyneas*. Crucé refers at the same time to his name and his literary works. "You make sport concerning my name; say openly *Cruceus*. I do not blush for this name, which in splendor overtops your own. Why do you not make this objection to Jacobus a Crucé of Bologna, to Cruceius of Amiens, juristconsult, to Hannibal Cruceus, and to Cruceus soldier and chief not without celebrity, who figures in the History of Jacques de Thou?"

For the times in which Crucé lived he held in many directions broad and liberal views. He argued that it was for the advantage of society that the various powers and nationalities should not seek to injure and destroy one another by war, but rather to exchange their various products. "There are those," he says in his preface, "who \* \* \* think so little of strangers, that they

consider it a prudent policy to sow among them dissensions, in order to enjoy a more assured quiet. But I am of a very different opinion, and it seems to me that when you see the house of your neighbor burning or falling, that you have a cause for fear, as much as for compassion, since human society is one body, of which all the members are in sympathy in such a manner that it is impossible for the sickness of the one not to be communicated to the others." The book is addressed to monarchs and ruling princes, not to men who are subject to a master, for Crucé considers that the former or ruling class have the decision of whether there shall be peace or war between the reigning sovereigns.<sup>8</sup> By his mental attitude towards the Princes as individuals, Crucé thus shows that the principle of grouping peoples into nations, instead of as individuals dependent upon a petty local lord according to the feudal system, was not yet thoroughly recognized, a change that was not in many ways legally recognized until the peace of Westphalia in 1648. Giving the causes of war, he says: "I would say that foreign wars are undertaken either for honor or profit, or for the reparation of some wrong, or else for exercise." As an argument for sovereign rulers to keep inter-

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<sup>8</sup> Modern history shows that Democracies as well as Princes are responsible for settling international difficulties by war instead of by diplomacy and arbitration.

national peace, he depicts the danger of loss of fortune and power that princes run who undertake war. "Histories testify" he says, "experience verifies that war rather hazards the reputation of a Prince than augments it." He also points out that States have their birth, growth, decline and dissolution like individuals, evidently recognizing the principle of evolution in the development of social institutions.<sup>9</sup>

He argues that everyone has an interest in the maintenance of peace, and considers that the merchant is far more useful to human society than the soldier. He goes on to say: "In case it may be possible that we may obtain a universal peace, of which the best result is the establishment of commerce: and on that account the monarchs must see to it that their subjects can traffic without fear as well by sea as by land."

While Émeric Crucé could not see in the first quarter of the seventeenth century as clearly as George Washington in the latter part of the eighteenth that international trade is the power behind the throne of international peace, yet he realized that freedom of trade and the development of international commerce would tend, by making

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<sup>9</sup> On this point compare the Right Hon. James Bryce's learned address before the American Philosophical Society at the Darwin celebration, April 23, 1909: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1909, Vol. XLVIII, pages VI.-VII.

countries more interdependent, to cause wars to grow less frequent. He pointed out that, in order to enjoy the greatest benefits and advantages of commerce, nations must have peace, and in order to develop the facilities of communication he proposed to join the seas by means of canals, and recalled that Francis the First promised such works in Languedoc. He also maintained that pirates, like those of Algeria, should be suppressed and that ships of war should guard "the ways of the high seas." "What a pleasure it would be," he says, "to see men go freely here and there, and to hold intercourse with one another, without any scruples of country, ceremonies or other such diversities, as if the earth were as she really is, a dwelling-place common to all!" "Only the savages could oppose such a policy; but if they wish to continue their brutal ways of living, they will be blocked, attacked and killed like poor beasts in their lairs."

By the side of commerce, he placed the practical arts, such as architecture, clock making, the manufacture of silk and linen, and the mechanical arts. Then he discusses the exact sciences, giving the first places for usefulness to medicine and mathematics. But strangely for one who further on in his book advocated the creation of an International Court, composed of the Ambassadors of the powers of all the world, to judge between the nations, Crucé thought that jurisprudence was not a neces-

sary part of social economy. "Theology," he said, "surpasses our capacity. Dialectics is only subservient and an aid to the others [sciences (?)]. Physics is a knowledge of nature that depends on experience. Rhetoric is superfluous. Jurisprudence is also not necessary, and a good natural judgment is sufficient to finish lawsuits, without having recourse to a multitude of laws and decisions, that only confuse cases instead of simplifying them. Grammar, poetry and history are more specious than profitable."

To the objection that the diversity of nations causes quarrels and wars, Crucé replies: "Why should I a Frenchman wish harm to an Englishman, a Spaniard, or a Hindoo? I cannot wish it when I consider that they are men like me, that I am subject like them to error and sin and that all nations are bound together by a natural and consequently indestructible tie, which ensures that a man cannot consider another a stranger, unless he follows the common and inveterate opinion that he has received from his predecessors."

In speaking of religious toleration, Émeric Crucé at one place in his book says: "I have not undertaken to solve this difficulty, a more knowing one than I would be much confused: only I will say that all the religions tend to the same end, namely, the recognition and adoration of the Divinity. And if some do not choose the good road or the

legitimate way, it is more from simplicity and ill teaching than from malice, and therefore, they are more worthy of compassion than of hatred."

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the idea of religious toleration was not strong, yet it had been officially proclaimed in the previous century. As far back as 1557, André Maday writes,<sup>10</sup> Transylvania and its Calvinistic sovereign "who, menaced by two powers as redoubtable as Turkey and Austria, understood, that the best method to cause citizens to be jealous of their country, is to assure their individual liberty. In fact, the Parliament of Torda votes in 1557 a law, according to which each one is free to follow the old or the new religion. It is the first law of religious liberty in Europe."<sup>11</sup>

In supporting the necessity of religious toleration, a principle of State with which France was blessed by Henry the Fourth in 1598, in the Edict of Nantes, Émeric Crucé says: "Since true religion is a supernatural gift, it must come from God and not from men who, with all their arms, have not the power to compel belief in the least of its mysteries. \* \* \* That those who have true re-

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<sup>10</sup> *La Réforme en Hongrie: Journal de Genève*, July 8th, 1909. Communicated by M. le Pasteur Paul Sabatier.

<sup>11</sup> On this subject generally, see Jean de Ridder: *La Liberté de Conscience en Droit International; Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*, Brussels, 1905, page 283 et seq.

ligion do not think they can control imperiously by their will the belief of others, in whom they have no interest, provided that they hold themselves within the bounds of modesty and do not disturb the concord of public tranquility. \* \* \* It does not belong to men to punish or correct the mistakes of faith; it belongs to Him who sees hearts and the most secret thoughts. The faults of the will are punishable by civil laws, those of knowledge, to wit, false doctrines, have only God for judge. Therefore those who have wished to shake this cord have gained nothing.''

But later on he shows that he is bound by the generally narrow religious horizon of his times. Believing firmly in his branch of the Christian Church, he cannot see when speaking of adherents of the Confessions of Augsburg or Geneva, that they belong to other branches of the Christian Church. Also repeatedly he speaks with approval of the idea of the divine rights of Kings, and maintains that subjects must not seek a redress of grievances from their sovereign by force of arms.

Crucé believes that general peace is possible and that neither international obstacles, nor differences of religion, nor diversity of nationality are legitimate causes for war. But he saw and proclaimed that as a prerequisite to the peaceful settlement of international disputes, some sort of machinery disposing of international differences was necessary.

In this respect his foresight was far in advance of many advocates of universal peace, who, coming after him, urged international peace without providing any adequate judicial remedy for the adjustment and settlement of disputes between the nations. His plan was to organize an International Court at Venice before whom any Powers that disagreed should appear in the person of an ambassador to plead their cause.

Crucé proposed that all the principal sovereigns of the world should always have at Venice ambassadors to represent them in a general assembly of all the nations of the world: and that when any two sovereign potentates should disagree, that then instead of settling their difference of opinion by resorting to arms and war, they should appeal to the judgment of this assembly sitting at Venice, each contestant presenting his side of the case through his own representative in Venice. In this general world-wide assembly, Crucé wished to include the great republics. But the ambassadors of the republics were not to have a vote except in case of a tie. "And if the opinions of the assembly of the Princes or their deputies were found to be divided into two parts and of equal weight, as may happen," he says "the Deputies of the Republics who would have a deliberative voice could then be called, in order to finish the debate by the counterbalancing weight of their suffrages." Thus in the



rough we find the present Hague International Court sketched out.

With whom the idea of international arbitration originated we shall probably never know. As most other social institutions it evolved gradually. The idea is dimly suggested in the Old Testament. The Grecian States practiced arbitration in a way among themselves. So too in Europe during the Middle Ages, when feudalism was the basis of the social fabric, some cases of difference between contending princes were referred to the decision of another sovereign potentate who was supposed to be impartial. Thus in the twelfth century Gerohus<sup>12</sup> or Gerloius suggested something like arbitration; and in the reign of Philip le Bel of France (1285-1314), Pierre Dubois outlined a plan intended to maintain to some extent peace in Europe. He restricted this, however, to the Christian Powers: the so-called Infidels were to be outside of its pale. Indeed, those individuals who would not accept the decree of Dubois's proposed peace board were to be impressed into fighting the Infidels.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> W. Evans Darby, "International Tribunals," London, 1904, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte. Traité de politique générale*, par Pierre Dubois, *Avocat des causes ecclésiastiques au bailliage de Coutance sous Philippe le Bel*. Publié d'après le manuscrit du Vatican par Charles V. Langlois: Paris, 1891. Communicated by Professor James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University.

For a long time the Great Design of Henry the Fourth of France was very generally looked upon as the starting point of the modern practice of international arbitration. But that so-called plan of Henry's—for modern scholars think it was much more the idea of Sully—did not propose to arrange the differences between the European sovereign in peace by submitting the differences to the impartial arbitrament of third and neutral princes. The whole conception of the Great Design was based upon the idea of building up a great league of the smaller European powers around the French monarchy, with the purpose of overthrowing the Imperial House of Hapsburg, then the dominating power in Europe.<sup>14</sup> Besides what the world knows of the Great Design comes entirely from Sully's memoirs first published in 1638, fifteen years after Crecé had given his plan to the world for an international assembly at Venice.

The historian Charles Pfister thinks that Sully derived his idea of arbitration probably from Crucé's book.<sup>15</sup> "Sully partook of the idea of his

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<sup>14</sup> Th. Kükelhaus, *Der Ursprung des Planes vom Ewiger Frieden in den Memoiren des Herzogs von Sully*, Berlin, 1893.—Charles Pfister, *Les "Economics royales" de Sully et le grand dessein de Henri Quatre: Revue Historique*, Paris, 1894, Volumes 54, 55, 56.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Pfister: *Les "Economics Royales" de Sully et le Grand Dessein de Henri Quatre: Revue Historique*, Paris, 1894, Volume 56, page 330.

epoch," Pfister says, "and it was natural that after attributing to Henry the Fourth great designs that the latter never had, he further exaggerated and credited the King with the project of maintaining peace and creating a council that should judge all differences. This last conception does not appear to us to be even original. Sully took it, it seems to us, in a very curious book of that epoch, the *Cinée d'Estat*, written by an author who merits not to be forgotten: Em. La Croix."<sup>16</sup>

Crucé contemplated a universal union that should include even Persia, China, Ethiopia, the East Indies, the West Indies, indeed all the world. A delicate question was, how to arrange the order of rank and precedence. He suggested as a possible solution of this difficulty, the following order, and some of the reasons for it:

*First:* The Pope, in part out of respect to ancient Rome.

*Second:* The Sultan of the Turks, because of "the majesty, power and happiness" of his Empire, and also on account of the memory of the ancient Eastern Empire, of which Constantinople was the capital.

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<sup>16</sup> In a foot note of Pfister, the title is given thus: "*Le Cinée d'Estat sur les occurences de ce temps, aux monarques et potentats de ce monde*, par Em. Cruce, A Paris, chez Jacques Villery, MDCXXIV. Le privilege est du 26 Novembre 1622 (Bibl. Nat. LL36, 3534)."

*Third:* The Christian Emperor.

*Fourth:* The King of France.

*Fifth:* The King of Spain.

Then the claims of the Kings of Persia and China, Prester John, the Precop (sic) of Tatory and the Grand Duke of Muscovy, must be arranged.

Next the importance and order of precedence of the Kings of Great Britain, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Japan and Morocco, the Great Mogul and the other monarchs demanded attention.

Among other expedients, Crucé proposed to give the first place to the first comer, or to the oldest, or again *à tour de role*.

He was not blind to the fact that freedom of trade and universal peace, without the initiative of some one, could never become realities. In his opinion two potentates, the Pope and the King of France, could broach the subject to the sovereigns of the world: the former to the Christian princes, the latter to the Mohammedan rulers. Crucé wrote: "Only let them publish peace *By the orders of the King!* Those words will make them drop their arms from their hands."

Time has shown that there were many defects in this proposed plan. For example, at the time that Crucé wrote proposing to give the first and the third places respectively to representatives of the Pope and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in this council of the sovereigns, the Thirty

Years War, in which Protestantism was fighting for its very life, and that was to result in breaking finally the aspirations to Universal dominion in the occidental world of both Pope and Emperor, had little more than begun.<sup>17</sup>

Crucé's work for universal peace bore good fruit. Gabriel Naudé in his *Bibliographia politica* (1642) mentions *Le Nouveau Cynée*, "done rather for recreation of the mind than on account of any opinion that the writer had that the advice that he gives can ever succeed."<sup>18</sup>

In the year 1664, Charles Sorel in *La bibliothèque françoise ou le choix et l'examen des livres françois qui traitent de l'éloquence, de la philosophie, de la dévotion et de la conduite des moeurs*, says: "There is a book called *Le Nouveau Cynée*, which gives reasons for the establishment of a general peace and freedom of trade through all the world. One imagines that something additional is necessary to make it a success, but the design is always beautiful and bold."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Henry Wheaton: *Histoire des progrès du Droit des Gens en Europe et en Amérique*. Leipzig, 4th edition, 1866, Volume I., page 98.—Pasquale Fiore: *Nouveau Droit International Public*; Paris, 1885, Volume I., pages 35-37.—L. Oppenheim: *International Law*, London, 1905, Volume I., page 57.

<sup>18</sup> Ernest Nys: *Etudes de Droit International et de Droit Politique*, Brussels and Paris, 1896, page 316.

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Time has shown that there were many defects in this proposed plan. For example, at the time that Crucé wrote proposing to give the first and the third places respectively to representatives of the Pope and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in this council of the sovereigns, the Thirty

Years War, in which Protestantism was fighting for its very life, and that was to result in breaking finally the aspirations to Universal dominion in the occidental world of both Pope and Emperor, had little more than begun.<sup>17</sup>

Crucé's work for universal peace bore good fruit. Gabriel Naudé in his *Bibliographia politica* (1642) mentions *Le Nouveau Cynée*, "done rather for recreation of the mind than on account of any opinion that the writer had that the advice that he gives can ever succeed."<sup>18</sup>

In the year 1664, Charles Sorel in *La bibliothèque françoise ou le choix et l'examen des livres françois qui traitent de l'éloquence, de la philosophie, de la dévotion et de la conduite des moeurs*, says: "There is a book called *Le Nouveau Cynée*, which gives reasons for the establishment of a general peace and freedom of trade through all the world. One imagines that something additional is necessary to make it a success, but the design is always beautiful and bold."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Henry Wheaton: *Histoire des progrès du Droit des Gens en Europe et en Amérique*. Leipzig, 4th edition, 1866, Volume I., page 98.—Pasquale Fiore: *Nouveau Droit International Public*; Paris, 1885, Volume I., pages 35-37.—L. Oppenheim: *International Law*, London, 1905, Volume I., page 57.

<sup>18</sup> Ernest Nys: *Etudes de Droit International et de Droit Politique*, Brussels and Paris, 1896, page 316.

<sup>19</sup> Ernest Nys: *Etudes de Droit International et de Droit Politique*, Brussels and Paris, 1896, page 316.

Leibniz, in a letter to l'Abbé de Saint Pierre upon the latter's *Paix perpétuelle*, wrote concerning Émeric Crucé's work, and suggested the probable origin of its name: "When I was very young, I knew a work entitled, *Le Nouveau Cynée*, whose unknown author counselled sovereigns to rule their States in peace and to submit their differences to an established tribunal; but I do not know how to find this book and I do not remember now any details. It is known that Cineas<sup>20</sup> was a confidant of King

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<sup>20</sup> Cineas was a Thessalian orator and negotiator, who studied rhetoric under Demosthenes, and was renowned for eloquence. He visited Epirus and became a favorite of Pyrrhus. Plutarch relates the following famous conversation between the orator and the king:—

"There was then at the court of Pyrrhus, a Thessalian named Cineas, a man of sound sense, and who having been a disciple of Demosthenes, was the only orator of his time that presented his hearers with a lively image of the force and spirit of that great master. This man had devoted himself to Pyrrhus, and in all the embassies he was employed in, confirmed that saying of Euripides,

" 'The gates that steel exclude, resistless eloquence  
shall enter.'

This made Pyrrhus say, 'That Cineas had gained him more cities by his address, than he had won by his arms'; and he continued to heap honors and employments upon him. Cineas now seeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he saw him at leisure, to draw him into the following conversation: 'The Romans have the reputation of being excellent soldiers, and have the command of many warlike nations; if it please Heaven that we conquer them, what use, sire, shall we make of our



Pyrrhus who advised the latter to rest himself at first, as it was his object, as he confessed it, when

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victory?' 'Cineas,' replied the king, 'your question answers itself. When the Romans are once subdued, there is no town, whether Greek or barbarian, in all the country, that will dare oppose us; but we shall immediately be masters of all Italy, whose greatness, power, and importance no man knows better than you.' Cineas, after a short pause, continued, 'But after we have conquered Italy, what shall we do next, sire?' Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his drift, replied, 'There is Sicily very near, and stretches out her arms to receive us, a fruitful and populous island, and easy to be taken. For Agathocles was no sooner gone, than faction and anarchy prevailed among her cities, and every thing is kept in confusion by her turbulent demagogues.' 'What you say, my prince,' said Cineas, 'is very probable; but is the taking of Sicily to conclude our expeditions?' 'Far from it,' answered Pyrrhus, 'for if Heaven grants us success in this, that success shall only be the prelude to greater things. Who can forbear Libya and Carthage, then within reach? which Agathocles, even when he fled in a clandestine manner from Syracuse, and crossed the sea with a few ships only, had almost made himself master of. And when we have made such conquests who can pretend to say, that any of our enemies, who are now so insolent, will think of resisting us?' 'To be sure,' said Cineas, 'they will not; for it is clear that so much power will enable you to recover Macedonia, and to establish yourself uncontested sovereign of Greece. But when we have conquered all, what are we to do then?' 'Why then, my friend,' said Pyrrhus, laughing, 'we will take our ease, and drink and be merry.' Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied, 'And what hinders us from drinking and taking our ease now, when we have already those things in our hands, at which we propose to arrive through seas of blood, through infinite toils and dangers, through innumerable calamities, which we must both cause and suffer?'" *Plutarch's Lives*, trans-

he had conquered Sicily, Calabria, Rome and Carthage.”<sup>21</sup>

In recent years, too, Crucé’s book influenced publicists, juristconsults and political men. In the *Eclectic Review* of August, 1849,<sup>22</sup> the *Nouveau Cynée* is reviewed at length. In this article the year of publication is given as 1622 instead of 1623, a mistake due to the fact that as the title page of the copy under review is missing, the reviewer took the year in which the “privilège du Roy,” 1622, was granted as the date of publication.

“In the year 1622 there was published in Paris, anonymously,” the writer in the *Eclectic Review* says, “a very remarkable book, *copies of which are now extremely rare*, entitled, ‘Le Nouveau Cynée, ou discours des Occasions et moyens d’establir une Paix Générale et la Liberté du commerce par tout le monde.’ By the kindness of a friend (Mr. George Sumner of Paris) we have been permitted to inspect a copy of this singular production. On the question of free trade and religious liberty

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lated from the original Greek by John and William Langhorn: New York: 1839; *Pyrrhus*, page 280.

Boileau rendered this conversation into verse. See *Œuvres de Boileau Despréaux; de l'imprimerie de Didot l'aîné*: Paris, 1789: *Épître Première, au Roi*: Volume 1, page 165.

<sup>21</sup> Ernest Nys: *Etudes de Droit International et de Droit Politique*, Paris and Brussels, 1896, page 305.

<sup>22</sup> London, Volume 26, N. S. page 241.

the author seems to have been greatly in advance of his age. \* \* \* We should be pleased, had our limits permitted to treat our readers to many other extracts from this admirable old book.”

This copy, found by George Sumner, came into the hands of his brother, Charles Sumner, a great advocate of practical international arbitration. Senator Sumner speaks publicly of the *Nouveau Cynée* as early as 1849.<sup>23</sup> Upon Sumner's death in 1874 this copy went to the Harvard Library by bequest with the Senator's private library. And there it is to-day minus the title page. In this copy Sumner wrote with his own hand: “This very rare book is supposed to be by Émeric de la Croix: born 1590—date of death unknown.” President Theodore Dwight Woolsey of Yale University also knew of the work.<sup>24</sup>

That mankind was eager and anxious to save itself from the horrors and miseries of war, without

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<sup>23</sup> Charles Sumner: *The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations. An address before the American Peace Society, at its anniversary in Boston, May 28, 1849*, in *Orations and Speeches*, Boston, 1850, Volume II., page 62. In a footnote in *Sumner's Works*, Boston, 1875, Volume II., page 234, Sumner, in speaking of the *Nouveau Cynée*, writes: “A copy, found in one of the stalls of Paris, is now before me.” There is every reason to suppose that this copy was in Charles Sumner's possession in 1849.

<sup>24</sup> Theodore Dwight Woolsey: *International Arbitration: The International Review*: New York, 1874, page 120: *Introduction to the study of International Law*: New York, 5th edition, 1888, page 401.

clearly knowing how, was amply shown by the rapid and complete success of the most renowned of Hugo Grotius's works—*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*.<sup>25</sup> He gave it to the world in 1625,<sup>26</sup> two years after Crucé published *Le Nouveau Cynée*. He wrote with the view of softening the horrible usages of war then prevailing.<sup>27</sup> The great Gustavus Adolphus carried a copy with him in his campaigns,<sup>28</sup> and its leading principles were recognized in the peace of Westphalia (1648). The Dutch juristconsult lived for a time in Paris and probably knew both Crucé and his work, and possibly gained some of his ideas on international arbitration from the Frenchman's

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<sup>25</sup> Sir Travers Twiss: *The Law of Nations considered as independent political communities: On the Rights and Duties of Nations in time of Peace*. New edition, revised and enlarged; Oxford; the Clarendon Press, 1884; Introduction to the second edition, pages XVII–XXI.

<sup>26</sup> Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England: Address on *International Arbitration*, before the American Bar Association at Saratoga, August 20th, 1896; *The Times* (London) August 21st, 1896, page 5. Thomas Erskine Holland: *Studies in International Law*, Oxford, 1898, page 2.

<sup>27</sup> John Westlake: *Chapters on the principles of International Law*, Cambridge: the University Press, 1894, page 36, *et seq.*

<sup>28</sup> Robert Ward: *An Enquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe from the Romans to the Age of Grotius*, Dublin, 1795, Volume II., page 374. Theodore Ayrault Dodge: *Gustavus Adolphus*, New York and Boston, 1895, pages 68, 399.

book. Grotius proposed for the peaceful settling of national disagreements arbitration and congresses of Christian nations. He wrote:<sup>29</sup>

“Another way is compromise, or arbitration, between parties who have no common judge.

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“But especially are Christian kings and states bound to try this way of avoiding war. For if, in order to avoid being subject to the judgments of persons who were not of the true religion, certain arbiters were appointed both by the Jews and by the Christians, and the practice is commanded by Paul; how much more is this to be done, in order to avoid a much greater inconvenience, namely, war. \* \* \*

“And both for this reason and for others, it would be useful, and indeed, it is almost necessary, that certain Congresses of Christian Powers should be held, in which the controversies which arise among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested; and in which measures may be taken to compel the parties to accept peace on equitable terms. This was the office of the Druids of old among the Gauls, as Diodorus and Strabo tell us: and we read that the Frankish Kings left

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<sup>29</sup> *Hugonis Grotii De Jure Belli et Pacis*. Accompanied by an abridged translation by William Whewell, D.D., edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, 1853: Book II., Chapter XXIII., Section 8, Articles 1, 3, 4.

to their nobles the judgment of questions concerning the division of the Kingdom.”

The great Hollander saw his plan seeking to place some limit to war put into partial execution during his lifetime in assemblages of delegates at Munster and Osnerbrook, from which deliberations resulted three years after his death the Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years' War, and formally recognized as sovereign nations the Swiss Confederation and the United Netherlands, and proclaimed to the world the legal status within the Germanic Empire of the Communion of Augsburg and Geneva as well as that of Rome.<sup>30</sup> And Grotius's idea was still more fully realized in other Congresses, like that of Vienna in 1815.

Crucé's bolder and more practical plan to avoid international war took longer to mature than the more general idea of Grotius, and it was not until two and three-quarter centuries after it was first launched on the world that it was realized as a result of the labors of the First Hague Peace Congress.

His proposal that the initiative to have an international Court of Ambassadors set up at Venice must come from one or more leading sovereigns of that day, found its counterpart in the inception of the actual International Court provided with a

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<sup>30</sup> John Westlake: *International Law, Part I, Peace*; Cambridge, 1904, pages 44-45.—Alessandro Corsi: *La Conferenza Diplomatica di La Aja e le Onoranze ad Ugo Grozio*; Pisa, 1900.

*quasi* home at the Hague through the lead taken by the Emperor Nicholas the Second, in calling upon the Nations of the World to send representatives to the First Hague Peace Conference.<sup>31</sup> And while the International Court that came out of the deliberations of that first Hague Conference in 1899 may not be the best nor the final form that an International Court of the Nations will take, yet in its actual settling of several important disputes between sovereign nations, it is a concrete realization of the plan of Émeric Crucé for setting up such an International Court to judge between the sovereign powers of the world at Venice.

It was not, however, only in a branch of the then nascent science of the Law of Nations that Crucé took an interest. His mental horizon took in many other things. He favored an international system of weights and measures in place of the hopeless diversity then existing and still existing, in spite of the adoption of the metric system by many nations, in those two essentials of human society. He had respect for scholars; and also he urged the need of some public education for children. He proposed that the school children should be taught physical accomplishments like riding, swimming, and the use of arms. He held the modern Anglo-Saxon idea of duelling, a standard of civilization to which

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<sup>31</sup> James Brown Scott: *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907*: Baltimore, 1909, Volume I., pages 39, 736.

most of the continental nations of Europe have not as yet risen. He also urged that local magistrates should deal justly towards foreigners.

Having given evidently much time to the study of the great monetary law—that two moneys of unequal value cannot be kept in circulation together, because the poorer forces out the better—Émeric Crucé in the *Nouveau Cynée* devotes much of the latter part of the book to show the great importance for a properly regulated State to maintain a stable and honest currency. Though he is in no way an original expounder, like Oresme, Copernicus or Gresham before him,<sup>32</sup> of that subject, and he does not possess the absolutely clear and firm grasp of the great law of money that those three master minds did, yet at all times he seeks to throw the weight of his influence on the right side in that ever important question. How pertinently does he point out, in the following sentence, the close connection between money as the standard of exchange and all commerce?

“Now in as much as commerce and the intercommunication of the peoples are maintained by means of money, which goes from one place to another, it is necessary to regulate the price, weight, and its law, with the fixed resolve to start

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<sup>32</sup> Thomas Willing Balch: “*The Law of Oresme, Copernicus and Gresham*: A paper read before the American Philosophical Society, April 23rd, 1908; Philadelphia, 1908.



nothing new in those things, for any pretext whatsoever: for if there is uncertainty in the exchange or in the quality of the money, the contracts will be uncertain and no one will ever be assured of what he will have."

He evidently read much the ancient authors and speaks of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Livy, Pliny and other of the ancients. He also studied his nearer predecessors, and refers several times to the work of Jean Bodin, an Angevin lawyer, whose chief book, *Les Six Livres de la Republique*, a treatise dealing with the Commonwealth and replete with learning, was first published at Paris in 1577.

A practical minded man, in many respects ahead of his time, Émeric Crucé was no mere ordinary individual. This book, *Le Nouveau Cynée*, is well worth consulting by modern publicists. Especially his early proposal in the rough of an International Court of the Nations which has since, two and three-quarter centuries later, found concrete realization in The Hague International Court, which gives every promise of life and vitality, should earn for him, in spite of some limitations in other directions, an honorable place among the names that hold high position among the scholars who from the time of Albericus Gentilis and Hugo Grotius, and on through Zouche, Pufendorf, Bynkershoek, Wheaton, and others, have helped to evolve the science of the Law of Nations.



PREFACE.

## PREFACE.

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Ce liure feroit volontiers le tour de la terre habitable, afin d'estre veu de tous les Roys, & ne craindroit point aucune disgrace, ayant la verité pour escorte, & le merite de son subiect, qui luy doit seruir de lettres de recommandation & de creance. L'Autheur ne ressemble pas à l'ingenieur Dinocrate, qui auoit de beaux dessins, & releuez, mais inutiles. Il porte les voeux & desirs des gens de bien, il presente vn aduis salutaire, dont l'execution depend de ceux qui tiennent le ressort des affaires de monde. Il ne taxe  
II personne: il flatte] encore moins, & on ne peut dire qu'il se soit fouruoyé de chemin de la verité, pour l'amour de son pays ou de sa religion, bien que ces deux caracteres soient tellement grauez dans son ame, que la mort mesmes n'est pas capable de les effacer. Son but n'est pas de decider les controuerses, ny defaire vn Panegyrique ou inuective. Il laisse ces discours aux Theologiens & orateurs, & toutesfois desireroit qu'ils employassent leur eloquence & plume doree en ceste matiere si noble & importante. Plusieurs triomphent d'expliquer les mysteres de la religion, & de les prouuer contre les mescreans par autoritez irreprochables. Cela est bon: mais il faut

## PREFACE.

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THIS book would willingly make the round of the habitable world, so as to be seen by all the Kings, and would not fear any disgrace, having truth for its escort, and the merit of its subject, which must serve as letters of recommendation and credence. The author does not resemble Dinocrate, the engineer, who had beautiful designs and reliefs, but useless. He carries the hopes and desires of good people, he represents a salutary advice, the execution of which depends upon those who hold the trigger of the affairs of the world. He taxes no one: he flatters still less, and it cannot be said that he has wandered from the path of truth, for the love of his country or of his religion, even though these two characteristics are so thoroughly ingrained in his soul, that even death itself is not able to efface them. His object is not to decide controversies, nor make a panegyric or invective. He leaves these discourses to the Theologians and orators, and in any case would desire that they should employ their eloquence and golden pen in this so noble and important matter. Several triumph in explaining the mysteries of religion, and in proving them against miscreants by irreproachable authorities. That is

auant toute chose desraciner le vice le plus commun & qui est la source de tous les autres, à sçauoir l'inhumanité. Car l'heresie ne se trouue pas en tout âge ny en toutes nations. L'atheisme est encore

III plus rare, & n'y a homme si brutal] ou opiniastre qui regardant le ciel ne soit contrainct de confesser vne diuinité. Nous voyons vne infinité d'hommes, qui ne s'estiment obligez de croire sinon ce que la raison leur monstre, par le moyen de laquelle ils recognoissent bien vn Dieu, mais ils ne peuuent consentir aux autres articles de la foy, pource qu'ils n'en sont esclaircis par ceste lumiere naturelle laquelle doibt regler, disentils, toutes persuasions, & opinions, non pas y estre assubiectie. Neantmoins ils n'oseroient se descouvrir & s'accommodent exterieurement à la creance & coustume de leur pays, de peur d'estre descriez comme atheistes, encore que veritablement ils ne le soient pas, & seroit plus à propos de les nommer incredules, dautant qu'ils ne suiuent que la raison, & mesprisent la foy theologale comme si c'estoit vne vertu imaginaire. Le nombre de telles gens s'augmente tous les iours. Car on ne

IV croit plus aysement aux es]crits ny aux paroles, & plusieurs reçoient des propositions pour indubitables en leur ieunesse, qui leur sont par apres fort suspectes, quand ils viennent à faire vne reflexion en eux mesmes, & à considerer l'oracle du Royal Prophete: *que tout homme est suiect à mentir*. C'est pourquoy les plus renommez pre-

good: but it is necessary before everything else to uproot the most common vice and the one which is the source of all the others, namely, inhumanity. For heresy is not to be found in all ages nor among all nations. Atheism is still rarer, and there is no man so brutal or opinionated who looking at heaven is not forced to confess a divinity. We see an infinity of men, who do not consider themselves obliged to believe except what reason shows them, whereby they recognize indeed a God, but they cannot consent to the other articles of the creed, because they are not enlightened by that natural light which must regulate, they say, every persuasion, and opinion, and not be bound by them. Nevertheless, they do not dare to reveal themselves and they conform outwardly to the belief and custom of their country, for fear of being described as atheists, while in truth they are not, and it would be more to the point to call them incredulous, since they only follow reason, and spurn theological faith as if it were only an imaginary virtue. The number of such people augments every day. For one no longer believes easily in writings nor in words, and many receive in their youth propositions as indubitable, which later are very suspicious to them, when they come to think it over, and to consider the oracle of the Royal Prophet: *that every man is liable to lie*. It is for that reason that the most renowned preachers

dicateurs voyans qu'une doctrine si esloignée du sens commun à peu d'effect pour esmouïoir les esprits de nostre temps, n'ont rien de plus recommandable en leurs exhortations, que la direction des mœurs, attendu que c'est une belle disposition à la piété, laquelle se loge plus facilement & demeure bien plus ferme en l'esprit d'un homme de bien, qu'en celui d'un meschant, qui ne croit en Dieu que par boutade ou accoustumance. Peut-on autrement iuger d'un médisant, trompeur, & meurtrier ordinaire? Est-il vraisemblable qu'ils croient un enfer,] qu'ils ayent bonne opinion de l'immortalité de l'ame. Quelque mine qu'ils fassent, ils ne le persuaderont iamais: au contraire ils donneront subiects aux estrangers de reuoquer en doute le merite de leur creance. Les Tartares auoient resolu d'embrasser le Christianisme du temps de saint Loys, mais ils en perdirent l'enuie quand ils furent aduertis des meschancetez que commettoient les chrestiens. Sçauoir si leur consideration estoit receuable ou non c'est une question que ie n'entame point. Tant y a que la religion ne se peut bien entretenir que par la preud' hommie & vertu morale, à laquelle il faut exhorter les grands & les petits, les Roys & les peuples, sans s'arrester si longuement à ces disputes scholastiques, qui font plus de bruit que de fruit. Je sçay qu'il est besoing de refuter les heresies, mais ie n'en trouue point de plus grande, que l'erreur de ceux qui mettent la souueraine

VI glorie en l'iniustice, & ne recognoissent rien



seeing that a doctrine so far removed from common sense has little effect to move the thoughts of our time, have nothing better to recommend in their exhortations, than the direction of morals, since it is a good tendency towards piety, which lodges more easily and remains much more firmly in the soul of a good man, than in that of a bad one, who only believes in God by whim or custom. Can one judge otherwise of an ordinary slanderer, deceiver and murderer? Is it likely that they believe in hell, that they have a good opinion of the immortality of the soul? Whatever position they may assume, they will never persuade anyone: on the contrary they will give cause to strangers to place in doubt the merit of their belief. The Tatars had resolved to embrace Christianity in the time of Saint Louis, but they lost the desire when they were informed of the wicked things that the Christians committed. To know whether their consideration was admissible or not is a question that I do not enter on. However, religion cannot well maintain itself except by goodness and moral virtue, to which should be exhorted the great and the little, the Kings and the peoples, without waiting so long over those scholastic disputes, which make more noise than they do good. I know that it is necessary to refute heresies, but I do not find a greater one than the error of those who place the sovereign glory in injustice, and recognize nothing

de louable que les armes. Esperons-nous de voir aucun aduancement en la religion, ou tranquillité en l'estat, tant que ceste damnable opinion sera receuë? Et neantmoins on la laisse couler dans les esprits, on n'en parle non plus que si elle n'importoit aucunement: au contraire il semble qu'on l'approuue par vn silence & consentement tacite. Ce qui m'a occasionné de mettre au iours cest aduertissemens & conseil pacifique, que le Lecteur trouuera a nouueau, s'il considere la forme de son oconomie, & l'estenduë de la matiere qu'il traicte. La paix est vn subiect triuial ie le confesse, mais on ne la pourchasse qu'à demy. Quelques vns y exhortent les Princes Chrestiens, afin que par leur vnion ils se fortifient contre leur ennemy commun: & mesmes vn fameux personnage a monstré les moyens d'exterminer les Turcs dans

VII quatre ans ou enuiron, & plusieurs autres belles conceptions qui sont fort aysees à mettre par escrit. Il y en a qui limitent encore plus leur stile, ils donnent des inuentions pour policer & enrichir leur pays, & se soucient si peu des estrangers, qu'ils estiment vne prudence politique de semer parmy eux des diuisions, afin de iouyr d'un repos plus asseuré. Mais ie suis bien d'un autre aduis, & me semble quand on voit brusler ou tomber la maison de son voisin qu'on a subiect de crainte, autant que de compassion, veu que la societé humaine est vn corps, dont tous les membres ont vne sympathie,

as praiseworthy except the profession of arms. Can we hope for any advance in religion, or tranquility in the State, so long as this damnable opinion shall be received? Nevertheless it is allowed to percolate into men's minds, it is spoken of just as if it was of no importance whatsoever: on the contrary it seems as if it were approved by silence and tacit consent. This has led me to bring out this advice and counsels for peace, which the reader will find new, if he considers the form of its statement, and the extent of the matter of which it treats. Peace is a trivial subject I confess, but it is only half searched for. Some exhort the Christian Princes to it, in order that by their union they should fortify themselves against their common enemy: and even a famous personage has shown the means to exterminate the Turks in four years or thereabouts, and several other beautiful conceptions that are very easy to write out. There are those who limit even more their style, they give inventions to police and enrich their countries, and think so little of strangers, that they consider it a prudent policy to sow among them dissensions, in order to enjoy a more assured quiet. But I am of a very different opinion, and it seems to me that when you see the house of your neighbor burning or falling, that you have a cause for fear, as much as for compassion, since human society is one body, of which all the members are in sympathy in

de maniere qu'il est impossible que les maladies de l'un ne se communiquent aux autres. Or ce petit liure contient vne police vniuerselle, vtile indifferemment à toutes nations, & agreable à ceux qui ont quelque lumiere de raison, & sentiment d'humanit . Quand aux] VIII autres, ie preuoy qu' ils ne liront point le present discours, ou qu'ils n'en tiendront compte, principalement ces ambitieux guerriers, qui nous appellent par mespris gens de plume & d'escritoire, & pour raualler nostre honneur, nous chantent ceste vieille maxime. *Qu'il vaut mieux faire que dire.* Ce que ie leur accorde librement, pourueu que les actions soient bonnes, & non brutales. Vn temps a est  que i'eusse autrement respondu   ces faiseurs l . Maintenant qu'ils se contentent de ceste interpretation, Ie n'escris point aux barbares & ignorans qui se scandalizeront de cest  euvre. Les esprits trop deliez n'y prendront point aussi de goust, & le compareront peut-estre   la Republique de Platon qui ne fut iamais qu'en l'Id e & imagination de son Auteurs. Toutesfois ceste comparaison ne seroit pas propre, d'autant qu'on propose icy vne chose non seulement possible, mais] IX aussi de laquelle les anciens ont eu l'experience. Soubs l'Empire d'Auguste toutes les nations estoient pacifiees. Et du regne de Fran ois premier on a veu fleurir la paix quelques annees par toute l'Europe. Qui nous empesche d'esperer vn bien, dont les siecles

such a manner that it is impossible for the sicknesses of the one not to be communicated to the others. Now this little book contains a universal polity, useful indifferently to all nations, and agreeable to those who have some light of reason, and sentiment of humanity. As for the others, I foresee that they will not read the present discourse, or that they will not take account of it, principally those ambitious warriors, who call us in disdain people of the pen and of the inkhorn, and to debase our honor, sing to us this old maxim: *That it is better to do than to say*. This I accord to them freely, provided that the actions are good, and not brutal. There was a time when I would have answered otherwise to those doers. Now let them be satisfied with this interpretation. I do not write for the barbarians and ignoramuses who will be scandalized with this work. Very frivolous minds also will not relish it, and will compare it perhaps with the Republic of Pluto which never existed but in the mind and imagination of its author. On the whole this comparison will not be proper, since one proposes here a thing not only possible, but also of which the ancients had experience. Under the Empire of Augustus all the Nations were pacified. And after the reign of Francis the First, peace was seen to flourish for a few years throughout all Europe. Who prevents us from hoping for a good thing, which past cen-

passez ont iouy? Je croy qu'il n'y a rien si facile, que cest affaire, si les Princes Chrestiens le veulent entreprendre, & notamment nostre Hercule François, *Loys le Iuste*, dont le surnom me donne bon augure. Il ne faut donc point dire que les propositions qui se font de la paix vniuerselle sont Chimeriques & mal fondees. Chacun iugera de ce liure selon son plaisir. L'espere qu'il trouuera place dans le cabinet des grands, & que les hommes iudicieux en feront estat, malgré l'enuie.

turies have enjoyed? I believe there is nothing so easy, as this matter, if the Christian Princes will undertake it, and notably our French Hercules, *Louis the Just*, whose surname gives me good augury. It must not be said then that the propositions that are made for universal peace are chimerical and badly based. Every one will judge of this book according to his pleasure. I hope that it will find a place in the study of the great and that judicious men will make use of it in spite of envy.

EXTRAICT DU PRIUILEGE  
DU ROY.

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X PAR grace & Priuilege du Roy donné à Paris le 26. Nouembre. 1622, signé Hardy & sellé. Il est permis à Iacques Villery Libraire d'Imprimer vn liure intitulé, *Le Nouveau Cynée*, & defences à toutes personnes de le faire imprimer sans le congé & consentement dudit Villery, par l'espace de six ans entiers à compter du iour des presentes comme plus amplement il est porté par ledit Priuilege.



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# LE NOUVEAU CYNÉE

ou

## DISCOUVRS DES OCCASIONS ET MOYENS

D ESTABLIR VNE PAIX GENERALE, & LA LIBERTÉ DU COM-  
MERCE PAR TOUT LE MONDE.

---

*Aux Monarques & Princes Souuerains*

*de ce temps.*

Je ne deuois pas adresser ce discours au vul-  
gaire, qui ne vit qu'à patron, & n'a aucune reigle  
en ses actions; encore moins aux hommes violens,  
qui se mocquent de toute honnesteté, & ne font  
2 estat que de la force. C'est de vos grandeurs] que  
ce petit liuret attend vn fauorable accueil, c'est  
entre vos mains qu'il se iette *Tres-hauts, Tres-*  
*puissans & Inuincibles Monarques*. Je croy certes  
que vos maiestez n'ont besoing de nouueau con-  
seil, & que Dieu vous ayant esleué à vn si haut  
degré d'honneur, vous en a donné pareillement  
le merite. Mais d'autant que les aduis prouenans  
d'vn esprit candide & non suspect, sont ordinaire-  
ment bien receus, & qu'vne fortune quoy qu'elle  
soit grande est subiette à changement, i'ay pensé  
qu'il ne seroit hors de saison de vous représenter  
avec toute humilité les moyens d'asseurer vostre  
estat par l'establissement d'vne paix vniuerselle.  
S'il ne s'agissoit en cela de vostre interest par-  
ticulier, celui du public suffiroit pour vous exhorter

# THE NEW CYNEAS

OR

DISCOURSE OF THE OCCASIONS AND MEANS

TO ESTABLISH A GENERAL PEACE, AND THE LIBERTY OF  
COMMERCE THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE WORLD.

---

*To the Monarchs and Sovereign Princes  
of the present time.*

I should not address this discourse to the vulgarian, who depends upon a master, and has no rule for his actions; still less to violent men, who mock at all honesty, and who only use force. It is from you great ones that this little book awaits a favorable reception, it is in your hands that it throws itself *Very high, Very-powerful and Invin- cible Monarchs*. I believe truly that your Majes- ties have no need of new advice, and that God hav- ing raised you to so high a degree of honor, gave you also the ability to fill it. But since advices coming from a mind candid and not open to sus- picion, are generally well received, and that a for- tune even though great is subject to change, I have thought that it would not be out of season to present to you, with all humility, the means to as- sure your state by the establishment of a universal peace. If your private interest was not concerned thereby, that of the public would suffice to exhort

d'auoir compassion du genre humain, qui d'une voix commune vous demande la paix, & vous coniuere par la consideration de vous mesmes, d'arrester le cours de ses miserés, & de mettre fin aux abus que la fureur des armes a cy deuant produict. Ceste requeste est ciuile. Il est plus raisonnable d'y auoir esgrad, qu'aux passions des-

3 reglees de] ces guerriers, qui à l'exemple des anciens Perses ne se figurent dans le tableau de leur esprit que des batailles & victoires, qui se parent de la liuree d'une malediction, & mettent la souueraine gloire en l'iniustice, & oppression des hommes. Ie ne m'amuseray point à declamer contre telles gens, dont le naturel est prodigieusement peruers. Il suffira de remarquer les causes de la guerre; on trouuera dequoy deplorer l'aueuglement de ceux qui exercent tant de cruauté les vns contre les autres pour occasions si friuoles. Mais au prealable ie feray protestation de ne parler des tumultes & esmotions ciuiles, afin que les seditieux ne pensent pas trouuer vne Apologie pour maintenir leur reuolte, ny pretendre vne paix, dont ils sont indignes s'ils ne recognoissent leur Souuerain, & s'ils ne renoncent à leurs factions. Laissant donc à parr ces mutineries dont nous parlerons en autre endroit, ie diray que les guerres estrangeres s'entreprennent pour l'honneur, ou pour le proffit, ou pour reparation de quelque tort, ou bien pour l'exercice.

4 On pourroit adiouster la] religion, si l'experience

you to have compassion on mankind, which with one voice demands of you peace, and begs of you by your own considerations to arrest the course of its miseries, and to put an end to the abuses which the fury of arms has up to now produced. This request is civil. It is more reasonable to have regard to it than to the unruly passions of those warriors, who, following the example of the ancient Persians, picture only in their minds battles and victories, who adorn themselves with the livery of malediction, and place sovereign glory in injustice, and the oppression of men. I shall not amuse myself in declaiming against such people, whose nature is tremendously perverse. It will suffice to note the causes of war; one will find enough to deplore in the blindness of those who commit so much cruelty against one another for such frivolous reasons. But as a beginning I must explain that I do not speak of civil tumults and commotions, so that seditious persons shall not think they can find an apology for maintaining their revolts, nor pretend to a peace, of which they are unworthy if they do not recognize their sovereign, and if they do not renounce their disputes. Leaving then to one side these mutinies of which we shall speak in another place, I would say that foreign wars are undertaken either for honor or profit, or for the reparation of some wrong, or else for exercise. One could add religion, if experi-

n'eust fait cognoistre qu'elle sert le plus souuent de pretexte. Je ne fais point aussi mention de la necessité, laquelle a iadis contrainct plusieurs nations de sortir en troupe de leur pays, & chercher par force nouvelles demeures. De là viennent tant de colonies mentionnees dans les histoires; mais auiourd'huy ces desbordemens de peuples sont rares, tellement que nous ne pouuons recognoistre d'autres fins & causes mouuantes de la guerre sinon les quatre cy dessus specifiees, dont la premiere est la plus commune, & semble la plus legitime. Car si le desir d'honneur est naturel à vne ame genereuse, il est bien seant qu'elle le cherche dans l'exercice des armes, puisque toute la gloire en depend selon le iugement commun, auquel ce seroit folie de contreuenir. Tous les peuples s'accordent en cela, & les coustumes tant anciennes que modernes ont tousiours deféré aux soldats le priuilege de noblesse & de commandement, en sorte que l'honneur des autres estats & perfec-

5 tions se ternit au lustre esclatant de la vertu] militaire. La plupart des Princes s'accommodant à c'est erreur ne prise rien que les armes. Ce mal n'est pas d'auiourd'huy. L'Empereur Seuere commandoit à ses enfans d'enrichir les soldats & mespriser tout le reste. Et le Roy d'Albanie Pyrrhus interrogé à qui il laisseroit son Royaume, A celuy, dit-il, qui aura meilleure espee. Mais ces paroles sentent la barbarie & brutalité. Ausquelles nous pouuons opposer l'autorité de ce braue Roy Lacedemonien, qui estimoit

ence had not made known that this serves most often as a pretext. I make also no mention of the necessity, which has formerly forced several nations to leave their countries in a mass, and find by force new homes. From this cause spring so many of the colonies mentioned in the histories: but to-day these overflows of peoples are rare, so much so that we cannot recognize other ends and moving causes of war other than the four above specified, of which the first is the most common, and seems the most legitimate. For if the desire of honor is natural, to a generous soul it is becoming that it should seek it in the exercise of arms, since all glory depends upon it according to public judgment, to which it would be folly to go counter. All peoples agree in that, and the customs both ancient and modern, have always granted to soldiers the privilege of nobility and command, so that the honor of other stations and perfections becomes dim before the brilliant luster of military virtue. The greater number of princes accepting this error, prize nothing but arms. This evil is not of to-day. The Emperor Severus ordered his children to enrich the soldiers and disdain all the others. And the King of Albania, Pyrrhus, when questioned to whom he would leave his kingdom, to him, he said, who has the best sword. But these words savor of barbarity and brutality. To which we can oppose the authority of that brave Lacedemonian King,

plus la iustice que la valeur, disant que ceste vertu n'estoit aucunement necessaire quand la raison & preud'homme auoient lieu. Et de fait quelle apparence y a-il d'estimer tant vne chose, qui ne se vante sinon de faire ce que les plus imbecilles animaux peuuent executer? Car de nuire & tuer cest vne chose facile.

- Il ne faut pour c'est effect qu'un petit aspic, vne seule mouche. Ce qui deuroit suffire pour raualer l'arrogance de ces fendans qui se glorifient d'en auoir tant tué és rencontres & batailles. C'est honneur, disent-ils, de supplanter son ennemy.
- 6 Et auons nous d'autres ennemis que les bestes farouches? Il y a vne amitié & parenté entre les hommes, fondée sur vne conformité de naturel & de figure. Chacun garde volontiers son pourtraict, & prend plaisir à la representation de ses lineamens insensible: Neantmoins nous n'esparignons point nos viues images; nous faisons trophée de ruiner nos semblables, ce pendant que nous quittons honteusement le champ de bataille aux Lyons, Tygres, Loups, & Serpens, nos ennemis naturels, que nous n'osons attendre ny attaquer sinon avec artifice, à la façon de ceux qui se sentans trop foibles ont recours aux finesses & subtilitez pour surprendre leur aduersaire. Que si ces animaux auoient entre'eux quelque intelligence, ils seroient bastans d'exterminer dans peu de temps les hommes. L'autan a autrefois depeuplé quelques regions d'Afrique; vne multitude de



who esteemed justice more than valor, saying that this virtue was in no way necessary when reason and goodness obtained. And in fact what reason is there to esteem so much a thing, which only boasts of doing what the most imbecile animals can carry out? For to injure and kill is an easy thing.

To accomplish this one needs only one little viper, one single fly. Which should suffice to lower the arrogance of those braggarts who glorify themselves of having killed so many in encounters and battles. It is an honor, they say, to down one's enemy. And have we other enemies than wild beasts? There is an amity and kinship between men, based upon a conformity of nature and of figure. Each one willingly keeps his portrait, and takes pleasure in the representation of his features: Nevertheless we do not spare our living images: we glory in ruining our fellow beings, although we shamefully leave the field of battle to lions, tigers, wolves, and serpents, our natural enemies, whom we dare not wait for nor attack except with stratagem in the manner of those who feeling themselves too feeble have recourse to artifices and stratagems in order to surprise their adversary. But if these animals had some understanding among themselves, they would be able to exterminate in a short time mankind. The bleak wind formerly depopulated some regions of Africa; a multitude of snakes

serpens a ruiné une ville, & l'importunité des rats & grenouilles a chassé certaines nations de leur pays. Que sçauons-nous si Dieu ne se servira point de tels instrumens pour punir encore nos

7 iniquitez?] Vrayement il y a bien de quoy faire parade de son espee, puis qu'il faut si peu de chose pour nous mettre à bas. Nous auons grand subject de nous preualoir de nostre force, puisqu'en icelles les bestes ont sur nous tant d'aduantage, que nous pouons dire iustement que c'est la moindre des perfections humaines, & par consequent la vaillance vulgaire qui n'a autre fondement ny appuy que la force ne merite pas grande loüange. Je dis vaillance vulgaire, afin de la distinguer de ceste magnanimité, qui consiste en vne fermeté de courage, & mespris de toutes aduersitez. Ce sont les effects de la vraye vaillance, repousser l'iniure, & non pas la faire; endurer genereusement la mort & tous autres accidens quand ils se presentent, & non pas les aller chercher, sous l'espoir d'vne honneur ie ne scay quel, dont la vanité est en fin recogneuë par ceux qui en ont fait estat toute leur vie. Ne voyons nous pas les regrets qu'ils ont en mourant, de s'estre abandonnez au vent d'vne folle opinion? Il font alors de belle remonstrances accompagnées]

8 d'vn repentir. I'en ay veu quelques vns qui navrez d'vn coup mortel faisoient protestation de prendre l'habit religieux, & vacquer à la deuotion le reste de leurs iours, au cas qu'ils reuinsent en conualenscence. Il est vray senblable,

ruined a city, and the nuisance of rats and frogs has chased certain nations from their country. What do we know if God will not make use of such instruments to punish again our iniquities? Truly there is precious little to cause one to display one's sword, since it takes so little to lay us low. Truly we have but small reason to boast of our strength, since in this the beasts have over us so much advantage, that we can justly say that it is the least of human perfections, and consequently the ordinary bravery which has no other foundation nor support than force does not merit great commendation. I say ordinary bravery in order to distinguish it from that magnanimity, which consists in a firm courage, and disdain of all adversity. The effects of real bravery are to repel injury, and not to cause it; to bear generously death and all other accidents when they present themselves, and not to seek for them, with the hope of an honor I do not know which the vanity whereof is at length recognized by those who have made much thereof all their life. Do we not see the regrets that they have in dying, to have given themselves over to the trend of a foolish notion? They then make fine renouncements accompanied with repentance. I have seen a few who agonizing with a mortal blow protested they would don the religious garb, and live in devotion the rest of their days, in case they became convalescent. It

que ceux qui meurent aux combats ont de semblables pensees. La raison frappe à nostre porte à toute heure, & nous souffle incessamment aux oreilles. Il n'est plus temps de la recevoir quand il faut sortir de ce monde. Et en cecy nous voyons les malheur des hommes qui ne reconnoissent leur faute qu'en extremité, & ne se rangent point à la raison, sinon lors qu'ils ne peuvent plus mal faire. L'opinion commune les mene, l'accoustumance les reigle, & l'ambition les aveugle en telle sorte, qu'ils foulent aux pieds tout respect, ne se soucient de Dieu ny des hommes pourveu qu'ils fassent parler d'eux. Mais ils sont aucunes fois bien trompez. Car au lieu de trouver la reputation qu'ils cherchent & de mourir au lit d'honneur, ils tombent en vne honteuse servitude & servent de ioüet à leurs ennemis. Representons-nous la condition des prisonniers de guerre, les affronts  
 9 & moc]queries qu'un simple bourgeois ou manant de village ne voudroit endurer, & au bout de cela souventefois vne corde, ou quelque autre mort pleine de tourment & ignominie. Neantmoins ce sont les fruits ordinaires de la guerre. Il n'y a Soldat, Gentilhomme, Capitaine, & chef d'armee qui ne soit subiet à ces inconueniens. Les plus grands Roy & Empereurs n'en sont pas exempts. Valerian, Baudouin, Tomābais, Baiazeth, Attabalippa, & autres qui finirent miserablement leurs iours, ont laissé vne belle leçon aux Princes, pour apprendre qu'il y a plus de deshonneur à craindre, que de gloire à esperer en la guerre. Car le

is most likely that those who die in a fight have similar thoughts. Reason knocks at our door at all hours, and breathes incessantly in our ears. It is no longer time to receive it when one must leave this world. In this we see the misfortunes of men who only recognize their faults when in extremis, and do not follow reason, except when they can no longer do harm. Public opinion leads them, custom rules them, and ambition blinds them in such a way, that they tread under foot all respect, caring neither for God nor for man provided they succeed in being talked about. But they are often greatly deceived. For instead of finding the reputation which they seek and to die in the bed of honor, they fall into a shameful servitude and serve as toys to their enemies. Let us think of the circumstances of prisoners of war, the affronts and mockeries that a simple burgher or village churl would not endure and after that often a rope, or some other harrowing and ignominious death. Nevertheless these are ordinary fruits of war. There is not a soldier, gentleman, captain or army chief who is not subject to these inconveniences. The greatest Kings and Emperors are not exempt from them. Valerian, Bau-douin, Tomabais, Bayazeed, Attabalippa, and others who ended miserably their days, have left a fine lesson to Princes, to learn that there is more dishonor to fear, than glory to hope for in war.

mal vient plus souvent que le bien: & si on estime folie de quitter le certain pour l'incertain, les Princes doivent mesnager leur honneur, sans le mettre au hazard à l'appetit & suscitation de ceux qui les nourrissent d'esperance, & leur proposent ce qu'ils peuvent acquerir, & non pas ce qu'ils peuvent perdre. Il leur tracent le plan des conquestes futures, leur font veoir des arcs de triomphe, mais ils ne leur monstrent pas le ioug ignominieux] sous lequel ils se mettent en danger de passet. Ils leur chantent ceste vieille maxime *Que la monarchie est vne belle sepulture, qu'elle vaut bien la peine qu'on se hazarde.* Ce qui seroit bon à dire à des particuliers ambitieux & desesperes, qui voudroient s'aggrandir au peril de leur vie. Mais les Princes qui ont desia commandement & autorité toute acquise, ne doivent point s'exposer à l'inconstance de la fortune, qui se iouë des plus grands, & trauese par accidens inopinez les plus hautes entreprises. Et maintenant les affaires du monde sont en tel estat, qu'il n'y a si petite Seigneurie, laquelle ne soit capable par le moyen de ses alliances de resister au plus puissant Roy de la terre. Vn sage Prince doncques ne s'aherrera point contre l'estat d'un autre, de peur de briser le sien. Que si l'ambition le porte à prodiguer la vie, & celle de ses subiects, à tout le moins qu'il espargne son honneur, pour lequel il se tourmente tant, qu'il regarde la honte & le

For the bad comes more often than the good: and if it is considered a folly to leave the certain for the uncertain, Princes should guard their honor, without risking it for the appetites and promptings of those who nourish them with hopes, and hold out to them what they can gain and not what they can lose. They map out to them the plan of future conquests, make them see triumphal arches, but they do not show them the ignominious yoke under which they put themselves in danger of passing. They sing to them this old maxim, *That monarchy is a beautiful sepulchre, that it is well worth taking a risk.* Which would be well to say to ambitious and desperate individuals, who would wish to aggrandize themselves at the risk of their life. But the Princes who already have command and authority all acquired, should not expose themselves to the inconstance of fortune, which makes sport of the greatest, and crosses by unexpected accidents the most important enterprises. And now the affairs of the world are in such a state, that there is not so small a lordship, which is not able by means of its alliances to resist the most powerful King on earth. A wise Prince then will not throw himself against the state of another, for fear of breaking his own. That if ambition induces him to waste his life, and that of his subjects let him at least spare his honor, for which he worries so much, and look at the shame and the

dommage où se precipitent ceux qui entrepren-  
 11 nent les guerres. Ils se mettent à deux doigts  
 près de leur ruine. Il ne faut qu'un pe]tit vent  
 pour les pousser dans le gouffre de miseres: & lors  
 qu'ils penseront estre en leur maison celeste, au  
 solstice de prosperité, vn reuers de fortune les  
 abaissera tout à coup, & de souuerains les rendra  
 esclaves. Les voila captifs, enchainez, & le bour-  
 reau en queue. Alors ils se voyent bien reculez  
 de la gloire qu'ils s'imaginoient, & ont tout loisir  
 de regretter la felicité dont ils pouuoient paisible-  
 ment iouïr, s'ils n'eussent esté preoccupez d'une  
 ambition desmesuree. Ce ne sont point icy vaines  
 conceptions que nous enfantons. Les histoires tes-  
 moignent, & l'experience verifie que la guerre met  
 plustost la reputation d'un Prince au hazard,  
 qu'elle ne l'augmente. Et quand il pourroit ac-  
 querir autant d'honneur qu'eut iamais Caesar,  
 que l'empire de l'univers fust le pris de sa vic-  
 toire, ne seroit-ce pas vne cruauté d'y paruenir  
 par une voye si detestable? O que l'honneur  
 est vne miserable chose s'il le faut acheter avec  
 effusion de sang! I'adore ta memoire Othon Sal-  
 uie, delices de ton siecle, unique espoir & con-  
 12 tementement des soldats Romains, qui volontaire]-  
 ment sacrifioient leurs moiens & leur vie pour  
 t'esleuer au throsne imperial, & te donnoient leurs  
 armes pour gages d'une fidelle affection. Tu refusas  
 leur offre, ayant mieux mourir simple gentil-



loss into which those who undertake war hurl themselves. They place themselves within an ace of their ruin. Only a little wind is necessary to push them into the abyss of misery: and when they are thinking they are in their celestial home at the height of their prosperity, a reverse of fortune will overthrow them suddenly, and from sovereigns will make them slaves. Behold them now captives, in chains and the executioner behind them. Then they see they are far distant from the glory that they had imagined, and have every opportunity to regret the bliss which they could peacefully enjoy had they not been preoccupied with an unbounded ambition. These are not vain conceptions that we are creating. Histories testify, experience verifies that war rather hazards the reputation of a Prince than augments it. And even if he could acquire as much honor as Caesar ever had, if the empire of the universe were to be the prize of his victory, would it not be a cruel thing to obtain it in so detestable a manner? Oh what a miserable thing is honor if it must be bought by the shedding of blood. I adore thy memory Othon Salvie, delight of thy century, sole hope and delight of the Roman soldiers, who voluntarily sacrificed their means and their lives to raise thee to the Imperial throne, and gave thee their arms as pledges of a faithful affection. You refused their offer, preferring to die a plain gentleman,

homme, que de gagner la monarchie avec la perte de tant de bons seruiteurs. Cest acte vaut tous les empires du monde. La posterité le preferera aux lauriers des Caesars, pour ce que plusieurs imiteront ceux cy, mais ta genereuse bonté demeurera à iamais incomparable. Faut-il que les monarques s'establissent par massacres & boucherie? Abus. Ce ne sont pas voleurs, pour proceder en ceste façon. Ce sont images de Dieu, tuteurs du peuple, destinez pour guerir non pour blesser, pour bastir non pour destruire. Mais supposons que la guerre fut necessaire pour fonder les monarchies. Auiourd'huy qu'elles sont establies, il n'est plus besoing à ceux qui en ioüissent de renplir le monde de carnage. Que leur sert de se mettre en campagne, puis qu'ils ont sans coup ferir l'honneur de souuerain commandement, qu'ils veulent chercher avec tant de peine, & peu d'apparence d'executer leur desseing?] Qu'ils se tiennent sur la defensiue. C'est beaucoup de conseruer vne monarchie: Et croyent fermement que l'honneur est fort engagé en la guerre, & le profit encore plus incertain. Car pour deux soldats qui s'y enrichiront, on en trouuera cinquante qui n'y gagneront que des coups ou des maladies incurables. Pour le regard des Princes, ils y espuisent leurs finances. Philippe 2. Roy d'Espagne en sçauroit bien que dire, qui a employé tant de millions d'or avec si peu d'aduancement, que son exemple a serui d'instruction

than to win the monarchy through the loss of so many good followers. That act is worth all the empires of the world. Posterity will prefer it to the laurels of the Caesars, although several will imitate these latter, but thy generous goodness will remain forever unequalled. Must it be that the monarchs establish themselves by massacres and butcheries? Deception. They are not thieves, to proceed in this fashion. They are images of God, guardians of peoples, destined to heal not to wound, to build not to destroy. But supposing that war were necessary to found monarchies. Now that they are established, it is no longer necessary for those who enjoy them to fill the world with carnage. What does it serve them to enter on a campaign, since they have without a blow the honor of sovereign command, which they wish to seek with so much trouble, and little appearance of executing their design? Let them hold themselves on the defensive. It is a great deal to uphold a monarchy. And believe firmly that honor is much risked in war, and the profit still less certain. For for two soldiers who will enrich themselves in it, one will find fifty who will gain in it only blows or incurable sicknesses. As regards Princes, they exhaust in it their finances. Philippe II. King of Spain would well know what to say about it, who employed so many millions of gold with so little success, that his example has served

à son successeur pour rechercher vtilement la paix es lieux où il pouuoit faire inutilement la guerre. Celuy qui se peut vanter le plus de ses exploitcs militaires, c'est le grand Seigneur: Car outre ce que tous subiects font profession des armes, ses entreprises ont reüssi si heureusement, qu'il n'y a pour le present monarchie comparable à la sienne. Voyez neantmoins ce qu'il a gagné depuis plusieurs ans. Il n'a quasi fait que se defendre, & a esté reduit à des extremitez par ses propres subiects, qui luy doiuent bien faire penser] à sa conseruation plustost qu'à vne nouvelle conquete, & considerer que si la force establit les monarchies, elle les peut aussi ruiner, veu mesmes qu'il semble estre parueniu au plus haut degré de puissance & grandeur humaine. Dautre part les Chrestiens n'aduancent pas mieux leurs affaires: Et encore ont-ils ce malheur, que s'ils obtiennent quelque victoire, ils n'en iouissent pas long-temps, au contraire les Turcs se maintiennent, & ne se laissent point aisement dessaisir de leurs possessions. Ie confronte ces deux peuples, pour ce qu'ils sont par maniere de dire ennemis naturels, & ont diuisé presque tout le monde en deux parties, à cause de la diuersité de leur religion, tellement que s'ilsse pouuoient accorder, se seroit vn grand acheminement pour la paix uniuerselle. Car le Prince Chrestien se voyant en paix avec le Mahometan, s'accorderoit encore plus volontiers avec vn

as a lesson to his successor to search usefully for peace in the localities where he could uselessly make war. He who can boast the most of his military exploits, is the great Lord: For besides that all his subjects make a profession of arms, his enterprises have succeeded so well, that there is not at present a monarchy to be compared with his. See nevertheless what he has gained for several years. He has hardly done anything but defend himself, and has been reduced to such extremities by his own subjects, who must make him think of his own salvation rather than of a new conquest, and consider that if force establishes monarchies, it can also ruin them, even though they seem to have reached the highest degree of human power and grandeur. On the other hand the Christians do not advance their affairs better: And besides they have this misfortune, that if they obtain a victory, they do not enjoy it for any long time, on the contrary the Turks maintain themselves, and do not easily let themselves be dispossessed of their possessions. I compare these two peoples, since they are so to speak natural enemies, and have divided almost all the world into two parts, because of the diversity of their religion, so much so that if they could agree, it would be a great step forward for universal peace. For the Christian Prince seeing himself at peace with the Mohametan, would agree still more readily

autre de sa religion, & le grand Seigneur estant d'accord avec les Chrestiens se rendroit plus facile au Roy de Perse, ou de Tartarie. Quant aux payens & Iuifs, ie croy qu'ils ne refuseroient] point d'estre compris en vn traitté si general & au fort ils ne seroient pas suffisans pour empescher vn si bon effect. Toute la difficulté gist aux pretentions de quelques souuerains, qui ont esté spoliez de leur Seigneurie ou partie d'icelle: Et de là vient la troisieme occasion de guerre, lors que les Princes leuent les armes pour r'entrer en possession de leurs anciens droits & se venger du tort qu'ils ont receu. Mais qui contempera l'origine des empires & royaumes, iugera que telles pretentions sont mal fondees. Car les Monarchies ne s'acquierent pas comme vn autre heritage. Elles viennent immediatement de Dieu, & sont establies par sa seule prouidence, qui donne les sceptres & les oste quand bon luy semble, en ostant pareillement le moien de les recouurer. Dont plusieurs peuuent donner suffisant tesmoignage: & sur tout l'Empereur Romain, Qui a plus de subier de se plaindre que luy, veu quela plus part des royaumes d'aujourd'huy sont fondez sur les ruines de son estat? Toutesfois il est contrainct de se contenter de ce peu qui luy reste, &] se ressouenir, que comme l'Empire s'est iadis accru & enrichi des despoüilles du

with another of his own religion, and the great Lord being in accord with the Christians would give in more easily to the King of Persia, or of Tatory. As for the pagans and Jews, I believe that they would not refuse to be included in so general a treaty and at best they would not be sufficient in numbers to prevent such a good result. The whole difficulty lies in the pretensions of a few sovereigns, who have been despoiled of their domains or a part of it: And from that comes the third cause of war, when the princes take up arms to reenter in possession of their ancient rights and avenge the wrong they have received. But he who contemplates the origin of empires and kingdoms, will judge that such pretensions are badly founded. For monarchies are not acquired like another heritage. They come immediately from God, and are established by his single providence, which gives scepters and takes them away when it seems well to him, taking away at the same time the means of recovering them. Of which a number can give sufficient testimony: and especially the Roman Emperor. Who has more cause to lament than he, seeing that the greater part of the kingdoms of to-day are founded upon the ruins of his state. Nevertheless he is constrained to content himself with the little that still remains to him, and again remember, that as the Empire once grew and fattened upon the spoils of the

monde, il a aussi finalement serui de proye à toutes les nations qui en ont chacune emporté de bonnes pieces. Il n'est besoing de nommer d'autres Princes, qui se sont en vain efforcez de recouurer ce qu'ils auoient perdu, & ont experimenté que les royaumes ont la façon des hommes particuliers leur naissance, accroissement, & declin. Il ne faut point icy se flatter, & dire que Dieu fauorise les causes iustes. Car c'est entrer trop auant au cabinet de sa prouidence, de s'asseurer qu'il nous fauorisera plustost qu'un autre. L'esperoir de c'este faueur imaginaire a faict entreprendre des guerres à plusieurs qui presumoient de leur bon droict, & pensoient que Dieu se seruiroit d'eux pour exterminer vne puissance qu'ils appelloient iniuste & tyrannique. Ils se sont trouuez bien loing de leur compte, & pour vne lieuë depays qu'ils vouloient gaigner sur vsurpateurs, en ont perdu cinquante, & ont mis en danger leur estat: quelques uns y ont laisse l'honneur & la vie. C'est

17 bien faict à] un Prince de s'opposer valeureusement à celuy qui vent empieter son pays. Mais depuis qu'il en est totalement priué, & que pour son impuissance il ne se peut rehabiliter, il doibt ceder, je ne diray pas aux hommes, mais à Dieu, qui est ialoux des Monarchies comme de ses plus beaux œuures, esquels il a graué l'image de sa maiesté, les caracteres de sa vertu, & s'en declare protecteur par des effects visibles, principalement depuis qu'elles sont fortifiées d'une longue



world, it also served finally as a prey for all the nations each one of which carried off a good piece. It is not necessary to name other princes, who have in vain tried to recover what they had lost, and found out that kingdoms have the same peculiarities as individuals, birth, growth, and decline. One must not here flatter one's self, and say God favors just causes. For that is entering too much into the chamber of his providence, to assure ourselves that he will favor us rather than another. The hope of this imaginary favor has caused several to undertake wars who presumed on the justness of their rights, and thought that God would avail himself of them to exterminate a power which they called unjust and tyrannous. They found themselves far wrong in their calculations, and for one league of country that they wished to gain from usurpers, lost fifty, and placed in danger their state, a few lost their honor and their life. It is well for a Prince to oppose valorously he who wants to encroach on his country. But when he is totally deprived of it, and from his impotence he cannot reinstate himself, he must cede, I shall not say to men, but to God who is jealous of monarchies as of his most beautiful works; upon which he has engraved the image of his majesty, the characters of his virtue, and declares himself their protector by visible effects, principally when they are strengthened by a long

possession. Ceux qui alors les attaquent, ne gagnent non plus que les anciens qui ont tasché de couper l'Hexamilo. Il n'est pas en la puissance des hommes de rompre vn ordre diuinement establi, comme celuy des Monarchies. Les Princes qui s'y trouvent interessez ou pour la ruine totale de leur estat ou pour la diminution d'iceluy, doivent sçauoir que Dieu n'est pas tenu de continuer sa benediction en un endroit. Que s'il a transferé leur sceptre à vne autre main, il a fait la mesme faueur à leurs predecesseurs, qu'il a releué de terre, 18 leur donnant vne puissance absoluë, pour] en iouïr tant qu'il luy plairoit & non autrement. Qu'ils ne se plaignent donc point d'vn mal commun à tous estats, qu'ils n'accusent point vne vsurpation, que le temps, le bon-heur, & la volonté de Dieu authorisent: qu'ils retranchent leurs esperances inutiles, & le desir de vengeance qu'ils ne peuuent effectuer: Et quand ils le pourroient faire, ils deuroient prendre vne autre voye & auparauant que venir aux armes, se rapporter à l'arbitrage des Potentats & Seigneurs souuerains: Ce font ils gaigneroient l'amitié de leurs semblables, pour s'en preualoir contre leurs ennemis, au cas qu'ils ne voulussent se soubsmettre au iugement d'vn tiers. Or si vn Prince receuoit vn iuge qui voulust imperieusement s'ingerer de vider les differens, cela veritablement raueroit sa grandeur: mais d'accepter] volontairement des arbitres,

possession. Those who then attack them, do not gain more than the ancients who tried to cut the Hexamilo. It is not in the power of mankind to break an order divinely established, like that of monarchies. The Princes who find themselves interested in this matter either on account of the total ruin of their state or on account of its diminution, must know that God is not held to continue his benediction in one place. That if he has transferred their scepter to another hand, he has done the same favor to their predecessors, whom he raised up from earth, giving them an absolute power, to enjoy it so long as it shall please him and not otherwise. Let them therefore not complain of a misfortune common to all states, let them not accuse an usurpation, which the time, the happiness, and the will of God authorize, let them restrain their useless hopes, and the desire of vengeance that they cannot accomplish. And even if they could do it, they should take another course and before resorting to arms, resort to the arbitration of the sovereign Potentates and Lords: which doing they will gain the friendship of their fellow beings, to turn to account against their enemies, in case they did not wish to submit to the judgment of a third party. Now if a Prince receives a judge who wished imperiously to meddle in arranging differences, that truly would debase his grandeur; but to accept voluntarily arbitrators,

c'est vne chose iadis pratiquée & qui se pratique encore par les Monarques. Que si on termine à l'amiable les querelles esmeuës pour la possession des souueraines Principautez, on pourra plus aisement pacifier d'autres con-

19 testations &] debats qui suruiennent entre les grands pour leurs limites, pensions, tributs & autres droicts de moindre importance, comme aussi pour quelques actions ou paroles offensiuës qui causent souuent de cruelles guerres, faute d'un tiers qui pourroit addoucir les affaires en moyennant quelque satisfaction honneste, pour contenter celui qui auroit esté offensé. Et à cecy seruiroit grandement l'assemblee generale de laquelle nous parlerons cy apres. Voila donc la troisieme occasion de guerre assez refusee. Reste la quatriesme, à laquelle ie confesse qu'il est plus difficile de remedier, attendu que les hommes sont naturellement impatiens de repos, & sur tout les gens de guerre. C'est pourquoy nous lisons que tant de peuples autrefois se sont bannis volontairement de leur païs, pour aller chercher la guerre ailleurs, ne pouuans endurer que leur bras s'engourdit avec leur generosité. Cela mesme a contrainct quelques Roys de licentier leurs sub-

20 iects, leur permettant d'aller busquer fortune, de peur qu'ils n'imitassent ces anciens Odryses qui entamoient à coup] d'espee leur propre corps, quand ils n'auoient point d'ennemis pourse batre. Les Allemans à mesme fin exerçoient leur ieunesse au brigandage pour luy faire passer le

is a thing formerly practiced and which is practiced still among Monarchs. That if an end is put amicably to the quarrels started to obtain possession of sovereign Principalities, it will be more easy to pacify other contentions and debates that arise between the great about their frontiers, pensions, tributes and other rights of less importance, as also for a few offensive actions or words which cause often cruel wars, owing to the want of a third party who could soften the questions by means of granting some honest satisfaction, to content him who was offended. And for this the general assembly of which we speak hereafter would serve admirably. Thus the third cause of wars is sufficiently disposed of. Remains the fourth, for which I confess it is more difficult to find a remedy, because men are naturally impatient of quiet, and especially men at arms. It is for that reason that we read that so many people formerly banished themselves from their country, in order to seek war elsewhere, not being able to bear that their hands should become benumbed with their generosity. That even forced a few Kings to license their subjects, allowing them to go seek fortune, for fear that they should imitate those ancient Odrysae who cut their own bodies with sword strokes when they had no enemy to fight. The Germans with the same aim trained their youths in brigandage in order to occupy their

temps. Que feront donc aujourdhuy tant de vaillans hommes, qui ne peuuent sentir que la poudre à canon, ny mettre la main que sur le pommeau de leur espée, ny le pied que sur vn champs de bataille ou vne bresche, comme dit vn braue discoureur, qui ne se nomme point? La responce à ceste demande est fort sommaire. Le monde n'est pas fait pour telles gens qui ne sçauent que mal faire. Le cour des Roys n'est pas leur vray seiour. Il les faut tous enuoyer aux Canibases & Sauvages, qui n'ont rien de l'homme que la figure. Maudit naturel qui cherche le repos dans l'inquietude, l'honneur en l'infamie, & le passe-temps en l'inhumanité! Reprimez (grands Monarques) reprimez ces monstrueux courages, ces esprits forcenez, qui ne suiuent pas les Princes, mais leur fortune, qui les abandonnent au besoing, & souuentesfois les trahissent. Que peut-on es-

21 perer de ceux qui ne respi]rent que le sang & le carnage? Il est certain que les soldats sont necessaires à un Prince, pour la tuition de sa personne & de son estat, mais quand il aura balancé le bien & le mal qu'il en reçoit, il trouuera qu'il est beaucoup plus dangereux de les estimer que de les abbaissier. Car l'esprit d'vn guerrier est ambitieux & violent, & ne regarde pas ce qu'il tient, mais ce qu'il peut obtenir. Ne voyons-nous pas des exemples de cecy au siecle passé & au nostre? Les Empereurs Romains se sont mal trouuez d'auoir tant deferé aux Soldats de leur garde. Les mutins

time. What then will so many valiant men do to-day, who can only smell cannon powder, or place their hand on the hilt of their sword, or their foot except on a battlefield or a breach, as says a brave discourser who does not name himself? The answer to this question is very brief. The world is not made for such people who only know how to do harm. The court of Kings is not their true abode. They should all be sent to the Cannibals and Savages, who have nothing of man but the face. Cursed nature which seeks repose in anxiety, honor in infamy, and sport in inhumanity! Restrain (great monarchs), restrain these monstrous darings, these mad souls, who do not follow Princes, but their fortune, who abandon them in case of need, and oftentimes betray them. What can one expect of those who only breathe blood and carnage? It is certain that soldiers are necessary to a Prince, for the protection of his person and his state, but when he shall have weighed the good and the evil that he receives from them, he will find that it is much more dangerous to raise them than to humble them. For the spirit of a warrior is ambitious and violent, and does not look at what he has but at what he may obtain. Do we not see examples of this in the past century and in our own? The Roman Emperors found themselves in an awkward position for having given in so much to the soldiers of their guard. The mutineers

donnoient, ou pour mieux dire, vendoient l'Empire, & l'ostoient à leur plaisir. Ils n'auoient pas si tost presté le serment de fidelité à leur maistre, qu'ils en estoient degoustez, & le massacroient cruellement pour substituer vn autre en sa place, qui estoit reçu à mesme condition que le premier, c'est à dire, il couroit fortune d'auoir vn pareil traitement quand il plairoit à ces bourreaux, qui prononçoient arrest de mort contre celuy auquel ils soubsmettoient leur vie.]

- 22 Ainsi le grand Seigneur reçoit souuent la loy de ceux qui se disent ses esclaves. Quelle pitié de voir vn Souuerain contrainct d'abandonner ses plus fideles seruiteurs à la volonté d'une troupe mutine, qui presente vne requeste les armes au poing, & menace audacieusement son Prince comme s'il tenoit d'elle sa couronne imperiale? C'est ce qui perdra les Othomans, & leur Empire ne sera iamais ruiné que par la puissance immodérée qu'ils ont donné & donnent encore aux Ianissaires. Que s'ils vouloient recevoir vn conseil pacifique, & conspirer vnaniment avec les autres Monarques pour le repos public, ils n'endureroient point ces brauades, seroient mieux seruis, & ne dependroient aucunement des caprices des hommes turbulens, ausquels ils sont contraincts d'accorder tout. L'Empereur Probe considerant cecy disoit franchement, qu'il disposeroit les affaires en telle sorte, qu'on se passeroit bien de soldats. Grands



gave, or to speak more correctly, sold the Empire, and took it away at their pleasure. They had no sooner sworn fealty to their master, than they were disgusted with him, and cruelly massacred him to substitute another in his place, who was received on the same condition as the first one, that is to say, he ran the chance of having a similar treatment when it pleased these executioners, who pronounced the penalty of death on him to whom they submitted their lives. Thus the Great Lord receives often the law from those who call themselves his slaves. What a pity to see a sovereign forced to abandon his most faithful servitors to the will of a mutinous troop, which presents a request arms in hand, and audaciously threatens its Prince as if he held from them his imperial crown? This it is that will destroy the Ottomans, and their Empire will never be ruined except by the immoderate power they have given and still give to the Janissaires. But if they would receive a pacific council, and conspire unanimously with the other Monarchs for public tranquillity, they would not put up with these bravadoes, would be better served, and would not depend in any way upon the caprices of turbulent men, to whom they are constrained to accord everything. The Emperor Probus considering this frankly said, that he would arrange affairs in such a way, that one would get along without soldiers. Great

Princes, il est en vous d'effectuer ceste sainte resolution. Tous les hommes en general, & vos  
 23 peuples en particulier vous en] seront obligez. Il n'y a conqueste, qui vous puisse acquerir tant d'applaudissement; il n'y a victoire qui merite tant de feux de ioye. Quel plus grand honneur pouuez-vous desirer que de voir soubz vostre authorité publier la paix par tout le monde? On marquera dans les chroniques vostre nom en lettres d'or: on louëra vostre regne, comme ayant esté le commencement ou le retour du siecle heureux. On ne parlera plus des conquestes d'Alexandre, des triomphes de Cesar, des stratagemes d'Annibal & Sertorie. La vanité de ces gens-là sera recongneüe qui ont fondé leur gloire sur meurtres & pilleries, dont ils deuroient plustost auoir emporté vn regret & honte perpetuelle. On fera veoir à la posterité ces braues Heros, qui auront surmonté les monstres d'inhumanité & barbarie, auront rangé l'iniuers soubz les loix de iustice, bref qui se seront monstrez vrayes images de la diuinité. Or ce beau tiltre ne s'acquiet point par saccagemens, massacres, & actes d'hostilité, mais par vn doux gouuernement, puissance le-  
 24 gitime & reglee, qui distingue] les Royaumes d'avec les brigandages & tyrannies pleines d'inquietude & de peu de duree. Car il ne faut pas estimer que la grandeur d'vn Roy consiste en l'estenduë de sa seigneurie. Agesilaüs se faschoit de ce qu'on

Princes, it is for you to carry out this saintly resolution. All men in general, and your peoples especially, will be obliged to you for it. There is not a conquest, which can gain you so much applause; there is not a victory which merits so many bonfires. What greater honor can you desire than to see under your authority peace proclaimed throughout all the world? Your names will be marked in the chronicles in letters of gold: your reign will be praised, as having been the beginning or the return of the happy century. Men will no longer speak of the conquests of Alexander, the triumphs of Caesar, the stratagems of Hannibal and Sertorius. The vanity of those persons will be recognized who have founded their glory on murder and pillage, of which they should rather have carried away a perpetual regret and shame. Posterity will be shown those brave Heroes, who will have surmounted the monsters of inhumanity and barbarity, who will have placed the universe under the laws of justice, briefly, who will have shown themselves true images of the divinity. Now this beautiful title is not acquired by sackings, massacres, and acts of hostility, but by a gentle government, a legitimate and regulated power, which distinguishes kingdoms from robberies and tyrannies filled with anxiety and short lived. For it must not be supposed that the grandeur of a King consists in the extent of his lordship. Agesilaus was angered because the King

qualifioit du nom de Grand le Roy de Perse. Comment peut-il estre plus grand que moy, disoit-il, s'il n'est plus iuste? La vraye grandeur d'un Souuerain gist en la prompte obeïssance de ses subiects, & ferme iouïssance de son estat, ce qui ne luy peut arriuer tant qu'il s'engagera en vne guerre, laquelle apporte vne grande alteration aux volontez, avec diminution d'obeïssance & de respect: & tel commande à baguette en pleine paix qui est contrainct en temps de guerre de courtoiser son vassal, & entretenir vn simple Soldat de belles promesses. Et à quelle fin ces honteuses submissions? Pour empieter sur vn voisin, pour se rendre redoutable. Si la grandeur de vos courages vous appelle à vne fortune plus releuee, si elle ne peut acquiescer aux possessions presentes, à tout le moins imitez les aigles, qui par vne tacite  
25 conuen]tion se prescriuent vn certain espace, dans lequel elles cherchent leur proye, & ne passent point outre. Bornez vostre territoire à la mode du sage Numa, & suiuant son ordonnance sacrifiez au Dieu Terme sans effusion de sang. Auguste se comporta de ceste façon, & mit volontairement des bornes à son Empire limitant par ce moyen sa cupidité. Cest Empereur monstre bien comme il se faut seruir des gens de guerre. Car apres qu'il eust establi la paix, il mit bonnes garnisons sur les frontieres: outre ce il auoit deux flottes sur mer esquippees & bien garnies, pour les employer selon les occurrences. Et cecy seruira

of Persia was called great. How can he be greater than I, said he, he is not more just? The true grandeur of a sovereign lies in the prompt obedience of his subjects, and the firm possession of his state, which can not happen so long as he engages in a war, which brings a great change in feeling with diminution of obedience and respect and such a one commands with a rod in full peace who is constrained in war times to court his vassal, and maintain a simple soldier with fair promises. And to what end are these shameful submissions? In order to encroach on a neighbor, in order to make one's self formidable. If the greatness of your courages calls you to a more exalted fortune, if it cannot acquiesce in the present possessions, at least imitate the eagles, who by a tacit convention prescribe to one another a certain space, within which they seek their prey, and do not pass beyond. Confine your territory according to the fashion of the wise Numa, and following his ordinance sacrifice to the God Terminus without effusion of blood. Augustus bore himself in this manner, and voluntarily placed boundaries to his Empire limiting by this means his cupidity. This Emperor shows well how to make use of men at arms. For after he had established peace, he placed good garrisons on the frontiers: besides these, he had two fleets on the sea equipped and well furnished, to employ them according to circumstances. And this will serve

pour satisfaire à ceux qui disent que la valeur seroit abastardie par le moyen d'une paix generale. Je pourrois leur respondre que tout le monde estant d'accord on n'a que faire de s'aguerrir, & qu'il vaut mieux estre coüard que brutal & barbare. Mais les Romains donnoient bon ordre à cela, & s'empeschoient bien de deuenir lasches en temps de paix. Ils s'exerçoient aux tournois, tiroient à la quintaine, representoient  
 26 batailles] terrestres & nauales, afin de se disposer aux serieux combats, & notamment pour éuiter l'ennuy qu'apporte vne longue oisieté. Car tout homme s'attedie, depuis qu'il n'exerce plus son mestier. Voila pourquoy à vn soldat qui ne sçait faire autre chose que fraper, il est bon de donner quelque subiect, où il puisse desgourdir son bras, esprouuer sa force & dexterité, avec honneur toutes-fois, & sans meurtre. Et comme ceux qui ayment quelque chose en voyent volontiers le pourtraict, aussi ceux qui demandent les combats sont bien aises d'en veoir la representation. Que si tels ieux ne leur sont agreables s'ils se veulent battre à bon escient, les bestes fourniront assez dequoy passer ceste furieuse enuie. La chasse est vn exercice noble, & bien-seant aux gens de guerre, sur tout à ceux qui sont qualifiez. Je mets au rang des bestes les peuples sauages qui n'vsent point de raison. Ils donneront pareillement vn iuste subiet de guerre, aussi bien comme les pirates & voleurs qui ne font estat que de brigander. Voila en- quoy les soldats peuuent estre legitiment]

to satisfy those who say that valor will be debased by means of a general peace. I could answer them that all the world being in accord there would be no need of getting inured to war, and that it is better to be cowardly than brutal and barbarous. But the Romans paid attention to this and prevented themselves from becoming cowardly in times of peace. They exercised in the tournaments, fired at the Turk's head, represented terrestrial and naval battles, in order to predispose themselves for serious combats, and notably to avoid the boredom which a long leisure brings. For every man becomes stale, when he no longer exercises his trade. That is why to a soldier who does not do anything but strike, it is well to give some object where he can limber up his arm, try his strength and dexterity, always with honor, and without murder. And as those who like something are glad to see its portrait, those who demand combats are well pleased to see their representation. That if such games are not agreeable to them if they wish to fight seriously, the beasts will furnish enough to do to get rid of this furious desire. The chase is a noble exercise, and becoming to men at arms, especially for those who are qualified. I place among beasts savage peoples who do not reason. They will give likewise a just object of war, as well as pirates and thieves who have no calling except brigandage. In this soldiers can be legitimately

- 27 employez, & par ce moyen ils n'auront occasion de se plaindre, attendu qu'ils seront tousiours necessaires pour la manutention de la paix, & conseruation des Princes, qui ne peuuent estre en seureté sans les armes, & partant ne doiuent mespriser ceux qui en font profession, au contraire les honorer de quelques priuileges & mesmes leur donner dequoy viure, afin de leur oster toute occasion de mescontentement. Que si l'estat de leurs Finances ne pouuoit fournir à ceste liberalité, ils pourroient appliquer à cela deux remedes. Le premier est, congedier vne partie des gens de guerre, & retenir seulement les plus robustes & plus propres suiuant l'exemple de Iules Cesar, lequel dimiua le trop grand nombre de citoyens nourris aux despens de la Republique, & les reduisit au nombre de cent cinquante mil hommes. L'autre remede est de leuer vn impost particulier, pour l'entretienement de la gendarmerie, à quoy tout le peuple contribueroit volontiers, & n'auroit point de regret, de s'incommoder vn peu, pour auoir
- 28 la paix, & éuiter les oppressions & outrages qu'il endure des Soldats quand ils sont mal payez. C'est le principal fruit de la paix, de regler des deportemens des gendarmes, mais c'est vne chose impossible, tant que leur paye sera retenuë ou differee. Or ce n'est pas tout de tenir en bride ces gens-là, & d'empescher que l'oisieté ne leur engendre vn desir de rémuër. Il faut prendre garde



employed, and by this means they will have no need to complain, since they will always be necessary for the maintenance of peace, and preservation of Princes, who cannot be in safety without arms, and therefore must not disdain those who make a profession of them, on the contrary honor them with a few privileges and even give them the means to live, in order to take from them all occasion of discontent. That if the state of their finances cannot furnish this liberality, they can apply to that two remedies. The first is, dismiss a part of the men at arms, and retain only the most robust and the best suited according to the example of Julius Caesar, who diminished the too great number of citizens nourished at the cost of the Republic, and reduced them to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The other remedy is to levy a special tax to maintain the constabulary, to which all the people will willingly contribute, and would not mind inconveniencing themselves a little, in order to have peace, and avoid the oppressions and outrages which they endure from soldiers when they are badly paid. It is a principal good of peace, to regulate scandalous behaviors on the part of constables, but it is impossible to do so so long as their pay is retained or put off. Now, it is not everything to hold in hand those people, and to prevent that leisure develops in them a desire to act. Watch must be taken over the inhabit-

aux habitans des villes, qui ne sont pas moins difficiles à gouverner. Car les villageois sont la pluspart occupez & ne pensent qu'à leur mesnage. En vne ville on voit vn tas de faineans necessiteux, qui ne sçachans que faire, cherchent des querelles. Rome a esté fort trauaillee par ceste canaille, qui ne viuoit que de partialitez, & prestoit escorte de gayeté de cœur aux Magistrats seditieux pour piller, massacrer, & mettre tout en confusion. Pour obuier à ce mal, il est besoing de renouveler l'ancienne coustume des Atheniens & Aegyptiens, qui faisoient rendre compte à vn chacun de sa vie, & punissoient ceux qui demeuroient sans rien faire. Encore les

29 Chinois n'endurent point les faineans, recognoissans que c'est vne pepiniere des voleurs, assassins, & factieux. Le Prince Hipparque se faschoit quand il voyoit quelque homme otieux, il l'exhortoit à trauailler, & afin qu'il n'eust aucune excuse, luy offroit des terres & des bœufs pour les labourer. L'agriculture & le trafic sont deux vocations necessaires, & ne sont pas moins honorables. En l'vne & en l'autre paroissent le trauail, le courage, l'industrie, & preuoyance d'vn homme. Le labourage nourrit vn estat: le trafic l'aggrandit. Et c'est vn abus de penser que ces mestiers soient mechaniques ou qu'ils derogent à la Noblesse. Les Gentils-hommes Romains mettoient eux mesmes la main à la charruë, & auoient leurs facteurs en diuerses prouinces, par l'entremise

ants of cities, who are not less difficult to govern. For the inhabitants of villages are mostly occupied and think only of their household. In a city you see a mass of needy idlers, who, not knowing what to do, seek quarrels. Rome was very much exploited by that rabble, that lived only through favors and lent lightheartedly to seditious magistrates an escort to pillage, massacre, and place everything in confusion. To obviate this evil, it is necessary to renew the ancient custom of the Athenians and Egyptians, who made every one give an account of his life, and punished those who remained without doing anything. Again, the Chinese do not support idlers, recognizing that they are a nursery of thieves, assassins, and factious spirits. Prince Hipparchus became angry when he saw an idle man; he exhorted him to work, and in order that he should have no excuse, would offer him lands and oxen to cultivate them. Agriculture and traffic are two necessary vocations, and are both worthy of honor. In the one and the other the work, the courage, the industriousness and the foresight of a man show out. Cultivation nourishes a State: traffic aggrandizes it. And it is an abuse to think that these occupations are mechanical or that they are derogatory to the nobility. The Roman gentlemen themselves lent their hand to the plow, and had their stewards in different provinces, through

desquels ils trafiquoient. Et mesme au temps present plusieurs Princes ont des vaisseaux sur mer, qu'ils enuoyent aux pays estranges, dont ils tirent vn grand profit. Certainement il ne faut denigrer le marchand, principalement celuy qui d'une resolution genereuse entreprend des voyages hazardeux,] afin de s'enrichir luy & son pays. Il ne peut faire l'un sans l'autre, & le public estant composé des particuliers, il se ressent des richesses & de la pauvreté de ceux-cy. Or ce qui apporte des commoditez à vne Monarchie ce n'est point la multitude des prestres ministres, ny Religieux, iagoit que leur dignité soit grande & necessaire pour attirer la faueur du Ciel: ce ne sont point aussi les practiciens & officiers de iustice qui ne deuroient estre en si grand nombre comme ils sont en quelques endroits. Bref il n'y a mestier comparable en vtilité à celuy du marchand, qui accroist legitimement ses moyens aux despens de son trauail, & souuentefois au peril de sa vie, sans endomager n'y offenser personne: en quoy il est plus louable que le soldat, dont l'aduancement ne depend que des despoüilles & ruines d'autruy. Et puisqu'il est question de bannir l'oisiueté, & diuertir les mauuaises pensées qu'elle cause ordinairement en l'esprit des faitneans, il n'y a meilleur expedient pour cela que la negotiation, à laquelle les Princes douient inuiter leurs sub-  
31 iects par toute sorte d'artifices. Et comme

whose agency they traded. And even in the present time several Princes have vessels upon the sea, which they send to foreign countries, from which they draw a large profit. Certainly the merchant must not be disparaged, especially he who from a generous resolution undertakes hazardous voyages, in order to enrich himself and his country. He cannot do the one without the other, and the public being composed of individuals, it reflects the richness and poverty of these latter. Now what brings commodities to a monarchy is not the multitude of priests, ministers, nor monks, although I think that their dignity is great and necessary to attract the favor of Heaven: Neither is it the practitioners and officers of justice who should not be in such great numbers as they are in a few places. In short, there is no occupation to compare in utility with that of the merchant who legitimately increases his resources by the expenditure of his labor and often at the peril of his life, without injuring or offending anyone: in which he is more worthy of praise than the soldier whose advancement depends upon the spoil and destruction of others. And since it is now the question how to banish idleness, and divert the evil ideas that it ordinarily causes in the minds of ne'er-do-wells, there is no better expedient for that than commerce, to which Princes must urge their subjects by every sort of expedient. And as

Cyrus voulant abastardir ses rebelles de Lydie, leur fit subtilement frequenter les theatres, bordeaux, & cabarets: aussi au contraire pour rendre vn peuple actif & laborieux il est necessaire d'ouurir les boutiques, & conuier au trafic indifferemment les grands & les petits. Mais ny les vns ny les autres ne s'y addonneront pas volontiers tant qu'ils verront la condition des marchands si raualee, & qui pis est subiette à tant d'impositions. Il est raisonnable que le Prince tire quelques deniers sur les marchandises qu'on apporte & transporte hors de sa Seigneurie: mais il doibt en cela vser demoderation autant qu'il luy sera possible, & principalemet pour le fait des marchandises necessaires à la vie, comme bled, vin, sel, chairs, poissons, laines, toiles, & cuirs, afin que les marchands y trafiquent plus librement, & que le peuple les aye à meilleur pris, qui par ce moyen sera content, & au lieu de murmurer contre son Prince, le reuerera comme vn astre salulaire, ou Dieu terrestre, luy donnera mille benedictions & tesmoignages de sa] bienueillance, en telle sorte qu'il n'aura besoing de soldats, estant assure au dedans de son Royaume: & quant aux estrangers il s'en garentira par l'entretien de quelques compagnies d'ordonnance, encore qu'elles ne soient pas beaucoup requises, sinon pour satisfaire à la deffiance, si tant est que nous puissions obtenir vne paix vniuerselle, dont le beau fruct est l'establissement du commerce: & partant les

Cyrus, wishing to debase his Lydian rebels, subtly caused them to frequent theaters, brothels, and taverns: on the contrary to cause a people to be active and laborious it is necessary to open the shops, and invite indifferently the great and the small to trade. But neither the ones nor the others will give themselves to it voluntarily so long as they see the condition of merchants so disparaged, and, what is worse, subject to so many impositions. It is reasonable that the Prince levies a few honest pennies on the merchandise which is brought in and taken out of his territory: but he must in so doing use moderation as much as he possibly can, and especially about the merchandise necessary to life, as wheat, wine, salt, meat, fish, wool, linen and hides, so that merchants may trade in them more freely, and that the people may have them at a lower price, who by this means will be content, and instead of murmuring against its Prince, will revere him like a beneficial star, or terrestrial God; will give him a thousand benedictions and testimonials of its good will, so that he will not need soldiers, being safe within his kingdom: and as for foreigners he will protect himself by maintaining a few companies of constables, even though they are not much needed, unless to satisfy mistrust, in case it may be possible that we may obtain a universal peace, of which the best result is the establishment of commerce: and never-

Monarques doivent pourueoir, à ce que leurs subiects puissent sans aucune crainte trafiquer tant par mer que par terre: ce qu'un chacun pourra aisement faire en son estat particulier. Et pour bien commencer, faudroit prendre le soing non seulement des grosses riuieres, mais aussi des moindres, & rendre celles-cy capable de porter bateaux, attendu qu'en cela gist toute la commodité du commerce, si bien que ceux qui n'ont aucune riuere, font venir des eaux par artifice, comme les Brabansons qui ont creusé vn canal depuis Bruxelles iusques à Lescaut, afin de communiquer plus aisement avec ceux d'Anuers. On trouue 33 assez de] belles riuieres en France, mais elles ne seruent qu'à noyer les prez & les heritages prochains, comme l'on remonstra au conseil du Roy Charles neufiesme, qui auoit resolu d'y pourueoir, si les troubles suruenus n'eussent rompu le dessein. Aussi depuis peu de temps on a proposé le moyen de ioindre quelques fleuues nauigables. L'argent & la peine seroient en cela bien employez. Mais il seroit plus vtile pour le trafic general, de ioindre deux mers: ce qui ne se peut faire que par trois moyens, iadis pratiquez avec plus de courage que d'effect: c'est à sçauoir en coupant vndestroit de terre qui soit entre deux mers: ou en conduisant vne tranchee d'un fleue qui tombe dans vne mer, & ne soit pas esloigné de l'autre: ou bien ioindre par vne fosse deux riuieres, lesquelles s'embouchent separement en diuerses mers. Le premier moyen a esté pratiqué



theless the monarchs must see to it that their subjects can traffic without fear as well by sea as by land: which every person will be easily able to do in his particular capacity. And in order to begin well, watch must be kept not only on the great rivers, but also on the smaller, and render these latter capable of carrying boats, since that is at the base of commerce, so much so that those people who have no river, form waterways by artificial means like the Brabançons who have dug a canal from Brussels to the Schelde, in order to communicate more easily with Antwerp. One finds enough fine rivers in France, but they serve only to drown the fields and the neighboring inheritances, as was demonstrated to the council of King Charles the Ninth, who had resolved to look into the matter, if the troubles that subsequently arose had not broken up this plan. Within a short time a plan has been proposed to join a few navigable rivers. Money and trouble would be well spent in that. But it would be more useful for general traffic to join two seas; which can only be done in three ways, formerly practiced with more courage than effect: to wit, in cutting through a narrow piece of land that lies between two seas: or in digging a trench from a river that flows into one sea, and is not far distant from the other: or else join by a ditch two rivers, which empty separately in different seas. The first plan was practiced

par le Roy Demetrius, & les Empereurs Jules, Caligula, Neron, qui ont tâché de couper l'Hexamilo, qui separe la mer Ægée d'auec l'Ionique, mais ils n'ont rien gagné. Le second  
 34 moyen fut employé] par Ptolomee qui fit vne fosse entre le Nil & la mer rouge, mais il ne poursuivit pas, ayant esté aduertit que ceste mer estoit plus haute que l'Égypte, & par consequent q'elleu noyeroit tout le pays. Apres la reuolution de plusieurs siecles les Soldans & les Turcs ont eu le mesme dessein, pour se faciliter le chemin aux Indes. Le dernier moyen pour ioindre les mers a plus heureusement reüssi à Charlemagne. Car il accoupla les riuieres d'Almona & de Radantia, en Franconie, dont l'vne tombe dans le Danube, & de là dans la mer Mediterranee: l'autre se ioinct au Mein & au Rhein, & se rend finalement en l'Ocean d'Hollande: Ainsi on alloit éuiter beaucoup de destours qu'il faut faire, & vne infinité de hazards & incommoditez qu'on souffre pour passer d'vne mer à l'autre. Mais lors qu'on estoit en ceste besongne, les pluyes furent si grandes, qu'elles comblèrent la fosse de borbier. Il seroit aisé de mertre fin à ce beau dessein, si la paix estoit en Allemagne. Il y a vn autre endroit, où ces deux mers se pourroient ioindre. Cest  
 35 en Languedoc,] en tirant vne tranchee de l'Aude qui va par Narbone dans la mer Mediterranee, insques à la Reige qui se mesle avec la Garonne, &

by King Demetrius, and the Emperors Julian, Caligula, Nero, who tried to cut the Hexamilo, which separates the Ægian Sea from the Ionic, but they gained nothing. The second plan was employed by Ptolemy, who dug a trench between the Nile and the Red Sea, but he did not keep on, having been informed that that sea was higher than Egypt, and consequently that it would submerge the whole country. After the lapse of several centuries the Sultans and Turks had the same design, in order to facilitate their road to India. The last plan to join the seas was more successfully carried out by Charlemagne. For he coupled the rivers Altmühl and Rednitz in Franconia, one of which falls into the Danube, and from there into the Mediterranean: the other joins itself to the Main and the Rhine, and falls finally into the Ocean of Holland: Thus they were going to avoid many windings that must be made, and an infinity of hazards and inconveniences that one suffers to pass from one sea to the other. But while they were at this work, the rains were so great, that they filled the ditch with mud. It would be easy to finish this beautiful design if there were peace in Germany. There is another place where these two seas could join. It is in Languedoc, by digging a trench from the Aude which goes by Narbonne into the Mediterranean, to the Ariege which mixes itself with the Garonne, and

entre dans l'Océan Aquitanique. Le Roy François premier proiettoit d'obliger ses subiets par ceste action qui ne luy eust pas moins apporté de reputation que ses victoires, si la mort ne luy eust enuié cest honneur. De mesme façon il seroit aisé d'accourcir le chemin de la mer Caspienne à la mer Maiour, en coupant vne petite espace de terre depuis le Tane tombant au marais Meotide, & pont-Euxin, iusques à Volga qui se rend à la mer Caspienne: car ces deux riuieres approchent en quelques endroicts fort prez l'vne de l'autre. Cela rendroit le commerce de Moschouie & des Indes beaucoup plus facile & plus libre. Je confesse que telles entreprises sont grandes & penibles, mais aussi elles sont dignes des grands Monarques, lesquels ne doiuent employer le temps de paix qu'en actions esclatantes, releuees, & profitables au public, comme celle-cy, qui tendent à l'establissement & commodité du commerce.]

- 36 Quel plaisir seroit-ce, de veoir les hommes aller de part & d'autre librement, & communiquer ensemble sans aucun scrupule de pays, de ceremonies, ou d'autres diuersitez semblables, comme si la terre estoit, ainsi qu'elle est veritablement, vne cité commune à tous? Il n'y a que les sauages & voleurs qui puissent empescher vn si grand bien: mais il est vraysemblable, que se voyans seuls, ils penseront à leur conscience. Que s'ils veulent continuer leur façon de viure brutale, ils ne sont pas bastans pour resister à vn consentement general de tant de peuples, qui leur cour-

enters into the Aquitanic Ocean. King Francis the First planned to help his subjects by this deed which would have brought him no less reputation than his victories, if death had not envied him this honor. In the same way it will be easy to shorten the way from the Caspian Sea to the Maiour Sea, by cutting a small bit of land from the Tanais falling into the Meotide marshes and the Euxine, to the Volga which flows to the Caspian Sea: for these two rivers approach in a few places very close to one another. That would make the commerce of Muscovy and the Indies much easier and more free. I confess that such enterprises are great and difficult, but also they are worthy of the great monarchs, who must employ times of peace only in deeds, shining, exalted and profitable for the public like this one, which tend to the establishment and accommodation of commerce. What a pleasure it would be, to see men go here and there freely, and mix together without any hindrance of country, ceremonies, or other such like differences, as if the earth were as it really is, a city common to all. There are only the savages and thieves that can prevent so great a good: but it is quite possible, that seeing themselves alone, they will think of their conscience. That if they wish to continue to live in their brutal fashion, they are not sufficient to resist the general consensus of so many peoples, who will fall upon

ront sus, & les iront bloquer, assaillir & tuer comme pauvres bestes dans leurs gistes. La guerre sera tousiours bonne contr'eux, si on ne les peut reduire à la raison. Et pour le regard des voleurs de terre, il est aisé de les dompter, ou de viue force, ou par famine, en leur retranchant les viures, si d'auanture ils tiennent des lieux inaccessibles, comme ils ont en plusieurs endroits. Les pirates sont plus difficiles à attraper, à cause de la large campagne de la mer, qui leur sert d'asyle & de  
37 refuge. Tou]tesfois pour en venir à bout, il y a deux moyens tous dissemblables: la liberalité & la force. Pompee pratiqua l'un & l'autre contre les Corsaires, qui tenoient en subiection la mer mediterranee, & auoient reduict l'Italie en vne extreme necessité de viures. Car apres auoir esquipé vn bon nombre de vaisseaux, il leur donna la chasse, en deffit vne partie, contraignit le reste d'accepter les conditions qu'il leur proposa, & leur ayant osté les ports qu'ils occupoient, les escarta en diuers lieux, en leur baillant quelques terres pour s'entretenir, & ainsi rompit leur association, pendant laquelle ils s'estoient rendus inuincibles. Si les Roys & potentats d'auioird'huy ont vne bonne intelligence ensemble, ils pourront en peu de temps nettoyer la mer de ces brigands. C'est vne honte que non seulement on les tolere, mais aussi on leur donne des lieux d'importance pour retraicts, comme Alger en Barbarie. Le grand Seig-

them and will block, attack and kill them like poor beasts in their lairs. War will always be a good thing against them, if they cannot be brought to reason. And as regards robbers, on land it is easy to subdue them, either by main force, or by famine, by cutting off their supplies, if perchance they hold inaccessible places, as they do in several localities. Pirates are more difficult to catch, because of the wide extent of the sea, which serves them as an asylum and refuge. Nevertheless to finish them, there are two dissimilar plans: liberality and force. Pompey practiced the one and the other against the pirates, who held in subjection the Mediterranean Sea and had reduced Italy to an extreme want of provisions. For after having equipped a good number of vessels, he chased them, defeated a part, forced the remainder to accept the conditions that he offered them, and having taken from them the ports that they occupied, scattered them in various localities, leased them some lands to support themselves, and thus broke up their association, which while it lasted made them invincible. If the Kings and potentates of to-day have a good understanding together, they can in a short time sweep the sea free of these brigands. It is a shame that not only they are tolerated, but also that they are given important places for refuges, such as Algiers in Barbary. The Great Lord draws but

neur tire peu de profit, & moins d'honneur de cela, & bien que telles gens luy peuvent rendre  
 38 service, en vne occasion; il luy seroit tou]lesfois plus seant, de mettre en ses villes vne garnison de braues & genereux soldats, que de se declarer si ouuertement protecteur des Corsaires. Au surplus, la paix le dispensera de ceste subiection, & les autres Monarques employeront de leur part toute leur puissance, pour exterminer les voleurs. Mais ie serois d'aduis, de tenter auparauant le voye de douceur, & leur offrir quelque honneste appointment. La pauureté contrainct plusieurs de mener vne vie illicite: ceste cause cessant, ils se soubsmettront à la police commune. L'importance est de leur assigner pension, ou plus-tost des heritages. Il y a tant de terres qui sont inutiles par faute d'estre cultiuees: que si on les vouloit deffricher, elles suffiroient pour nourrir vne infinité de pauures. Il y a pareillement force lieux marescageux, dont on feroit de bonnes terres si les eaux en estoient escoulees. Ce qui occasionna les Romains de donner commission à plusieurs Magistrats pour nettoyer & desseicher ceste grande palus qui est sur la chemin de Naples, mais ils se sont portez trop l'entement en] cest affaire,  
 39 de sorte que ce quartier-là est encore auiourd'huy plein de bourbe, qui pourroit estre conuertit en bonnes prairies ou terres à bled, si les hommes y vouloient trauailler: Ie diray le mesme des marescages & terres desertes de Languedoc, Prouence & autres cantons de ce Royaume, qui tes-



little profit, and less honor from that, and even though such gentry can render him a service on occasion: it would be more becoming for him, nevertheless, to place in those cities a garrison of brave and generous soldiers, than to declare himself so openly the protector of privateers. Besides, peace will dispense him of this subjection, and the other monarchs will employ on their part all their power, to exterminate the robbers. But I would be of the opinion, to try in the first place mildness, and offer them some honest salary. Poverty forces many to lead an illicit existence: this cause ceasing they would submit to the common policy. The important thing is to assign them a berth or better still some permanent position. There are so many lands that lie useless because they are not cultivated: that if they were cleared, they would suffice to nourish an infinity of poor. There are likewise many marshy places, of which good lands could be made if the waters were drained from them. Which caused the Romans to give commissions to a number of magistrates to clean and dry that great marsh which is on the road to Naples, but they proceeded too slowly in that business, so that that locality is still to-day full of mud, which could be converted into good prairies or wheat lands, if men would work at it: I will say the same of the marshes and desert lands of Languedoc, Provence and other cantons of this

moignent le mauvais ménage, ou la négligence des François. S'il y a de la difficulté en cela, elle se peut surmonter par vne laborieuse perseuerance. Rien n'est impossible à la main & industrie de l'homme. Les Ægyptiens ont employé tant de temps & d'argent à bastir leurs Pyramides, qui n'ont serui que d'ostentation: A plus forte raison doit-on s'efforcer de rendre la fertilité à ces campagnes steriles, pour le soulagement d'une infinité de pauvres. Et au cas qu'elles ne fussent propres ny suffisantes pour accommoder les pirates, il faudroit leur achepter des terres de labour, & les ensaisiner d'icelles, à la charge de les entretenir en bon estat, & d'en payer vne petite rente par forme de recognoissance. Ceste largesse se feroit aux depens du] public, mais il en tireroit le profit.

40 On achette aucunesfois bien cherement la paix d'un ennemy. Pourquoi ne preuiendroit-on pas les mauvais desseins de ces gens-là, qui denoncent la guerre à tout le monde, par vne liberalité honneste, qui leur amolliroit le cœur, addouciroit le courage, & les reduiroit à vne vie tranquille. Il y a des naturels qui ne se peuuent gagner autrement, & comme ces deux roches dont parle Pline, ne bougent de leur place, quand on les pousse rudement, mais en les touchant du bout du doigt on les esbranle; aussi plusieurs se rangent à la raison par douceur, qui ne fleschiroient aucunement sous la violence. Il n'y a point

kingdom, which bear witness to the bad management, or the neglect of the French. If there is difficulty in this, it can be overcome by a laborious perseverance. Nothing is impossible to the hand and the industry of man. The Egyptians employed so much time and money to build the Pyramids, that served only for ostentation: For all the more reason must an effort be made to give back fertility to those sterile fields, for the relief of an infinity of poor. And in case they were neither suitable nor sufficient to accommodate the pirates, it would be necessary to buy for them arable lands, and give them to them, on condition that they would keep them up in good condition, and pay a small rent as an expression of gratitude. This liberality would be done at the public expense, but it would receive the profit. One buys sometimes peace very dearly from an enemy. Why not anticipate the bad designs of those people, who denounce war to all the world, by an honest liberality, which would soften their hearts, mollify their courage, and reduce them to a tranquil life? There are natures that cannot be won otherwise, and like those two rocks which Pliny speaks of which do not stir from their place when you push them vigorously, but by touching them with the end of the finger, you cause them to move; in the same way many are brought to reason through gentleness, who would not bend before violence.

de plus belle victoire ny de plus asseuree, que celle de la courtoisie, & clemence. Vn Prince ne sera iamais blasmé quand il fera le profit de son peuple & le sien en quelque maniere que ce soit. L'Empereur Solyman fit vn traict de maistre politique, quand il rechercha d'accord Dragut & Barberousse Archipirates: il les reçut en son Conseil, leur donna des gouuernemens & charges hono-  
 41 rables,] afin d'auoir la paix en ses estats, bref de puissans ennemis en fit de bons amis. Ce moyen d'attirer les Corsaires à la vertu est loüable, afin que par leur exemple les autres soient rangez à leur deuoir, & aussi de peur que le desespoir ne les incite à commettre de plus grandes cruautez. Que si quelques vns veulent continuer leur volerie, ils les faut poursuiure, & chastier sans aucune misericorde: A ceste fin chaque Prince deuroit entretenir tousiours quelques vaisseaux pour combatre ces monstres marins. Auguste pourueut diligemment à cela: Car outre les vaisseaux qu'il auoit au port d'Ostie, de Freius, & sur le Rhein, Danube, & Euphrate, il entretenoit deux grandes flottes, l'une à Misene qui gardoit les costes de France, Hespagne, Afrique, Ægypte, Sardaigne & Sicile: l'autre à Rauenne qui couroit en Grece & en l'Orient. Il ne tiendra qu'aux Monarques de ce temps, que les chemins de la mer ne soient asseurez. C'est honneur & profit pour eux. Le Roy d'Hespagne y met peine de son costé. Car

There is not a victory more beautiful or more assured, than that of courtesy and clemency. A Prince will never be blamed when he seeks the good of his people and his own in whatever manner that it may be. The Emperor Solyman made a master stroke of politics, when he tried to accord the arch pirates Dragut and Barbarossa: he received them into his council, gave them governments and honorable posts, in order to have peace in his states, in short of powerful enemies he made good friends. This means of attracting privateers to virtue is praiseworthy, so that by their example the others may be faithful to their duty, also for fear that despair incites them to commit even greater cruelties. That if a few wish to continue their stealings, they must be pursued, and chastise them without mercy: To this end each Prince should always maintain a few vessels to fight these marine monsters. Augustus provided diligently for that: For besides the vessels that he had in the harbor of Ostia, of Frejus, and on the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates, he maintained two great fleets, one at Messina which guarded the coasts of France, Spain, Africa, Egypt, Sardinia and Sicily: the other at Ravenna which cruised to Greece and the Orient. It depends only on the monarchs of this time, that the routes of the sea are safe. It is honor and profit for them. The King of Spain takes pains to do his part. For

son Lieutenant de Goa, tous les ans vogue sur  
 42 l'Océan] des Indes Orientales avec une armée navale,  
 pour empêcher les courses des Pirates: & à même  
 fin il entretient bonne garnison en la ville S. Domi-  
 nique, qui pour la commodité de sa situation  
 commande à toute la mer du nouveau monde. Les  
 autres Rois peuvent pareillement affranchir leurs  
 côtes de brigandages, & par ce moyen le commerce  
 étant assuré les hommes auront une belle oc-  
 casion de s'addonner au trafic tant par mer que  
 par terre. Que si quelqu'un ne se sent propre,  
 ou s'il n'est enclin à la négociation, il y a d'autres  
 métiers qui conviennent au menu peuple. Non  
 que pour cela ils soient méprisables: car l'archi-  
 tecture, la peinture, l'orfèvrerie, l'horlogerie, l'ou-  
 vrage des soies, des toiles & autres arts que  
 nous appelons mécaniques, ne cèdent guères  
 en invention ou subtilité aux arts libéraux, & en  
 utilité les surpassent. Occasion pourquoy il seroit  
 bon pour encourager les artisans, de leur proposer  
 récompense, & d'établir en toutes les villes un  
 officier, qui reçeroit les noms de ceux qui ex-  
 43 celleroient en quelque art afin de les ap]pointer  
 suivant leur capacité, laquelle ils feroient veoir  
 en présence des maîtres ouvriers. Ceste Police  
 esueilleroit les esprits, les retireroit de l'oisiveté,  
 & leur feroit embrasser gayement une vacation,  
 sous l'espoir d'estre pourueus en cas qu'ils  
 s'acquittassent bien de leur charge: Et ce qui

his Lieutenant of Goa, every year cruises on the Ocean of the East Indies with a naval army, in order to prevent the raids of pirates: and to the same end he maintains a good garrison in the town of St. Dominique, which owing to its situation commands all the sea of the new world. The other Kings can likewise free their coasts of brigandage, and by this means commerce being assured men will have a fine occasion to give themselves up to trade as well by sea as by land. That if anyone does not feel fitted for, or does not care for commerce, there are other vocations that suit plain people. Not for that that they are to be despised: for architecture, painting, the goldsmith's art, watchmaking, the making of silks, of linens and other arts that we call mechanical, do not yield much in invention or painstaking to the liberal arts, and in usefulness surpass them. For this reason, it would be well to encourage the artisans, to offer them recompense, and to establish in all towns an officer, who would receive the names of those who excelled in some art in order to appoint them according to their capacity, which they would show in the presence of master workmen. This policy would wake up the individuals, would withdraw them from idleness and would cause them to enter cheerfully on a vocation, with the hope that they would be provided for in case they did their work well: And

les encourageroit le plus, ce seroit de veoir le soing que le Magistrat auroit de leur profession attendu qu'il n'y a rien qui excite plus la vertu ou l'industrie, que la recompense donnee par autorité publique. On verroit alors vne belle contention entre les hommes de mesme qualité: chacun s'efforceroit à surpasser son compaignon, pour r'emporter le bruit & l'attestation d'auoir bien fait en son mestier. Mais nous ne sommes sur le point de veoir vn tel ordre. Les arts sont mesprizez & en particulier & en general. Il n'y a presque moyen en ce siecle de paruenir à vne fortune mediocre par aucun honneste exercice. Vn homme quelque industrie, quelque eminence de sçauoir, ou artifice qu'il aye en sa vacation, n'est non plus  
 44 estimé] qu'un chetif apprenti, & ne sçait à qui il se doibt addresser, pour gagner sa vie, s'il n'a autre support ou respondant que la suffisance. A qui aura-il recours? A ces semblables? La ialousie les empeschera de luy vouloir du bien, & quand il feroit merueilles, il luy faut trouuer argent pour se faire passer maistre: autrement il ne luy sera permis de tenir boutique. Cela sans doubtte est capable d'aneantir tous les arts, & de rendre tant d'hommes faitneans, qui aiment mieux battre le paué, seruir d'estafiers & coupe-iarets, ou mendier, que de traouiller, voyans le peu d'estat qu'on fait des bons ouuriers & ingenieux. Il faut donc auoir soing des arts



what would encourage them the most, would be to see the care that the magistrate would have of their profession since there is nothing else that excites more virtue or industry, than a reward given by public authority. One would see then a fine contest between men of the same occupation: every one would try to surpass his companion, to carry off the applause, and the certificate of having done well at his trade. But we are not on the point of seeing such an order of things. The arts are despised, both in particular and in general. There is hardly a way in this century to acquire a modest fortune by any honest means. A man, whatever industry, eminence of knowledge, or skill he may have in his work, is no more thought of than a paltry apprentice, and does not know to whom he should address himself, in order to gain his livelihood, if he has no other support or backer than assurance. To whom will he turn? To his fellow beings? Jealousy will prevent them wishing him well, and when even if he does marvellous work, he must find money in order to be admitted master: otherwise he will not be allowed to keep a shop. That no doubt is capable of crushing all the arts, and to make so many men good for nothing, who like better to walk the streets, serve as bullies and cut-throats, or beg, rather than work, seeing the small esteem which is the lot of good workers and ingenious ones. Care must be taken

mechaniques, & y apporter le reglement susdict, afin que le simple peuple s'y addonne sous l'esperance de profit, & d'entretien sortable à sa condition. Car Lycurgus n'auoit point raison de defendre les ourages de main, & le trafic à ses Citoyens, ne leur laissant que le bouclier & l'espee. C'estoit violenter la societé humaine, & luy oster ses beaux ornemens, voire mesme la d'espouïller des choses

45 les plus ne]cessaires. Son ordonnance estoit bonne pour la Republique des bestes, qui n'ont que les dents & les griffes. Numa fit plus sagement qui departit le peuple de Rome par confrairies, & en establit autant qu'il y auoit de mestiers, recognoissant que le corps d'vne ville estoit composé d'artisans & marchands, & que sans eux vn estat ne pouuoit subsister, & perdoit sa forme. Je vous laisse à penser en quelle peine nous serions, si nous n'auions point de laboureurs, vigneron, tisserands, tanneurs, forgerons, mareschaux, chirurgiens, teinturiers, massons, charpentiers, fondeurs, cordonniers, foulons, cordeurs, orfeures, potiers, tourneurs, & autres semblables ouuriers, de qui nous tenons non seulement nos commoditez, mais aussi la vie. De dire que telles vacations appartiennent aux esclaves, comme estimoit Lycurgus, cest vne impertinence, attendu qu'vn homme prudent & accort ne mesprise iamais vne chose dont il ne se peut passer. Et à quel propos desdaigner les arts mechaniques, principalement celles

then of the mechanical arts, and bring to them the regulations just mentioned, so that the common people may take it up with the hope of profit, and a maintenance conformable to their condition. For Lycurgus was mistaken in forbidding manual labor, and trade to his citizens, leaving them only the shield and the sword. It was violating human society, and taking from it its beautiful ornaments, even depriving it of the most necessary things. His ordinance was good for the Republic of beasts, which have only teeth and claws. Numa acted more wisely who divided the Roman people into fraternities, and established as many as there were trades, recognizing that the body of a city was composed of artisans and merchants, and that without them a State could not subsist, and lost its form. I leave you to imagine what trouble we would be in if we had no cultivators, wine growers, weavers, tanners, iron workers, blacksmiths, surgeons, dyers, masons, carpenters, founders, shoemakers, fullers, rope makers, goldsmiths, potters, turners, and other similar workmen, from whom we receive not only our commodities, but also our life. To say that such vocations belong to slaves, as Lycurgus believed, is an impertinence, since a prudent and reasonable man never despises a thing without which he cannot get along. And to what purpose disdain the mechanical arts, especially those

qui monstrent vne dexterité, outre le profit & plaisir] qu'elles apportent? Au reste ce n'est pas l'estat qui honore l'homme, mais plustost l'homme qui faict honneur à son estat, comme disoit Epaminonde, lors qu'on luy bailla vne che-tive commission, & peu conuenable à ses merites. Toutesfois les hommes qualifiez ou pour la noblesse de leur race, au pour la subtilité de leur esprit, deuroient plustost s'occuper aux sciences, & sur tout à celles qui regardent l'vtilité de la vie, assauoir la Medecine & les Mathematiques. Pour le regard de celles-cy, on ne les peut trop recommander, si nous considerons l'estenduë de leur obiect, & la grandeur de leur pratique, outre la certitude de leurs demonstrations, & la facilité qui conuioit iadis les enfans à les apprendre. Quant à la medecine, bien que plusieurs la denigrent, son vtilité est euidente, & pour vne raison qu'on pourra braquer contr'elle, il y en a cent qui luy seruiront de contrebatterie pour la defendre. Iettons vn peu la veuë sur les autres sciences. La Theologie surpasse nostre capacité. La Dialectique n'est que seruante & portiere des] autres. La physique est vne cognoissance de nature, qui depend de l'experience. La Rhetorique est superfluë. La Jurisprudence n'est pas plus necessaire, & vn bon iugement naturel suffit pour terminer les procez, sans auoir recours à vne milliace de loix & decisions, qui enuelopent les causes, au lieu de les demesler. La grammaire poësie

that show dextrousness, over and above the profit and pleasure that they bring? Besides it is not the station that honors the man, but rather the man who brings honor to his station, as Epaminondas said, when he was assigned a paltry commission, and little suitable to his merits. Still the men qualified either by nobility of their family, or for the cleverness of their minds, should rather devote themselves to the sciences, and especially to those that relate to things useful to life, to wit, medicine and mathematics. In reference to these latter one cannot recommend them too much, if one consider the breadth of their subject, and the grandeur of their practice, besides the certainty of their demonstrations, and the facility that invited formerly children to learn them. As for medicine, although many belittle it, its utility is evident, and for one reason that could be brought against it, there are a hundred that will serve as counter batteries to defend it. Let us glance a little upon the other sciences. Theology surpasses our capacity. Dialectics is only subservient and an aid to the others. Physics is a knowledge of nature that depends on experience. Rhetoric is superfluous. Jurisprudence is also not necessary, and a good natural judgment is sufficient to finish lawsuits, without resorting to a multitude of laws and decisions that only confuse cases instead of simplifying them. Gram-

& histoire sont plus specieuses que profitables. Tellement qu'en toutes les honnestes disciplines ces deux-là tiennent les premiers rangs, pour ce qui concerne l'usage public, & partant doiuent estre recommandees, sans preiudice neantmoins des autres qui seruent de grand ornement. Voila les exercices ausquels les Princes pourront contraindre leurs subiects, afin qu'ayans dequoy s'employer, ils ne s'amusent à troubler le repos public: Et ainsi nous aurons reietté les causes & pretextes de la guerre. Vne autre consideration pourtant se presente encore. C'est l'inimitié & s'il faut ainsi parler, l'antipathie qui se trueue entre plusieurs peuples ou pour leurs vieilles querelles, ou  
 48 pour la diuersité de leur religion.] Car comment est-il possible, dira quelqu'un, d'accorder des peuples qui sont si separez de volonté & d'affection, comme le Turc & le Persan, le François & l'Hespagnol, le Chinois & le Tartare, le Chrestien & le Iuif ou Mahometain? Je dis que telles inimitiez ne sont que politiques, & ne peuuent oster la conionction qui est & doibt estre entre les hommes. La distance des lieux, la separation des domiciles n'amointrit point la proximité du sang. Elle ne peut non plus oster la similitude du naturel, vray fondement d'amitié & société humaine. Pourquoi moy qui suis François voudray-ie du mal à un Anglois, Hespagnol & Indien? Je ne le puis, quand ie considere qu'ils sont hommes

mar, poetry and history are more specious than profitable. So much so that in all the honest exercises those two hold the first rank, in so far as concerns public use, and therefore must be recommended, without prejudice nevertheless of the others that serve as great ornaments. These are the exercises to which Princes could force their subjects, so that having employment enough, they should not amuse themselves by troubling public peace. And thus we will have thrown off the causes and pretexts of war. Another consideration however still presents itself. It is the hostility and if we must say so, the antipathy which exists between several peoples either on account of their old quarrels or because of the diversity of their religion. For how is it possible, some one will say, to bring in accord peoples who are so different in wishes and affections, as the Turk and the Persian, the Frenchman and the Spaniard, the Chinese and the Tatar, the Christian and the Jew or the Mohammedan? I say that such hostilities are only political, and cannot take away the connection that is and must be between men. The distance of places, the separation of domiciles does not lessen the relationship of blood. It cannot either take away the similarity of natures, true base of amity and human society. Why should I a Frenchman wish harm to an Englishman, a Spaniard, or a Hindoo? I cannot wish it when I consider that

comme moy, que ie suis subiet comme eux à erreur & peché, & que toutes les nations sont associees par vn lien naturel, & consequemment indissoluble. Qui fait qu'un homme ne peut reputer vn autre estrange, si ce n'est en suiuant l'opinion commune & inueteree qu'il a reçeu de ses predecesseurs. Je diray le mesme pour le regard des Religions qui passionnent tant les hommes, & les] acharnent les vns contre les autres, si que  
49 vn Chrestien quand il rencontre vn Iuif ou Mahometain, pense estre contaminé de leur aspect, & s' imagine de veoir vn demon: d'autre part ceux-cy & les payens ont en pareil horreur les Chrestiens. Je mets en auant ces quatre Religions pource qu'elles sont les plus communes, & toutes les autres en dependent. Les Chrestiens blasment les Mohametains pour leurs superstitions & opinions ridicules. Ceux-cy accusent les Chrestiens de blasphemes & impieté & n'en parlent iamais qu'avec mespris. Les payens se targuent de leur antiquité, & s'estiment heureux de perseuerer en leurs sacrifices. Les Iuifs se moquent de tout cela, & bien qu'ils soient hays & chassez de tout le monde, neantmoins ils tirent de là vn argument de benediction & faueur diuine, d'autant que parmy tant d'ennemis, au milieu de tant de persecutions ils se sont maintenus, & se maintiennent encore en despit des attaques & assauts qu'on leur donne. Les Histoires loüent les Messeniens, de ce



they are men like me, that I am subject like them to error and sin and that all nations are bound together by a natural and consequently indestructible tie, which ensures that a man cannot consider another a stranger, unless he follows the common and inveterate opinion that he has received from his predecessors. I will say the same as regards the religions which so arouse men's passions, and set them against one another, so that when a Christian meets a Jew or a Mohammetan, he thinks he is contaminated by their presence and imagines he sees a demon: on the other hand these and the pagans hold Christians in equal horror. I bring these four religions to the fore because they are the most common, and all the others depend upon them. The Christians blame the Mohammedans for their superstitions and ridiculous opinions. These latter accuse the Christians of blasphemy and impiety and speak of them only with disdain. The Pagans boast of their antiquity, and consider themselves fortunate to continue their sacrifices. The Jews mock at all that, and even though they are hated and chased from all the world, nevertheless they draw from this an argument of divine benediction and favor, since among so many enemies, in the midst of so many persecutions they have maintained themselves, and still maintain themselves in spite of the attacks and assaults they receive. Histories praise the Messenians,

qu'estans refugiez en vn pays estrange, l'espace de  
50 trois] cens ans, ils n'ont aucunement changé leur  
langue ny anciennes coustumes. On se doit bien  
plus estonner des Iuifs, qui depuis tant de siecles  
ont constamment perseueré en la creance de leurs  
peres. Or toutes ces Religions se fondent sur  
preuues, alleguent leurs miracles, & chacun pre-  
sume que la sienne est la meilleure. Je n'ay pas  
entrepris de vuidier ce differend. Vn plus suffisant  
que moy y seroit bien empesché. Seulement ie  
diray qu'elles tendent toutes à vne mesme fin, à  
sçauoir à la recognoissance & adoration de la di-  
unité. Que si aucunes ne choisissent pas le bon  
chemin, ou moyen legitime, c'est plustot par sim-  
plicité & mauuaise instruction, que par malice,  
& par consequent sont plus dignes de compassion  
que de haine. Qu'est-il besoin de se faire la guerre  
pour la diuersité des ceremonies? Je ne diray  
pas de Religion, veu que le principal point d'icelle  
gist en l'adoration de Dieu, qui demande plus-  
tost le cœur des hommes, que le culte exterieur  
& les sacrifices, dont on fait tant de Parades: Non  
51 que ie vueille conclure au mespris des cere]monies;  
mais ie dis que nous ne deuons persecuter ceux  
qui ne veulent point embrasser les nostres. Par  
la loy de Moyse il est defendu de mesdire des  
Dieux estrangers, & dans le temple de Salomon on  
receuoit indifferemment les offrandes des idolatres.  
Et maintenant les hommes ruineroient volon-  
tiers ceux qui ne s'accordent pas à leur foy. Ils

because having sought refuge in a foreign land, for a space of three hundred years, they have in no way changed their language or ancient customs. One must be far more astonished at the Jews, who since so many centuries have constantly persevered in the faith of their fathers. Now all these religions are based on evidence, alleging their miracles, and each one presumes that his is the best. I have not undertaken to solve this difficulty. A more knowing one than I would be much confused: only I will say that all the religions tend to the same end, namely, the recognition and adoration of the Divinity. And if some do not choose the good road or the legitimate way, it is more from simplicity and ill teaching than from malice, and therefore, they are more worthy of compassion than of hatred. Is it necessary to wage war for the diversity of ceremonies, I will not say of religion, since the chief object of these lies in the adoration of God, who demands rather the heart of men, than the exterior worship and sacrifices, of which so much parade is made: Not that I wish to conclude to the disdain of ceremonies; but I say that we should not persecute those who do not wish to embrace ours. By the law of Moses it is forbidden to slander strange Gods, and in the temple of Solomon they received indifferently the gifts of idolators. And now men would willingly ruin those who do not agree with their faith. They

leur font leur procez, & les condamnent par leur discours non pas à des supplices communs, mais à des peines eternelles. La pieté est vn trop bon arbre pour produire de si mauuais fruicts, comme sont les rancunes inimitiez & mesdisances. Ceste vertu, comme toutes autres, doibt estre accompagnée de prudence, de peur qu'il ne nous arriue comme à Apulee, qui pensant se changer en oiseau, se vit transformé en vn asne. Aussi tandis que nous taschons de monter au ciel par l'ingredient de la Religion, gardons de tonber en vne stupidité & inhumanité brutale. Je ne taxe personne, & ne specifie *aucune religion*. Tant y a que plusieurs peuuent estre comparez aux compagnons d'Vlysse, qui pensoient auoir trouué vn riche tresor & ce n'estoit qu'vn balon plein de vent.] La philautie aueugle vn chacun, & le metamorphose en vn second Narcisse, si bien qu'il se perd de l'amour de soy mesme: ce pendant la chanson pastoralle se verifie: *Souuent la chose laide à l'amant semble belle*. Encore si nous estions contents d'aimer nos coustumes, il n'y auroit pas subiect d'estonnement ny de plainte: mais en cecy nous sommes dissemblables aux autres amoureux, qui ne veulent point de corriuaux. Nous au contraire voulons que tout le monde embrasse nos persuasions comme vne regle infaillible. Ce vice est familier au simple populas, qui n'a iamais passé la banlieuë de sa ville. Il croit que tous sont tenus de viure comme luy, & ne prise que ses coustumes, à la façon de ces niais

prosecute them, and condemn them by their discourses not to ordinary punishments, but to eternal penalties. Piety is too good a tree to produce such bad fruits, as are revenges, hatreds and scandals. This virtue, like every other, must be accompanied by prudence, for fear that there should happen to you as to Apuleius, who thinking to change himself into a bird, saw himself transformed into an ass. Thus while we try to go up to heaven by the means of religion, let us take care not to fall into a stupid and inhuman brutality. I tax no one, and do not specify *any religion*. So many are there that several can be compared to the companions of Ulysses, who thought that they had found a rich treasure and it was nothing but a bag of wind. Conceit blinds every one, and metamorphoses him into a second Narcissus, so that he is lost through self love: still the pastoral song verifies itself: *Often the ugly thing to the lover seems beautiful*. Yet if we were content to love our customs, there would be no subject of astonishment nor of complaint: but in this we are different from the other lovers, who do not want rivals. We on the contrary wish that all the world shall embrace our persuasions like an infallible rule. This vice is familiar to the common people, who have never passed beyond the suburbs of their town. He thinks all are held to live like him, and only prizes his customs, accord-

d'Athenes, qui estimoient la Lune de leur pays meilleure que celle des autres. Les sages & diuins esprits penetrent bien plus loing, & considerent que l'harmonie du monde est composée de diuerses humeurs, & que ce qui est louable en vn lieu, n'est pas trouué bon par tout, comme disoit vn gentilhomme

53 Persan à Themistocle. A ce] propos il me souuient de ce que raconte Ælian, qu'il y a deux villes au nouveau monde bien differentes en Police. En l'vne la iustice est obseruee, la paix est perpetuelle, & pource elle se nomme Pieuse. L'autre s'appelle Vaillante dont les habitans sont tousiours armez, & font incessamment la guerre, ne pouuans viure en repos. En tesmoignage dequoy ils trauerserent autrefois l'Ocean pour conquerer ces pays: mais comme ils furent aduertis que les peuples de par deça c'est à dire de l'Asie, Europe & Afrique s'addonnoient à la religion, ils ne daignerent passer outre, comme s'ils eussent eu honte d'auoir descouuert en vn peuple incogneu vne telle naiaiserie. On dira de ce conte tout ce qu'on voudra. Il n'importe, pourueu qu'on reconnoisse que les hommes sont fort bigarrez, & que ce qui est honoré en vn endroit, est abominé ou moqué en vn autre. Ce qui occasionna à mon aduis quelques Philosophes de soustenir, que l'honesteté & turpitude ne consistoit qu'en phantasie & police humaine. C'estoient des re-

54 sueurs. Je le croy ainsi, specialement] en ce qui

ing to the way of those simpletons of Athens, who thought the moon of their country better than that of others. Sage and divine souls see much further, and consider that the harmony of the world is composed of diverse opinions, and that which is praiseworthy in one place, is not found good every where, as a Persian gentleman said to Themistocles. To this purpose he reminds me of what Ælian relates, that there are two cities in the new world very different in policy. In one justice is observed, peace is perpetual, and because of that it is named Pious. The other is called Valliant whose inhabitants are always armed, and incessantly wage war, not being able to live quietly. In witness of which they formerly crossed the ocean to conquer these countries: but as they were advised that the peoples on this side, that is to say of Asia, Europe and Africa were addicted to religion, they did not deign to cross, as if they had been ashamed to have discovered in an unknown people such a silly thing. One can say of this tale whatever one wishes. It makes no difference, provided that one recognizes that men are very variegated, and that what is honored in one place, is abominated or mocked in another. Which will occasion I am of the opinion a few philosophers to sustain, that honesty and turpitude only consist in fancy and human regulation. They were reservations. I believe this is so especially in what

touche ceste proposition. Mais ce n'est pas tout de remarquer les vices de cestuy-cy & de cestuy-là: il faut considerer les nostres, & ne point imiter ceste fee, qui prenoit ses yeux quand elle entroit au logis de ses voisins, & arriuant en sa maison elle les pendoit à la porte. Que si la curiosité nous pousse à esplucher les deportemens d'autrui, pour le moins apres auoir contrerolé ses defec-tuositez, iettons la veuë sur ce qui se trouuera en luy de louable. Ne faisons point comme les Ophiogenes: Ne suçons point le venin des ac-tions: Ny comme les mousches qui s'arrestent plustost sur les lieux raboteux & infectez, que sur ceux qui sont polis & purifiez. Je croy que ces gens là qui ne suiuent pas la vraye Religion sont impies, que leur creance est absurde & pleine de blasphemes. Si sont-ils pourtant hommes comme nous, formez au mesme moule, & par vn mesme ouurier: capables de raison, & des vertus morales qui les peuuent rendre dignes d'amitié & admiration, si on ne se laissoit preoccuper d'opi-niastreté & de presumption. Quittons ces deux

55 auor]tons de nostre esprit, ces enfans iumeaux de nostre imbecillité, qui sillent les yeux de l'enten-dement humain & empeschent l'effet des bonnes inclinations que la nature nous donne. Repre-sentons nous que la Religion ne consiste pas en paroles ny en actions d'apparence. Il ne suffit pas de dire: I'ay la vraye foy, i'assiste aux sacrifices & prieres publiques. Il faut estre



touches this proposition. But it is not everything to notice the vices of this one and that one: one must consider our own, and not imitate that fairy, who took her eyes when she entered the homes of her neighbors, and arriving in her own house hung them on the door. That if curiosity urges us to scan the bearing of another, at least after having found fault with his defects, let us glance at what is praiseworthy in him. Let us not do like the Ophiogenes: let us not suck the poison from the deeds: nor like the flies that stop rather on the rough and infected places, rather than on those that are polished and purified. I believe that those people who do not follow the true religion are impious, that their belief is absurd and full of blasphemy. If they are however men like ourselves, formed in the same mould, and by the same workman, capable of reasoning, and of the moral virtues that can make them worthy of friendship and admiration, if one does not allow one's self to be prejudiced by obstinacy and presumption. Let us quit these two abortions of our souls, these twin children of our imbecility, which close the eyes of human understanding and prevent the realization of the good inclinations that nature gives us. Let us represent to ourselves that religion does not consist in words nor in superficial actions. It does not suffice to say: I have the true faith, I assist at the sacrifices and public prayers. One

homme de bien, auoir la charité, sans laquelle la foy est superflue. Celuy qui manque de ceste vertu, n'a pas la Religion bien empreinte dans le cœur. Quelques vns seruent Dieu par hypocrisie: plusieurs y croient par ouïr dire & par accoustumance: mais quand on voit la deuotion conioncte avec vne douceur & charité, c'est signe d'une ame veritablement religieuse. La pieté est incompatible avec les animositez. Si nous sommes au chemin de salut, à la bonne heure: essayons d'y amener ceux qui en sont dehors, par instruction, & bon exemple. Il n'y a point d'autres moyens d'arracher les erreurs & mauuaises opinions que les hommes ont conçu des choses diuines.] Les mesdisances & detractions n'y font rien: la force y est inutile. Ne le sçauons-nous pas? De verité ce seroit le meilleur, qu'il y eust vne seule forme d'adoration, pour ce que la diuersité du culte exterieur diuise les affections des peuples & les induit souuent à se partialiser. Et de fait les sages Princes s'opposent aux nouuelles Religions, qui veulent prendre pied: mais ils endurent celles qui ont desia pullulé, & tiennent ferme par la racine. Au premier cas ils sont poussez de zele, & au second la necessité les oblige, & la certitude de ceste maxime: Que la guerre diminuë la vraye Religion au lieu de l'aduançer, comme estant la source de toutes vilainies, impietez, blasphemes & Atheïsmes, qui traident pareillement l'estat à perdition. Je ne diray point comme Symmaque, qu'il n'importe par quelle maniere on descouure le secret

must be a good man, have charity, without which faith is superfluous. He who lacks this virtue, has not religion firmly stamped in his heart. Some serve God by hypocrisy: many believe in him by hearsay and custom: but when one sees devotion joined to sweetness and charity, it is a sign of a truly religious soul. Piety is incompatible with animosities. If we are on the road to salvation, so much the better: let us try to bring into it those who are outside of it, by instruction, and good example. There is no other method of extirpating the errors and bad opinions that men have conceived of divine things. Slanders and malicious speeches accomplish nothing, force is useless. Do we not know it? In truth it would be best, if there was only one form of adoration, because the diversity of outward worship divides the affections of the peoples and leads them often to become partial. And in fact wise Princes oppose the new religions, that wish to gain a footing: but they endure those that have already increased, and have taken root. In the first case they are pushed by zeal, and in the second necessity obliges them, and the certainty of this maxim: That war diminishes true religion instead of advancing it, as being the source of all villainies, impieties, blasphemies, and atheism, which drag in like manner the state to perdition. I shall not say like Symmaque, that it makes no difference how one discovers the secret

de la diuinité: Encore moins veux-je soustenir que toutes Religions sont introduites par moyens humains, comme a escrit vn Theologal de ce temps, grand defenseur au reste de l'Eglise

57 Catholique. Qui est proprement les mesurer toutes à vn mesme pied, & reuoker les trois veritez en doute, veu que tout homme est subiect à tromper & à se tromper. Certainement il y a vne confession de foy & forme de ceremonies plus receuable que les autres. Mais puisque cest vne grace surnaturelle, il faut qu'elle vienne de Dieu, & non pas des hommes qui avec toutes leurs armes n'ont pas le pouuoir de faire croire le moindre article de leurs mysteres. Ils feront parauanture aller quelques vns au temple, à la Synagoguë, & à la Mosquee, mais par telle violence ils les rendront Hypocrites, non pas fideles. Ceux doncques qui ont la vraye Religion, qu'ils remercient Dieu de ceste grace: & s'efforcent de la monstrier par bonnes œuures. Qu'ils ne pensent pas reduire imperieusement a leur volonté la creance des autres, en laquelle ils n'ont point d'interest, pourueu qu'ils se contiennent és bornes de modestie, & netroublent point la feste de la tranquillité publique. C'est le but où il faut viser. Il n'appartient aux hommes de punir où corriger les defaux

58 de la foy. C'est à faire celuy qui veoit] les cœurs & les plus secrettes pensées. Les fautes de la volonté sont punissables selon les loix Ciuiles: Celles de l'entendement à sçauoir les fausses opinions n'ont que Dieu pour iuge. Aussi

of divinity: Still less do I wish to maintain that all religions are introduced by human means, as a Theologian of the present time has written, a great defender withal of the Roman Catholic Church. Which is really to measure them all by one standard, and dismiss the three truths in doubt, since every man is liable to deceive and to be mistaken. Certainly there is one confession of faith and form of ceremonies more acceptable than the others. But since it is a supernatural gift, it must come down from God, and not from men who, with all their arms have not the power to compel belief in the least of its mysteries. They will make peradventure a few go to the temple, the synagogue, and the mosque, but by such violence they render them hypocrites, not believers. Those then that have the true religion, let them thank God for this grace: and let them strive to show it by good deeds. Let them not think to subdue imperiously by their will the belief of others, in which they have no interest, provided that they hold themselves within the bounds of modesty, and do not disturb the concord of public tranquility. That is the mark to aim at. It does not belong to men to punish or correct the mistakes of faith. It belongs to Him who sees hearts and the most secret thoughts. The faults of the will are punishable by the civil law: those of knowledge, to wit, false doctrines have only God for judge. Therefore

ceux qui ont voulu remuër ceste corde n'y ont rien gagné. L'Empereur Charles cinquiesme zelateur de sa Religion s'il en fut oncques, voulut estoufer le Lutheranisme dès sa naissance. Il employa pour cest effect les forces d'Hespagne, d'Italie, d'Allemagne & des Pays-bas. Il gagna des batailles sur les Protestans, prit leur chefs prisonniers, & donna tant d'eschec à ceste nouvelle secte, qu'elle estoit sur le point d'estre mattee. Incontinent voicy vn reuers de fortune. Cest Antee qu'il auoit terrassé redouble sa vigueur de sa cheute. Vn nouveau ennemy luy vient sur les bras. Ses partisans se rebellent. Il est plus empesché apres sa victoire qu'auparauant: en somme il est contrainct pour l'assurance de son estat d'accorder aux vaincus ce qu'ils demandoient, la liberté de conscience. Le mesme est arriué à nos Roys,

59 qui ont tenté toutes les voyes à eux possi]bles pour reünir leurs subiects à l'ancienne creance. Ils ont poursuiui les ennemis d'icelle à feu & à sang, les ont mattrassez en diuerses rencontres. Au partir delà, ils ont recogneu qu'il estoit plus aisé d'entretenir deux Religions en paix, que d'en conseruer vne en guerre, & que telle desunion de foy ne preiudicoit point à l'vnion generale. Aussi nous voyons que les Turcs viuent paisiblement, bien qu'ils permettent l'exercice des Religions contraires à la Mahometane. Les Polonois ne se scandalisent point de ceste diuersité. Et le Roy

those who have wished to strike this chord have gained nothing thereby. The Emperor Charles the Fifth a zealot of his religion if ever there was one, wished to stifle Lutheranism from its birth. He employed for this purpose the resources of Spain, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries. He won battles over the protestants, took their leaders prisoners, and gave so great a check to this new sect, that it was on the point of being checkmated. Unexpectedly there was a change of fortune. This Antaeus that he had struck down doubles his vigor owing to his fall. A new enemy falls upon him. His partisans rebel. He is more embarrassed after his victory than before: after all he is constrained for the safeguard of his state to accord to the vanquished what they demanded, liberty of conscience. The same thing happened to our Kings, who tried every means they possibly could to reunite their subjects to the ancient faith. They pursued its enemies with fire and blood, and crushed them in various encounters. From that time they recognized that it was easier to maintain two religions in peace, than to preserve one by war, and that such a lack of union in faith did not interfere with the general union. Also we see that the Turks lived peacefully, although they allow the practice of religions contrary to the Mohammetan. The Poles are not scandalized by this diversity. And the King of

d'Hespagne permet aux Indes la liberté de conscience. Cецy soit dict pour monstrier que la difference des Religions ne peut empêcher la paix vniuerselle. Mais ce n'est assez de l'establier. Il est besoin de l'asseurer à perpetuité: ce qui est tres-difficile. Car pour faire vn accord, il ne faut qu'une bonne inspiration qui touchera le cœur des Princes où la persuasion d'un homme d'autorité, qui les reconciliera ensemble: & souuentefois la nécessité les y contraint, apres qu'ils se sont harassés. Mais il semble que la bonnasse ne peut estre de  
60 longueduree en l'Ocean de nos affaires,] où les vents impetueux des ambitions excitent tant d'orages. Posez le cas que la paix aujourd' huy soit signee, qu'elle soit publiee en plein theatre du monde: Que scauons-nous si la posterité en voudra emologuer les articles? Les volontez sont muables, & les actions des hommes de ce temps n'obligent pas leurs successeurs. Pour clorre le passage à ceste obiection, il suffit se rememorer de ce que nous auons dit touchant les causes de la guerre, lesquelles n'estans pas considerables pour les raisons cy-dessus alleguees, il n'y a rien qui puisse occasionner la rupture d'une paix. Neantmoins pour en preunir les inconueniens, il seroit necessaire de choisir vne ville, où tous les Souuerains eussent perpetuellement leurs ambassadeurs, afin que les differens qui pourroient suruenir fussent viudez par le iugement de toute l'assemblee. Les ambassadeurs de ceux qui seroient



Spain permits in the Indies liberty of conscience. This is said to show that the differences of religions cannot prevent universal peace. But it is not enough to establish it. There is need to assure it to perpetuity: which is very difficult. For to bring about harmony, there is need only of a good inspiration that will touch the heart of Princes or the persuasion of a man of authority who will reconcile them together: and often necessity forces them to do so after they have harassed each other. But it seems that calm weather cannot last long in the ocean of our affairs, where the impetuous winds of ambition excite so many storms. Suppose for instance that peace is signed to-day, that it is published to the whole world: how do we know that posterity will ratify the articles. Opinions are changeable, and the actions of the men of the present time do not bind their successors. To put an end to this objection, it suffices to remember what we have said about the causes of war, which not being considerable, for the reasons given above, there is nothing that can occasion the rupture of a peace. Nevertheless, to prevent the inconvenience of this, it would be necessary to choose a city, where all sovereigns should have perpetually their ambassadors, in order that the differences that might arise should be settled by the judgment of the whole assembly. The ambassadors of those who would be interested

interessez exposeroient là les plaintes de leurs maistres, & les autres deputez en iugeroient sans passion. Et pour autoriser d'auantage le iugement, on prendroit aduis des grandes Republiques,] qui auroient aussi en ce mesme endroit leurs agens. Le dis grandes Republiques, comme celle des Venitiens & des Suisses, & non pas ces petites Seigneuries, qui ne se peuuent maintenir d'elles mesme, & dependent de la protection d'autrui. Que si quelqu'n contreuenoit à l'arrest d'une si notable compagnie, il encourroit la disgrace de tous les autres Princes, qui auroient beau moyen de le faire venir à la raison. Or le lieu le plus commode pour une telle assemblee c'est le territoire de Venise, pource qu'il est comme neutre & indifferent à tous Princes: ioinct aussi qu'il est proche des plus signalees Monarchies de la terre, de celles du Pape, des deux Empereurs, & du Roy d'Hespagne. Il n'est pas loing de France, de Tartarie, Moschouie, Polongne, Angleterre, & Dannemarch. Quant à la Perse, la Chine, l'Ethiopie, & Indes orientales & occidentales, ce sont pays bien reculez, mais la nauigation supplée ceste incommodité, & pour un si bon subiect, on ne doit point refuser un long voyage. Tant y a que ie ne trouue au monde une seiour plus propre à un tel affaire que celui là. Mais la difficulté est plus grande pour le rang, que l'on donnera ausdits Ambassadeurs, qui ne cederont pas volontiers l'un à l'autre: toutefois ie

would plead there the grievances of their masters and the other deputies would judge them without prejudice. And to give more authority to the judgment, one would take advice of the big republics, who would have likewise their agents in this same place. I say great Republics, like those of the Venitians and the Swiss, and not those small lordships, that cannot maintain themselves, and depend upon the protection of another. That if anyone rebelled against the decree of so notable a company, he would receive the disgrace of all other Princes, who would find means to bring him to reason. Now the most commodious place for such an assembly is the territory of Venice, because it is practically neutral and indifferent to all Princes: added thereto that it is near the most important monarchies of the earth, of those of the Pope, the two Emperors, and the King of Spain. It is not far from France, Tatory, Moscovy, Poland, England, and Denmark. As for Persia, China, Ethiopia, and the East and the West Indies, they are lands far distant, but navigation remedies that inconvenience, and for such a good object, one must not refuse a long voyage. Certain it is that I do not find a place in the world more suitable than that to such an undertaking. But the difficulty is greater in regards to the rank, to be given to the said ambassadors, who would not willingly yield one to the other:

diray ce qui m'en semble. Non que ie m'estime capable d'un tel arbitrage, mais d'autant qu'il importe d'esclaircir ce point, pour le subiect que nous traittons. Chacun en pourra dire son aduis. Si ie suruois mon affection, & que mes desirs eussent lieu, pour l'honneur que tout homme de bien doit à sa religion & à son pays, ie scay estant Catholique & François, ce que ie deurois opiner là dessus. Mais il n'est pas question de songer à soy seulement, il s'agist de procurer le bien de la société humaine, dont nous sommes les membres, de ne mescontenter personne, & donner à vn chacun le rang qu'il merite. Je parleray donc icy indifferemment, comme si i'auois esté ne en la republique imaginaire de Platon, ou en la region de ses Idees. Que si quelque monarque trouue que i'ay donné trop d'aduantage aux autres a son preiudice, ie supplieray sa Majesté] de croire que ie l'ay fait par ignorance de sa grandeur, & qu'en cecy ie me suis accommodé à l'opinion la plus commune & apparente. Car ie m'assure que peu de gens dénieront la preseeance au Pape, tant à cause de l'honneur que luy deferent les Princes Chrestiens, & du deuoir qu'ils luy rendent presque tous en fait de spiritualité, que pour le respect de l'ancienne Rome, de laquelle il est Seigneur temporel, & partant le premier lieu en toutes assemblees luy appartient ou à son Legat. Quant

nevertheless I will say what occurs to me. Not that I consider myself capable of such an arbitration but inasmuch as it is important to clear up this point, for the subject that we are treating. Every one will be able to give his opinion upon it. If I followed my affections, and if my wishes should come about, on account of the honor that every righteous man owes to his religion and his country, I know being a Roman Catholic and a Frenchman, what I ought to think about it. But it is not a question of thinking of one's self only, it is a matter of obtaining the best for human society, of which we are the members, to dissatisfy no one, and to give to every one the rank he is entitled to. I shall speak therefore, here impartially, as if I had been born in the imaginary Republic of Plato, or in the region of his ideas. That if some monarch finds that I have given too much advantage to the others to his prejudice, I shall beseech His Majesty to believe that I have done it from ignorance of his importance, and that in this I have accommodated myself to the most usual and apparent opinion. For I am sure that few people will deny precedence to the Pope, both on account of the honor that Christian Princes accord him, and of the duty that they almost all render to him in spiritual matters, as well as for the respect of ancient Rome, of which he is temporal Lord, and therefore the first place in all assemblies belongs to him or his legate. As

au second, s'il faut attribuer honneur aux Princes selon la majesté, puissance, & félicité de leur Monarchie, ces qualités se trouvent si relevées en l'Empereur des Turcs, que ceste séance ne luy peut estre déniée, attendu mesmes qu'il tient la ville de Constantinople, siège de l'Empire Oriental, qui va de pair à pair avec Rome: aussi elle en porte le non. Ces considérations feront que l'Empereur Chrestien, qui paravanture luy voudroit contester ce droict, se contentera du troisieme rang, aussi volontiers comme les autres Monarques luy accordent librement ceste place.] Car encore que les Roys ne tiennent leur sceptre que de Dieu, que leur nom soit auguste, leur personne sacrée & inuiolable, neantmoins le tiltre d'Empereur a esté de tout temps estimé plus specieux & redoutable. Dont-il appert que ceux-là se sont trompez, qui ont escrit que l'Empereur n'estoit qu'un simple chef n'ayant non plus d'autorité qu'un Duc de Venise, & que la souueraineté de l'Empire estoit iadis au senat & au peuple, & maintenant aux Etats d'Allemagne. Pour confirmer leur dire, ils alleguent l'exemple de deux ou trois Empereurs qui ont esté degradez. Mais cest argument n'est pas vallable, attendu que nous lisons plusieurs Roys auoir esté priez semblablement de leur scepter, & neantmoins leurs successeurs sont recogneus pour Souuerains. Que si quelques Empereurs ont soubsmis leur puissance à l'assemblée des estats, s'ils ne font rien que par leur

for the second, if honor must be attributed to Princes according to the majesty, power, and happiness of their monarchy, these qualities are found so marked in the Emperor of the Turks, that this seat cannot be denied to him, especially as he also holds the city of Constantinople, seat of the Eastern Empire, which is the twin equal of Rome: also it carries the name. These considerations will cause the Christian Emperor, who perchance would wish to contest him this right, to be content with the third place, as willingly as the other monarchs will concede to him that place. For although Kings hold their scepters only from God, that their name is august, their person sacred and inviolable, nevertheless the title of Emperor has of all time been considered more specious and redoubtable. Therefore, it seems they have been mistaken, who wrote that the Emperor was only a simple chief not having any more authority than a Duke of Venice, and that the sovereignty of the Empire was formerly in the Senate and the people, and now in the German States. To confirm their assertion, they allege the example of two or three Emperors who were degraded. But this argument is not valid, since we read that several Kings were deprived similarly of their scepter, and nevertheless their successors are recognized as sovereigns. That if some Emperors submitted their power to the assembly of States, that if they do nothing except with their

aduis il ne faut pas conclure qu'ils aient perdu pour cela leur souueraineté, non plus que les Roys qui laissent examiner & verifier leurs edicts par leur  
65 Conseil ou Parlement.] Vne submission volontaire ne doibt estre tiree en consequence. Et pour vn Prince qui s'est assubietti par modestie ou nonchalance, on en peut alleguer vne douzaine, qui se sont comportez autrement, & n'ont pas laisse raualer leur puissance. L'election de l'Empereur, le deuoir qu'il rend au Pape, ce sont ceremonies, qui ne diminuent point sa grandeur. Au surplus quand il est question de iuger d'une chose, il faut principalement considerer son origine & premiere institution, & non pas les mutations qui y sont suruenues. Or si nous prenons garde aux anciens Empereurs, nous ne doubterons point qu'ils n'ayent esté Souuerains. Iules Cesar qui le premier à pris ce tiltre, disoit que la Republique n'estoit plus qu'un non sans effect, & qu'il falloit tenir ce qu'il disoit pour loy inuiolable. Auguste n'estoit pas moins Souuerain, & mesmes le peuple luy ceda toute sa puissance. Je diray le semblable des autres Empereurs: Que s'ils prenoient aduis du senat, ou iustifioient leurs actions, ce n'estoit par obligation, mais par modestie ou vraye ou simulee. Et quelle plus  
66 grande marque de souueraineté voudroit-on, que de commander absolument, disposer de tout à son



advice, one must not conclude that they have lost thereby their sovereign rights, no more than the Kings who allow their edicts to be examined and verified by their Council or Parliament. A voluntary submission must not be considered as of importance. And for one Prince who has thus subjected himself through modesty or carelessness, one can cite a dozen, who have borne themselves otherwise, and did not allow their power to be lowered. The election of the Emperor, the duty that he owes to the Pope, are ceremonies that do not diminish his grandeur. Besides where there is necessity to judge of a thing, one should consider principally its origin and its early institution, and not the changes that have come upon it. Now if we take notice of the ancient Emperors, we shall not doubt that they were sovereigns. Julius Caesar, who the first took this title, said that the Republic was no longer anything but a name without meaning, and that what he said must be held as inviolable law. Augustus was not less a sovereign, and even the people ceded to him all its power. I will say the same of the other Emperors: That if they took advice of the Senate, or justified their actions, it was not through any obligation, but owing to modesty, either real or feigned. And what greater mark of sovereignty could be desired, than to command absolutely, dispose of everything according to one's

plaisir, mesmement de la vie des subiects, donner des Royaumes, & n'estre comptable à personne? Les Empereurs ont ioui de tous ces droicts là, & s'ils ont laissé abastardir leur autorité, il ne s'ensuit pas que le tiltre qu'ils portent estant consideré en sa nature, ne signifie qu'un Capitaine en chef, comme Bodin a voulu persuader. Je sçay bien que cela estoit veritable du temps de la liberté des Romains. Car alors un general d'armée estoit qualifié Empereur, notamment apres auoir emporté quelque signalee victoire, & n'vsurpoit que pour un peu de temps ce tiltre qui luy seruoit de surnom. Mais Iules Cesar ayant supplanté ses ennemis, & s'estant emparé de Rome, releua bien ceste appellation, & prit le tiltre d'Empereur pour un prenom, afin de le rendre seigneurial: Ce qui luy acquit l'enuie & haine de plusieurs, ainsi que les Historiens ont remarqué. Mais pour parler de nostre temps, les Roys n'auroient point d'honneur de ceder, comme ils font, à ce Prince, 67 s'ils le recognoissent simple Lieutenant ou subiect d'un autre. Les Roys de France y ont interest, qui ont tenu autrefois l'Empire, voire l'ont acquis au prix de leurs armes. Au moyen dequoy on ne leur peut debattre la precedence pour le moins par dessus les autres Roys, attendu qu'ils commandent à un peuple le plus renommé qui se trueue au monde. Car soit que nous parlions des anciens Gaulois, leurs conquestes sont notoires & les peuplades qu'ils ont fait en plusieurs

pleasure, even of the lives of subjects, give Kingdoms, and not be accountable to any one? The Emperors enjoyed all those rights, and if they have allowed their authority to be lowered, it does not follow that the title that they bear, if considered as to its origin, only signifies a captain in chief, as Bodin wished to persuade. I know well that that was true at the time of the liberty of the Romans. For then an army general was called Emperor, notably after gaining a signal victory, and he only used for a short time this title which served him as a surname. But Julius Caesar having supplanted his enemies, and having seized Rome, brought to the fore this appellation, and took the title of Emperor for prenomens, in order to make himself lordly: Which gained him the envy and hatred of many, as historians have remarked. But to speak of our times, the Kings would have no honor in ceding, as they do, to this Prince, if they considered him a simple Lieutenant or subject of another. The Kings of France have an interest in it, who formerly held the Empire, indeed acquired it by means of their arms. On account of which one cannot dispute them precedence at least over the other Kings, since they govern a people the most renowned to be found in the world. For when we speak of the ancient Gauls, their conquests are notable and the tribes that they established in several

regions tesmoignent assez leur valeur. Soit que nous iettions les yeux sur les François qui leur ont succédé, leur nom est encore aujourdhuy redoutable, & fameux plus que aucun autre parmy les nations estrangeres: Qui pour ceste cause quitteront volontiers le quatriesme lieu au Monarque d'vn si beau Royaume. Apres luy ie ne feindray point de mettre le Roy d'Hespagne, qui en puissance & richesse, égale les plus grands Roys, & en estenduë de pays les surpasse. Le sixiesme lieu pourroit estre debatue entre les Roys de Perse, de la Chine, le Prete-Ian, le Precop de] Tartarie, & le grand Duc de Moschouie. Neantmoins quand ie considere que les Perses ont eu iadis à leur tour la Monarchie du monde, & qu'encores aujourdhuy ils ont vne bonne partie de leur ancien domaine, i'estime qu'ils douient estre preferez aux Ethiopiens lesquels aussi semblent deuoir estre preferez aux Tartares, pource que l'Empire de ceux-cy n'est fondé que depuis trois ou quatre siecles: & celuy du Prete-Ian se peut vanter de son antiquité, outre plusieurs choses qui le rendent recommandable. Le Roy de la Chine apres le Tartare merite place au consistoire des Souuerains, pour l'opulence & encore plus pour la belle police de son Royaume. Le Duc ou Empereur de Moschouie l'égale ou le surpasse en forces. Et les Roys de la grand Bretagne, de Pologne, de Danemarck, de Suede, du Japon de Marroc, le grand Mogor, & autres Monarques tant des Indes que

regions testify sufficiently to their valor. When we look at the French who succeeded them, their name is still to-day redoutable, and more famous than any other among foreign nations: Who for this reason will willingly abandon the fourth place to the monarch of so beautiful a Kingdom. After him I shall not scruple to place the King of Spain, who in power and wealth, equals the greatest Kings, and in the extent of dominions surpasses them. The sixth place can be contested between the Kings of Persia, China, Prester John, the Pre-cop of Tatar and the Grand Duke of Moscovy. Nevertheless when I consider that the Persians had formerly in their turn the monarchy of the world, and that still to-day they have a good part of their ancient domain, I consider that they should be preferred to the Ethiopians who also it would seem should be preferred to the Tatars, because the empire of these latter was founded only within three or four centuries: and that of Prester John can boast of its antiquity, besides several things that render it commendable. The King of China after the Tatar merits a place at the consistory of the sovereigns, for the opulence and still more for the fine policy of his kingdom. The Duke or Emperor of Moscovy equals or surpasses him in power. And the kings of Great Britain, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Japan, Morocco, the Great Mogul, and other monarchs as well from India as

d'Afrique, ne doiuent pas estre aux derniers rangs, tous braues Princes, qui se maintiennent d'eux mesmes & ne dependent de personne, partant  
69 pourroient contester] le prix d'honneur avec leurs semblables: toustesfois pource qu'en toutes assemblees il faut garder vn ordre: ie n'en puis imaginer de meilleur & de plus raisonnable que celuy que i'ay proposé. Que si quelques Princes ne s'en contentent, qu'ils se rapportent au iugement des autres. Cela ne diminuera rien de leur autorité, au contraire on les estimera d'autant plus loüables, qu'ils se soubsmettront volontairement à la raison. Car il ne faut point dire que la raison est au bout de l'espee. Ceste rodomontade appartient aux sauuages. Les anciens Gaulois s'en sont mal trouuez, quand ils respondirent aux ambassadeurs Romains, que tout estoit aux plus forts. L'issuë funeste de leur entreprise, monstre bien que ceux qui rebutent la raison pour maistresse, tombent finalement en la puissance de leurs ennemis, qui les maistrisent bien autrement, & leur font sentir, que c'est de s'asseurer en telles brauades. Il semble qu'vn Monarque quel qui soit, ne doit faire difficulté de subir le iugement de tant de  
70 Souuerains, non seulement pour ce subiect,] mais aussi pour tout autre different qu'il pourroit auoir à demesler avec ses semblables. Et si les opinions de l'assemblee des Princes où leurs deputez se trouuoient, myparties, & en égale balance, comme il peut arriuer, les deputez des

Africa, must not be in the last ranks, all brave Princes, who maintain themselves and do not depend on anyone, therefore they could contest the prize of honor with their fellows: still because in every assembly an order must be maintained: I cannot imagine a better and a more reasonable one than the one that I have proposed. That if some Princes are not content therewith, let them appeal to the judgment of the others. That will diminish nothing of their authority, on the contrary they will be esteemed all the more highly, that they submit themselves voluntarily to reason. For it must not be said that reason is at the point of the sword. That blustering belongs to savages. The ancient Gauls found it of no avail, when they answered to the Roman ambassadors, that everything belonged to the strongest. The fatal result of their enterprise, shows well that those who rebuff reason as mistress, finally fall into the power of their enemies, who rule them far differently, and make them feel, what it is to rely on such bravado. It seems that a monarch, whoever he may be, should make no difficulty to submit to the judgment of so many sovereigns, not only on this subject, but also for every other difference that he might have to unravel with his equals. And if the opinions of the assembly of the Princes or their deputies were found to be divided into two parts and of equal weight, as may happen, the deputies of the

Republiques qui auroient voix deliberatiue pourroient alors estre appelez, afin de terminer le debat par le contrepoids de leurs suffrages. Et d'autant que plusieurs Princes se trouuent egaux en majesté, force, & opulence, qui a ceste occasion ne voudroient pas ceder l'un à l'autre, ie croy qu'en ce cas il seroit bon d'ordonner, comme on faict en quelques endroits, que le premier venu d'entre eux auroit la preseeance, ou le plus aagé, ou pour mieux faire, il faudroit imiter les Consuls Romains, qui commandoient chacun à son tour: aussi on partageroit la preseeance, qui seroit donnee successiument a ceux qui contesteroyent. Ce seroit le moyen de retrancher tout mescontentement, mais il ne seroit besoin de le pratiquer sinon que entre ceux qui auroient grande apparence de contester ensemble. Car il n'est pas raisonnable que

71 le Roy d'une ville ou] d'une petite prouince entre en compromis pour la seance avec un Roy de France ou d'Hespagne: encore moins un Duc, Marquis, ou Comte, & m'asseure que les Duc des Florence, Lorraine, Sauoye, bien qu'ils soient Souuerains, s'estimeront neantmoins honorez d'auoir place en une telle assemblee, apres ceux qui iouisent du tiltre de Roy, principalement ceux qui ne l'ont point vsurpé par ambition depuis peu de iours. Si donc ils ont à debattre la preseeance, cest contre ceux qui portent semblable qualité, a sçauoir Ducs, Marquis & Comtes, entre lesquels ie ne mettray point icy de difference, pource que iaçoit



Republics who would have a deliberative voice could then be called, in order to finish the debate by the counterbalancing weight of their suffrages. And in as much as several Princes find themselves equal in majesty, force, and opulence, who in this matter, would not wish to yield one to the other, I believe that in this case it would be well to ordain, as is done in a few places, that the first comer should have the precedence, or the oldest, or better still, it would be well to imitate the Roman Consuls, who commanded each in his turn: also one could divide the precedence which might be given in succession to those contesting for it. This would be the means of stopping all discontent, but it would not be necessary to apply it except among those who would have strong reasons for contesting. For it is not reasonable that the King of a city or of a little province should enter in contest for a seat with a King of France or Spain: still less a Duke, a Marquis, or Count, and I am sure that the Dukes of Florence, Lorraine, Savoy, although they are sovereigns, will esteem themselves honored to have a place in such an assembly, after those who enjoy the title of King, principally those who have not usurped it through ambition recently. If then they have to debate the precedence, it is against those who bear a similar rank, to wit, Dukes, Marquises and Counts, between whom I shall make here no difference, because I believe that the Duke

que le Duc soit ordinairement estimé plus que les deux autres, toutefois il arriue souuent au contraire que le Comte ou Marquis a des Ducs qui releuent de luy, & partant il n'est à propos de preferer l'un à l'autre pour le regard du nom, mais bien pour autres considerations, comme pour la reputation, antiquité, puissance, estenduë de Monarchie, qui sont les principaux points où il conuient prendre garde en matiere d'honneur ou de preseeance.] Et suiuant cela les Roys & Emperereurs iugeront les differends entre lesdicts Princes du moindre qualité, & leur assigneront à chacun leur place, laquelle ils accepteront, comme il est à presumer, de bonne volonté. Et qui seroit le Prince si temeraire qui osast desdire la compagnie de tous les Monarques du monde? Les villes de Grece se rapportoient à l'arrest des Amphictyons, & ceux qui ne leur obeissoient, encouroient l'indignation commune, non seulement du pays, mais aussi des estrangers: comme Philippe de Macedone fit paroistre aux Phocenses, & prit occasion de leur faire vne cruelle guerre, pource qu'ils auoient esté condamnez par les Amphictyons. Et les anciens Princes de Gaule, bien qu'ils eussent leurs Seigneurie & souueraineté à part, passoient leurs differends par l'aduis des Druides, sur peine d'estre excommuniez & abominez de tout le peuple. Et toutefois iamais Conseil ne fut si auguste, ny assemblee si honorable, que celle dont nous

is ordinarily ranked higher than the other two, still often on the contrary it happens that the Count or the Marquis has some Dukes that hold of him, and therefore it is not necessary to prefer one to the other on account of the name, but well for other considerations, as for the reputation, antiquity, power, extent of monarchy, which are the principal points where it is advisable to take care in matters of honor or precedence. And in accord with this the Kings and Emperors will judge the differences between the said Princes of lesser rank, and will assign to each his place, which they will accept, as is to be presumed, with good will. And who would be the Prince so bold who would dare to gainsay the assembly of all the monarchs of the world? The cities of Greece submitted to the decree of the Amphictions, and those who did not obey them, encountered the common indignation, not only of the country, but also of strangers: as Philip of Macedon demonstrated to the Phocians, and took occasion to wage a cruel war against them, because they had been condemned by the Amphictiones. And the ancient Princes of Gaul, although they had their lordships and sovereignty apart, handed over their differences to the advice of the Druids, upon penalty of being excommunicated and abominated by the whole people. And nevertheless never was a council so august, nor assembly so honorable, as that of

parlons, laquelle seroit composee des ambassadeurs de tous les Monarques & Republiques Souueraines, qui seroient depositaires] & ostages de la  
 73 paix publique. Et pour mieux l'autoriser, tous lesdicts Princes iureroient de tenir pour loy inuiolable ce que seroit ordonné par la pluralité des voix en ladicte assemblee, & de poursuiure par armes ceux qui s'y voudroient opposer. Ceste compagnie donc iugeroit les débats qui suruiendroient tant pour la preseance, que pour autre chose, maintiendrait les vns & les autres en bonne intelligence, iroit au deuant des mescontentemens, & les appaiseroit par la voye de douceur, si faire se pouuoit, ou en cas de necessité par la force. Au moyen dequoy la paix estant generalement establee entre tous les Princes, il ne resteroit sinon que de l'entretenir particulierement en chaque Monarchie: A quoy tous les Souuerains trauilleroient de leur part, & n'auroient pas beaucoup de difficulté à se faire obeïr de leur peuple, & le tenir en bride. Car ce qui contrainct les Monarques d'endurer de leurs subiects, c'est la crainte qu'ils ne s'associent des estrangers, ou que ceux-  
 74 cy ne fassent profit des diuisions & querelles entre les subiects &] le Prince. Or ceste crainte seroit alors superfluë, pource que par le moyen de la paix, chacun se contenteroit de sa Seigneurie, & ne songeroit à autre chose qu'à gouverner son peuple.

which we speak, which would be composed of ambassadors of all the monarchs and sovereign republics, who will be trustees and hostages of public peace. And the better to authorize it, all the said Princes will swear to hold as inviolable law what would be ordained by the majority of votes in the said assembly, and to pursue with arms those who would wish to oppose it. This company therefore would judge then the debates which would arise not only about precedence, but about other things, would maintain the ones and the others in good understanding; would meet discontents half way, and would appease them by gentle means, if it could be done, or in case of necessity, by force. By which means peace being generally established between all Princes, there would remain nothing except to maintain it particularly in each monarchy: to which end all the sovereigns would work for their part, and would not have much difficulty to make themselves obeyed by their people and hold them in check. For what constrains monarchs to bear with their subjects, is the fear that these associate themselves with strangers, or that these latter should profit by the divisions and quarrels between the subjects and the Prince. Now this fear would then be superfluous, because by means of peace, each one would be content with his lordship, and would not think of anything else but how to govern his people. He would be

Il seroit adoré des bons, les meschans tremble-  
roient à son aspect. Il n'auroit que faire d'ap-  
prehender les rebellions & partialitez, dont-il  
viendrait à bout avec l'assistance des autres Sou-  
uerains, qui luy presteroient vn prompt secours,  
comme ayans tous interest au chastiment des  
rebelles. Et ainsi les Princes receuroient le prin-  
cipal fruit de la paix vniuerselle. Car ils ont  
beau faire en l'estat où ils sont. Qu'ils se forti-  
fient d'alliance tant qu'ils voudront, qu'ils bas-  
tissent des citadelles, & s'arment de tout costez,  
ils auront tousiours dequoy craindre, s'ils ne con-  
spirent vnanimement à vne concorde generale.  
Il ne faut qu'un Prince ennemy pour les depos-  
seder, & non seulement vn voisin, mais bien sou-  
uent vn peuple reculé dont on se doubtoit le moins  
est capable de ruiner vne Monarchie. Le nom  
des Macedoniens estoit obscur & incogneu, ius-  
ques au temps de Philippe & Alexan]dre, qui as-  
subiettirent tout l'Orient. Les Gots s'estoient  
tenus clos & couverts en vn coing d'Allemagne,  
iusques au regne de Valentinian: lors ils com-  
mencerent à courir le pays avec vn tel succez,  
qu'ils firent en peu d'annees vne raffle de l'Em-  
pire Romain. Les Anglois n'estoient estimez non  
plus que des pirates au mesme temps, qui s'em-  
parerent neantmoins de la grand Bretagne. Il  
n'y a pas quatorze cens ans qu'on parle des Fran-  
çois. Les Turcs se sont efueillez du temps de l'Em-  
pereur Basile, & plus encore soubz Constantin le

adored of the good, the bad would tremble at his appearance. He would not need to fear rebellions and insurrections, which he would overcome with the assistance of the other sovereigns, who would lend him prompt succor, as having all an interest in the punishment of rebels. And thus the Princes would receive the principal fruit of universal peace. For they strive in vain in their present state. Let them fortify themselves with alliances as much as they wish, let them build citadels, and arm themselves on every hand, they will always have reason for fear if they do not agree unanimously upon a general concord. Only one hostile Prince is needed to dispossess them, and not only a neighbor, but very often some distant people whom one distrusted the least, is able to ruin a monarchy. The name of the Macedonians was obscure and unknown, until the time of Philip and Alexander, who subdued all the Orient. The Goths had remained pent up and hidden in a corner of Germany until the reign of Valentinian: then they began to overrun the world with such success, that they made in a few years a clean sweep of the Roman Empire. The English were not looked on as anything more than pirates at the same time, but they nevertheless seized Great Britain. It is not yet fourteen hundred years since the French are spoken of. The Turks awoke in the time of the Emperor Basil, and still more under Constantine the gladiator.

gladiateur. Les Tartares depuis trois ou quatre cens ans ont fait parler d'eux: Si lors que ces gens là sortirent de leur pays, la paix eust esté generale, on les eust bien empesché de s'estendre si auant, comme ils ont fait. On eust couru sur eux de toutes parts, & n'eussent pas esté bastans pour resister aux armes associees de l'vniuers. Mais ils se voyoient beau ieu parmy les diuisions des peuples, qui estoient bien aises de veoir ruiner leurs voisins, & les abandonnoient au besoing, faute d'alliance & amitié mutuelle.]

- 76 Craignons qu'il ne nous arriue ce que nous auons fait aux autres. Nous ne cognoissons pas encore tous les païs de la terre habitable. Il y a peutestre quelque peuple vers l'occident ou midi, qui nous taille de la besongne. Qui eust dict il y a cent cinquante ans aux Ameriquains, que des hommes barbus viendroient bientost conquerer leur païs; ils n'eussent tenu compte de cét aduertissement & s'en fussent moquez. En vn moment ils ont veu ce qu'ils n'auoient pas preueu, & auparauant que d'oüir le nom des Hespagnols ils en ont esprouué la puissance, ne plus ne moins qu'un éclair paroist deuant le grondement du tonnerre. La distance des lieux, la difficulté des chemins, la largeur de cét effroyable Ocean qui leur seruoit de rempart naturel, ne les a sceu garantir d'une ruine, qui seroit incroyable,



The Tatars since three or four hundred years have made themselves talked about: If at the time those people left their country, peace had been general, they would have been restrained from extending so far forward as they did. They would have been attacked on all sides, and they would not have been strong enough to resist the combined arms of the universe. But they saw fine opportunities among the divisions of the peoples, who were quite willing to see their neighbors ruined, and abandoned them when necessary, owing to lack of alliance and mutual friendship. Let us fear that there happens to us what we have done to others. We do not know yet all the countries of the habitable earth. There is perhaps some people towards the Occident or the South, who is preparing work for us. Who would have said one hundred and fifty years ago to the Americans, that bearded men would soon come to conquer their country; they would not have paid any attention to this announcement and would have mocked at it. In a moment they saw what they had not foreseen, and before hearing the name of the Spaniards they felt their power, no more no less than lightning appears before the rolling of thunder. The distance of places, the difficulty of the roads, the width of that terrible ocean which served them as a natural bulwark, did not succeed in guarding them from a ruin, that would be in-

si nous n'en apperceuions les effects. Cas estrange!  
 De veoir trois cens hommes entrer en vn país in-  
 cogneu, abondant en richesses & en peuple y bastir  
 des forts sans contredict, puis imposer la loy à  
 77 tant de milliarts, d'hommes, prendre & tuer] leurs  
 Roys, & finalement reduire vn fecond monde en  
 miserable seruitude, cela surpasse toute creance.  
 C'estoient des coyons, dirons-nous, qui n'auoient  
 point de courage ny valeur. Tout beau. Les  
 Histoires ne parlent pas ainsi d'eux: au contraire  
 elles tesmoignent que la plus part de ces peuples  
 estoit foit addonnee à l'exercice des armes. Et  
 quand ils eussent esté foibles en toutes façons  
 il est certain que Cortez avecques neuf cens Hes-  
 pagnols n'estoit pas capable de vaincre ceux de  
 Mexique, s'il n'eust esté fauorisé de leurs ennemis,  
 qui l'assisterent de deux cens mil hommes, en  
 sorte que les partialitez de ceux du pays ouurirent  
 la porte aux estrangers, qui supplanterent les  
 uns & les autres. Que si les estats de ce  
 grand monde nouveau eussent esté pacifiques, si  
 ceux qui y commandoient se fussent contentez  
 de leur Seigneurie, ils iouïroient encore d'une pleine  
 liberté. Mais ils ne pouuoient viure à leur aise,  
 s'ils ne mangeoient les corps de leurs voisins: ils  
 vouloient auoir l'honneur de les ranger sous leur  
 78 obeïssance, & esten]dre leur Monarchie tant que  
 leurs iauelots pourroient atteindre. C'este am-  
 bition les a ruinés. Qui monstre suffisamment,  
 que rien ne peut assurer vn Empire, sinon vne

credible, if we did not perceive its effects. It is strange! To see three hundred men enter into an unknown land, abounding in wealth and people, build there forts without opposition, then impose law to so many millions of men, take and kill their kings, and finally reduce a second world to a miserable servitude, that surpasses all belief. They were cowards, we will say, who had neither courage nor valor. All very well. The histories do not thus speak of them: on the contrary they testify that the greater part of these peoples were much given to the exercise of arms. And if they had been weak in every way, it is certain that Cortez with nine hundred Spaniards was not capable of conquering the men of Mexico, if he had not been favored by their enemies, who aided him with two hundred thousand men, so that the partisanships of the inhabitants of the country opened the gate to the strangers, who supplanted the ones and the others. That if the states of that great new world had been peaceful, if those who commanded there had been content with their lordships, they would still enjoy a complete liberty. But they could not live content, if they did not eat the bodies of their neighbors: they wished to have the honor to range them under their command, and to extend their monarchy as far as their javelins could reach. That ambition ruined them. Which shows sufficiently that nothing can save an empire, except a

paix generale, de laquelle le principal ressort consiste en la limitation des Monarchies, afin que chaque Prince se contienne és limites des terres qu'il possede à present, & qu'il ne les outre-passe pour aucunes pretentions. Et s'il se truue offensé par vn tel reglement, qu'il considere que les bornes des Royaumes & Seigneuries sont mises par la main de Dieu, qui les oste & transfere quand & où bon luy semble: que si son pere ou ayeul a esté puissant, ses grands bisayeuls & ancestres plus esloignez ont mené vne vie priuee: partant qu'il ne songe point à recouurer ce que Dieu auoit presté à sa race pour vn temps: mais plustost à conseruer ce qui luy reste qu'il n'hazarde point le certain pour l'incertain: bref, pour retourner à nostre propos, s'il a quelques occasions de se plaindre, qu'il s'adresse à ceste grande assemblee, comme au plus competent iuge qu'on sçauroit ima]giner. Voila le principal moyen d'establi-  
 79 la paix vniuerselle, & duquel tous les autres dependent. C'est par là qu'on doit commencer. Car tant que les Souuerains feront bande à part, qu'ils n'auront aucune communication ensemble par l'entremise de leurs ambassadeurs, ils tacheront de s'aggrandir à quelque prix que ce soit, & trouueront assez de pretexte pour empieter les vns sur les autres. Mais s'ils se contentent de leur

general peace, of which the principal means consists in the limitation of the monarchies, so that each Prince remains within the limits of the lands which he possesses at present, and that he does not pass beyond them for any pretences. And if he finds himself offended by such a regulation, let him consider that the limits of the kingdoms and lordships are set by the hand of God, who takes them away and transfers them when and where it seems good to him: that if his father or grandfather was powerful, his great grandfathers and more remote ancestors led a private life: therefore let him not dream to recover what God had presented to his race for a time: but rather to preserve what remains to him than to hazard the certain for the uncertain: briefly, to return to our proposition, if he has some things to complain of, let him address himself to this great assembly, as to the most competent judge that can be imagined. This is the principal way of establishing universal peace, and upon which all the others depend. It is in this way that a beginning must be made. For so long as the Sovereigns remain separated, that they have no communication with one another by means of their ambassadors, they will try to aggrandize themselves at any cost, whatsoever and will find sufficient pretexts to encroach the ones upon the others. But if they are content with their pres-

fortune presente, s'ils donnent au public leurs pretentions, comme ils doiuent faire, s'ils s'vnissent au corps de ceste assemblee, de laquelle ils sont les membres, ils n'y a rien qui puisse retarder vne bonne paix, ny la rompre. Ne faut point dire, que les meschans l'empescheront, & qu'ils sont en plus grand nombre que les gens de bien. Ceste proposition est fausse, & si elle estoit vraye, tout seroit perdu. Que ne fait vne meschanceté quand elle a la force? Quand ie me remets deuant les yeux l'estat des affaires humaines, ie trueue  
80 que les hommes sont diuisez en trois parts] qui sont à peu prés égales en nombre: Et ceste diuision se peut remarquer en chaque prouince, ville, & village où nous voyons quelques vns meschans, les autres gens de bien, & les autres imbecilles. Soubs le nom d'imbecilles ie comprends ceux qui sont foibles de corps & d'esprit, principalement les timides, lesquels ie separe d'auec les bons, pour autant que la timidité empesche vne infinité de vertueuses actions: c'est pourquoy vn ancien prouerb nous aduertit de ne point nous accoster des pusillanimes. Et de vray telles gens ne font ny bien ny mal, & se rangent tousiours du costé des plus forts. Quant aux meschans, ils n'osent faire paroister leur nauuaise volonté, s'ils n'ont vn chef qui les autorise. C'est alors qu'ils se mettent en campagne: autrement leur effort comme celui des voleurs est de peu de duree. Comment

ent fortunes, if they hand over to the people their claims, as they should do, if they unite with the body of this assembly, of which they are the members, there is nothing that can retard a good peace, nor break it. It must not be said, that the bad people will prevent it, and that they are in greater numbers than the good people. This proposition is false and if it were true, everything would be lost. What does not a wickedness do when it has power? When I place before my eyes the state of human affairs, I find that men are divided into three parts that are about equal in numbers: And this division can be noticed in every province, city, and village where we see some miscreants, others good men, and the others imbeciles. Under the name of imbeciles I include those who are weak in body and mind, principally the timid ones, whom I separate from the good men, because timidity prevents an infinity of virtuous actions: it is for that reason that an ancient proverb tells us not to saddle ourselves with the pusillanimous. And in truth such people do neither good nor harm, and line themselves up always on the side of the strongest. As for the bad, they dare not show their bad will, unless they have a chief who authorizes them. It is then that they start systematic work: otherwise their efforts like those of thieves are of short duration. How then will

pourront-ils donc empêcher vne paix, quand ils  
 verront tous les Princes assistez des gens de bien,  
 qui ne leur manqueront iamais pour ce subiect,  
 & outre du populas imbecille, qui ne demande  
 81 pas moins le re]pos? Sans doubt les deux tiers  
 emporteront l'autre, & vous verrez tous ces fierabras  
 souples comme vn gand au commandement de  
 leurs Monarques. Qu'on publie seulement la paix  
*De par le Roy.* Ces paroles leur feront tomber  
 les armes des mains. Il y auroit peut-estre quel-  
 que difficulté de ramener à vne vie paisible les  
 Turcs & les Tartares, qui ne font volontiers autre  
 exercice que la guerre: mais ces peuples portent  
 tant d'obeissance à leurs Princes, que les voyans  
 resolu à la paix, ils ne leur oseront contredire.  
 Ces deux Monarques n'ont point d'occasion de  
 faire la guerre, veu qu'ils ont vn si bel Empire.  
 Et que feront-ils quand ils verront tous les autres  
 Princes d'accord? Non, non. Il n'est plus temps  
 de s'imaginer des trophées. Il faut quitter ces  
 meurs barbares, & monstret au peuple le chemin  
 d'humanité & vray honneur, afin qu'on ne vieu  
 plus d'vne façon brutale. Il faut faire regner  
 la raison & iustice, & non pas la violence, qui  
 ne conuient qu'aux bestes. On a esté par le  
 passé prodigue de la vie des hommes. On a  
 82 veu vn deluge] vniuersel de leur sang, capable  
 d'empourprer la mer & la terre. Baste. C'es-  
 toit vne saignée necessaire pour purger le monde



they be able to prevent a peace, when they see their Princes aided by the good people, who will never fail them for this subject, and besides by the foolish people, who do not less demand quiet? Without doubt the two-thirds will down the other, and you will see all these firebrands supple as a glove to the commands of their monarchs. Only let peace be published *By the orders of the King*. These words will make their arms drop from their hands. There will be perhaps a little difficulty to bring back to a peaceful life the Turks and the Tatars, who do not voluntarily do any other work except war: but those people show such obedience to their Princes, that seeing them resolved on peace, they will not dare to contradict them. Those two monarchs have no occasion to wage war, since they have so fine an Empire. And what will they do when they see all the other Princes in accord? No, no. It is no longer time to imagine trophies. One must abandon those barbarous customs, and show to the people the way of humanity and true honor, in order that they shall no longer live in a brutal way. It is necessary to make reason and justice reign, and not violence, which is only suited to the beasts. One has been in former times prodigal of the lives of men. One has seen an universal deluge of their blood, capable of turning purple the sea and land. Enough. It was a bleeding necessary to purge

de ses humeurs vitieuses ou superflues, & Dieu se vouloit servir de ce moyen, pour establir les Monarchies. Maintenant qu'elles sont appuyees sur les pilotis d'une longue possession, il ne les faut esbranler, mais plustost les affermir par vne bonne paix. Le grand Solyman, donnoit liberalement des Royaumes, disant qu'il estoit rassasié de tant de gloire que la vertu de ses predecesseurs & la sienne luy auoit acquise. Peut-estre il auoit appris cela de Cæsar, qui estoit attedié de triomphes, & n'en vouloit plus. Quoy que ce soit il faut se lasser de mal faire. Remettons l'espee au fourreau. Il n'est pas question d'exercer des inimitiez immortelles. Nous auons excité assez d'orages. Il est temps de donner le calme & la serenité à ce grand Ocean, en y iettant l'huile de reconciliation parfaite. Cela depend des vos Majestez, Grand Monarques. Vous pouuez appaiser

83 tous les troubles du monde, & ranger vos] peuples à l'obeissance des loix de nature, & des vostres. Que demandez vous d'auantage? La paix vous entretient en grandeur, en respect, & en seureté: au contraire la guerre diminuë toutes ces choses, & souuent les oste tout à fait, avec l'honneur & la vie. Quant vous auriez subiugué tout le monde, ce qui n'est iamais arriué à personne, & iamais n'arriuera, en fin vous seriez contraincts de vous reposer, attendu que la guerre se fait pour auoir la paix. Ce que vous feriez en la

the world of its vicious or superfluous inclinations, and God wished to avail himself of this means, to establish the Monarchies. Now that they are based upon the piles of a long possession, they must not be strangled, but rather affirmed by a long peace. The great Solyman, freely gave Kingdoms, saying that he was satiated with so much glory which the virtue of his predecessors and his own had gained him. Perhaps he had learnt that from Caesar, who was surfeited with triumphs, and did not wish any more. Whatever it may be, one must become weary of evil doing. Let us replace the sword in the scabbard. It is not a question of maintaining everlasting hostilities. We have raised enough storms. It is time to give calm and serenity to this great ocean, by throwing upon it the oil of perfect reconciliation. That depends of your Majesties, Great Monarchs. You can appease all the troubles of the world, and place your peoples in obedience to the law of nature, and to your own. What do you ask in addition? Peace maintains you in grandeur, in respect, and in safety: on the contrary war diminishes all these things, and often takes them away, together with honor and life. If you had subjugated the whole world, a thing which has never happened to any one, and will never happen, finally you will be forced to repose yourselves, since war is waged to obtain peace. What you

Monarchie de l'univers, faites-le en celle qui est entre vos mains. Vous voyez le peu de profit que vous faites par armes, & si vous gagnez quelque ville, dans peu de temps vous la perdez, ou bien vne autre qui valoit mieux: & souuent apres auoir deffait vos ennemis, rauagé leurs terres, la necessité vous force d'entendre à vne paix, ou trefue, par faute de viures, ou par vne maladie, qui depeuple vne armee, & faict perdre le fruct d'vne conqueste laborieuse, laquelle couste ordinairement plus cher, que si  
84 on l'eust acheptee à beaux] deniers coutens. A ce propos il me souuient de celuy qui disoit au Roy de Portugal, lors qu'il deliberoit de passer en Afrique, que pour vne telle expedition, il falloit vn monde d'hommes, vn monde d'argent & de viures. C'estoit bien représenter en peu de mots les difficultez & hazards de la guerre. Octavian Auguste, le plus grand Monarque qui fut iamais, ne conseilloit point d'entreprendre vne guerre, s'il n'y auoit plus de profit en gagnant la victoire, que de dommage en la perdant, & disoit que faire autrement c'estoit pescher avec vn hameçon d'or. C'est pourquoy les Scythes manderent à Cyrus Roy de Perse, qu'ils s'estonnoient qu'un si riche Prince les attaquoit de gayeté de cœur, sans auoir esté aucunement offensé, veu qu'il hazardoit en ce faisant son estat, pour auoir vn meschant pays, où il n'y auoit rien à gagner, partant

would do in the monarchy of the Universe, do it in that which is in your hands. You see how little profit you get through arms, and if you gain some town, in a short time you lose it, or else another that was worth more: and after having defeated your enemies, ravaged their lands, necessity forces you to listen to peace, or truce owing to want of supplies, or by some disease that decimates an army, and causes the loss of the results of a laborious conquest, which costs generally more, than if one had bought it with good current coin. In connection with this I remember the man who said to the King of Portugal, as he deliberated about crossing into Africa, that for such an expedition, there was need of a world of men, a world of money and of supplies. This was putting clearly in a few words the difficulties and hazards of war. Octavius Augustus, the greatest monarch that ever was, did not counsel the undertaking of a war, if there was not more profit in gaining the victory, than damage in losing it, and he said that to do otherwise was to fish with a gold hook. It was for that reason that the Scythians sent word to Cyrus, King of Persia, that they were astonished that so rich a Prince attacked them with a light heart, without having been in any way offended, seeing that in so doing he hazarded his state, in order to have a poor country, where there was nothing to gain, therefore

qu'ils n'attendoient point sa venue, & qu'ils iroient volontiers au deuant, puisqu'ils voyoient l'esperance d'un si beau butin: à quoy ils ne manquerent pas. Les Suisses faisoient la mesme

85 remonstrance au dernier Duc de Bourgogne. Si d'avanture vous nous surmontez, luy disoient ces pauvres gens, vous n'en amenderez pas beaucoup, attendu que les esperons de vos gensdarmes & les mors de bride de leurs chevaux, valent plus que toute nostre cheuance. Cela doit servir d'advertissement à tous Princes, principalement aux plus puissans, de ne tenter point la fortune de la guerre, qui peut diminuer plustost leur Empire, que l'aggrandir. Qu'ils ne desirent donc point de nouvelles Seigneuries, de peur qu'ils ne perdent les presentes. Ils ont acquis une felicité: Il ne reste que de la mesnager, à l'exemple d'Auguste, lequel ayant pacifié les troubles, se mit à faire de bonnes loix, & voyant qu'il estoit assuré contre l'estranger, pourueut aux desordres qui pouvoient arriuer au dedans de son Empire. Car ce n'est pas assez d'empescher le mal de dehors: le domestique est plus à craindre. Apres donc que les Princes seront tous d'accord, chacun d'eux pouruoiera aux affaires de sa Monarchie, à ce que

86 les deportemens de ses subiects n'entament point le corps de ceste union, que nous taschons moyenner. Ce faisant, non seulement il obligera le public, en travaillant de sa part à l'entretien de la paix generale, mais aussi il assurera son

that they would not await his coming, and that they would go willingly forward to meet him, since they saw the hope of so magnificent a booty: in which they did not fail. The Swiss made the same remonstrance to the last Duke of Burgundy. If by chance you overcome us, those poor people told him, you will not gain much, since the spurs of your men at arms and the bits of the bridles of your horses, are worth more than all our worldly goods. This should serve as a warning to all Princes, more especially to the most powerful, not to risk the fortune of war, which can rather diminish their Empire than aggrandize it. Let them desire then no more new lordships, for fear they lose the present ones. They have acquired some happiness: It remains only to cherish it, according to the example of Augustus, who having pacified the troubles, set to work to make good laws, and seeing that he was secured against the foreigner, provided for the disorders that might arise within his Empire. For it is not enough to prevent the danger from without: that within is more to be feared. After these that all the Princes shall be in accord, each of them will care for the affairs of his monarchy, to the end that the scandalous behavior of his subjects shall not endanger the body of this union, which we are trying to arrange. By so doing this, not only will he oblige the public, in working on his part for the maintenance of general peace, but also he will

estat, preuenant par vne bonne police les inconueniens qu'apporte le desreiglement des mœurs & licence effrene. Je ferois du Philosophe, si ie mettois en auant les enseignemens notables sur ce subiect: mais il n'est besoin de retracer vn discours dont les liures sont remplis. Je toucheray seulement sept ou huict pointcs, qui me semblent necessaires, pour contenir les peuples en leur debuoir, & leur oster toute occasion de tumulte: à sçauoir vn gouuernement moderé, punition des malefices, recompense des merites, nourriture des pauures, reglement de procez, prouision publique de grains, recreation licite, & la Censure. Vn estat se porte bien, quand toutes ces choses s'y rencontrent: dont la premiere importe grandement, tant pour le salut du peuple, que pour celuy du Monarque.

- 87 Car il ne peut estre assureé en]tre ses subiects, s'il ne gaigne leur affection par vn gouuernement réglé selon les loix de la raison naturelle, à laquelle tout homme sans exception doit obeïssance. Et ceste submission ne deroge point à la souueraineté, au contraire elle affranchit vn homme des vices qui luy causent vne fascheuse seruitude. C'est regner, que de commander à ses cupiditez: Chacun peut gaigner aisement vne telle *Monarchie*, mais les Princes en doibuent estre d'autant plus soigneux, qu'ils ont vne puissance absoluë. Theopompe Roy Lacedemonien n'auoit pas besoin d'establiir des Ephores pour le contreroler. Il deuoit



assure his state, preventing by a good policy the inconveniences which the irregularity of morals and unbridled license bring about. I would be a Philosopher, if I brought forward the notable teachings on this subject: but it is not necessary to repeat a discourse with which books are filled. I shall touch only seven or eight points, which seem to me necessary, in order to contain the peoples in their duty and take away from them all cause for tumult: to wit, a moderate government, punishment of wickedness, reward of merit, nourishment of the poor, regulation of trials, public provision of grain, lawful recreation, and the censure. A state is in good order, when all these things are found in it: of which the first is of great importance, as much for the salvation of the people, as for that of the Monarch. For he cannot be safe among his subjects, if he does not gain their affection by a government regulated according to the laws of natural reason, to which every man without exception owes obedience. And this submission does not diminish sovereignty, on the contrary it liberates a man from the vices which keep him in unfortunate subjection. It is ruling, to control one's desires: each one can gain easily such a *Monarchy*, but the Princes must be the more careful of it, inasmuch that they have absolute power. Theopompus, a Lacedemonian King, had no need to establish Ephores to control him. He was

plustost se donner la loy, que de la recevoir de ceux qui pouvoient faillir autant que luy. L'autorité Royale ne depend d'aucun superieur: Aussi elle demande vn naturel noble, vertueux, qui conforme son gouvernement à celuy du grand Souuerain, & ne preste point l'oreille à ces flatteurs, qui font à croire aux Princes que tout leur est remis, & les incitent à la tyrannie, comme si estre Empereur ou Roy n'estoit autre chose que piller,]

88 massacre, pillarder, & faire mal en toute assurance à la façon des voleurs. Le Monarque legitime ne se comporte pas ainsi, & considere que le plus grand honneur qui luy puisse arriuer c'est s'abstenir de mal faire en ayant la puissance, & qu'il ne doibt traicter ses subiects comme esclaves, ou pour le moins imiter les Parthes, qui cherissoient leurs seruiteurs comme leurs propre enfans. Ce qu'il fera en espargnant leur vie, leur honneur, & leur bien. On cognoist en l'vsage de ces trois choses la difference entre le tyran & le Prince legitime. Cestuy-cy laisse iouir ses subiects paisiblement de leurs possessions: que s'il en tire du profit, c'est pour subuenir aux necessitez publiques, & non pas pour entretenir ses plaisirs. Il n'attente point sur leur vie, il ne fait point bresche à leur honneur en la personne de leurs femmes. Le Prince tyrannique se iouë de tout cela, & croit que sa felicité gist en la violence. En quoy il s'abuse.

rather to give the law to himself, than to receive it from those who could err as much as he. The royal authority does not depend on a superior: therefore it demands a noble nature, virtuous, who conforms his government to that of the great sovereign, and does not lend an ear to those flatterers, who make Princes believe that everything is permissible for them, and incite them to tyranny, as if to be an Emperor or King was nothing else than to pillage, massacre, plunder, and do wrong in perfect security in the manner of robbers. The legitimate monarch does not bear himself thus, and considers that the greatest honor that can come to him is to abstain from doing evil while having the power to do it, and that he must not treat his subjects as slaves, but at least imitate the Parthians, who cherished their servants as their own children. This he will do in sparing their life, their honor, and their property. One recognizes in the usage of these three things the difference between the tyrant and the legitimate Prince. This latter allows his subjects to enjoy peacefully their possessions: if he draws profit from them, it is to provide for public necessities, and not to maintain his pleasures. He does not attack their life, he does not make a breach on their honor in the person of their wives. The tyrannical Prince plays with all that, and believes that his felicity lies in violence. In which he

Car vn Empire violent ressemble aux torrens rapides qui ne font que passer, & celuy qui est moderé, à ces petites pluyes qui] arrousens doucement la terre, & durent longuement. Aussi vn bon Prince gaignant le cœur de ses subiects n'a que faire de craindre de leur part. Le tyran est plein de defiance, voyant qu'il est hay iustement des siens, qui cherchent occasion de s'en deffaire. Et c'est ce qui a ruiné en partie les Roys & Potentats des terres neufues, d'autant qu'ils tourmentoient leurs subiects de couruees intolerables, & les gouernoient comme bestes, occasion pourquoy ces pauures malheureux ne firent pas beaucoup de resistance aux Hespagnols, qui leur donnoient esperence de meilleur traictement. Que le Prince se serue de ses subiects avec le plus de moderation qu'il pourra, qu'il ne tourmente point leurs corps, dont-il a affaire, qu'il n'exige point des tributs insupportables, attendu qu'il ne peut auoir profit n'y honneur en la pauureté de son peuple: qu'il chasse de sa cour les flatteurs & inuenteurs de subsides, qui corrompent la bonté naturelle des Monarques, & les mettent en mauuais mesnage avec leurs subiects.

90 C'est par ces gens-là qu'il faut commencer la] punition des malefices qui est le second expedient pour maintenir la paix. La douceur est bien requise en celuy qui commande, mais en icelle comme en toute autre chose il faut garder mediocrité: autrement elle est preiudiciable. Et afin de ne point abuser

abuses himself. For a violent Empire resembles the rapid torrents that only pass by, and the one that is moderate, those gentle rains which quietly refresh the earth, and last a long time. Also a good Prince winning the heart of his subjects has nothing to fear from them. The tyrant is filled with distrust, seeing that he is justly hated by his people, who seek an occasion to get rid of him. And this it is which ruined in part the Kings and Potentates of the new lands, in as much as they tormented their subjects with intolerable services, and governed them like beasts, for this reason those poor unfortunates did not make any great resistance to the Spaniards, who gave them hopes of better treatment. Let the Prince make use of his subjects with the greatest moderation that he can, let him not torment their bodies, which he needs, let him not exact insupportable taxes, since he can have neither profit nor honor in the poverty of his people: let him chase from his court the flatterers and inventors of subsidies, who corrupt the natural goodness of monarchs, and place them in bad relations with their subjects. It is with those people that a beginning must be made to punish the evils which is the second expedient to maintain peace. Gentleness is well needed in him who commands, but in this as in every other thing it is necessary to keep an average: otherwise it is injurious. And in order not to abuse words,

des paroles, ce n'est pas douceur que pardonner aux meschans: c'est cruauté, pource que l'impunité les rend audacieux, & fomenté leur malice. Archidamidas voyant qu'on louoit Charilaüs Roy de Sparte à cause de sa clemence, Comment seroit-il bon Prince, dit-il, veu qu'il n'est point ennemy des meschans? Il auoit raison. Car vn homme de bien naturellement abhorre le vice: Ce qui est notamment loüable en vn Monarque, comme en Alexandre Seueré, qui hayssoit tant les larrons, qu'il ne les pouuoit seulement regarder sans nausée. Et l'Empereur d'Orient Andronique, bien qu'il fut d'ailleurs reprehensible, auoit neantmoins ceste vertu de punir regoureuusement les crimes, & contenoit tout le monde en son deuoir, specialement les gouuerneurs & officiers qui estoient contraincts de marcher droict, si bien que le peuple ne fut] 91  
 jamais si content. Mais le fait de Iustin second est notable, lequel voyant les outrages que le peuple enduroit des grands, se resolut d'y remedier: à ceste fin crea vn grand Preuost, auquel il donna la Souueraine autorité de iustice. Cestuy-cy ne fut pas si tost entré en l'exercice de sa charge, qu'il fut aduertit de l'iniure qu'auoit fait vn Seigneur qualifié à vn pauvre homme. Il luy enuoya faire commandement de comparoistre par deuant luy, & d'autant qu'il n'en tenoit compte, l'alla querir iusques dans le Palais: & encore qu'il fust à la table de l'Empereur, neantmoins à la veüe d'iceluy il

it is not kindness to forgive the wicked: it is cruelty, for impunity renders them audacious, and foments their malice. Archidamedes seeing that Charilaüs, King of Sparta, was praised because of his clemency, How can he be a good Prince, he said, since he is not an enemy of the wicked? He was right. For a good man naturally abhors vice: which is notably praiseworthy in a monarch, like Alexander Severus, who hated thieves so much, that he could not even look at them without feeling sick. And the Emperor of the Orient, Andronicus, although he was in many ways reprehensible, had nevertheless the virtue of rigorously punishing crimes, and held every one to his duty, especially the governors and officers who were constrained to march in the straight path, so much so that the people never was so content. But the act of Justinian the Second is notable, who seeing the outrages that the people endured from the great, resolved to remedy them: to this end he created a great Provost, to whom he gave the sovereign authority of justice. This one was no sooner installed in the exercise of his charge, than he was informed of the injury that a lord of quality had done to a poor man. He sent him command to appear before him, and in as much as he paid no heed to it, went to seek him even in the palace: and even though he was sitting at the table of the Emperor, nevertheless before his eyes he

emmena le criminel, & luy fit son procez, sans empeschement ou opposition quelconque. O si cela estoit pratiqué, qu'un Estat seroit heureux! qu'un Prince seroit aimé des siens, & honoré des estrangers! Ce n'est rien que d'auoir vn Royaume: si la iustice n'y est gardee, si les principaux officiers ne sont rangez à leur deuoir, il perd son non, & deuiet vn brigandage. Ne sçauons nous pas que l'Empereur Romain a perdu presque toute sa Monarchie par la faute de ses Lieutenans, qui tyrannisoient ses subiects?]

92 S'il les eust chastié, sur les iustes plaintes qu'on faisoit d'eux, son Empire ne seroit reduict au petit pied comme il est à present. Qu'est-il besoin de nommer les autres, qui ont perdu les plus beaux fleurons de leur couronne par l'insolence de leurs officiers? Vn Prince doibt auoir l'œil sur les deportemens de tous ses subiects, mais particulièrement il est responsable de ceux à qui il donne les grandes charges. Toutes leurs actions, bonnes ou mauuaises, luy sont imputees. Ceux-cy estans reglez il est aisé de venir à bout du reste, & n'y a si meschant ny desesperé, qui ne tremble, quand il voit punir vn magistrat, vn Capitaine, ou autres personnes de qualité. C'est le plus bel œuure d'un Monarque de prendre en sa protection le menu peuple, & le garantir de l'oppression des grands, qui abusent de leur force, & ne l'employent qu'à violenter les plus foibles. Quant aux



carried off the criminal, and brought him to trial, without hindrance or opposition whatsoever. O if that was practiced, how happy a State would be! how a Prince would be beloved by his people, and honored by foreigners! It is not a small thing to have a kingdom: if justice is not maintained therein, if the principal officers are not faithful to their duty, it loses its name, and becomes an anarchy. Do we not know that the Roman Emperor lost almost all his monarchy through the faults of his lieutenants, who tyrannized his subjects? If he had punished them, on the just complaints that were made about them, his Empire would not be reduced to the small scale on which it is at present. Is it necessary to name the others, which have lost the most beautiful flowers of their crown by the insolence of their officers? A Prince must have an eye to the misconduct of all his subjects, but especially is he responsible for those to whom he entrusts the great posts. All their actions, good or bad, are attributed to him. These being regulated it is easy to control the rest, and there is no one so bad nor desperate, who does not tremble, when he sees punished a magistrate, a captain, or other persons of quality. It is the most beautiful work of a monarch to take under his protection the lower classes, and protect them from the oppression of the great, who abuse their power, and employ it only to do violence to the more feeble. As for the

autres petits voleurs & meurtriers, il les faut aussi punir sans remission. Et d'autant qu'ils ont accoustumé apres auoir faict leur coup, de quitter le pays, 93 il faudroit leur ioüer vn pareil tour, que] fit Mahomet second au massacreur de Iulian de Medicis, qui s'estoit retiré à Constantinople. Le grand Seigneur le renuoya lié & garotté à Florence. Par ce moyen les meschans seroient bien estonnez, voyans que tout le monde leur fermeroit la porte, & qu'ils n'auroient aucun asyle. Je sçay qu'il ne faut pas chasser les estrangers, & que c'est l'honneur d'un Monarque de recevoir amiablement ceux qui implorent sa misericorde, & se mettent sous sa protection: mais cela se doit entendre des marchands, ou de ceux qui sont affligez & poursuiuis à tort, non pas des traistres, seditieux & assassins, qui troublent le repos public, & tiennent le premier rang entre les meschans. Telles pestes sont indignes de compassion. Et qui voudroit auoir de tels hostes? Comment vn Roy seroit-il assuré s'il receuoit ceux qui auroient fait banqueroute à leur patrie? I'entends les seditieux, en la punition desquels tous les Monarques ont interest, tant s'en faut qu'ils leur doibuent donner aucun lieu de refuge. Autrement 94 ils attirent vn malheur sur leur estat, &] donnent occasion à leurs propres subiects de tramer hardiment quelque nouveauté. Certainement il n'y a crime plus

other little robbers and murderers, they must also be punished without let up. And since they are accustomed after having made their stroke to leave the country, a similar trick should be played them, like the one Mohammed the Second played to the assassin of Julian de Medici, who had retired to Constantinople. The Great Lord sent him bound and tied up to Florence. By this means the bad would be much astonished, seeing that all the world would close their door to them, and that they would have no asylum. I know that foreigners should not be chased away, and that it is to the honor of a monarch to receive amiably those who implore his mercy, and place themselves under his protection: but that must be understood of merchants, or of those who are in trouble and wrongly pursued, not of traitors, fomentors of sedition and assassins, who disturb public peace, and hold the first rank among the wicked. Such pests are unworthy of compassion. And who would wish to have such guests? How would a King be assured if he received those who had gone bankrupt in their own country? I mean the promoters of sedition, in whose punishment all monarchs have an interest, so much so that they should not give them any place of refuge. Otherwise they attract misfortune upon their state, and give occasion to their own subjects to plan boldly some novelty. Certainly there is no crime more punishable than

punissable que la sedition, ny qui aye besoin de plus de precautions, pour autant qu'elle est fort diuerse & a plusieurs visages. Tantost elle montre vne face riante, qui promet vne douce liberté, tantost elle se pare d'un habit Religieux, ou d'un masque de iustice. Aucunesfois elle n'a qu'une teste, & ailleurs (chose monstrueuse) vous luy en voyez cent mille. Faut esclarcir les particularitez de ce mal, afin de luy appliquer plus aisement les remedes. Il est certain que toutes seditions se forment ou par l'entreprise ambitieuse de quelque chef & conducteur remuant, ou par vne esmotion generale du peuple. Vn particulier seditieux decouure son ambition directement, ou obliquement. Directement, lors que de viue force il veut empieter l'Estat, à quoy plusieurs occasions luy peuuent frayer chemin, notamment l'imbecillité de celuy qui commande. C'est ce qui a perdu Childeric le dernier des Merouingiens, qui fut confiné en vn

95 cloistre par] Pepin, du consentement des François, à cause de sa nonchalance. Pour vn mesme subiect Charles le simple a esté degradé, & sa posterité n'a pas esté plus heureuse. Le remede de ce mal depend du Prince qui en est la cause. Qu'il se face aimer par sa bonté, respecter par sa vertu, il se garantira de toutes entreprises. Mais s'il se laisse emporter aux violentes passion de cupidité & de cholere, il court fortune, & encore plus s'il se rend contemptible par vne vie oisiue & effeminee.

sedition, nor against which there is need of more precautions, since it is very diverse and has many sides. Sometimes it shows a smiling face, which promises a sweet liberty, sometimes it puts on a religious garb, or a mask of justice. Sometimes it has but one head, and elsewhere (a monstrous thing) you see it with a hundred thousand. It is necessary to clear up the particular phases of this evil in order to apply to it more easily the remedies. It is certain that all sedition is fomented either by the enterprising ambition of some chief or restless leader, or by a general movement of the people. An individual agitator shows his ambition directly, or obliquely. Directly, when by main force he wishes to seize the State, to do which many opportunities may open the way to him, notably the foolishness of he who commands. It was that which destroyed Childeric, the last of the Merovingians, who was confined in a cloister by Pepin, with the consent of the French, because of his listlessness. For a similar reason Charles the Simple was degraded and his posterity was not more fortunate. The remedy for this evil depends on the Prince who is its cause. Let him make himself loved by his goodness, respected by his virtue, he will guarantee himself against all attacks. But if he allows himself to be carried away by the violent passions of cupidity and anger, he tempts fortune, and still more if he makes himself contemptible by a lazy

Alors les estrangers luy feront la loy, ses subjects s'emanciperont de son obeissance, principalement ceux qui auront quelque credit & autorité, comme il arriua aussi à nos Roys sur le declin de la race de Charlemagne, quand la France fut desmembree par l'ambition des gouverneurs qui s'impatroniserent de leurs prouinces, abusans de la simplicité de leurs maistres. Et au mesme temps quelques Seigneurs d'Italie se cantonnerent, & s'approprièrent les places où ils auoient commandement, comme les Ducs de Beneuent, de Friul & de Spolète: ce que les autres depuis ont fait à leur exemple;] au grand mespris & dommage des Empereurs. Il est vray que les affaires qu'ils auoient au pays de leur residence, auec la disgrace des Papes, les empeschoient beaucoup de rembarer ces roitelets: car vn peuple reuesche & libertin est mal aisé à tenir quand il ne voit point son Prince & secouë le ioug à la premiere commodité qui se presente. Les Empereurs Grecs l'ont esprouué, qui ont esté contraincts d'abandonner l'Italie & permettre à vn Goth Theodoric de s'en declarer Roy, ne pouuans la retenir pour eux. Les Roys de France & d'Allemagne apres la chasse des Lombards, n'y ont pas mieux faicts leurs affaires, & ont cogneu que le sommet des Alpes estoit trop haut pour faire voler leur autorité pas dessus: Que si par quelque

and effeminate life. Then foreigners will rule him, his subjects will refuse him, emancipate themselves from obedience to him, principally those who have some credit and authority, as happened to our Kings at the decline of the race of Charlemagne, when France was dismembered by the ambition of the governors who seized hold of their provinces, taking advantage of the simplicity of their masters. And at the same time a few Italian lords established themselves, and appropriated to themselves the places where they had command, as the Dukes of Beneventum, of Friuli and of Spoleto: which the others have since done following their example; to the great contempt and harm of the Emperors. It is true that the troubles that they had in the country where they lived, together with their disgrace by the Popes, prevented them very much from repulsing these kinglets: for a balky and libertine people is not easy to hold in hand when it does not see its Prince and throws off the yoke at the first opportunity that presents itself. The Greek Emperors felt it, who were forced to abandon Italy and permit a Goth Theodoric to proclaim himself its King, not being able to retain it for themselves. The Kings of France and Germany, after the driving out of the Lombards, did not manage any better their affairs there, and discovered that the summit of the Alps was too high to make their authority fly over it: That if by some

vent de fortune elle a esté pousseé iusques là, elle n'y a pas demeuré long temps. Pour confirmer ce propos de l'Historien, *Qu'il est plus malaise de garder vne province que de la subiuguer*: attendu que la conquête ne gist qu'en la force. Mais la conseruation

97 depend encore de la prudence des victorieux] d'une félicité continuelle, & de la bonne affection des subiects, qui sont trois chose bien rares: principalement ceste derniere, en laquelle il n'y a pas beaucoup d'assurance, si la personne du Prince est esloignée de son peuple, comme il aduient necessairement en vne grande Monarchie, dont les pieces ne sont pas iointes ensemble. Car il est mal-aysé d'aymer ou respecter vne chose qu'on ne voit point. Ce qui occasionna les Hespagnols d'offrir leur Royaume au Duc de Calabre, voyans que Charles cinquiesme leur legitime seigneur estoit disposé à cause de sa dignité Imperiale de resider en Allemagne. Et n'y a rien à mon aduis qui aye plus enhardy les Flamans & Hollandois de se mutiner contre Philippe second Roy d'Hespagne, que la crainte d'estre exposez à l'aurice & cruauté de ses Lieutenans. Ils consideroient que telles gens ont accoustumé de se licentier, quand ils se voyent esloignez de leur maistre, auquel ils font souuentefois passer la plume par le bec. Occasion pourquoy le Roy d'Hespagne n'a point de Viceroy aux Indes

98 qui y] demeure plus de trois ans, sçachant bien que



fortunate wind it was pushed as far as that, it did not remain there long. To confirm this statement of the historian, *that it is more difficult to keep a province than to subjugate it*: because conquest rests only upon force. But the conservation depends in addition upon the prudence of the victors, upon a continuous happiness, and upon the good will of the subjects, which are three very rare things: principally this last, in which there is not much assurance, if the person of the Prince is distant from his people, as happens necessarily in a great monarchy, whose parts are not joined together. For it is difficult to love or respect a thing that one does not see. This is what caused the Spaniards to offer their Kingdom to the Duke of Calabria, seeing that Charles the Fifth their legitimate lord, was disposed, on account of his Imperial dignity, to reside in Germany. And there is nothing in my opinion that more encouraged the Flemings and Hollanders to revolt against Philippe the Second, King of Spain, than the fear of being exposed to the avarice and cruelty of his Lieutenants. They considered that such people have a way of giving free license to their actions, when they find themselves far distant from their master, whom they often fool to the top of his bent. For this reason the King of Spain has no Viceroy in the Indies who remains there more than three years, knowing well that the man who has

l'homme affriandé à la domination, se laisse facilement emporter à l'entreprise d'une usurpation & defection manifeste. Dont il ne faut pas s'estonner, puis que l'ambition arme le fils contre le pere. Henry Roy d'Angleterre fut attaqué par ses enfans à la suscitation de sa femme Eleonor. Loys onziesme donna bien des affaires à Charles septiesme. Loys premier fut encore plus mal traité par ses enfans, qui le deposserent & mirent en un Monastere. Henry cinquiesme osta l'Empire à son pere: Andronique le ieune à son ayeul. Adolf emprisonna son pere Arnaul Duc de Gueldres: & comme le Duc de Bourgongne taschoit de les accorder moyennant six mille florins de pension & le tiltre de Duc qui demeureroit au bon homme durant sa vie, le reste estant en la libre disposition d'Adolf, *i'aymerois mieux*, dit ce fils desnaturé, *auoir ietté mon pere en un puits, & m'estre ietté apres, qu'auoir faict cest appointment. Il y a quarante trois ans qu'il est Duc: il est bien temps* 99 *que ie le sois. Volontiers luy lairay-ie trois mille florins par an, à conditions qu'il n'entre iamais dans la Duché.* L'ambition est aueugle, elle n'a aucun respect d'amitié ny de parenté. Le Preste-Ian preuoyant cela, tient enfermez dans un chasteau tous les Princes de sa race, de peur qu'ils n'attirent par leur autorité ses subiects, à quelque rebellion. Mais telle coustume est barbare, & en-

become bitten by domination, allows himself easily to be carried into the undertaking of a manifest usurpation and defection. At this one must not be astonished, since ambition arms the son against the father. Henry, King of England, was attacked by his children at the instigation of his wife Eleanor. Louis the Eleventh gave much trouble to Charles the Seventh. Louis the First was treated even worse by his children, who deposed him and placed him in a monastery. Henry the Fifth took away the Empire from his father: Andronicus the younger from his grandfather. Adolf imprisoned his father Arnaul Duke of Gueldres: and while the Duke of Burgundy was trying to reconcile them by suggesting that a pension of six thousand florins and the title of Duke should remain to the good old man during his life, the remainder being at the free disposal of Adolf, "*I would like better,*" said this unnatural son, "*have thrown my father into a well, and have jumped in after, than to have made this arrangement. He has been Duke for forty-three years: it is high time that I should be. Willingly would I leave to him three thousand florins a year, on condition that he never enters the Duchy.*" Ambition is blind, it has no respect for friendship or relationship. Prester John foreseeing this, holds confined in a castle all the Princes of his race, for fear that by their authority they lead his subjects into some rebellion. But such a custom is bar-

core plus celle des Ottomans, qui font mourir leurs freres afin de regner plus librement. Vn Monarque assurera bien son estat sans toutes ces cruauitez. En qui se pourra-il fier, s'il s'estrange de ses enfans? Qui luy sera amy s'il se deffaict de ses plus proches? Ne vaut-il pas mieux gagner leur affection, & leur donner vn appointment conuenable à leur qualité, suiuant l'exemple des anciens Empereurs qui faisoient part de la souueraine puissance à leurs prochains heritiers, & les admettoient pour compagnons en l'Empire, afin de leur oster tout mescontentement? Ce seroit chose estrange & monstrueuse de voir vn Prince] attaqué par son fils ou son frere, ausquels il feroit tant d'honneur & si bon traictement. Je sçay bien qu'on accuse Loys le debonnaire d'imprudence d'auoir trop aduancé ses enfans: mais son malheur ne vint pas de là. Le peu de capacité qu'il auoit aux affaires du monde, la cruauté dont il vsa à l'endroit de son nepueu Bernard Roy d'Italie, & autres Seigneurs qui l'auoient assisté, l'affection qu'il portoit à son fils dernier, au mespris de ceux du premier liect, avec l'arrogance de sa seconde femme qui dispoit à son plaisir de luy & du Royaume, furent les principaux motifs de la rebellion. En somme, à vn tel exemple i'en puis opposer dix totalement contraires, qui monstrent que le bon sang

barous, and still more that of the Ottomans, who put to death their brothers so that they may reign more freely. A monarch can assure well his state without all these cruelties. In whom could he trust, if he estranges himself from his children? Who will be his friend if he gets rid of his closest relatives? Is it not better to gain their affection, and give them an appointment suitable to their rank, following the example of the ancient Emperors who gave a part of the sovereign power to their next heirs, and admitted them as companions in the Empire, in order to take away from them all cause of discontent? It would be a strange and monstrous thing to see a Prince attacked by his son or his brother, to whom he should give such honor and good treatment. I know well that Louis the Debonnaire is accused of imprudence in having advanced his children too much: but his misfortune did not come from that. The little capacity that he had for the affairs of the world, the cruelty that he showed in the case of his nephew, Bernard, King of Italy, and other lords who had assisted him, the affection that he gave to his youngest son, to the detriment of those of the first marriage, together with the arrogance of his second wife, who disposed of him and the kingdom according to her own will, were the principal motives of the rebellion. After all, to such an example I can oppose ten totally contrary, which show that good

ne peut mentir, & qu'il est moins dangereux à vn Roy d'entretenir vn Prince de sa race, que d'esleuer les estrangers. Car ceux-cy ayans moins d'obligation naturelle au Souuerain, luy portent aussi moindre affection, si bien que le desir de regner les pousse plus facilement à entreprendre contre l'estat, quand ils ont la force en main, & quelque beau pretexte.] C'est l'ordinaire des ambitieux de pallier leurs desseings d'une apparence de zele & charité, d'auoir le bien public & reformation de l'estat en la bouche, mais l'experience a tousiours monstré qu'ils n'auoient rien moins dans le cœur. Et comment seroit-il possible que les grands voulussent procurer le soulagement du peuple puis qu'ils le foulent aux pieds, & ne font non plus scrupule de battre ou tourmenter vn villageois & habitant de ville, que si c'estoit vn chien, ou quelque beste de voiture? Et pour rendre telle iniustice plus legere, tournent en derision ces noms de Bourgeois, contadin & manant, lesquels ils ont en tel mespris, qu'ils rebutent leur conuersation, se scandalisent de leur rencontre, & se desguisent en toutes façons, afin de ne point ressembler à ceux qu'ils appellent vilains. Ils voudroient n'auoir rien de commun avec eux. Ils sont faschez de respirer vn mesme air, d'auoir vne mesme figure. Ils formeroient volontiers complainte de ce que Dieu a donné esgallement à tous vn mesme Ciel pour aspect,

blood cannot lie, and that it is less dangerous for a King to maintain a Prince of his race, than to bring up strangers. For these latter having less natural ties to the Sovereign, also feel for him less affection, so that the desire to reign pushes them more easily to undertakings against the State, when they have the power in hand, and some plausible pretext. It is the ordinary practice of ambitious men to cloak their designs with an appearance of zeal and charity, to have the public good and reformation of the state at the tip of their tongue, but experience has always shown that they had anything but that in their heart. And how could it be possible that the great should wish to procure the relief of the people since they stamp them under foot, and do not any more scruple to beat or torment a villager and town-dweller, than if he was a dog, or some beast of burden? And to render such injustice more easy, they turn into ridicule those names of burgher, countryman and peasants, which they hold in such disdain, that they repel their conversation, are scandalized at meeting them and disguise themselves in every way, so as not to resemble in any way those whom they call serfs. They wish to have nothing in common with them. They are loath to breathe the same air, to have a similar figure. They would willingly make complaint that God has given equally to all the same heaven to look at, the same

102 vne mesme terre pour fondement.] Vn peuple seroit bien sot, de seconder l'ambition de telles gens. Aussi les villes ne les veulent point recevoir, les paysans fuyent deuant eux, il n'y a que les mal-contens qui les suivent. Ceux qui ont acquis reputation de pieté ont beaucoup plus de credit envers le peuple pour l'induire à quelque nouveuté. Tesmoing l'Hermite Schacoculis, qui apres auoir bien ioüé son personnage l'espace de 7. ans en vn desert, où il estoit visité comme vn saint homme, mesmement par l'Empereur Baiazeth, qui luy enuoyoit des presens, finalement leua le masque, & se declarant autheur d'une nouvelle secte, amassa tant de partisans, qu'à l'ayde d'iceux il s'empara de plusieurs villes, défit vn Bascha & le fils de Baiazeth & eust passé bien plus outre s'il n'eust irrité le Sophi. Quelque temps apres vn certain Calender par vne deuotion simulee esbranla toute la Natolie, & tint les Turcs en ceruelle, iusques à ce qu'il fut atterré en bataille rangée. N'est-ce pas le chemin que prit Elmahel Affriquain, pour faire la guerre à son maistre le Roy de Marroc, & luy rauir le sceptre & la vie? Le respect de religion]

103 a vne extreme puissance sur nos esprits: Depuis qu'un homme a le bruit de viure saintement, il persuade tout ce qu'il veut au peuple, sur tout quand il est doué d'une eloquence & grace de bien dire. Arrius & Mahomet se sont seruis de tels instru-



earth to stand on. A people would be very stupid, to second the ambition of such people. Therefore the cities do not wish to receive them, the peasants fly before them, only the dissatisfied follow them. Those who have acquired a reputation for piety have much more credit with the people to lead them to something new. Witness the hermit Schacoculis, who after having played well his character for the space of seven years in a desert, where he was visited as a holy man, even by the Emperor Bayazeed, who sent him presents, finally raised the mask, and declaring himself founder of a new sect, collected so many partisans, that with their help he seized several cities, defeated a Pasha and the son of Bayazeed and would have gone much further if he had not irritated the Sophi. Some time afterwards a certain Calendar by a simulated devotion shook all Anatolia, and kept the Turks on the alert, until he was killed in pitched battle. Is this not the way that Elmahel the African took, to wage war on his master the King of Morocco, and take from him his scepter and his life? The respect of religion has an extreme power on our spirits: From the moment a man has the reputation of living like a saint, he persuades the people to believe everything that he wishes, especially when he is endowed with eloquence and the power of oratory. Arrius and Mohammed made use of such instruments, to

mens, pour fonder leur doctrine. Et de plus fraische memoire, Luther & Caluin, quel mesnage ont-ils faict par leurs langues & escrits, sous couleur de reformer les abus de la Chrestienté? Il faut preuenir telles gens, & leur deffendre de dogmatiser ny en public ny en particulier, sur peine de punition rigoureuse. Car ils attirent le peuple qui se laisse aysement emporter à l'apparence d'une pieté, aussi bien qu'à l'espoir d'une liberté ou condition meilleure. Ce sont deux esperons que les factieux donnent à cét animal de plusieurs testes, pour le mettre en campagne, luy representant la douceur de l'égalité Democratique, & les violences de la Monarchie. En quoy ils n'ont pas grande difficulté, attendu que les peuples ne portent pas volontiers le ioug des Princes, principalement des exacteurs ou tirans. Et de vray les Princes se  
104 rendent aucunefois odieux & insupportables.] Mais souvent la faute vient des subiects, qui les irritent par vne superbe mutinerie, & veulent reigler vn pouuoir qui ne reçoit point de limites. Les Souuerains ne douient point estre contrerolez en leurs actions. S'ils font mal, c'est à celuy qui les a establis de les chastier, non pas au peuple qui leur doit toute obeïssance. Puis qu'ils ne releuent que de Dieu, & qu'ils sont ses Lieutenans, c'est temerité aux hommes de leur faire rendre compte: c'est vn sacrilege de murmurer contre eux, d'attenter à leur estat ou à leurs personnes. Les plus sages

found their doctrines. And of more recent memory, Luther and Calvin, what a mess have they not made with their tongues and writings, under pretense of reforming the abuses of Christianity? Such people must be anticipated, and forbidden to dogmatize either in public or in private, under penalty of rigorous punishment. For they attract the people which allows itself to be easily led off by the appearance of piety, as well as by the hope of liberty or a better condition. These are two spurs that the factious give to this animal of many heads, to launch him on the rampage, representing to him the sweetness of Democratic equality, and the violences of Monarchy. In which they have not great difficulty, since the peoples do not bear willingly the rule of Princes, especially of extortioners or tyrants. And in truth Princes sometimes make themselves odious and insupportable. But often the fault comes from the subjects, who irritate them by a fine revolt, and wish to regulate a power that knows no limits. Sovereigns must not be controlled in their actions. If they do wrong, it is for him who has established them to chastise them, not the people who owe them all obedience. Since they are amenable only to God, and are his Lieutenants, it is presumptuous for men to make them render an account: it is a sacrilege to murmur against them, to attack their state or their person. The wisest

sont de cest aduis, & la doctrine chrestienne specialement, nous exhorte de reuerer nos Roys & superieurs, sans aucune distinction pour ce regard des bons & des mauuais. De cecy nous en auons vn notable exemple en Daudid qui ne voulut iamais toucher son ennemy Saül Prince furieux & tyrannique, qui l'auoit persecuté cruellement, & en hayne de luy, auoit tué Achimelech, & tous les sacrificateurs de Nobe auec leurs femmes & enfans: Nonobstant Daudid l'ayant eu par deux  
 105 fois entre ses mains, a estimé qu'il n'e]stoit permis de l'offencer, & a empesché ceux qui le vouloient faire, disant qu'il n'outrageroit iamais celuy que Dieu auoit sacré. Et peut-on trouuer vn Roy qui aye tant tyrannisé ses subiects que Nabuchodonosor? Apres auoir force Hierusalem, pillé les maisons d'icelles, rasé les murailles, il massacra vne grande partie du peuple, & emmena le surplus captif en Babylone, où il fit faire sa statuë, auec commandement à tous de l'adorer, sur peine d'estre bruslez tous vifs: ce neantmoins les Prophetes de ce temps là crioient apres le Roy de Hierusalem Sedechie, pource qu'ils s'estoit reuolté contre son Souuerain, & erhortoient les Iuifs transportez en Babylone de prier Dieu pour la prosperité dudit Nabuchodonosor & de ses enfans. Si ces raisons ne nous esmeuent, l'euement qui est le maistre des imprudens, a tousiours monstré que les reuoltes estoient

are of this opinion, and the christian doctrine especially exhorts us to revere our Kings and superiors, without any distinction as regards the good and the bad. Of this we have a notable example in David who never wished to touch his enemy Saul, a Prince furious and tyrannical, who had persecuted him cruelly, and in hatred of him, had killed Achimelech, and all the sacrificers of Nob with their wives and children: Notwithstanding David having had him twice in his power, thought that it was not permissible to injure him, and prevented those who wished to do so, saying that he never would outrage him whom God had consecrated. And can one find any King who tyrannized his subjects so much as Nebuchadnezzar? After having stormed Jerusalem, pillaged its houses, pulled down the walls, he massacred a large part of the people, and led away the remainder captives to Babylon, where he set up his statue, with command to all to adore it, under penalty of being burnt alive: . . . nevertheless the prophets of that time cried out against the King of Jerusalem, Zedekiah, because he had revolted against his sovereign, and exhorted the Jews transported to Babylon to pray to God for the prosperity of the said Nebuchadnezzar and his children. If these reasons do not move us, fate, which is the master of the imprudent, has always shown that revolts were useless, and

inutiles, & que les rebelles au lieu d'amender leur marché tomboient le plus souuent de fieure en chaud mal. Qu'ont gagné les Florentins en la mort d'Alexandre de Medicis? Quel profit ont] fait les Gaulois de se reuolter contre Charles cinquiesme? On alleguera peut-estre les Suisses qui se sont emancipez heureusement, & aussi les Hollandois. Quant à ceux-cy, l'assiete de leur pays propre pour la defensiue, l'alliance de leurs voisins, & sur tout l'esloignement du Roy d'Hespagne, sont les piliers de leur republique, laquelle neantmoins seroit en grand bransle, si ce Prince vouloit tourner toutes ses forces contr'eux. Pour le regard des Suisses, leur vnion, & suffisance au fait des armes, & le peu de richesses qu'ils ont, ne donnent pas grande enuie de les assuiettir & remettre au train de la Monarchie, de laquelle ils ont esté si mal traictez, que l'on ne peut iustement imputer ce qu'ils ont fait à vne rebellion, mais plustost à l'insolence des gouverneurs qui se licentioient d'attenter non seulement à leurs biens, mais à leurs personnes & à leurs femmes. La plus part des peuples ne se contient pas és limites d'vne si iuste defense, ils se mutinent pour vn impost, pour l'aduancement d'vn fauorit, vn mauuais gouvernement, comme si ces maux estoient at-  
 107 tachez à la Monarchie,] & ne se trouuoient pas avec plus d'excez en l'estat democratique, où les brigues, corruptions, partialitez, & impunitiez de crimes

that rebels, instead of improving their situation, fell generally from the frying pan into the fire. What did the Florentines gain by the death of Alexander di Medici? What profit did the Gauls get in revolting against Charles the Fifth? One may instance perhaps the Swiss who happily emancipated themselves, and also the Hollanders. As for these latter, the lay of their country suitable for defense, the alliance of their neighbors, and especially the distance of the King of Spain, are the pillars of their Republic, which nevertheless would be much shaken, if this Prince wished to turn all his power against them. As regards the Swiss, their union, and capacity in the handling of arms, and the little wealth that they have, does not rouse great desire to subdue them and restore them to the train of Monarchy, by which they were so badly treated, that one cannot justly attribute what they did to a rebellion, but rather to the insolence of the governors who gave themselves free license to attack not only their wealth, but also their persons and their wives. The greater part of the peoples do not hold themselves within the limits of so just a defense, they revolt for a tax, for the advancement of a favorite, a bad government, as if these evils were attached to monarchy, and were not found in more excess in the democratic state, where the cabals, corruptions, partialities, and impunity of crimes are common

sont ordinaires, où les plus beaux harangueurs font ce qu'ils veulent, les vertueux sont suspects, les magistrats peu respectez, les factieux aduancez, la iustice vendue au plus offrant, & negligemment administree. Tout cecy se remarque és republiques d'Athenes & de Rome, les plus florissantes qui furent oncques. Les citoyens estoient tousiours aux prises, les riches contre les pauures, les nobles contre les roturiers: & aux assemblees de ville s'entrebattoient à coups de pierre. En suite massacre, pilleries, & confusion, si que la plus grande tyrannie n'eust pas fait la moitié de ces maux, ausquels ils n'ont point esprouué de meilleurs remedes, que la domination d'un seul homme. Pareillement les Florentins depuis qu'ils se sont gouuernez eux mesmes n'ont veu que des changemens & desordres en leur ville, les maisons bruslees, les ruës pauees de corps morts & autres tragedies, qui ont continué iusques à ce qu'ils ont esté ramenez à la Monarchie. Ceux de  
108 Genes n'ont esté guere plus] heureux en leur liberté, & seroient encore acharnez les vns contre les autres, s'ils ne craignoient leur protecteur. Et on sçait bien ce que vaut la protection d'une ville à un Prince voisin & puissant. Si les Republiques pour se garantir de ruine, ont recours à l'autorité d'un Souuerain, les peuples qui y sont accoustumez ne s'en doiuent departir, pour aucun pretexte ou occasion que ce soit. La tyrannie est facheuse, ie le confesse, mais la fureur & confusion



occurrences, where the best orators do what they choose, the virtuous are suspect, the magistrates are ill respected, the factious are advanced, justice is sold to the highest bidder, and negligently administered. All this is noticeable in the Republics of Athens and Rome, the most flourishing that ever were. The citizens were always quarrelling, the rich against the poor, the nobles against the plebeians: and in the city assemblies fought with stones. Then followed massacre, pillaging, and confusion, so much so that the greatest tyranny would not have caused half these evils, for which they could not find a better remedy, than the domination of a single man. Similarly the Florentines since they have governed themselves have seen only changes and disorders in their city, the houses burnt, the streets paved with dead bodies, and other tragedies, which continued until they were led back to monarchy. Those of Genoa were not much happier with their liberty, and would still be furious the ones against the others, if they did not fear their protector. And one knows well what the protection of a town is worth to a neighboring and powerful Prince. If the Republics, to guard against ruin, have recourse to the authority of a sovereign, the peoples who are accustomed to it, must not leave it, for any pretext or occasion whatsoever. Tyranny is unfortunate, I confess, but popular fury and con-

populaire est encore plus à craindre, d'autant qu'ell'a vne cause permanente, à sçauoir l'humeur du peuple, variable, ignorant, cruel, amateur de nouveauté, qualitez qui luy sont & seront tousiours naturelles. Au contraire, la tyrannie se passe, & souuent vn meschant Prince se corrige soy-mesme sans contraincte, comme Auguste & Tite, ou bien il s'atedie des occupations publiques, comme Sylla, & Diocletian, qui renoncerent de leur bon gré à l'Empire. Il faut donc endurer de telles gens, comme on souffre la sterilité d'une annee, en attendant vn meilleur temps. Car la vicissitude estant perpe]tuelle aux affaires du monde, le mal succede au bien, le bonheur à l'aduersité, & apres l'orage d'un iniuste gouuernement, on voit re-luire le serein d'un regne doux & paisible. Si le peuple entroit en ceste consideration, ou s'il en estoit capable, il ne se porteroit pas si aysément aux seditions. Mais il faut aduoüer que les hommes augmentent bien leurs miseres par impatience & delicatesse. Ils ne sentent pas si tost le moindre mal, qu'ils veulent y appliquer vn violent remede. Ils abboient apres la tyrannie, laquelle neantmoins ils exercent en leurs maisons impunément. Ne voyons nous pas les iniustices que font les maistres à leurs valets, les peres à leurs enfans, les precepteurs à leurs disciples? C'est vn vice commun d'abuser de sa puissance, & se monstrier insolent à l'endroit de ses inferieurs. Je ne dis cecy pour excuser

fusion is still more to be feared, the more that it has a permanent cause, to wit, the humor of the people, variable, ignorant, cruel, fancier of novelties, qualities that are and always will be natural to it. On the contrary tyranny passes away, and often a bad Prince corrects himself without constraint, as Augustus and Titus, or else he becomes weary of public occupations, like Sulla, and Diocletian, who renounced of their own free will the Empire. One must then endure such people, as one does the sterility of one year, while waiting for a better time. For vicissitude being perpetual in the affairs of the world, evil succeeds good, happiness adversity, and after the storm of an unjust government, one sees shine the serenity of a pleasant and peaceful reign. If the people entered into this consideration, or if it was capable of it, it would not so easily become seditious. But it must be admitted that men augment greatly their miseries through impatience and dissatisfaction. They no sooner feel the least pain, than they wish to apply to it a violent remedy. They bark against tyranny, which nevertheless they exercise in their houses with impunity. Do we not see the injustices that masters do to their valets, fathers to their children, preceptors to their disciples? It is a common vice to abuse one's power, and show one's self insolent to one's inferiors. I do not say this to excuse the bad Princes,

les mauuais Princes, qu'on ne peut trop vituperer, mais pour monstrier qu'il vaut mieux auoir vne teste catarreuse que de n'en auoir point du tout, & que la tyrannie ne dispense pas les subjects de l'obeissance qu'ils doiuent a leurs Souuerains;] encore moins la dissipation des finances, & l'iniuste distribution des loyers. Il faut en tel cas proceder par humbles remonstrances, & représenter au Prince la consequence de ces abus, non pas en demander reformation les armes au poing, comme on a accoustumé de faire, au grand preiudice du peuple, qui est plus ruiné par les soldats en six mois qu'il ne seroit par vn mauuais gouuernement de dix annees. La guerre n'est pas vn remede aux maladies d'estat, notamment celle qui s'entreprennd contre son Souuerain. Il n'en doit point donner d'occasions, mais pour s'en garantir, il luy sera expedient d'auoir tousiours vn bras armé, afin de tenir en crainte les rebelles qui deuiennent audacieux, quand ils voyent vn Prince accompagné trop simplement, & ne se defiant de personne. Iules Cesar ne fut pas bien aduisé, de congédier sa garde: Iustinian se trouua mieux d'auoir ses soldats aupres de luy en la sedition de Bizance, en laquelle les mutins auoient esleu vn nouveau Empereur, qui fut tué avec 40. mille habitans. Nous pouons iuger à quelle extremité il fut reduit, puis] qu'en sa ville capitale il fut contraint de faire vn tel carnage, & s'il n'eust eu des forces pour rembarrier

which one cannot too much condemn, but to show that it is better to have a catarrhal head than not to have any at all, and that tyranny does not free subjects from the obedience which they owe to their sovereign: still less the dissipation of the finances, and the unjust distribution of salaries. It is necessary in such cases to proceed by humble remonstrances, and represent to the Prince the consequence of these abuses, not ask their reformation, arms in hand, as is customary, to the great prejudice of the people, which is more ruined by soldiers in six months than it would be by a bad government for ten years. War is not a remedy for the maladies of the State, notably those that are undertaken against its sovereign. He must not give occasions, for them, but to guard against them, it will always be expedient for him to have one arm armed in order to hold in check rebels who become audacious, when they see a Prince too simply attended, and not mistrustful of any one. Julius Caesar was not well advised, to dismiss his guard: Justinian found himself better off in having his soldiers near him during the sedition in Byzantium, during which the rebels had elected a new Emperor, who was killed, together with forty thousand inhabitants. We can judge to what extremity he was reduced, since in his capital city he was compelled to make such a slaughter, and if he had not had forces to put down the factious,

les factieux, il estoit perdu comme aussi Cosme de Medicis, estoit en danger de perdre son estat, s'il ne se fut courageusement opposé aux mutineries des Florentins. Le populas est fier & insolent à l'endroit de ceux qui ne peuuent resister: il faut luy monstrier les dents, si on veut en auoir raison. Et ce mesme moyen seruira contre les particuliers qui voudront remuër l'estat. Ils ne l'entreprendront pas si hardiment, quand ils verront leur Souuerain tout prest de remedier aux rebellions, & d'en chastier les auteurs. Qu'il monstre seulement la verge, ou le baston, les plus grands seront souples à ses commandemens, & n'oseront l'offenser. Et pour mieux encore pourueoir à sa seureté, qu'il ne donne iamais puissance absoluë à vn autre, de peur qu'il ne luy arriue comme à nos premiers Roys qui furent en fin debusquez' par les Maires du Palais, ausquels ils laissoient tout faire, afin de mener à leur ayse vne vie casaniere. Faute signalee en vn Monarque, qui doit mourir debout, c'est à dire en action, non pas] en oisieté, disoit l'Empereur Vespasian. Et iagoit qu'il aye besoing d'officiers & Lieutenans, neantmoins comme le Soleil communique ses rayons aux moindres estoilles sans diminution de sa lumiere, aussi il ne doit iamais departir son autorité, qu'il ne retienne par deuers luy le grand ressort des affaires. Que si d'aenture il voit vn sien vassal auoir desia acquis du credit, pour ses recheses, ou pour la noblesse de son extraction, il luy doit deferer

he would have been lost, as also Cosmo di Medici was in danger of losing his State, if he had not courageously opposed the rebellions of the Florentines. The populace is proud and insolent in face of those who cannot resist: it is necessary to show it one's teeth, if one wishes to convince it. And this same means will serve against individuals who wish to overturn the State. They will not undertake it so boldly, when they see their sovereign all ready to suppress rebellions and punish their authors. Let him show only the rod, or the stick, the greatest will bend before his commands, and will not dare offend him. And in order still better to ensure his security, let him never give absolute power to another, for fear that there happens to him as to our first Kings who were finally driven out by the Mayors of the Palace, whom they allowed to do everything, in order to lead at their ease a retired life. This is a signal fault in a monarch, who should die standing, that is to say, in action, not in idleness, said the Emperor Vespasian. And I believe that he has need of officers and Lieutenants, nevertheless as the sun communicates its rays to the smallest stars without diminution of its light, likewise he must not ever give of his authority, without keeping to himself the leading place in affairs. That if by chance he sees one of his vassals having already acquired credit, for his wealth, or for the nobility of his race, he must

plus d'honneur que de puissance. Quand il le fera grand maistre, chef de son conseil, gouverneur de sa ville capitale, ce sont offices de peu d'effect, mais honorables & dignes des premiers Princes d'un Royaume. La Connestable, Admirauté, & les grands gouvernemens sont mieux en la main des autres Seigneurs de moindre qualité: car c'est vne sagesse politique de donner aux vns plus d'honneur, aux autres plus de puissance, afin que tous soient contens, & le Souuerain plus assuré, qui ne doit tant craindre les desseings d'un simple gentil-homme, que d'un  
 113 autre plus puissant & renommé. C'est] pourquoy Auguste ne donnoit point le gouvernement d'Egypte aux Senateurs, craignant qu'ils ne s'emparassent de ceste riche Prouince, & si importante à l'Empire. Aussi la charge de grand Preuost, qui pouuoit autant luy seul, que le Connestable, grand maistre, Chancelier, & Capitaine des gardes tous ensemble, n'estoit donnee sinon qu'aux Cheualiers Romains, & mesme estoit distribuee esgalement à deux personnes, afin que l'un fut contrequarré par l'autre, & retenu en son deuoir par vne crainte mutuelle. On ne peut employer trop de precautions à l'encontre des seditieux, lesquels il faut non seulement preuenir, mais aussi punir sans aucune misericorde. Or il y a d'autres personnes, qui n'attaquent pas si apertement le public, & meantmoins sont tresdange-reuses, comme les faitneans, querelleux, prodigues, & ioüeurs, lesquels ne sont pas reputez criminels,



accord him more honor than power. If he makes him grand master, head of his council, governor of his capital city, these are offices of little power, but honorable and worthy of the first Princes of the Kingdom. The War Office, the Admiralty, and the great governments are better in the hands of the other lords of lesser degree: for it is political wisdom to give to some more honor, to others more power, so that all may be content, and the sovereign more assured, that he must not fear so much the designs of a plain gentleman than of another more powerful and renowned. It is for that reason that Augustus did not give the government of Egypt to Senators, fearing that they would seize that rich province, and so important to the Empire. Also the charge of Grand Prevost, who could do as much alone, as the Constable, Grand Master, Chancellor and Captain of the guards altogether, was not given except to the Roman Knights and even was distributed equally, to two persons in order that one might be counterbalanced by the other, and held to his duty by a mutual fear. One cannot employ too much precaution against the promoters of trouble, who must not only be forestalled, but also punished without compassion. Now there are other persons, who do not attack the public so openly, and nevertheless are very dangerous, like the idlers, quarrelsome spendthrifts, and gamblers, who are not reputed criminals, even

encore qu'ils ne vallent gueres mieux. Nous auons parlé des faitneans. Les querelleux ont vne grande disposition à mal faire: ils ne demandent que la guerre, & lors qu'ils n'ont] point d'ennemis publics, il en font de particuliers. Ce vice est ordinaire aux peuples de Septentrion, qui sont fiers, insolens, & ne peuuent viure sans battre ou quereller quelqu'un: à quoy il faut remedier. Car ou ils attaqueront, comme il arriue le plus souuent, vn homme imbecille, & alors ils luy feront premierement mille idignitez, puis apres en auoir eu le pasetemps, ils viendront à vne aperte iniustice: & par ce moyen le respect du Prince & des loix sera diminué, dont s'ensuiura vne confusion inuitable. Ou bien ils s'adresseront à vn homme de courage, & lors ils viendront aux mains, & s'ils ont du credit ils embarasseront en leur querelle leurs parens & amis: ce qui est de perilleuse consequence. Il n'y a qu'un remede singulier à cela. C'est de contraindre les querelleux à vne satisfaction competente à l'endroit de ceux qu'ils auront offensé. Je dis satisfaction competente c'est à dire proportionnee à l'iniure receüe. Car vn qui aura donné des bastonnades doit vne satisfaction plus ample, que celuy qui aura donné vn soufflet, ou vn desmenty. Et d'ailleurs, vn affront faict] à vn Seigneur ou Magistrat, est plus punissable, que s'il estoit faict à vn sauetier ou portefaix. La distinction des personnes diuersifie vn mesme fait, &

though they are not worth much more. We have spoken of the idlers. The quarrelsome have a strong disposition to do wrong: they ask nothing but war, and when they have no public enemies, they seek individual ones. This vice is usual to the peoples of the north, who are proud, insolent, and cannot live without fighting or quarrelling with some one: for which a remedy must be found. For either they will attack, as most often happens, a foolish man, and then they will first do to him a thousand indignities, then after having had the amusement, they will come to an open injustice: and by this means the respect of the Prince and the laws will be diminished, from which will follow inevitable confusion. Or else they will address themselves to a man of courage, and then they will come to blows, and if they have credit they will draw into their quarrel their parents and friends: which is of perilous consequence. There is only one remedy suitable for that. It is to constrain the quarrelsome to give satisfactory compensation to those whom they have offended. I say satisfactory compensation, that is to say, proportionate to the injury received. For one who has given a beating owes a more ample satisfaction, than he who has given a blow or the lie. And besides, an affront to a Lord or Magistrate, is more punishable, than if it was done to a cobbler or a porter. The distinction of persons diversifies the same act, and

le rend plus atroce ou plus léger. Et ceste consideration est remise à la prudence des iuges. Mais pour ne point dissimuler, ils font trop bon marché de l'honneur d'autrui, & ne punissent pas assez rigoureusement les insolences. Vn effronté impudent qui aura outragé quelqu'un, en sera quitte pour vn emprisonnement de deux ou trois iours, & s'il a des amis, il n'y sera pas trois heures. On luy fera seulement faire quelque petite satisfaction verbale, avec condamnation de despens: cependant les coups de baston sont ruez, & la honte demeure au battu. Qui fait que plusieurs ne pouuans auoir autre raison, sont contraincts d'appeller les ennemis pour sauuer leur honneur. De là viennent tant de duels si ordinaires aujourd'huy, principalement en France, & que nos Roys taschent d'empescher: mais ils n'y paruiendront iamais, s'ils n'ordonnent vne plus grande satisfaction à  
 116 celui qui aura esté offense] en sa personne ou en son honneur. C'est bien fait de chastier ces escrimeurs à outrance, de les traicter ignominieusement apres leur mort, confisquer leurs biens. Mais if faut oster la source du mal, qui est l'insolence de ceux qui attaquent. Car que peut faire vn homme d'honneur ayant receu l'affront, principalement s'il fait profession des armes? Se plaindra-il à la iustice? On se mocquera de luy, pour le peu de reparation qu'il en aura. Demandera-il permission

renders it more atrocious or of less account. And this consideration is referred to the prudence of the judges. But to speak with accuracy, they make too little of the honor of others, and do not punish with sufficient rigor insolences. An impudent aggressor who has outraged some one, will get off with an imprisonment of two or three days, and if he has friends, he will not be there three hours. They will make him give some little verbal satisfaction, with payment of the costs: still the cane strokes have been given, and the shame remains to him who has been beaten. The result is that many not being able to have any other redress, are constrained to call out their enemy in order to save their honor. Thence come so many duels so frequent to-day, principally in France, and that our Kings try to stop: but they will never accomplish this, if they do not decree more ample satisfaction to him who has been offended in his person or honor. It is right to chastise these desperado swordsmen, to treat them ignominiously after their death, to confiscate their goods. But it is imperative to remove the root of the evil, which is the insolence of those who attack. For what can a man of honor do who has received an insult, especially if he makes a profession of arms? Will he complain to justice? People will mock at him, for the scant reparation he will receive. Will he ask permission to fight

d'un duel? On attribuëra cela à couïardise, & encore plus s'il se contente d'une satisfaction faite deuant cinq ou six personnes. Estant donc reduit en ces destresses, il faut qu'il se cache à iamais n'osant paroistre en compagnie, où qu'il se vange par meurtre à quelque pris que ce soit. Qui s'il eseroit auoir satisfaction suffisante pour reparer son honneur, il n'entreroit pas si librement en ces voyes de faict. Ceste satisfaction se feroit en paroles, si l'affront auoir esté de mesme, ou en effect si l'inuire estoit faite realement sur sa personne. Et] encore que la loy de peine esgalle dicte par les Latins Talion semble estre propre pour ce subiect: neantmoins ie conseilerois de passer plus outre, pour les difficultez qu'il y a le plus souuent en l'execution d'icelle, & de punir doublement celuy qui auroit offense: à sçauoir que pour vn soufflet, ou vn coup de baston qu'il auroit donné, on luy en donnast deux publiquement, en presence de sa partie aduerse. Et pour le regard des parolles où mocqueries picquantes, qu'on luy en fit faire l'amende honorable, telle que le cas meriteroit, & la qualité des personnes offensee. Le dis mocqueries picquantes, pource qu'ils s'en trouue de plusieurs sortes, & comme il ne se faut pas courroucer, pour peu de chose, aussi il y a des façons de faire insupportables, & bien souuent vn geste, vne mine faite par mespris irrite plus vn cœur genereux, que non pas vne action violente. Ne voyons-nous pas la plus part des querelles prendre leur origine des parolles temeraires

a duel? This will be attributed to cowardice, and still more if he contents himself with a satisfaction given before five or six persons. Being therefore reduced to such straits, he must hide himself for all time, not daring to appear in society, or else he must avenge himself by murder at any cost whatever. But if he hoped to have sufficient satisfaction to vindicate his honor, he would not so readily resort to force. This satisfaction would be in words, if the affront was in words, or by act if the injury was really made upon his person. And even though the law of equal punishment called by the Latins Talio seems well suited for this object: nevertheless I would counsel to go even further, on account of the difficulties that generally arise in its execution, and to punish doubly he who had offended: to wit, for a blow, or a stroke of a stick he had given, one should give him two publicly, in the presence of his adversary. And as for words or biting mockery, that he should be forced to make honorable amends, as the case may require, and the quality of the persons offended. I say biting mockeries, because there are several kinds of these, and though one must not become angry for small cause, still there are ways of being insupportable, and often a gesture, an expression of contempt irritates more a generous heart, than a violent action. Do we not see most of the quarrels started by the heedless words of those who

de ceux qui ne peuvent dire vn mot sans offenser  
 118 quelqu'un? On ne sçauroit trop refrener] telle  
 insolence. Et quant à ceux qui usent de main  
 mise, si ie suis d'aduis qu'on leur rende le double,  
 cela n'est point hors de raison. Les loix Romaines  
 font payer au larron le quadruple. Pourquoy ne  
 punira-on pas d'une pareille rigueur celuy qui viole  
 l'honneur plus cher sans comparaison que la che-  
 uance & la vie? A quel propos endurer qu'un fai-  
 neant (ordinairement les querelles viennent de ces  
 gens là) se fourre en vne compagnie, & ne sçachant  
 que faire attaque cestuy-cy & cestuy là? Que s'il  
 ose luy repartir, aussi tost on voit ruer des coups,  
 & le plus fort foule aux pieds le plus foible, aussi  
 hardiment au milieu d'une ville, comme si c'estoit  
 au coing d'un bois. Peut on esperer vne paix en  
 souffrant telles canailles qui s'appent les fondemens  
 de la tranquillité publique? Il les faut traicter de  
 mesme façon qu'ils traittent les autres: & puis  
 qu'ils attaquent si effrontement l'honneur, ils meri-  
 tent vne peine qui leur opporte de l'ignominie, &  
 si on les mettoit au carquan vn iour durant, ils  
 seroient bien employez: on ne verroit pas tant]  
 119 de dementis donnez à la volee. Chacun se modere-  
 roit en ses discours & actions. Ce seroit trop  
 grande seuerité, dira quelqu'un d'eplucher de si  
 prés les parolles ou les gestes. Ie responds que  
 ceste seuerité est necessaire, & que tous deportem-  
 ens qui tendent à sedition sont punissables. La  
 société humaine n'a que faire de querelleux, teme-



cannot say a word without offending some one. One could not sufficiently check such insolence. And as for those who make use of violence, if I am of opinion that they be given double, that is not out of the bounds of reason. The Roman laws make the robber pay fourfold. Why not punish with a similar rigor he who violates honor more cherished beyond compare than fortune and life? Why allow an idler (ordinarily the quarrels come from those people) to intrude himself into a gathering, and not knowing what to do attacks this one and that one? That if one dares reply, at once one sees blows struck, and the stronger tramples upon the weaker, as boldly in the midst of a town, as if it was at the corner of a wood. Can one hope for peace when tolerating such rabble, who sap the foundations of public tranquillity? They must be treated in the same way that they treat others: and since they attack honor so outrageously, they merit a punishment that will bring them disgrace, and if they were placed in the stocks for a whole day, they would be well employed: one would not see so many lies given off hand. Each one would be more moderate in his words and actions. It would be too great severity, some one will say, to scan so closely words or gestures. I answer that this severity is necessary, and that all actions which tend towards sedition are punishable. Human society has no use for quarrelers, ruffians

raires, & coupepiarets. Les Princes s'en passeront bien aussi, & les doiuent exterminer. Autrement ils verront tousiours des assassinats & duels qui depeupleront leur Monarchie. Mais en obseruant ce que dessus, il n'y aura pas presse à offense ny iniurier vn autre, & ainsi la cause de ces malheurs sera ostee. Car il n'y ahomme si vindicatif que ne se contentast de voir bastonner publiquement son ennemy, ou endurer vne reprimende plus honteuse, que l'inuire qu'il auroit receuë. Et alors on auroit raison de punir à tout rigueur les duels, de rendre infames ces maistres cabalistes du point d'honneur, qui seroient si delicats de refuser, vne] 120 ample satisfaction, qui leur rendroit leur honneur, & les feroit iouyr de la honte & ignominie de leur aduersaire. Si on dit que l'offensé ne peut pas tousiours verifier vne iniure, & partant qu'il est contrainct d'appeller son homme en duel, n'en pouuant tirer raison iuridiquement, par faute de preuues. Ce cas à la verité est considerable, & auquel les anciens François, Lombards, & autres peuples de Germanie permettoient le combat: & c'estoit chose honorable de le demander. Mais aujourd'huy on ne garde point ces formalitez. On s'enuoye incontinent le cartel de deffi, au grand mespris du Prince, qui est maistre de la vie de ses subiects, & par consequent

and cut throats. Princes will readily get on without them and should exterminate them. Otherwise they will always see assassinations and duels which will depopulate their monarchy. But by following what has been said above, there will be no hurry to offend nor to injure another, and thus the cause of these misfortunes will be taken away. For there is no man so vindictive who will not be content to see his enemy publicly beaten, or suffer a more shameful reprimand, than the injury that he had received. And then there would be good reason to punish with the greatest severity duels, to render infamous those men so tenacious of the point of honor, and who are so dainty that they refuse, an ample satisfaction, that would give them back their honor, and would make them rejoice in the shame and ignominy of their adversary. One may say that the insulted party cannot always verify an insult, and therefore that he is compelled to call his man out in a duel, not being able to have satisfaction judicially, owing to want of proofs. There is in truth a good deal in this, and on account of it the ancient Franks, Lombards, and other peoples of Germany, permitted the combat: and it was an honorable thing to demand it. But to-day one does not keep to those formalities. One sends immediately the challenge, with utter contempt of the Prince, who is master of the lives of his subjects, and consequently must not

ne doit pas endurer qu'ils la prodiguent sans son congé. Aussi il ne doit pas desnier le combat, quand l'offensé n'a point de suffisans tesmoignages du tort qu'il dit auoir receu, & qu'il y en a toutesfois quelques coniectures: le tout pour euite les assassinats & factions qui pourroient suruenir, par faute de donner vne telle permission. Car bien souuent deux hommes sont si acharnez] 121 l'vn sur l'autre, qu'il est impossible de les accorder, & qui pis est, s'ils sont riches & puissans, ils causent des partialitez en vne ville, ou Royaume, de maniere qu'il est expedient de les faire entrebattre, afin que leur sang estaigne le feu de diuision ciuile qui pourroit s'allumer: mais pour n'en point venir à ces extremitez, il n'est que de diuertir les querelles par vn chastiment ignominieux, ainsi que nous auons dit. Quelquesvns peut estre aymeront mieux presenter le deffi, que de demander en iugement reparation d'vn desmentir, ou d'vn autre affront: mais quand ils verront leurs ennemys si mal menez pour vne parole iniurieuse, & que d'ailleurs ils consideront l'infamie dont on punira ceux qui presenteront le duel sans permission du Prince, ie croy qu'ils seront plus retenus, & qu'ils accepteront vne satisfaction non moins honorable qu'asseurée. A quoy ils doiuent estre conuiez par l'apprehension d'vn supplice infame, afin que ceux qui cherchent l'honneur aux duels n'y gagnent rien sinon vne infamie pour eux & leur

endure that they waste them without his consent. Therefore he must not forbid the combat, when the offended party has not sufficient proofs of the wrong which he says he has received, and that he has though nevertheless it may be surmised to be true: all this to avoid the assassinations and factions that might arise, for lack of giving such a permission. For very often two men are so furious one against the other, that it is impossible to accord them, and what is worse, if they are rich and powerful, they cause partisanships in a town, or kingdom, so that it is expedient to let them fight, so that their blood should stamp out the fire of civil strife which might be lighted: but in order not to come to such extremes, there is no way but to divert quarrels by an ignominious punishment, as we have said. Some one perhaps would like better to present a challenge, than to demand in court reparation for having been given the lie, or some other affront: but when they see their enemies so badly punished for an insulting speech, and when besides they consider the infamy with which those will be punished who press a duel without permission of the Prince, I believe they will be more self restrained and that they will accept a satisfaction no less honorable than assured. To which they must be invited by the fear of an infamous punishment, so that those who seek honor by duels shall gain nothing thereby except infamy for themselves and

- 122 posterité. Car c'est vne coustume bestiale] & qui n'a iamais esté vsitee parmy les plus fameuses nations, sinon en faict de guerre, lors qu'un homme s'offroit de combattre pour l'honneur de son pays, ou lors que deux peuples ennemis pour espargner le sang remettoient la decision de leurs querelles à l'euement d'un combat particulier entre 2. ou 3. hommes, qu'ils choissoient d'une part & autres, à condition que leur victoire tourneroit au profit de leurs compatriotes, qui donneroient la loy au parti vaincu. Ainsi le different des Romains & Albanois fut terminé par le combat des trois Curiaces & trois Horaces: & d'autant que ceux-cy qui combattoient pour les Romains remporterent la victoire, les Albanois aussi-tost quitterent les armes & se sousmirent à leurs ennemis suiuant ce qui auoit esté accordé. Mais ie ne trouue en toutes les histoires aucune inimitié plus honorablement terminée que celle de Varenus & Pulvio. Ces deux soldats de Cesar auoient tousiours de grandes contestations, & ne se pouuoient reconcilier, iusques à ce qu'estans vn
- 123 iour proches de l'ennemy,] Pulvio s'aduisa de dire à son aduersaire. Que tardons nous Varenus, de monstrier nostre vaillance en vne si belle occasion? C'est à ceste heure que l'on verra lequel de nous deux sera le plus habille homme. Et apres auoir dit ces parolles il se ietta à corps perdu au trauers des esquadrons ennemis, & en tua plusieurs: mais en fin il fut inuesti d'une grande multitude

their posterity. For it is a beastly custom and which has never been used among the most famous nations, except in case of war, when one man offered himself to fight for the honor of his country, or when two hostile peoples, in order to save bloodshed, referred the decision of their quarrel to the outcome of a private combat between two or three men, who were chosen specially by each side, on condition that their victory would redound to the profit of their compatriots, who would impose the law on the conquered party. Thus the quarrel between the Romans and Albans was terminated by the combat of the three Curiaces and the three Horaces: and in as much as those who fought for the Romans carried off the victory, the Albans at once grounded their arms and submitted to their enemies according to what had been agreed upon. But I do not find in all the histories any enmity more honorably ended than that of Varenus and Pulvio. These two soldiers of Caesar always had great debates, and could not become friends, until one day, being close to the enemy, it occurred to Pulvio to say to his rival: "Why do we tarry, Varenus, to prove our courage on such a lucky occasion? Now is the time that will be demonstrated which of us two is the more skillful man." And after having spoken these words he threw himself headlong among the squadrons of the enemy, and killed several: but finally he was surrounded by a great

qui le terrassa. Varenus apperceuant cela & craignant d'estre reputé lasche, accourut incontinent au secours de Pulfio. Ce que les ennemis voyans quittent cestui-cy, & se ruent sur Varenus. Pulfio qui auoit esté desgagé par son ancien aduersaire, ne le laissa point en telle necessité, & pour luy rendre la pareille, le deffend contre les ennemis, & le deliure d'un peril ineuitable. Ainsi ils se reconcilierent avec honneur & applaudissement de toute l'armee. Si à l'exemple de ces soldats, ceux qui ont quelque chose à demesler ensemble esprouuoient leur valeur contre vn ennemy commun, ils seroient plus louables.

- 124 Mais en ce temps les regles de vertu] & generosité sont peruerties: & nous mettons le point d'honneur en ie ne sçay quelles petites braueries, que les anciens ont mesprisé, & mesmes les Turcs se moquent des duels, & les attribuent à vne foiblesse d'esprit ou impertinence. En contreschange nous les osons bien appeller barbares: comme si l'on pouuoit imaginer vne barbarie plus grande, que de se battre avec ses compatriotes amys, parens, & garder contre eux des inimitiez irreconciliables. La paix vniuerselle pourra remedier à ce mal, si nous y pouuons paruenir, & les actes d'hostilité publique estans defendus, il y a apparence, que les haynes particulieres cesseront ou seront addoucies. Quant on aura gaigné ce poinct, il faudra regler la despence d'un chacun, afin qu'il ne



multitude who threw him down. Varenus seeing this and fearing to be reputed a coward, ran at once to the succor of Pulvio. Which the enemies seeing left this one, and threw themselves upon Varenus. Pulvio who had been disengaged by his ancient rival, did not leave him in such stress, and in order to render him the equivalent, defended him against the enemy, and delivered him from certain peril. Thus they became reconciled with honor and applause of the whole army. If, following the example of these soldiers, those who have something to settle with each other would try their valor against a common enemy, they would be more praiseworthy. But at the present time the rules of virtue and generosity are perverted: and we place the point of honor in I know not what little brave deeds, which the ancients disdained, and even the Turks mock at duels, and attribute them to feebleness of mind or nonsense. In exchange we dare to call them barbarians: as if one could imagine a greater barbarity than to fight with one's compatriots, friends, parents, and retain against them irreconcilable ill wills. Universal peace can remedy this evil, if we can reach it, and the acts of public hostility being forbidden, there is a possibility that individual hatreds will cease or will be softened. When this point will have been gained, it will be necessary to regulate the expenses of each one, in order that he does not

prodigue son bien. Ce qui n'est pas de petite importance pour la conseruation d'un estat, pource que les prodiges estans deuenus necessiteux, comme ils ne peuuent faillir, chercheront des occasions de se rēplumer aux despens d'autruy, afin d'entretenir leurs superfluitez accoustumees. S'il y a quelque  
125 re]muëment, ces gens là s'y portent tousiours des premiers: & Catilina n'auoit quasi point d'autres partisans que ceux qui auoient mangé leur bien aux cabarets, bordeaux, & breslans. Les cabarets ne sont que pour les passans. Les bordeaux sont tolerez en quelque país pour eüter vn plus grand mal: & neantmoins il n'en seroit pas besoing, si la police des Romains auoit lieu, qui conuioient leur citoyens à se marier, en leur proposant plusieurs beaux priuileges. Non que ie vueille condamner le celibat des Prestres & religieux, mais il seroit expedient que le reste du peuple fut contrainct de prendre femme à l'exemple des Chinois, qui donnent vne vacation à leurs enfans, & les marient de bonne heure, de peur qu'ils ne se desbauchent: ioinct que le principal piuot d'un Empire sont les mariages. Tant y a que le plus qu'on peut empêcher les paillardises c'est le meilleur. Car ce sont preludes d'adulteres, & suffit d'endurer les vices qui se font en cachette, sans permettre encore  
126 infames doiuent estre defendus,] où la ieunesse perd

waste his wealth. This is of no small importance for the conservation of a State, because the prodigals having become needy, as they cannot fail, to do, will seek for occasions to recoup themselves at the expense of others, in order to maintain their accustomed superfluities. If there is any trouble, those people always go there among the first: and Catiline had hardly any other partisans except those who had eaten their wealth in the taverns, brothels and gambling houses. Taverns are only for the passer by, the brothels are tolerated in some countries to avoid a greater evil: and nevertheless they would not be needed, if the policy of the Romans was in force, which invited their citizens to marry, by proposing several beautiful privileges. Not that I wish to condemn the celibacy of the priests and religious orders, but it would be expedient that the rest of the people was forced to take a wife according to the example of the Chinese, who give a vocation to their children, and marry them early, for fear that they become debauched: added that the principal pivot of an empire are the marriages. So much is there in this that the more one can prevent the whoremongers the better it is. For these are preludes of adultery, and it suffices to endure the vices that are committed in secret, without yet allowing a shop to be kept for them. It is for that that these infamous places must be forbidden, where youth loses

le corps, & les biens: en quoy ils sont plus pernicieux que les breslans, qui ne consomment sinon que l'argent. Et toutesfois les anciens preuoyans le malheur qui en pouuoit arriuer, ne permettoient ioüer de bon, ny mesme faire aucune gageure sinon aux ieux honnestes, comme en celuy de la luicte, du palet, de la course, & autres semblables qui se font avec l'exercice du corps. Ils reprouuoient totalement les ieux de hazard, qui sont auiourd'huy si ordinaires en Europe, que les grands & petits, les hommes & femmes n'ont poinct de plus beau passe temps qu'à ioüer en vn coup de la meilleure partie de leur vaillant, & aucunefois la totalite. Quelques vns se ruinent à faire des festins, dont la superfluité est indifferemment permise à toute personne, encore que les Romains y ayent apporté plusieurs reglemens, en limitant la despence qu'on debuoit faire en vn banquet, & le nombre de ceux qui pouuoient y assister. Il est vray que ceste police] estoit mal gardee, comme de faict il semble impossible de l'observer, pource qu'on n'ira pas au logis d'un homme pour veoir ce qu'il mange, ou pour compter ses compagnons de table. Neantmoins d'autant que les affaires domestiques principalement les banquets & ieux ne sont pas si occultes, que finalement ils ne viennent en euidence, ce seroit le debuoir d'un magistrat d'informer contre ces mauuais mesnages. Car qui ne iugeroit digne de punition la friandise d'un homme, qui achepteroit vn mulet de mer quatre cents francs, comme fit Asinius

its body and wealth: in which they are worse than the gambling houses, which only swallow up money. And nevertheless the ancients foreseeing the harm that could result therefrom did not permit real playing, nor even the making of any wager except on honest games, as in that of wrestling, disk throwing, running, and other similar ones that involve bodily exercise. They reprov'd entirely the games of chance, which are to-day so common in Europe that the great and little, men and women, have no better pastime than to play at one stroke the better part of their fortune, and sometimes the totality. A few ruin themselves in giving feasts, the superfluity of which is indifferently permitted to any person, although the Romans regulated them with a number of rules, by limiting the amount that might be spent on a banquet, and the number of those who could take part in it. It is true that this policy was badly kept, since as a fact it seems impossible to observe it; because one does not go to the home of a man to see what he eats, nor to count his companions at table. Nevertheless in as much as domestic affairs principally the banquets and games are not so occult, that finally they do not come into evidence, it should be the duty of a magistrate to inform against those bad households. For who will not judge worthy of punishment the greediness of a man, who bought a sea mullet for four hundred francs, as did Asinius

Celer? Qui n'auroit honte de veoir le fils d'un basteleur Æsope aualer en vne seule verree pour cinquante mil francs de perles, apres les auoir premierement fait fondre dans le vinaigre? Qui ne detesteroit la gourmandise de ce vilain Apicius, qui mangea prés de deux millions d'escus, & voyant qu'il ne luy restoit plus que cinq cens mille francs, s'empoisonna craignant de mourir de faim? La terre deuroit engloutir ces monstres qui abusent ainsi de ses richesses.

128 Or ce seroit peu de chose] s'ils ne se perdoient qu'eux mesmes, mais nous voyons que leur ruine s'estend sur leurs creanciers, ausquels ils font ordinairement cession. Car ils empruntent de tous costez, & trouuent facilement credit, pour l'opinion qu'ils donnent de leur opulence & liberalité: puis la pauvreté fille de luxe entre en leur maison & les contrainct tout à coup de faire banqueroute. Telles gens deuroient estre adiugez comme esclaves à leurs creanciers, a faute de payement suiuant la coustume ancienne qui est encore pratiquée en Ethiopie & aux Indes. On ne verroit point tant d'affronteurs, cessionnaires, & coquins. Chacun regleroit mieux sa despense, non seulement celle de bouche, mais aussi celles des habits, dont la superfluité appauurit pareillement beaucoup de familles. Pour y remedier on a faict des Edicts en France, mais sans aucun effect, d'autant que les officiers de iustice n'oseroient les executer à l'encontre des grands, qui les premiers y contreuient, au mespris

Celer? Who would not be ashamed to see the son of a mountebank *Æsope* swallow in a single glass for fifty thousand francs of pearls, after having first had them melted in vinegar? Who would not detest the gluttony of that vile *Apicius*, who ate nearly two millions *ecus*, and seeing that there remained to him only five hundred thousand francs, poisoned himself for fear of dying of hunger? The earth should swallow up these monsters who thus abuse of its riches. Now it would be of little consequence if they only destroyed themselves, but we see that their ruin extends to their creditors, to whom they ordinarily make a transfer. For they borrow on all sides, and easily find credit, on account of the good opinion that they give of their wealth and liberality: then poverty, daughter of luxury, enters their house and forces them all of a sudden into bankruptcy. Such people should be adjudged as slaves to their creditors, for failure to make payment according to the ancient custom that is still practiced in Ethiopia and in the Indies. One will not see so many insulters, grantees, and rascals. Each one would regulate better his expenses, not only those for food but also that for clothes, the superfluity of which impoverishes many families. In order to remedy this edicts have been issued in France, but without result, since the officers of justice do not dare to enforce them in the case of the great, who the first disregard them, in

du Souuerain qui ne deuroit publier aucunes ordon-  
129 nances, ou les faire mieux observer,] & commencer  
la reformation des abus par ses domestiques. Car il  
n'y a meilleur moyen de ranger le peuple que celui-  
là puisque naturellement il se porte à contrefaire  
les actions de la Cour. Que les Seigneurs quittent  
le satin & velours: le bourgeois quittera aussi-tost  
ces estoffes, sans attendre aucun aduertissement:  
mais tant qu'il verra reluire le clinquant d'or &  
d'argent sur les habits des nobles, il engagera plus-  
tost tout son bien, qu'il n'en porte. Je sçay que  
plusieurs peuples ne sont pas en ce danger: aussi  
ce n'est pas à eux à qui ie m'adresse. C'est prin-  
cipalement aux peuples de par deçà François, Hes-  
pagnols, Anglois, qui font vertu du luxe, & esti-  
ment vn homme mechainique s'il ne porte luy &  
sa femme autant en or & pierreries, comme il suffi-  
roit pour achepter vne prouince. Si la censure de  
laquelle nous parlerons cy apres, estoit restablie, on  
auroit vn beau subiect de s'informer de la vie de  
ces piaffeurs, pour scauoir d'où leur sont venuës ces  
delices, & quel moyen ils ont de les entretenir: mais  
130 l'exemple du Souuerain est] le plus court chemin  
pour remedier à tels abus, qui sont plus pernicieux  
qu'on ne pense, attendu qu'ils attirent vne corruption  
de mœurs, ou pour le moins ils en sont les indices.  
Car vous ne voyez gueres d'hommes qui à la  
mode des soldats de Cesar puissent bien combattre



contempt of the sovereign, who should not publish any ordinances, or cause them to be better observed, and begin the reformation of abuses by his servants. For there is no better way to make the people do right than that one, since naturally they tend to imitate the doings of the court. If the lords leave off satin and velvet: the burgher will at once cast off those materials, without waiting for any notice: but so long as he shall see the tinsel of gold and silver glitter on the clothes of the nobles, he will rather mortgage all his wealth, than not wear them. I know that several peoples are not in this danger: also it is not to them that I address myself. It is principally to the peoples on this side French, Spaniards, English, who make of luxury a virtue, and consider a man a mechanic if he and his wife do not wear in gold and precious stones, as much as would suffice to buy a province. If the censure of which we shall speak hereafter, was re-established, one would have a fine chance to inform one's self about the lives of those showers off; to know whence those delights came to them, and what means they have to keep them up: but the example of the sovereign is the shortest way to remedy such abuses, which are more pernicious than one thinks, since they bring about a corruption of morals, or at least they are signs of this. For we do not see many men who according to the custom of the soldiers of Caesar can fight well

estant parfumez, ou qui comme Aristippus, soient incorruptibles parmy les bombances des Bachanales. Ces ornemens du corps si affectez descouurent vn naturel effeminé, & peu soigneux des actions vertueuses. Aussi voyons nous que les peuples addonnez au luxe sont plus enclins à toutes meschancetez, & partant il le faut empescher ou punir comme vn vice contagieux, & qui en amene d'autres. Je ne parleray point de plusieurs crimes abominables, comme de magie, adultere, blaspheme, & atheïsme, pource qu'ils sont plus cachez & plus rares: au demeurant ils les faut chastier selon les coustumes du país. Je ne me suis arresté qu'aux vices plus ordinaires & scandaleux, dont la punition est sur tout necessaire pour la manutention d'un estat. Maintenant il faut aduiser à la reconpense des merites, qui n'est pas moins considerable. La peine & le] loyer sont les deux moyens de garder vne Republique, & les principaux effects de la iustice distributiue. La seuerité des supplices empesche le desbordement des meschancetez: La reconpense conuie les hommes à bien faire. Elle est deuë à ceux qui ont fait quelque bon office au Prince ou au public. Il est bien raisonnable qu'ils soient recogneus, & ce seroit ingratitude de faire autrement. Mais aussi il ne faut pas oublier les hommes de vertu, & d'industrie, puis qu'ils ont des qualitez qui les releuent par dessus le vulgaire & les rendent capables

being perfumed, or like Aristippus, are incorruptible among the good cheer of the Bacchanals. These ornaments of the body so much sought after disclose an effeminate nature, and one caring little for virtuous actions. Therefore do we see that the peoples given over to luxury are more inclined to all wrong doing, and therefore it must be stopped or punished like a contagious vice, and one which brings others. I shall not speak of several abominable crimes, such as magic, adultery, blasphemy, and atheism, because they are more hidden and more rare: after all they must be punished according to the customs of the country. I have halted only to consider the more ordinary and scandalous vices, the punishment of which is especially necessary for the maintenance of a state. Now it is necessary to take advice concerning the recompense of merit, which is not less important. Punishment and salaries are the two means to maintain a Republic, and the principal effects of distributive justice. The severity of punishments prevents the overflow of wrong doings: Recompense incites men to do well. It is due to those who have done some good deed for the Prince or the public. It is very reasonable that they should be recognized, and it would be ingratitude to do otherwise. But also the men of virtue and industry must not be forgotten, since they have qualities that raise them above the vulgar and make them capable

de mettre à execution des choses grandes. Or il y a deux sortes de reconpense, à sçavoir profit, & honneur, encore que bien souuent elles se rencontrent ensemble, comme les estats, offices, & commissions, qui apportent de l'honneur avec vtilité. Vn Monarque doit distribuer liberalement l'vn & l'autre aux personnes de merite, ce qu'il ne fait pas souuent, pour la difficulté qu'on a de l'aborder, si bien qu'il ne cognoist que ses domestiques, ou ceux qui luy sont recommandez par ses fauorits, qui font des amys aux despens du Prince,] & le bloquent de telle façon qu'on ne peut auoir accez à luy, que par leur entremise. Titus disoit qu'il ne falloit pas qu'un homme sortit mal content de la compagnie d'un Prince. Auiourd'huy on est bien en autres termes: car auparauant qu'on parle à luy, on a subiect de s'attrister. Certainement vn Roy feroit tort à sa maiesté, s'il se familiarisoit indifferemment à toutes personnes: mais il ne se doit rendre inaccessible à ceux qui luy ont fait ou peuuent faire quelque signalé seruice, afin qu'il baille à ceux là vn iuste loyer, & à ceux-cy l'esperance d'en auoir quand ils l'auront merité. En somme, il luy importe de cognoistre luy mesme ses subiects, afin qu'il iuge ceux qui sont propres à le seruir, & qu'il soit aduertit de beaucoup de choses qui luy sont celes par ses domestiques. Ainsi il preuiendra le plus dangereux mal qui soit en vn estat, à sçavoir le

of executing great things. Now there are two kinds of recompense, to wit, profit and honor, and very often they are found together, as the positions, offices, and commissions, which bring honor with utility. A monarch must distribute liberally the one and the other to persons of merit, which he does not often do, on account of the difficulty one has in reaching him, so much so that he knows only his servants, or those who are recommended to him by his favorites, who make friends at the cost of the Prince, and block him in such a way that one cannot have access to him, except by their favor. Titus said that a man should not come forth displeased from the company of a Prince. To-day we are on a very different footing: for before one can speak to him, there is cause for sadness. Certainly a King would do wrong to his Majesty if he became indifferently familiar with all persons: but he must not render himself inaccessible to those who have rendered him or may render him some signal service, in order that he may grant to those a just salary, and to these the hope of having one when they shall have deserved it. On the whole, it is important for him to know his subjects himself, in order that he may judge those who are capable of serving him, and that he may be advised of many things that are sealed to him by his servants. Thus he will prevent most dangerous evil that there is in a State,

mescontentement qu'un homme reçoit de se voir reulé de la faueur de son Prince, de laquelle il a vne iuste ialousie pour sa qualité ou son merite. Il est bien vray que les faueurs des Roys ne se peuuent  
 133 partager es]gallement: aussi ma proposition ne tend pas à limiter leurs affections & inclinations naturelles: Seulement ie dis qu'ils ne doiuent fermer la porte de leur bienueillance à ceux qui en sont dignes, & que le plus qu'ils peuuent obliger de telles gens c'est le meilleur, attendu que la pluralité d'amis est necessaire à vn Monarque, laquelle il ne peut acquerir ny conseruer sinon par vne liberalité honeste & conforme à la condition de celuy qui la receura. Et afin que ses dons soient bien employez, d'autant qu'il ne peut cognoistre tous les gens de bien, il luy est expedient d'auoir à la façon des anciens Empereur, vn certain Secretaire, qui l'aduer-  
 tisse de ceux qui sont capables de le seruir en quelque charge, ou qui s'en sont autresfois bien acquitez, afin qu'apres auoir esté bien informé de leur suffisance, il leur donne de l'aduis de son conseil, les bons gouuernemens ou commissions honorables. Mais aujourd'huy que la venalité des offices est par tout introduicte, on a beau auoir des perfections; qui n'a de l'argent ne paruiendra iamais aux digni-]  
 134 tez publiquement. C'est vn malheur que les guerres ont amené, car elles ont reduit beaucoup de Princes à ceste necessité, de mettre en vente ce qui appartenoit à la vertu. Les guerres

to wit, the discontent that a man has to see himself repulsed from the favor of his Prince, of which he has a just jealousy on account of his rank or his merit. It is quite true that the favor of kings cannot be equally divided: so my proposition does not tend to limit their affections and natural inclinations: Only I say that they must not close the door of their good will to those who are worthy of it, and that the more they can oblige such people the better, since a plurality of friends is necessary to a monarch, which he cannot acquire nor conserve except by an honest liberality and one suitable to the condition of him who receives it. And to the end that his gifts may be well placed, since he cannot know all the good citizens, it is expedient for him to have according to the manner of the ancient Emperors, a certain Secretary, who will advise him of those who are able to serve him in some position, or who formerly acquitted themselves well of it, so that after having been well informed of their capability, he should give them by the advice of his counsellor, good government positions or honorable commissions. But since to-day the venality of office is every where introduced, one may have all the perfections; he who has no money will never arrive to the public dignities. This is an evil that war has brought, for it has reduced many Princes to the necessity, of putting up for sale what belonged to virtue. War

cessantes, ils auront assez d'autres expédiens plus legitimes pour le fond de leurs finances. Ils n'auront que faire de donner des pensions aux estrangers, d'entretenir tant de garnisons & morte-payes, & les frais superflus estans retranchez, leur maison reglee, ils n'auront plus subiect de vendre les estats, ny permettre le trafic des gouuernemens tant spirituels que temporels, ny des offices de indicature, qui est la source de tous desordres: occasion pourquoy Alexandre Seuere protestoit de ne point endurer les marchands d'offices, pource qu'vn acheteur est contrainct de vendre. Je ne mettray point en auant ceste question, s'il faut que les estats soient perpetuels ou non. Elle a esté debattuë avec des raisons d'vne part & d'autre, ausquelles ie suis indifferent, pourueu qu'on donne les dignitez aux hommes vertueux: sans auoir esgard aux moyens ny à la race, lesquelles choses ne sont considerables, 135 sinon] quand elles sont coniointes avec la vertu, & alors elles sont dignes de quelque prerogatiue. Les Romains entendoient bien cela (ie nomme souuent ce peuple, pource qu'il nous fournit de tresbeaux exemples en toute sorte.) Ils choisissoient pour iuges les plus riches citoyens par la Pompeia: outre plus ils ne donnoient l'ordre de cheualerie sinon à celuy qui pour le moins auoit vaillant vingt mil francs, & pour estre Senateur il falloit auoir vne fois autant. Ils ne vendoient pas en ce faisant les offices, & si ils remedioient aux con-



ceasing, they will have enough other more legitimate expedients for the base of their finances. They will not be obliged to give pensions to foreigners, to maintain so many garrisons and lands in mortmain, and the superfluous expenses being cut down, their house put in order, they will no longer have cause to sell the public positions, nor permit the traffic of the governments as well spiritual as temporal, nor the offices of the judiciary, which is the cause of all disorders: for which reason Alexander Severus protested he would not endure the sellers of offices, because a buyer is forced to sell. I shall not bring forward the question, as to whether it is necessary that the offices shall be perpetual or not. It has been debated with arguments for and against, to which I am indifferent, provided the dignities are given to virtuous men: without having respect for the means nor the race, which things are not of importance unless they are joined with virtue, and then they are worthy of some prerogatives. The Romans understood that well (I often name that people, because it furnishes us with very good examples of every kind). They chose for judges the richest citizens by the Pompeia: besides this they did not give the order of knighthood except to him who at least had twenty thousand francs, and to be Senator it was necessary to have as much again. They did not sell in so doing the offices, and thus they guarded against

cussions ausquelles vn pauvre se laissera plustost aller qu'un riche. La noblesse de race merite aussi quelque consideration, & est à presumer que le fils d'un bon pere se portera heritier de ses vertus, & apprehendera le blasme, s'il a quelque peu de sentiment. Partant il doit estre preferé à celui dont les ancestres sont incongneus, en cas qu'ils concurrent tous deux en capacité & preud'homme. Mais il faut que la vertu aye tousiours le dessus en matiere d'honneurs & recompenses: autrement les affaires

136 n'iront iamais bien. Et encore qu'il] semble difficile à vn Monarque d'esconduire vn frere ou vne mere qui luy presentera quelqu'un pour estre pourueu de quelque charge ou benefice, neantmoins telles recommandations ne doiuent auoir lieu, si elles ne sont fondees sur le merite du personnage qui est présenté. Que si d'aventure il ayme quelques particuliers, comme il arriue: pour le moins que les dons qu'il leur fera ayent quelque proportion à leur qualité, qu'ils ne passent point si excessiue-ment leur merite, que sa liberalité ne cause point vn mescontentement de ceux dont il ne doibt mes- priser le seruice: Qu'il considere qu'on doit s'ac- quitter auant que donner, & qu'il n'y a debte plus le- gitime que la recompense de la vertu, qui gist princi- palement aux dignitez & honneurs. En quoy le dit Empereur Seuerus estoit si ceremonieux, qu'il decla- roit par affiches publics les noms de ceux qu'il vouloit honorer de quelque commission ou gouuernement,

the peculations in which a poor man is more likely to indulge than a rich one. The nobility of race merits also some consideration, and it is to be presumed that the son of a good father will bear himself heir of his virtues, and will dread blame, if he has any sentiment. Therefore he must be preferred to him whose ancestors are unknown, in case they are both equal in capacity and goodness. But virtue must always have the upper hand in matters of honor and recompense: otherwise affairs will never move smoothly. And although it seems difficult for a monarch to show the door to a brother or a mother who presents to him some one to be provided with some post or benefice, nevertheless such recommendations must not take place, unless they are based on the merit of the personage who is presented. That if perchance he likes some individual, as happens: at least the gifts that he makes them should have some proportion to their rank, that he surpasses not so greatly their merit, that his liberality causes discontent among those whose services he must not disdain: Let him consider that one must pay as well as give, and that there is no debt more legitimate than the rewarding of virtue, which lies principally in dignities and honors. In which the said Emperor Severus was so ceremonious, that he announced by public posters the names of those whom he wished to honor with some commission or governmental office,

& exhortoit le peuple à les accuser si d'auenture ils se trouuoient reprehensibles, à condition toutesfois que le calomniateur seroit puni de mort.

- 137 Il auoit apris cela] des Atheniens qui examinoient la vie de leurs magistrats, & establissoient pour cet effect certains maistres des Comptes. Quand donc on aura examiné les meurs d'vn chacun, on le pouruoiera selon sa capacité. S'il est vaillant & fort, on luy baillera des gouuernemens & charges militaires: S'il est prudent & politique, on le fera Conseiller d'estat: s'il est entier & incorruptible on le fera Iuge, on luy baillera le maniemment des finances s'il est exempt d'auarice, les dignitez Ecclesiastiques, s'il est pieux & deuot. Ainsi le monde sera content, le Prince sera serui à son honneur & au profit du peuple, qui n'aura point occasion de murmurer voyant vn si bel ordre en l'estat, & la iustice bien administree. Et afin que le Royaume soit pourueu non seulement de gens de bien, mais aussi d'habiles hommes, il faudra exciter l'industrie & proposer quelque loyer à ceux qui excelleront és arts & sciences. Ceux qui mesprisent les gens d'esprit & de sçauoir sont ou barbares ou stupides, & plusieurs le font par vn despit qu'ils ont d'auoir vn esprit grossier, & voudroient que tous les
- 138 hommes fussent ignorans,] afin que leur honte fust cachee par la multitude de leurs semblables. La

and he urged the people to accuse them if perchance they were unworthy, on condition however that the slanderer should be punished with death. He had learnt that from the Athenians who examined into the lives of their magistrates, and established for this purpose certain masters of accounts. When then one shall have examined the habits of each one, one will provide for him according to his capacity. If he is valiant and strong, one will grant governments and military charges: If he is prudent and politic, one will make him a Councillor of State: if he is whole and incorruptible one will make him a judge, one will grant him the management of the finances if he is exempt from avarice, ecclesiastical dignities, if he is pious and devout. Thus the world will be content, the Prince will be served with honor and profit to the people, who will have no occasion to murmur seeing such good order in the State, and justice well administered. And to the end that the kingdom be supplied not only with people of means, but also with skillful men, it will be necessary to arouse industry and offer some reward to those who excel in the arts and sciences. Those who disdain persons of thought and knowledge are either barbarous or stupid, and many do it because they are vexed that they have a coarse mind, and would wish that all men were ignorant, so that their shame might be hidden by the multitude of their

science tient le premier rang d'honneur apres la vertu. Encore ie n'entens pas icy comprendre sous le nom de vertu ceste vaillance vulgaire, dont les hommes font tant de parade. Ia Dieu ne plaise que ie vueille postposer vne perfection diuine à vne generosité brutale, qui n'a que le masque de vertu, & n'a autre fin que pillages & tueries. Les plus grands Princes ont tousiours respecté les doctes, & leur ont donné ou offert de tresbeaux appointemens. Du temps de l'Empereur Commode, les professeurs de Philosophie auoient par an six cens escus Romains, qui pouoient valloir trois mil francs de nostre monnoye. Sous Marc Aurele les Rhetoriciens auoient dix mille drachmes: (c'est plus de deux mille liures.) Vespasien leur auoit auparauant donné cinq mille francs. Mais ce n'est rien à comparaison de la liberalité de Constance qui donna au Rhetoricien Eumenius iusques à trente mil liures de pension: Et ie croy que le  
 139 Roy d'Angleterre] n'en eust pas moins donné à nostre Budee, si le Roy François n'eust esté à bon droict ialoux d'vn personnage si excellent en la cognoissance des langues Grecque & Latine. Que diray ie de Cesar, Charlemagne, & infinis autres qui ont voulu eterniser leur nom par leurs escrits, aussi bien que par leurs exploicts belliqueux ? Car il ne faut pas penser que la science abastardisse le courage d'vn homme, ou qu'elle le rende inhabile aux armes, comme les Scythes se sont autres

fellows. Science holds the first rank of honor after virtue. Again I do not here mean to understand under the name of virtue that vulgar courage of which men make such parade. God forbid that I should call divine perfection a brutal generality, which has only the mask of virtue, and has no other ends than pillage and slaughter. The greatest Princes have always respected the learned, and have given or offered them very fine appointments. In the time of the Emperor Commodus, the professors of philosophy had six hundred Roman *ecus* a year, which might be worth three thousand francs of our money. Under Marcus Aurelius the rhetoricians had ten thousand drachms: (that is more than two thousand *livres*). Vespasian had formerly given them five thousand francs. But it is nothing in comparison with the liberality of Constantius who gave to the rhetorician Eumenius up to thirty thousand *livres* of pension: And I believe that the King of England would not have given less to our Budee, if the King of France had not been rightfully jealous of a personage excelling so in the knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues. What shall I say of Caesar, Charlemagne, and an infinity of others who wished to make their names eternal by their writings, as well as by their bellicose exploits? For it must not be supposed that science lessens the courage of a man, or that it renders him unskillful in arms, as the Scythians

fois persuadez, lesquels apres auoir pris Athenes vouloient mettre le feu à toutes les bibliotheques qui se trouuoient dedans la ville: mais vn d'entre'ux les empescha, disant qu'il falloit laisser aux Grecs leurs liures, afin qu'en s'amusant à la lecture ils perdissent leur valeur, & deuinssent plus effeminez & domptables. Les Goths auoient vne mesme opinion, qui ne vouloient pas que leurs Roys fussent instruits aux bonnes lettres. Ils ont bien operé avec ceste phantaise, & ont appris à leurs despens que les plus ignorans & idiots ne sont pas les plus vaillans.]

140 Ils ont esté batus & chassez comme vilains de tous leurs pays par ceux là mesmes qu'ils auoient en mespris. Leur regne s'est passé si legerement & avec si peu d'effect, que nous n'en voyons presque auiourd'huy rien, sinon les marques d'une barbarie. L'estat des Atheniens & Romains a esté bien plus ferme, qui ont conioinct les exercices d'esprit & de corps: aussi il n'y eut oncques peuple plus vaillant, plus heureux & plus sage. Mais qu'est-il besoin de chercher les exemples de l'antiquité, puis que nous voyons en ce siecle que les plus guerrieres nations de l'Europe font estime des lettres? Je les nommerois si ie ne craignois de scandaliser les autres. Or iaçoit que les sciences liberales soient preferees aux mechaniques, si ne faut-il pourtant mespriser celles-cy, attendu que les ouurages de main sont necessaires à l'homme, & pour ceste cause



formerly persuaded themselves, who after capturing Athens wished to set fire to all the libraries which were within the city: but one of them stopped them, saying that they ought to leave to the Greeks their books, to the end that by amusing themselves in reading they should lose their valor, and become more effeminate and tamable. The Goths were of a similar opinion, they did not wish that their Kings should be instructed in *belles lettres*. They tried thoroughly this fantasy and learnt to their cost that the most ignorant and idiotic are not the most valiant. They were defeated and chased like serfs from all their lands by those very ones whom they held in contempt. Their rule passed so lightly and with so little effect, that we see scarcely anything of it to-day, unless the marks of a barbarism. The State of the Athenians and Romans was much more firm, which joined together the exercises of the mind and the body: therefore there never was any people more valiant, more happy and more wise. But what need is there to seek for the examples of antiquity, since we see in this century that the most warlike nations of Europe hold letters in esteem? I would name them if I did not fear to scandalize the others. Now I believe that although the liberal sciences are preferable to mechanics, yet one must not despise these latter, since the works of the hand are necessary to mankind, and for this cause those who per-

ceux qui s'en acquittent bien, meritent auoir part aux liberalitez publiques. Le Roy Mythridates ordonna des prix aux meilleurs biberons. Xerxes en decerna à ceux qui inuenteroient quelque  
 141 nouvelle] volupté. Les comediens auoient vn salaire pour donner plaisir au peuple. A plus forte raison doit-on recognoistre les artisans, principalement les auteurs des belles inuentions: & ne faut pas faire comme Tibere qui fit mourir celuy qui auoit trouué la façon de rendre le verre malleable: c'estoit couper le chemin à l'industrie, & imiter aucunement les Ephesiens, qui ne pouuoient souffrir parmy eux vne vertu eminente, occasion pourquoy Heraclite disoit qu'ils meritoient tous d'estre pendus. Qui ne iugera dignes de loyer ceux qui ont inuenté les horloges & imprimerie? Qui ne reuerera la memoire de ce braue Neapolitain, qui depuis quatre cens ans a trouué l'éguille marine? Je laisse mille autres inuentions que nous n'aurions pas, si les auteurs d'icelles eussent esté si cruellement traictez. Certainement il importe d'auoir de bons ingenieux, sur tout en l'architecture, orfeurie, au faict de la nauigation, des forges, & semblables mestiers dont on ne se peut passer. Les dons d'vn Monarque ne seront pas mal em-  
 142 ployez en cest endroit. Si ces reue]nus ne sont bastans pour recompenser tous les hommes de vertu & d'industrie, pour le moins qu'il contente ceux qui excelleront en ces deux qualitez, bien que ce luy soit vne excuse honteuse d'alleguer sa pauureté,

form them well, merit a share in public liberalities. King Mithridates ordered prizes for the best drinkers. Xerxes awarded prizes to those who invented some new voluptuousness. The comedians had a salary for giving pleasure to the people. For all the more reason one must recognize the artisans, principally the authors of fine inventions: and must not do like Tiberius who put to death the man who discovered how to make glass malleable: that was blocking the path of industry, and imitate in nowise the Ephesians, who could not suffer among them an eminent virtue, for which reason Heraclitus said they all deserved to be hung. Who will not judge worthy of a salary those who invented clocks and printing? Who will not revere the memory of that brave Neapolitan, who four hundred years ago discovered the mariner's compass? I leave aside a thousand other inventions that we should not have, if their authors had been so cruelly treated. Certainly it is of importance to have smart clever people, especially in architecture, the goldsmith's work, the art of navigation, forging and similar occupations without which one cannot get along. The gifts of a monarch will not be badly employed in this direction. If his revenues are not sufficient to reward all the men of virtue and industry, at least let him content those who excel in these two qualities, even though it be a shameful excuse to allege his pov-

notamment en temps de paix, auquel il faict peu de despence, tellement qu'il a dequoy faire ses largesses tant à ses domestiques qu'à plusieurs autres personnes de merite. Et en ceste action comme en toutes autres la prudence luy seruira de guide, afin qu'il aduise les moyens qu'il a de donner, combien, & à qui il donne. Il ne faut pas donner indifferemment à tous comme Heliogabale, qui gratifioit des rufiens & marquereaux. Il faut regler sa liberalité selon sa puissance, de peur de tomber en vne pauureté & misere, comme Caligule & Neron. Le sage Roy comptera premierement avec soy mesme, & apres auoir defalqué de sa recepte ce qui luy est necessaire pour l'entretienement honneste de sa cour, il fera ses liberalitez du surplus, en les accommodant à la condition d'vn chacun. Doncques quand il aura recogneu l'industrie d'vn homme, s'il est pauvre, il luy donnera pension conuenable: 143 s'il est ri]che ou noble, il le recompensera en honneur. Car c'est le plus agreable guerdon qu'on puisse donner à telles gens, qui estiment plus l'honneur que tous les biens du monde. Aussi c'est le plus grand esguillon de vertu qu'on sçauroit imaginer. L'esperance de l'honneur a faict iadis tant de bons soldats en Grece & en Italie. Et les ieux Olympiques furent pour cest effect instituez, où le victorieux ne remportoit pour le pris qu'vne simple couronne de chesne. Philippe Macedonien s'estonoit de ce que les Grecs combattoient pour si peu de

erty, notably in times of peace, during which he has small expenses, so much so that he has the wherewithal to make gifts as well to his servants as to several other persons of merit. In this action as in all others prudence will serve him as guide, so that he may consider how he may give, how much, and to whom he gives. One must not give indifferently to all like Heliogabalus, who gratified ruffians and pimps. One must regulate one's liberality according to one's power, for fear of falling into poverty and misery, like Caligula and Nero. The wise King will first count by himself, and after having taken from the receipts what he needs for the honest maintenance of his court, he will make his largesses from the surplus, making them suitable to the condition of each one. Therefore, when he has recognized the industry of a man, if he is poor, he will give him a suitable pension, if he is rich or noble, he will recompense him in honors. For this is the most agreeable recompense that one can give to such people, who esteem honor more than all the wealth of the world. Also it is the greatest spur of virtue that one could imagine. The hope of honor made formerly so many good soldiers in Greece and Italy. And the Olympic games were instituted for this purpose, where the victor carried off as a prize only a simple crown of oak leaves. Philip of Macedon was astonished that the Greeks would struggle for so small a thing,

chose, mais il ne regardoit pas à l'honneur inestimable qu'ils receuoient d'autant qu'ils estoient loüez solennellement, & puis ramenez en leurs pays en bonne compagnie avec applaudissement & chants d'allegresse, outre les statuës au vif qu'on leur dressoit. A Rome le triomphe estoit ordonné pour mesme fin aux Generaux d'armees qui auoient remporté vne signalee victoire. Et sans doute l'esperance de ceste gloire leur faisoit mespriser leur propre vie, & l'employer librement pour le seruice de la Republique. Que ne feroit vn homme pour] entrer si pompeusement en sa ville? Que n'entreprendroit-il pour auoir l'honneur de donner l'espee & l'ordre de cheualerie à vn Roy, comme fit le Capitaine Bayard? Et pour parler des autres vacations paisibles, combien verriens-nous d'orateurs s'ils gouernoient le peuple comme iadis Damosthene & Ciceron? Combien de poëtes, s'ils receuoient vne coronne de la main d'un Empereur, comme il se pratiquoit és concerts de poësie qui se faisoient au mont d'Alba? C'estoit honneur sans profit, neantmoins il y auoit presse à qui l'emporteroit. Ce qui a esmeu plusieurs Princes de l'Europe d'instituer des Cheualiers, obligeans par ceste inuention sans rien desbourser les plus grands de leur Monarchie. Car le nom de Cheualier n'estant qu'un tiltre specieux enflamme toutesfois d'un beau desir, vn homme genereux, voyant qu'il est confrere & compagnon de son

but he did not take note of the inestimable honor that they received, since they were solemnly praised, and then taken back to their country in good company with applause and songs of joy, besides the statues that were erected to them during their life time. At Rome a triumph was ordered for the same purpose for the army generals who had gained a signal victory. And no doubt the hope of this glory caused them to disdain their own life, and to employ it liberally for the service of the Republic. What would not a man do to enter so pompously into his city? What would he not undertake to have the honor of giving the sword and the order of knighthood to a king, as Captain Bayard did? And to speak of other peaceful vocations, how many orators would we see if they governed the people as formerly Demosthenes and Cicero did? How many poets, if they received a crown from the hands of an Emperor, as was practiced in the concerts of poetry that were held on the Alban mount? It was honor without profit, nevertheless there was a number trying as to who should carry it off. Which induced several European Princes to create knights, rewarding by this invention, without paying out anything, the most noble of their monarchy. For the name of knight being but a specious title excites nevertheless great desire in a generous man, seeing that he is fellow member and companion of his King. There

Roy. Il y a d'autres honneurs de moindre  
esclat, comme la dignité de Conseiller d'estat, les  
priuileges, les exemptions de tailles & autres charges  
145 que le Prince peut donner sans grande di]minu-  
tion de ses thresors. Les Empereurs qui faisoient  
estat de subiuguer tout le monde recompensoient  
bien leurs seruiteurs aux despens des prouinces  
assubiecties. Car ils en chassoient les anciens  
possesseurs, & en adiugeoient les plus belles terres  
à leurs Capitaines & soldats, afin de les contenter  
& obliger à leur rendre du seruice en cas de neces-  
sité. De là vient comme ie croy l'origine des fiefs,  
qui ne sont autres choses que certaines terres as-  
signees à quelqu'vn en recognoissance de son merite,  
à la charge neantmoins de respecter le donateur,  
& de l'assister en temps de guerre. Telles libera-  
litez n'estoient que viageres iusques à l'Empereur  
Alexandre, qui les rendit hereditaires en faueur  
des enfans des gensd'armes qui viuroient noble-  
ment, ne plus ne moins que les Duchez & sembla-  
bles dignitez, qui soubs la premiere race de nos  
Roys estoient temporelles, ont esté finalement per-  
petuees & renduës patrimoniales par la permission  
ou conuiuence de ceux qui ont depuis regné. Le  
146 grand seigneur a retenu l'ancienne coustume des fiefs,  
car il ne] donne ses Timars qu'a vie. Ce sont pays  
de conqueste qu'il distribuë à la mode Romaine à ses  
plus affidez & vaillans soldats, à condition de le seruir



are other honors of less distinction, like the dignity of State Councillor, the privileges, the exemptions of taxes and other charges that the Prince can give without great diminution of his treasures. The Emperors who made a business of subjugating all the world recompensed well their servants at the expense of the conquered provinces. For they expelled from them the former owners, and gave the finest lands to their captains and soldiers, in order to content them and oblige them to render them service in case of necessity. From that comes, as I believe, the origin of fiefs, which are nothing else than certain lands assigned to some one in recognition of his merit, with the condition nevertheless of respecting the donor, and of assisting him in time of war. Such liberalities were only for life down to the Emperor Alexander, who made them hereditary in favor of the children of the men at arms who lived as nobles, nor more nor less than the Dukedoms, similar dignities, which under the first dynasty of our Kings were temporal, and were made finally perpetual and became patrimonial by the permission or connivance of those who have since reigned. The Great Lord has retained the ancient custom of the fiefs, for he only gives his Timars for life. They are conquered lands that he distributes according to Roman custom to his most faithful and valiant soldiers, on condition of serving him in case of

au besoing à leurs propres despens. Et on tient qu'en la guerre de Perse il y a quarante ans, il conquist tant de pays, qu'il en fit quatre mille Timars. Mais aujourdhuy que les conquestes semblent auoir pris fin, qui est vn aduertissement tacite aux Princes d'entendre à vne paix generale, & se contenter de leur fortune, il est necessaire de trouuer autres moyens de liberalité publique. Nous les auons desia succinctement representez, & entr'autres auons parlé en passant des benefices Ecclesiastiques, moyen particulier aux Princes Chrestiens pour exercer leur magnificence, sans preiudicier à leur domaine. Aussi ils ont accoustumé d'en gratifier leurs bons seruiteurs & vassaux. Mesmes les Roys de France donnoient iadis les Abbayes à leurs Princes & Gentils-hommes qualifiez, qui non seulement iouissoient du reuenu de tels benefices, comme

147 ils font aujourdhuy, mais aussi en portoient le tiltre & ne faisoient aucun scrupule de se nommer Abbez, encore qu'ils fussent laïques & hommes d'espee. Ce qui a esté pratiqué depuis le regne de Charles le Chauue iusques à celui de Robert. Veritablement les biens de l'Eglise sont grands, & qui pis est, trop inegallement distribuez: car quelques-vns en ont plus que leur condition ne requiert: d'autres n'en ont pas assez, & plusieurs n'y ont aucune part, encore qu'ils en soient tres-dignes. C'est abus s'est coulé de longue main, & ne peut estre osté tout à coup, non plus que beaucoup d'autres

need at their own expense. And it is said that in the Persian war forty years ago, he conquered so much land, that he made of it four thousand Timars. But to-day that conquests seem to have come to an end, which is a tacit appeal to the Princes to agree to a general peace, and be content with their fortune, it is necessary to find other means for public liberality. We have already succinctly presented them, and among others have spoken in passing of the ecclesiastical benefices, a method especially belonging to Christian Princes, through which to exercise their munificence, without prejudice to their domain. And they are in the habit of thus gratifying their good servants and vassals. Even the Kings of France gave formerly the abbeyes to their Princes and qualified gentlemen, who not only enjoyed the revenue of such benefices, as they do to-day, but also bore the title and made no scruple to name themselves Abbé, even though they were laymen and men of the sword. Which has been practised since the reign of Charles the Bald until that of Robert. Truly the wealth of the church is large, and what is worse, too unequally distributed: for some have more than their condition requires: others have not enough, and many have no part in it, although they are very worthy of it. This abuse has arisen gradually, and cannot be stopped all at once, no more than many other diseases of the State.

maladies d'estat. Il est donc expedient de laisser le monde comme il est, & permettre aux benefi-  
 ciers de iouyr paisiblement des biens dont ils sont  
 en possession. Mais puis qu'ils n'en sont qu'vsu-  
 fruitiers, on peut sans les offenser apres leur mort  
 apporter vn reglement qui remedie à vn tel de-  
 sordre. Est-il raisonnable qu'un seul homme aye  
 148 vn benefice qui pour]roit suffire à quatre ou cinq  
 personnes de pareille qualité? Encore ne se con-  
 tente-il pas s'il a vn riche Euesché, s'il n'adiouste  
 le reuenu de plusieurs Priorez & Abbayes: cepen-  
 dant il y a vne infinité de braues Gentilshommes,  
 soldats, & autres de diuerses vacations qui lan-  
 guissent sous le faix d'une miserable paureté,  
 ausquels le Prince pourroit donner appointment  
 honneste, si les benefices estoient distribuez comme  
 il appartient, & s'ils n'estoient occupez par vn petit  
 nombre de personnes. Partant il seroit besoing  
 en cecy, d'une double police. La premiere seroit  
 de limiter le reuenu de chaque Euesché, Abbaye,  
 Prioré, Cure, & apres auoir examiné les charges &  
 profits desdits benefices, assigner aux titulaires  
 autant de terres ou rentes qu'on iugeroit suffire  
 pour les entretenir honnestement, ayant esgard à  
 leur qualité, tant pour ce qui concerne l'entretene-  
 ment de seruice diuin, que pour ce qui regarde les  
 autres menus frais qu'iceux ont accoustumé de  
 149 supporter. Et du surplus on en accommo]deroit les  
 personnages de merite notamment ceux qui auroient

It is expedient then to leave the world as it is, and permit the beneficiaries to enjoy peacefully the wealth that they possess. But since they are only the users of these things, one can without offending them after their death bring a regulation which remedies such disorder. Is it reasonable that a single man should have a benefice that might suffice to four or five persons of similar quality? Besides he is not content if he has a rich Bishopric, if he does not add the revenue of several Priors and Abbeys: nevertheless there is an infinity of brave Gentlemen, soldiers, and others of various professions who languish under the burden of a miserable poverty, to whom the Prince could give honest appointments, if the benefices were distributed as they should be, and if they were not occupied by a small number of persons. Therefore there would be need in this, of a double policy. The first will be to limit the revenue of each Bishopric, Abbey, Priory, Parsonage, and after having examined the charges and profits of the said benefices, assign to the titulars as much land or rents as shall be judged sufficient to support them honestly, having regard for their rank, as much for what concerns the maintenance of divine service, as for what regards the other small charges that these are accustomed to bear. And from the surplus one could accommodate the personages of merit notably those who had served

serui le Roy ou le public & n'auroient esté aucunement ou bien peu recompensez. Pour le second reglement, il faudroit deffendre à tous de tenir deux benefices, sinon en cas que la modicité du reuenu d'iceux, & la qualité des personnes fussent considerables. Quelle apparence y a-il de voir vn petit compaignon pourueu de plusieurs benefices, qu'il a brigué, couru, troqué, mendié importunément, ou acquis par moyens peu louables & legitimes. Les grands reuenus amenant l'ambition & le luxe, vices detestables en vn Ecclesiastique, qui doit embrasser la simplicité & modestie. Il ne luy faut point entretenir des leuriers ny oyseaux de proye. Ce n'est pas son mestier que d'estre chasseur. Il n'a que faire d'escuries, pour les remplir de barbes, hongres, & genets d'Hespagne, puis qu'il ne fait profession des armes. Qu'il se contente d'vn reuenu sortable à sa condition: il ne se peut plaindre si on luy retranche ses superfluités, pour les appliquer à vn œuvre si charitable, & utile à sçauoir la nourriture de ses pauures compatriotes, recommandables pour quelques bons offices, afin qu'à leur exemple tous les autres soient encouragez à bien faire, le peuple soulagé de beaucoup d'impositions que le Prince est contrainct de leuer, pour subuenir à la necessité de ses affaires, & remplir les places des coffres, qu'il vuide tous les iours par faute d'vne telle police. Quelques vns trouueront estrange d'oster aux gens d'Eglise, pour donner aux

the King or the public and who had not been in any way or but very little recompensed. For the second regulation, it would be necessary to forbid every one to hold two benefices, except in the case that their revenue was moderate and the rank of the persons was exalted. What a sight it is to behold some insignificant individual provided with several benefices, which he has solicited, hunted, bartered, begged for importunately, or acquired by means scarcely commendable and legitimate. Big revenues bring ambition and luxury, detestable vices in a churchman, who should embrace simplicity and modesty. He need not keep greyhounds nor falcons. It is not his business to be a hunter. He has no need of stables, to fill with barbs, geldings, and Spanish jennets, since he does not make a profession of arms. Let him content himself with a revenue suitable with his position: he cannot complain if his superfluities are cut off, to apply them to so charitable and useful an act, to wit, the feeding of his poor compatriots, suited for some good places, so that by their example all the others may be encouraged to do well, the people relieved from many taxes that the Prince is forced to raise, in order to defray his necessary expenses, and fill the empty spaces in the coffers, which he empties every day by lack of such a policy. Some will find it strange to take away from the churchmen, in order to give to the lay-

laïques. Je ne le conseillerois pas, si ceux-cy n'en auoient aucun besoing, ou si ceux-là n'abusoient point de leurs richesses. Mais on voit le iuste mescontentement des vns, & les delices excessiues des autres. Et encore que ie n'approuue point l'egalité des proprietéz receüe anciennement en Lacedemone & à Rome, il me semble pourtant indigne de voir les benefices si mal departis, qui ont esté fondez & enrichis par la liberalité des gens de bien pour l'entretienement des Prestres & des pauvres. A ceste cause les terres & rentes qui en dependent  
 151 doiuent estre affectees à ces deux sor]tes d'hommes. Or est-il qu'entre les pauvres ceux-là principalement sont dignes de compassion, qui ont obligé le public par quelque action notable, de laquelle ils n'ont receu aucun guerdon. Quand doncques ils se presenteront au Prince, il les pourra recompenser en pratiquant ce que dessus: & neantmoins examinera auparauant leurs merites avec ses meilleurs conseillers, afin de se depestrer de plusieurs importuns, qui sous pretexte de quelque cognoissance qu'ils ont en Cour, pourchassent des appointemens dont ils sont indignes. C'est bien fait d'ouyr les humbles supplications de ses subiects, de receuoir leurs requestes, mais auant que de les signer, il est bien-seant de les communiquer à son conseil: autrement les impudens emporteront les loyers de la vertu, & abusans de la facilité



men. I would not counsel this, if these latter had no need of it, or if the former did not abuse their wealth. But one sees the just discontent of the ones, and the excessive delights of the others. And although I do not approve the equality of properties in force in olden times in Lacedemonia and at Rome, it seems to me nevertheless wrongful to see the benefices so badly divided, which were founded and enriched by the liberality of the good people for the maintenance of the priests and the poor. To this end the lands and rents which depend from them, come from this quarter, must be handed over to those two classes of men. Now among the poor those are chiefly worthy of compassion who have benefited the public by some notable action, from which they have received no recompense. When then, they shall present themselves to the Prince, he can recompense them in practicing what is said above: and nevertheless will examine beforehand their merits with his best counsellors, in order to get rid of certain troublesome persons, who under pretext of some acquaintance that they have in court, hunt for appointments of which they are unworthy. It is well enough to listen to the humble supplications of his subjects, to receive their requests, but before signing them, it is fitting to communicate them to his council: otherwise the impudent would carry off the rewards of virtue, and abusing of the

du Prince, mendieront ses faueurs par personnes interposees: qui sont grandement reprehensibles, de recommander des gens de paille: mais ils font encore vn autre mal. C'est qu'ils attirent à eux toute  
 152 la grace] du bienfaict & liberalité du Prince. A quoy il pourra remedier, s'il faict despescher en sa presence celuy lequel il veut gratifier, & aussi s'il le renuoye, comme i'ay dict, à son conseil. On n'osera pas luy presenter des requestes inciuiles, quand on verra qu'il n'accordera rien à la legere, & qu'il ne fera rien que de l'aduis de ses bons officiers. Et pour mieux se comporter en cecy, deux registres luy sont necessaires. L'vn qui soit l'abregé de ses finances, & de sa despence ordinaire. L'autre qui continenne la liste de ses officiers & domestiques avec les appointemens & dons qu'ils ont obtenu, eux & leurs parens. Le premier registre luy fera voir ce qu'il peut donner. Dans le second il cognoistra ceux qui sont desia recompensez en offices, ou en argent, & les renuoyera doucement, lors qu'ils luy demanderont quelque nouveau don, afin qu'il fasse part de ses faueurs à ceux qui n'ont point encore esté pourueus. Les Roys de Perse auoient vn tel registre: tesmoing Assuerus, lequel  
 153 l'ayant feuilleté, & voyant qu'il n'auoit point recogneu le signalé seruice de Mardo]chee le combla de bienfaict & d'honneur, autant qu'vn homme pouuoit souhaitter. Car le Monarque oublie souuen-

easiness of the Prince, would beg his favors by intermediary persons: who are most reprehensible for recommending people of straw: but they cause also another evil. It is that they draw to themselves all the grace of the good deeds and liberality of the Prince. To which he can remedy, if he has sent into his presence him whom he wishes to gratify, and also if he sends him, as I have said, to his council. One will not dare present to him improper requests, when it is seen that he will grant nothing offhand, and that he will do nothing without the advice of his good officers. And the better to bear himself in this, two registers are necessary for him. One that is the abstract of his finances, and of his ordinary expenses. The other which contains the list of his officers and servants with the remunerations and gifts that they have obtained, they and their relations. The first register will show him what he can give. In the second he will know those who are already rewarded in offices, or in money, and he will quietly send them off, when they shall ask him for a new gift, so that he may give a part of his favors to those who have not yet been provided for. The Kings of Persia had such a register: as witness Assuerus, who, having looked it over, and seeing that he had not recognized the signal service of Mardonius overwhelmed him with benefices and honor, as much as a man could wish for. For the monarch often

tesfois les merites de ses subiects, à cause de la multitude des affaires qui passent par ses mains, d'où il aduient qu'il ne leur donne rien, si par vne modestie naturelle ils sont honteux de demander: & au contraire il donne excessiuelement aux effrontez importuns, qui obtiennent les plus beaux benefices & octrois par l'entremise de leur corratiers, bien qu'ils n'ayent rien merité. Ce qui apporte beaucoup de mescontentement. Basile Macedonien estant venu à l'Empire, trouua les thresors espuisez par ces gens là, tellement que la premiere chose qu'il fit ce fut de leur faire rendre gorge, & rapporter la moitié des dons qu'ils auoient receus sans iuste cause. Mais d'autant qu'il est mal-aysé de r'auoir ce qu'on a donné il vaut mieux soubsmettre sa liberalité à la censure du conseil, & à l'exemple de Charles huictiesme declarer nuls les dons d'une somme notable, s'ils ne sont verifiez. Et ne sert de dire qu'il est impossible de regler la despence d'un] Monarque attendu qu'il luy conuient faire aucunesfois des presens qui doiuent estre celez. Car tels dons se font aux subiects ou aux estrangers. Si aux subiects, ils en peuuent esperer la verification, en cas qu'ils le meritent, & s'ils en sont indignes, ils doiuent prendre patience & se contenter de quelque petite liberalité qui sera en la pleine disposition du Prince: car il ne doit pas pour peu de chose demander l'aduis à ses officiers: & pour ce

forgets the merit of his subjects, because of the multitude of affairs that pass through his hands, whence it happens that he gives them nothing, if by a natural modesty they are ashamed to ask: and on the contrary he gives excessively to the bold, importunate men, who obtain the best benefices and grants, by means of their agents, although they have merited nothing, which brings a great deal of discontent. Basil, the Macedonian, having become Emperor, found the treasury exhausted by those people, so much so that the first thing that he did was to make them disgorge, and bring back the half of the gifts that they had received without just cause. But since it is difficult to get back what one has given, it is better to submit one's liberality to the censure of the council, and, according to the example of Charles the Eighth declare null the gifts of a notable sum, if they are not verified. And it is not worth while saying that it is impossible to regulate the expenses of a monarch, since it is convenient for him on no occasion to make presents that must be concealed. For such gifts are made to subjects or to strangers. If to subjects, they can hope for their verification, in case they merit them, and if they are unworthy of them, they must be patient and content themselves with some small liberality which is at the absolute disposal of the Prince: for he must not for small things demand advice of his officers: and

Charles septiesme auoit par Edit exprez declaré la somme qu'il vouloit prendre tous les ans, pour l'employer selon son plaisir. Quant aux estrangers, si on leur assigne vne pension, si on leur fait quelque present en cachette, c'est en temps de guerre ou de defiance, afin qu'ils trahissent leur maistre, & qu'ils descouurent ses secrets. Ce qui ne se fera point en vne paix vniuerselle, où il n'y a que les Ambassadeurs qui puissent accepter vn present. Mais ceste liberalité est publique, honneste & moderee: encore ne sera-elle pas necessaire à cause de ceste assemblee generale dont nous auons parlé. Bref

155 on ne peut trop mesnager les finances d'un] Monarque, veu que d'icelles depend la conseruation de son estat, & soulagement de son peuple, qui est tousiours foulé à l'occasion de ses liberalitez desregleés. Elles seroient bien mieux employees enuers les pauures, dont le nombre multiplie trop, & si on n'y donne ordre, ils seront capables d'esbranler les estats, aussi bien que firent iadis les esclaud'Italie. Il n'y a rien qui mette plus au desespoir vn homme que la faim & disette extreme. De tout temps on a veu des pauures, & faut necessairement qu'il en soit, attendu que l'harmonie des Republiques, depend en partie de l'inegalité des possessions; mais il faut auoir pitié d'eux, principalement des estropiez, aueugles, vieillards, malades & impotens: & quant à ceux qui sont sains & dispos il

for this thing Charles the Seventh had by edict specially declared the sum that he wished to take every year, to use it according to his pleasure. As for strangers, if one assigns them a pension, if one makes them some present in secret, it is in time of war or of suspicion, so that they should betray their master and that they should disclose his secrets. Which will not occur in an universal peace, when only ambassadors can accept presents. But this liberality is public, honest, and moderate: moreover, it would not be necessary because of that general assembly of which we have spoken. Briefly one cannot too much save the finances of a monarch, seeing that from these depends the preservation of his State, and the relief of his people, which is always trampled upon when he gives without restraint. They would be much better employed for the poor, whose number multiplies too much, and if one does not attend to them, they may become capable of disrupting the States, just as did formerly the slaves of Italy. There is nothing that drives a man more to despair than hunger and extreme lack of food. In all times one has seen poor people, and there must necessarily be some, since the harmony of republics, depends in part on the inequality of possessions; but one should take pity on them, principally of the cripples, blind, aged, sick, and impotent: and as for those who are healthy and well it is neces-

les faut pareillement nourrir, & outre leur faire apprendre vn mestier s'ils sont ieunes, afin qu'ils puissent gagner leur vie. Cependant s'ils ont âge & force suffisante on en peut tirer du seruice. Car les Princes & les villes ont tousiours affaire des manœuvres & hommes de trauail pour bastir, pauer les chemins, calfeutrer les vaisseux, reparer] les murailles  
 156 ponts & forteresses. Les premiers Cesars entreprenoient de grands bastimens qui n'estoient pas aucunes fois necessaires, mais ils vouloient embellir leur Empire, & entretenir beaucoup de paaures gens, qui autrement fussent morts de faim. Et les Venitiens aujourd'huy nourrissent en leur Arsenac deux ou trois mil personnes, sçachans bien que c'est office de charité d'employer l'argent public à l'endroit des paaures, en les faisant trauailler : & à ceste fin les villes bien policees ont des maisons où ils retirent les necessiteux non malades, afin de faire des pepinieres d'artisans, & d'empescher les vagabonds & faitneans qui ne demandent qu'à belistrer, ou à voler. Il y a de certains paaures, qui ne doiuent pas estre enfermez ny traictez comme les autres, à sçauoir ceux qui ont esté ruinez par les guerres, incendie, & semblables accidens, & sont honteux de mendier. Les aumosnes leur sont mieux appliquees, qu'à ces maistres gueux qui n'ont iamais fait autre mestier. Mais pour dire le vray, il est plus facile d'empescher la pauureté  
 157 de venir] que d'y remedier quand elle est venue. Et partant puisque l'experience nous apprend que les guerres, procez & imposts enuoyent les



sary equally to nourish them, and besides make them learn a trade if they are young, so that they may earn their living. Still, if they have sufficient age and strength, one can make them render service. For Princes and cities always have need of navvies and workmen to build, pave the roads, rig up the ships, repair the walls, bridges and fortresses. The first Caesars undertook great buildings that were not in any way necessary, but they wished to embellish their Empire, and maintain many poor people, who otherwise would have died of hunger. And the Venetians to-day nourish in their Arsenal two or three thousand persons, knowing well that it is a duty of charity to employ public money for the good of the poor, in making them work: and to this end the well regulated cities have houses where they retire the necessitous who are not sick, in order to make nurseries of artisans and to stop the vagabonds and lazy ones who only ask to live like beasts or to steal. There are certain poor, who must not be shut up nor treated like the others, to wit, those who have been ruined by wars, fire, and similar accidents, and who are ashamed to beg. Alms are better applied to them, than to those master beggars, who have never pursued any other trade. But to speak accurately, it is easier to prevent poverty from coming than to remedy it when it has come. And therefore since experience teaches us that war, trials and taxes send

hommes à l'hostel Dieu, ostons ces trois causes, nous ne verrons point tant de miserables mendiants. La première cause est plus importante, & les deux autres en dependent: Car à l'occasion des guerres le commun peuple est chargé d'impôts, pillé aux champs par les gens d'armes, & aux villes par les vsuriers, ausquels il est contrainct d'auoir recours en sa nécessité: & de tout cela on voit naistre des procez qui acheuent de ruiner les maisons. Donc la paix generale est vn beau moyen pour preuenir ces malheurs. Elle rendra la clef des champs & la liberté au laboureur, le deschargera des creuës qui se leuent en temps de guerre, l'affranchira de la tyrannie des vsuriers, qui bastissent leur fortune sur les ruines d'autruy. Il n'aura plus à craindre que les procez, dont la paix ne le peut garantir. Car il ne faut qu'vn mauuais voisin, vn vindicatif, vn hargneux, pour mettre en procez vn homme paisible, & luy faire despenser tout] son bien en chicanerie: ioint qu'il y a des personnes qui ne se plaisent qu'à plaider. Tesmoing ce marchand de Paris, lequel ne voulut iamais quitter ses procez, bien que le Roy François premier l'exhorta de ce faire, & promit de transiger pour luy à son profit avec toutes ses parties, tant debtors que creanciers. Tels plaidereaux deuroient estre punis à tout le moins par la bourse, à la façon des Grecs, & Romains,

one to the poor house, if we take away these three causes, we shall not see so many miserable beggars. The first cause is the most important, and the other two spring from it: for during the times of war the common people are charged with taxes, robbed in the fields by the men at arms, and in the towns by the usurers, to whom they are constrained to have recourse in their necessity: and from all that one sees trials arise which finish ruining the households. Therefore a general peace is a fine means to prevent these evils. It would give back the security of the fields and liberty to the laborer, unload him of the burdens that are applied in times of war, free him from the tyranny of usurers, who build their fortunes on the ruins of others. He will have to fear only lawsuits, against which peace cannot guarantee him. For there is need only of a bad neighbor, a vindictive person, a crabbed man, to bring to trial a peaceable man, and make him spend all his wealth in chicanery: added to which there are people who take pleasure only in going to law. Witness that Paris merchant, who was never willing to abandon his lawsuits, even though the King Francis the First exhorted him to do so, and promised to compound for him to his profit with all his opposing parties, as well debtors as creditors. Such pleaders should be punished at least in their pocket-book, according to the fashion of the Greeks, and Romans, who

qui faisoient gageure solennellement, & consignoient vne certaine somme d'vne part & d'autre auant que le procez fut iugé, & on confisquoit l'argent de celuy qui estoit condammé. Auiourd'huy telles amendes n'ont point de lieu sinon en cause d'appel, & encore elles sont si petites, que les plaideurs temeraires n'en tiennent compte: mais en Grece elles valoient la dixiesme partie de ce qui estoit contesté en iugement és causes ciuiles, & la cinquiesme és causes criminelles. Or ce mal vient principalement des hommes de pratique, qui sous pretexte de defendre leurs parties, allongent industrieusement les] procez, & les veulent rendre immortels pource qu'ils ne vivent d'autre chose. Il n'y a fait si liquide qu'ils ne rendent douteux. Il n'y a cause si claire qu'ils n'obscurcissent, aucun arrest dont ils ne fassent surseoir l'execution par vne subtilité malicieuse. Ce qui faisoit dire à Caton, que le Palais deuoit estre paué de chaussetrapes. Que si les iuges symbolisent avec telles gens, ou s'ils se laissent par eux surprendre, quelle esperance y a-il de voir la iustice bien administree: Que fera vn pauvre plaideur quand il verra tant de remises en son affaire qui pouoir estre terminé promptement? Quel courage aura-il de seruir son Prince, d'honorer les magistrats, quand il se verra consumé en frais auparauant que d'auoir iustice? Pour empescher ce mal, on a fait en France plu-

solemnly made an agreement and impounded a certain sum from one side and the other until the trial was decided, and then confiscated the money of the party that was condemned. To-day such penalties have no existence except in cases which are appealed, and moreover they are so small, that bold litigants do not take count of them: but in Greece they were worth the tenth part of what was contested in judgment in civil cases, and the fifth part in criminal cases. Now this evil comes chiefly from the men who practice, who under pretext of defending their clients, industriously lengthen the trials, and wish to render them immortal because they do not live from any other things. There is no fact so clear that they do not make it doubtful. There is no cause so clear that they do not obscure it, no statute of which they do not prevent the execution by a malicious subtlety, which caused Cato to say, that the law courts must be paved with traps. But if the judges sympathize with such people, or if they allow themselves to be fooled by them, what hope is there of seeing justice well administered: What will a poor litigant do when he sees so many delays in his case which could be promptly terminated? What courage will he have to serve his Prince, to honor the magistrate, when he sees himself eaten up with expenses before he has justice? To prevent this evil, one has tried in France several

sieurs polices, dont la plus vtile & signalee est l'abolition de l'office des Procureurs. Car nos ancestres preuoyans que de permettre vne vacation qui ne subsiste que par la naissance & continuation des procez, ce seroit faire comme ces Iuges d'Athenes,

160 qui remirent vne] cause iusques à cens ans, d'autant qu'un homme ne cherche pas la fin d'une chose qui luy apporte du profit, ils defendirent de plaider par Procureur, sinon en cas de necessité, & falloit alors impetrer ceste procuracion du Prince, laquelle s'expiroit avec le Parlement, afin que personne ne s'asseurast de viure aux despens des plaideurs.

Dauantage ils faisoient plaider à tour de roole si exactement, que chacun se pouuoit assurer d'estre expedié, selon l'ordre qu'ils s'estoit presenté pour demander iustice, n'estant permis aux Presidens de donner audience extraordinaire sinon les Ieudis. Et pour retenir les iuges inferieurs en leur deuoir, c'estoit vne costume generale aux appellans de les prendre a parties & les faire adiourner pour venir respondre de leurs sentences à leurs perils & fortunes. Ces reglemens sont bons s'ils estoient obseruez. Mais Basile Macedonien trouua d'autres remedes. En premier lieu il assigna certain reuenu à ceux qui n'auoient moyen de poursuiure leur droicts. Secondement, pource

161 qu'il voyoit le desordre qu'apportoit] la multitude & obscurité des loix que chacun interpretoit

policies, of which the most useful and notable is the abolition of the office of prosecuting attorneys. For our ancestors foresaw that to allow an avocation that only subsists by the birth and continuation of lawsuits, would be doing like those judges of Athens who put off a trial for a hundred years, and in as much as a man does not seek to end a thing that brings him profit, they forbade pleading by attorney, except in case of necessity, and it was necessary then to obtain this power of attorney from the Prince, which expired with the Parliament, so that no one might be assured of living at the expense of the litigants. In addition they forced pleading in turn so exactly, that each one might be assured of being attended to, according to the order in which he had presented himself to demand justice, it not being permitted to the Presidents to give extraordinary audience except on Thursdays. And to retain the lower judges in their duty, it was a general custom for the appellants to take them aside and make them adjourn so as to answer for their sentences at the peril of their lives and fortunes. These regulations are good if they were observed. But Basil the Macedonian found other remedies. In the first place he assigned certain revenues to those who had not the means of prosecuting their rights. Secondly, because he saw the disorder that the multitude and obscurity of the laws brought which each one in-

à sa phantaisie, il delibera de casser les ordonnances inutiles & ambiguës. En apres, il establit des iuges sans reproche, & leur bailla bons gages, leur enioignant de tenir le siege tout le iour, & de vuidier les procez avec toute equité & diligence. Finalement il prit la peine de cognoistre les differends & plaintes du peuple: à quoy il ne manquoit iamais, si d'ailleurs il n'estoit diuertit pour la guerre, ou pour la depeche des Ambassadeurs. Mesmes vn iour estant venu au Palais, & voyant que personne ne l'abordoit, il enuoya des gens exprés par la ville de Constantinople pour sçauoir si quelqu'un auoit des plaintes à luy faire, & comme il fut aduertit que tout le monde estoit content, il en pleura de ioye & en rendit graces à Dieu. C'estoient tous actes de grand Monarque, lequel doit rendre la iustice à ses suiets, autant aux petis comme aux grands, aux paysans comme aux nobles. Et cela ne diminuë pas sa grandeur. Son nom le garantit  
 162 assez du mespris. Les plus excellentes] choses sont communicatiues. Le Soleil iette ses rayons esgallement sur l'or & la fange. Les eaux coulent en public. Dieu conserue les moindres animaux en leur estre. Pourquoi donc vn Roy se cachera-il de son peuple? Pourquoi ne se rendra-il communicable à ses subiets, afin de receuoir leurs requestes de leur main, ouyr leurs doleances de leur bouche,



terpreted according to his phantasy, he decided to put an end to the useless and ambiguous ordinances. Afterwards, he appointed irreproachable judges, and granted them good salaries, enjoining upon them to sit all day, and to settle the lawsuits with all equity and diligence. Finally he took the trouble to learn about the disputes and complaints of the people: in which he never failed, unless he was diverted therefrom by war, or the communications of Ambassadors. Even one day having come to the law courts, and seeing that no one accosted him, he expressly sent people through the city of Constantinople to know if anyone had complaints to make to him, and as he was advised that everybody was content, he cried for joy and gave thanks to God. These were altogether the acts of a great monarch, who must render justice to his subjects, as much to the small as to the great, to the peasants as to the nobles. And this does not diminish his grandeur. His name guards him sufficiently from contempt. The most excellent things are communicative. The Sun throws his rays equally upon gold and mud. The waters flow in public. God preserves the smallest animals in their being. Why then should a King hide himself from his people? Why should he not make himself accessible to his subjects, in order to receive their demands from their hands, hear their complaints from their

qui sont ordinairement supprimees ou desguisees par la conuience de ses familiers & domestiques, qui ne songent qu'à se mettre à leur aise, & ne font non plus d'estat d'un paysan ou bourgeois que d'une pauvre beste? Auguste, Claude, Vespasian, Adrian & autres Empereurs faisoient droict aux parties, non seulement estans assis au trosne de iustice, mais aussi en leur chambre, à toute heure, mesme pendant leur repas, & lors qu'ils estoient au lict malades. Mithridates Roy tres-puissant auoit appris vingt-deux langues, afin d'ouyr les supplications de tous les peuples qui en vsoient. Notre saint Loys n'estoit pas moins curieux de ce

163 deuoir. Car mesmes au milieu de ses esbats] qu'il prenoit ordinairement au bois de Vincenne, il se mettoit au pied d'un chesne, & là il donnoit audience libre à ceux qui se presentoient, & de l'aduis de quelques seigneurs qui l'assistoient, sur le champ prononçoit sa sentence. Je sçay que le Prince ne peut pas estre par tout: aussi il n'est pas besoing qu'il s'oblige d'ouyr sans cesse les differends: pour le moins il doit donner quelques iours de la sepmaine à ses subiects, à l'exemple de Charlemagne, & leur permettre de l'accoster lors qu'ils auront quelque iuste plainte. Cela empeschera beaucoup d'in-iustices, & contraindra les Iuges, Aduocats, & Procureurs de marcher droict, quand ils verront que le Prince prendra cognoissance de leurs actions. A ceste occasion Philippe le Long ordonna

lips, which are ordinarily suppressed or disguised by the connivance of his companions and servants, who only think of being at their ease, and do not make more of a peasant or burgher than of a poor beast? Augustus, Claude, Vespasian, Hadrian and other Emperors gave justice to the litigants, not only when sitting on the throne of justice, but also in their room, at all times, even during their meals, and while they were in bed sick. Mithridates a very powerful King had learnt twenty-two languages, in order to hear the supplications of all the people who used them. Our Saint Louis was not less attentive to this duty. For even in the midst of his sports which he followed ordinarily in the forest of Vincennes, he placed himself at the foot of an oak and there he gave free audience to those who presented themselves, and with the advice of a few lords who assisted him, on the spot gave judgment. I know that the Prince cannot be everywhere: also it is not necessary that he forces himself to hear without cessation the disputes: at least he must give some few days of the week to his subjects, according to the example of Charlemange, and permit them to address him when they have some just complaint. This will prevent many injustices, and will constrain the judges, advocates, and attorneys to walk straight, when they see that the Prince will take cognizance of their acts. In this wise Philip

que deux seigneurs de sa Cour assisteroient au Parlement pour voir & luy rapporter ce qui s'y passoit, & aussi s'opposer aux Arrests qui meritoient censure. Par vne autre ordonnance de Philippe le Bel les

164 Presidens doiuent rendre compte de trois] ans en trois ans. Mais il ne sera besoing de venir à ces rigueurs si on eslit des magistrats qui ayent de l'aage, du iugement, de la constance, & preud'homme, qui ne soient point souffreteux, qui ne se laissent emporter par faueur ny par crainte, en somme qui ne se fassent point prier pour signer vne requeste iuste, & ne se laissent aussi amadoüer pour en accorder vne iniuste. Ce n'est pas peu de chose que d'estre iuge. La vie & les biens d'vn chacun dependent de cest office. Les Atheniens ne receuoient en la Cour d'Areopage sinon ceux qui estoient de noble extraction & de bonne vie: aussi c'estoit le plus auguste & fameux consistoire de iustice qui fut oncques, & mesmes on tient que les meschans qui par faueur ou dissimulation de leurs vices s'estoient fait recevoir en iceluy changeoient incontinent de naturel, & deuenoient gens de bien comme s'ils eussent esté diuinement touchés par le genie du lieu & de ceste notable assemblée. Or d'autant que nous ne sommes pas en vn siecle de telle perfection, le Prince doit d'autant

165 plus estre soigneux] de cognoistre les deportemens des iuges & les examiner comme toute autre chose d'importance avec son conseil, & sur tout

the Long ordered that two lords of his court should assist in Parliament to see and report to him what occurred there, and also oppose the decrees that merited censure. By another ordinance of Philip the Fair the Presidents must render an account every three years. But it will not be necessary to resort to such severe measures if magistrates are chosen who have age, judgment, constancy, and goodness, who are not invalids, who do not allow themselves to be influenced by favor nor by fear, in fine who do not require to be begged to sign a just request, and do not allow themselves to be coaxed into granting an unjust one. It is not a little matter to be a judge. The life and wealth of everyone depend upon this office. The Athenians did not receive in the court of Areopagus any except those who were of noble extraction and of blameless life: therefore it was the most august and famous consistory of justice that ever was, and even it is held that the bad who by favor or dissimulation of their vices had been received in this changed incontinently their nature, and became good people as if they had been divinely touched by the genius of the place and of that notable assembly. Now for as much as we are not in a century of such perfection, the Prince must be all the more careful to know the acts of the judges and examine them like everything else of importance with his council, and especially

leur enioindre d'expedier promptement les procez, sans s'amuser à tant de formalitez superfluës. Il ne faut precipiter les iugemens, mais aussi il ne faut pas les differer quand le droict est apparent, sous couleur de petites supercheries prouenant de l'inuention de ceux qui n'ayans pas bonne cause ne veulent iamais sortir d'affaire. Il y a en cecy aucunesfois de la faute des iuges, qui sont trop lents à rapporter vn procez, & sont trop indulgens à l'endroit des chiquaneurs, qui ne manquent point de pretexte pour retarder ou embroüiller vne cause. Les iuges doiuent rembarrer voire mesmes chastier ces gens là, pource qu'ils donnent subiects au peuple de murmurer contre le plus saint ordre du monde, veu qu'on a tant de peine à obtenir iustice. La decision des procez n'est pas chose si mal aisee qu'il faille y apporter tant de remises. Si la question est de faict, l'enqueste ou information l'esclaircissent, qui ne requie]rent pas grande substilité.

166 Les questions de droict sont la plus-part preiugees par les loix, Edicts, coustumes & Arrests qui ont esté donnez sur ces semblables. Car les accidens & negoces sont compris en nombre determiné. S'il y a quelque circonstance qui les varie, on peut ayement voir si elle est considerable. Mais on faict souuentefois d'vne mouche vn Elephant, & les praticiens avec leur stile & routine trouuent tousiours quelque alibi pour accrocher vn procez, & avec cela les

to impress upon them to expedite promptly the suits, without amusing themselves with so many superfluous formalities. The judgments must not be rushed, but they must also not be put off when the right is apparent, under color of little frauds coming from the invention of those who not having a good case do not wish ever to stop litigation. There is in this however, no fault of the judges, who are too slow in reporting a trial, and are too indulgent towards pettifoggers, who do not want excuses to delay or mix up a case. Judges must repel, or even punish those individuals, because they give cause to the people to murmur against the most saintly order of the world, seeing that one has so much trouble to obtain justice. To give judgment upon trials is not so difficult a matter that one must bring it so many delays. If the question is one of facts, the inquest or information clears it up, which does not require great subtlety. The questions of law are for the most part pre-judged by the laws, edicts, customs and decrees that have been given on one's fellow beings. For accidents and negotiations are included in well determined numbers. If there is some circumstance that varies them, one can easily see if it is important. But one often makes of a fly an elephant, and the practitioners with their style and routine always find some small alibi on which to hang a suit, and with that the barristers instead

iurisconsultes au lieu de desvelopervn fait, ont acoustumé de l'obscurcir par leurs interpretations. Ce vice ne leur est pas familier d'aujourd'huy. Il y a plus de seize cens ans que Ciceron s'est plainct des consultans de son aage qui pour paroistre habiles en leur mestier, d'une hypothese simple en faisoient plusieurs, vsans de diuisions & subdiuisions afin de rendre la chose plus difficile. Le texte des loix est clair & intelligible. S'il y a quelque défaut, que les iuges le suppleent par leur sagesse & equité, sans auoir recours à vne milliasse d'interpretes qui] ne s'accordent entr'eux non plus que les horloges, & causent des scrupules & distractions d'esprit par la diuersité de leur opinions. Ce qui engendre & nourrit les procez, & les fait durer si longuement qu'on n'en peut voir la fin. C'est pourquoy les peuplades d'Hespagnols aux Indes auoient raison de prier leur Roy de ne leur enuoyer aucuns Aduocats. Car les peuples grossiers viuans à la naturelle sont plus à leur ayse que ceux qui employent leur subtilité en tromperies. Mais puis que les procez sont si ordinaires aux nations de l'Europe qu'on n'en peut couper la racine, il faut empescher qu'ils ne pullulent, & donner ordre qu'ils soient iugez le plus promptement que faire se pourra. Le Senat Romain auoit vne belle coustume en causes criminelles de continuer l'audience trois iours consecutifs, pendant lesquels ils escoutoient les parties tout à



of clearing up a fact, have the habit of obscuring it by their interpretations. This vice is not familiar to them from to-day. There are more than sixteen hundred years since Cicero complained of those advisers of his time who in order to appear able in their profession, out of a simple hypothesis made several, making use of divisions and subdivisions in order to make the matter more difficult. The text of the laws is clear and intelligible. If there are some faults, let the judges supplement them by their wisdom and equity, without referring to a million of interpreters who no more agree among themselves than clocks, and cause scruples and distraction of thought by the diversity of their opinions, which engenders and nourishes trials, and causes them to last so long that one cannot see their end. It is for that the settlements of Spaniards in the Indies were right in asking their King not to send them any barristers. For the simple peoples living in a state of nature are more at their ease than those who employ their subtleties in deceit. But since suits are so common among the nations of Europe that one cannot cut their roots, one must prevent their swarming, and give order that they be decided as promptly as possible. The Roman Senate had a good custom in criminal cases of continuing the sitting three consecutive days, during which they listened to the parties at their leisure, with

loisir, avec les tesmoins, & ne sortoient point de la chambre auparauant que le Soleil fut couché. Et pour le regard des causes ciuiles Vespasian y  
 168 pourueut sagement. Car ayant] recogneu les roolles qui s'estoient enflez par l'iniure du temps, il choisit des hommes ausquels il donna commission de reuoir soigneusement & iuger les procez qui sembloient ne pouuoir estre terminez durant la vie des parties. Vn procez est de mauuaise garde. Il produict de pareils effects que les armes, & n'y a rien qui appauurisse plus vn peuple en temps de paix si vous exceptez les tailles, qui donnent subiect de grandes plaintes. Je ne serois pas d'aduis qu'on fit comme Neron qui resolut d'affranchir de subsidies tous ses subiects: Vn Monarque a besoin de quelques contributions pour entretenir sa grandeur, & assurer son estat, mais il doibt en cecy vser de moderation, sans s'amuser à la maxime de certains flateurs. *Qu'il n'y a pire greffe que celle d'un peuple.* Tels hommes rompent l'amitié mutuelle qui doit estre entre le Prince & ses subiects. Les Histoires nous donnent infinis exemples des changemens qui arriuent à vn estat à l'occasion des impôts. Et puis que les tailles n'ont esté premierement  
 169 donnees que pour subuenir aux frais] de la guerre, & mesmes que nos Roys protestent de les abolir ceste cause cessante, quel pretexte auront ils de les continuer en vne paix generale? Or le plus grand mal que l'on commette en cela, gist en la proce-

the witnesses, and did not leave the hall until the sun had set. And as regards civil cases, Vespasian provided wisely. For having recognized that the rolls were filled through the wrongs of time, he chose men to whom he gave commission to carefully look over and decide the cases that seemed, as if they could not be terminated during the lifetime of the contestants. A lawsuit is a bad thing to keep. It produces similar results as arms, and there is nothing that impoverishes more a people in times of peace if you except the taxes, which are the cause of much complaint. I am not of the opinion that one should do as did Nero who decided to free from subsidies all his subjects: A monarch has need of some contributions to maintain his grandeur, and assure his State, but he must in this make use of moderation, without amusing himself with the maxim of some flatterers. *That there is no worse graft than that of a poor people.* Such men break the mutual friendship that should exist between the Prince and his subjects. Histories give us infinite examples of the changes that happen to a State on the occasion of taxation. And since the taxes were first ordered only to pay the cost of war, and since our Kings even protest that they will abolish them when this cause ceases, what pretext will they have for continuing them during a general peace? Now the greatest harm committed in this matter lies in the manner of raising

dure de la leuee des deniers. Car on ne se contente pas de taxer les pauures autant que les riches, le plus souuent ceux-cy ne payent rien & ceux-là supportent tout le faix. Pour à quoy remedier les tailles deuroient estre par tout reelles, comme elles sont en Prouence & Languedoc, ou mixtes ainsi qu'elles estoient en la ville de Rome, ou chacun payoit l'impost selon ses moyens lesquels il bailloit par declaration, & on punissoit rigoureusement ceux qui celoient leurs biens. On a voulu depuis peu remettre ceste coustume, mais quelques vns l'ont empesché par des raisons assez friuoles. Car les Romains s'en sont bien trouuez, & Tite Liue la louë comme la plus belle police & la plus salutaire que puisse auoir vne grande monarchie, attendu que par ce denombrement on verroit non seulement  
170 ses richesses, mais aussi ses forces qui consi]stent en la multitude du peuple. On enregistreroit l'aage, la force & la qualité des habitans, & ainsi on cognoistroit combien on pourroit fournir & entretenir des gens de guerre en vne necessité. Le dernier Empereur de Constantinople voyant que le Turc s'aprestoitoit pour enuahir son estat, s'aduisa, mais bien tard, de faire vn denombrement de sa ville capitale, où il trouua si petit nombre de combattans, qu'il fut contraict de le celer, enioignant à ceux qui en auoient dressé le registre de le tenir secret. Que si dés le commencement de son Regne il eust recogneu son peuple, il eust eu loisir d'y pouruoir. Or laissant

the revenue. For one is not satisfied in taxing the poor as much as the rich, the more often the latter pay nothing and the former bear the whole burden. In order to remedy this the taxes should be everywhere on realty, as they are in Provence and Languedoc, or mixed as they were in the city of Rome, where each one paid the tax according to his means, of which he made a declaration, and they punished severely those who hid their wealth. One has wished recently to restore this custom, but a few prevented it by reasons sufficiently frivolous. For the Romans succeeded well with it, and Titus Livius praises it as the finest regulation and the most wholesome that a great monarchy can have, since by this census one sees not only its wealth, but also its strength which consists in the number of the people. They registered the age, the strength and the occupation of the inhabitants, and thus they knew how much they could furnish and maintain of men at arms in a case of necessity. The last Emperor of Constantinople seeing that the Turk was preparing to invade his State, decided, but very late, to take a census of his capital city, where he found such a small number of combatants, that he was forced to hide it, telling those who had prepared the registration to keep it a secret. But if from the beginning of his reign he had known about his people, he would have had time to provide for it. Now leaving aside the

à part les autres vtilitez qu'on peut tirer du denombrement des personnes & des biens, il est aisé à iuger, comme il est important pour le faict dont il est question, afin que chacun soit cottisé à raison de ce qu'il peut payer. Autrement les pauvres seront iniquement foulez en la leuee des imposts, en laquelle il se trouue encore vn autre mal. C'est que les deniers passent par tant de mains, speciale-

171 ment en France, qu'on a remonstré n'a]gues à vn de nos Roys, que d'vn escu il n'entroit pas vn teston en ses coffres, le reste estant employé aux frais des officiers. Les Turcs se donnent bien garde de cela, & ont fort peu de gens qui manient les finances. Mais quoy? ils ne vendent point les estats: & ne les font hereditaires. Conclusion. Ce sont deux mauuais pilliers de monarchie que les imposts excessifs & la venalité des offices. Le Prince a d'autres moyens plus legitimes: & quand il n'auroit que son domaine & ses droicts ordinaires, il auroit dequoy magnifiquement entretenir son train, sans inuenter nouueux subsides. Et si le domaine est engagé ou aliené, par le malheur du temps passé, il le doibt rachepter. Car on sçait qu'il n'est iamais vendu la moitié de ce qu'il vaut, & le peuple contribueroit volontiers pourvn si bon effet, afin d'estre deschargé des exactions qu'il supporte. C'est par là qu'vn Prince doit commencer le mesnage de ses finances, lesquelles cependant

other utilities that can be obtained from a census of the individuals and the wealth, it is easy to judge, how important it is for the fact under discussion, in order that each one shall be taxed in proportion to what he can pay. Otherwise the poor will be iniquitously crushed in the raising of the taxes, in which there is found also another evil. It is that the moneys pass through so many hands, specially in France, that it was demonstrated erstwhile to one of our Kings, that of an *ecu* there was not a *teston* entered into his coffers, the rest being employed for the benefit of his officers. The Turks take good care of that, and have very few people who attend to the finances. But what? they do not sell the States: and they do not make them hereditary. Conclusion. They are two bad plunderers of a monarchy the excessive taxes and the venality of the office holders. The Prince has many other more legitimate means: even if he had only his domain and his ordinary rights, he would have enough to magnificently maintain his court, without inventing new subsidies. And if the domain is engaged or alienated, by the mishaps of past times, he should buy it back. For one knows that it is never sold for the half which it is worth, and the people would willingly pay towards so good a result, in order to be discharged of the burdens which it supports. It is thereby that a Prince must begin the husbanding of his finances, which however,

il peut augmenter honnestement parvne imposition sur les marchandises qui se transporteront hors de son pays, & sur celles qui y] seront apportees. Vn Prince doibt auoir part au profit de ceux qui trafiquent en sa seigneurie, ou des biens d'icelle. Et si les marchandises qui se transportent sont necessaires à la vie humaine, il n'y a point de danger qu'il mette sus elles vn bon impost, comme aussi sur les delicatesses, friandises & superfluitez qui seront apportees en son Royaume. En quoy il n'est pas besoing de faire distinction entre le marchand subiect & l'estranger, comme plusieurs Princes font aujourd'huy. Car la condition du trafic doibt estre par tout esgalle, principalement en vne paix vniuerselle, où il est question de se maintenir en bonne intelligence avec tout le monde. Mais si le Prince veut bien faire son profit, il trafiquera, & aura des vaisseux sur mer pour negotier aussi bien que les particuliers. Pourquoi ne prendra-il pas le train d'vn marchand plustost que d'vn tyran ou exacteur? C'est folie de penser que la negotiation deroge à la noblesse. Cela est bon à dire pour des merciers, tauerniers, & autres petits courtaux de boutique, & non pour des hommes] qui enuoyent leurs facteurs en diuerses provinces, pour faire vn porfit honneste en accommodant le public. Aussi beaucoup de Princes aujourd'huy se mocquent de tel scrupule, reconnoissans qu'il n'y a gain plus legitime que celui du trafic. Je ne parle point de la pesche des perles, ny des mines, dont plusieurs Roys



he can honestly augment by a tax on merchandise that is transported out of his country, and on those that are brought to it. A Prince should have a part in the profit of those who trade in his lordship, or in its wealth. And if the merchandise that is transported is necessary to human life, there is no danger that he places upon them a big tax, nor also on the delicacies, dainties, and superfluities that are brought into his Kingdom. In which there is no need to make a distinction between a merchant subject and the stranger, as several Princes do to-day. For the condition of commerce must everywhere be equal, chiefly in a universal peace, where the question is to maintain one's self in good intelligence with all the world. But if the Prince wishes to make good his profit, he will trade, and will have vessels on the sea to negotiate as well as the individuals. Why should he not follow rather the course of a merchant than that of a tyrant or executioner? It is folly to think that commerce degrades nobility. That is all very well to say for haberdashers, tavern keepers, and other little shopkeepers, and not for men who send their agents in various provinces, to make an honest profit by serving the public. Also many Princes to-day mock at such scruples, recognizing that there is no gain more legitimate than that of trade. I do not speak of the pearl fishery, nor of the mines, from which several Kings

tirent de grands profits: ny des confiscations & autres parties casuelles, qui peuuent fort augmenter leurs thresors. Ils ont aussi vn autre moyen iadis pratiqué par les Empereurs de Rome, à sçauoir de bailler argent à interest à raison du denier-vingt, en prenant bonne caution. Cela seroit grandement vtile aux pauures: car ils ne seroient point rançonnez par les vsuriers, & trafiqueroient de l'argent du Prince en payant vn leger interest. D'ailleurs le Prince y gagneroit beaucoup s'il prestoit vne somme notable, & metroit ses finances en seureté. Mais il faudroit premiere-ment desgager son domaine, attendu qu'il n'y a pas d'apparence de prester quand on doit, encore moins de faire prouision de grains, comme il est  
 174 nécessaire pour] obuier à la disette & nécessité publique qui peut suruenir. Aussi c'estoit le plus grand soing qu'eussent les magistrats Romains d'auoir des magazins de bled qu'ils faisoient venir de tous costez, specialement d'Afrique & d'Egypte, dont l'vne leur en fournissoit tous les ans pour huict mois, & l'autre pour quatre. Que si d'aenture le bled estoit cher outre mesure, ils encouroient la hayne du peuple, qui crioit apres eux & souuent les attaquoit en leurs personnes, en leur iettant de la boüe, des pierres, ou du fumier, comme il fit au consul Bibulus. Il n'espargnoit pas mesme les Empe-reurs. Tesmoing Claudius, à qui on ietta des bribes de pain avec iniures atroces en plein marché, & s'il ne se fut sauué, il couroit plus grande

draw much profit: nor of confiscations and other casual things which may greatly augment their treasury. They have also another means formerly practiced by the Emperors of Rome, to wit, to loan money at interest at the rate of one twentieth, and taking good security. That would be very useful to the poor: for they would not be fleeced by the usurers, and they would use the money of the Prince by paying a small interest. Moreover the Prince would gain much thereby if he lent a large sum, and placed his finances in safety. But it would be necessary first to free his domain, since there is no chance of lending when one owes, still less to make provisions of grain, as is necessary to avoid famine and public difficulties that may arise. And indeed it was the greatest care of the Roman magistrates to have stores of wheat that they had caused to come from all sides, especially from Africa [Tunis] and Egypt, of which the one furnished them every year for eight months, and the other for four. And if perchance the wheat was too excessively dear, they aroused the hatred of the people, who cried after them and often attacked their persons, by throwing mud or stones, or manure at them, as they did at the Consul Bibulus. They did not spare even the Emperors. Witness Claudius, at whom they threw hunches of bread garnished with terrible curses in the open market place, and if he had not run him-

fortune. Le bon Antonin receut des coups de pierre en vne semblable mutinerie, laquelle on peut prevenir, si à l'exemple de Ioseph on faict prouision de bled pour plusieurs annees, qui soit diligemment gardé & renouelé és greniers publics qui pour cét effects seront establis en chaque ville, 175 comme ils estoient iadis] & sont encore en quelques citez bien policees. Mais il n'est pas expedient de donner gratuitement le bled, selon la coustume de Rome, d'autant que cela causeroit vne oisueté au peuple, & espuiseroit les finances: encore moins faut il imiter Nicephore Phocas qui renplissoit ses greniers de froment & le reuendoit à son plaisir en la chere annee. Il suffit d'en faire vn amas pour le distribuer à iuste prix en vn temps de sterilité, & famine. En quoy le Prince monstrera sa preuoyance & le soing qu'il a de ses subiects, qui grondent, quand ils ne voient point le bled au marché, & imputent à leur souuerain le malheur d'vne annee, comme s'il deuoit estre garand de la temperature de l'air & faueur du ciel. Et de faict les Roys des Indes s'obligent par serment solemnel à leur sacre, de faire en sorte que le Soleil continuera son cours, & la terre produira vne abondance de fruiets. Il faut donc contenter le peuple de ce costé là, veu que sur toutes choses il demande du pain & des ieux, selon le dire du poëte satyrique. Ce

self, he might have had to face much worse. The good Antonius was hit by many stones in a riot of this kind, which can be avoided, if according to the example of Joseph one makes provision of wheat for several years, which is carefully guarded and renewed in public granaries which for this purpose should be established in each city as they were formerly, and are still in a few well regulated cities. But it is not expedient to give gratuitously wheat, according to the custom of Rome, since that would cause idleness among the people, and would exhaust the finances: still less must one imitate Nicephorus Phocas who filled his granaries with wheat and resold it at his pleasure in the years when it was expensive. It suffices to amass enough to distribute it at a fair price in a time of sterility, and famine. In which the Prince will show his foresight and the care that he has of his subjects, who scold, when they do not see wheat in the market, and impute to their sovereign the mishap of a year, as if he should be answerable for the temperature of the air and favor of the heavens. And in fact the Kings of the Indies bind themselves by solemn oath when at their coronation, to so act that the sun shall continue on its course, and the earth shall produce an abundance of fruits. It is necessary therefore to content the people on that side, seeing that beyond everything they demand bread and games, according to the saying of the

176 qui vient à propos pour nostre sixiesme moyen, à  
 sçauoir recrea]tion licite, enlaquelle il est bon d'en-  
 tretenir les hommes pour les diuertir des mauuaises  
 pensees. Car puis que tous le monde se porte  
 naturellement à la volupté, c'est prudence à vn  
 Prince de donner ou permettre à son peuple quel-  
 que honneste passetemps & plasir licite, speciale-  
 ment les ieux de prix, les spectacles du theatre,  
 & autres exercices recreatifs, qui ne diminuent  
 point le partrimoine, profitent aux corps, & ap-  
 portent du contentement à l'esprit. A ceste fin  
 tendoient les combats de luicte, de course, & les  
 concerts de Poësie & musique anciennement vsitez,  
 non seulement pour fortifier le corps & exciter  
 l'industrie de ceux qui contestoient, mais aussi  
 pour resioür les assistans. Les tragedies & come-  
 dies auoient vn mesme but, esquelles les Atheniens  
 employoient le reuenue de leur hostel de ville, &  
 eslisoient vn magistrat particulier pour fournir aux  
 frais des basteleurs. Les Romains les imitoient voire  
 les surpassoient en cela. Car outre le plaisir qu'ils  
 prenoient aux ieux du theatre, ils auoient les spec-  
 177 tales de la carriere, du Colisee des] Naumachies,  
 que les Magistrats faisoient magnifiquement rep-  
 resenter à l'enui l'vn de l'autre. Plusieurs re-  
 prouent les comedies, comme pernicieuses aux  
 bonnes meurs à cause de leur lasciueté. Les Mas-  
 siliens les auoient en horreur, & les defendoient  
 expressement. Mais leur consideration n'estoit

satirical poet. This leads to our sixth method, to wit, lawful recreation, with which it is well to keep men entertained in order to divert them from bad thoughts. For since all the world tends naturally towards voluptuousness, it is prudent in a Prince to give or permit his people some honest pastimes and legitimate pleasures, specially the games for prizes, the shows of the theater and other recreative exercises, which do not diminish the patrimony, do good to the body, and bring contentment to the mind. To this end tended the contests of wrestling, of racing, and the concerts of poetry and music common in the olden times, not only to strengthen the bodies and excite the industry of those who contested, but also to rejoice the spectators. The tragedies and comedies had a similar aim, to which the Athenians employed the revenue of their city hall, and elected a magistrate especially to provide for the cost of the contestants. The Romans imitated them, even surpassed them in that. For besides the pleasure that they took in the plays of the theater, they had the shows of the racecourse, of the Coliseum, of the Naumachia, which the magistrates caused to be magnificently carried out, each trying to surpass the other. Some condemn the comedies, as being pernicious to good morals because of their lasciviousness. The Massilians held them in horror, and expressly forbade them. But their judgment was not good.

pas vailable. Car il ne faut iamais rebuter vne chose pour vn abus qui s'y commet. Que s'il eschappe aux basteleurs parmy tant de discours vn traict lascif, leur art pour cela n'en doit pas estre moins estimé, veu qu'il n'est qu'un image de la vie, vne representation de ce qui se faict, & non pas vne exhortation de ce qui se doit faire. N'est-il pas ridicule, de blasmer la comedie, & en donner le subiect, de se plaie aux actions vitieuses, & detester les paroles des mesme qualité? Les hommes ne sortent point du theatre plus mal morigerez. Il sont corrompus auparauint que d'y venir. Qu'ils se reforment bien en leur maison: on ne fera plus de farce ny de comedie. Qu'ils donnent bon exemple à leur famille, il n'auront dequoy craindre la corruption de la] 178 ieunesse. Mais tandis qu'ils feront des meschancetez ou vilenies, il sera besoing de les mettre en euidence, afin que le peuple les euite, ou s'en mocque. Telle recreation est approuuee par Aristote, & mesmes les principaux Docteurs des Chrestiens la recommandent avec certaines modifications, comme chose tres-necessaire. Pource que l'homme estant composé d'ame & de corps, & ces deux substances estans bornees elles ne peuuent pas supporter vn perpetuel trauail: partant il leur faut donner quelque relasche, & delectation, laquelle on ne leur peut mieux procurer que par les ieux du theatre, qui resiouissent egaleme[n]t la veuë & l'ouye; en quoy consistent les voluptez que les



For one must never harshly reject a thing because an abuse is committed in it. For if there escapes from the montebanks among so many discourses some wanton speech, their art must not on that account be esteemed less, seeing that it is only an image of life, a representation of what happens, and not an exhortation of what should be done. Is it not ridiculous to blame comedy, and to abuse the subject, to please one's self with vicious actions, and detest the words of the same qualities? Men do not go out of the theater more badly disposed. They are corrupted before going there. Let them reform themselves well in their household: they would make no more farces or comedies. Let them give good example to their family, they will have no cause to fear the corruption of youth. But as long as they commit wrongs or evil actions, it will be necessary to point them out, so that the people may avoid them, or mock at them. Such recreation is approved by Aristotle, and even the chief doctors of the Christians recommend it with certain modifications, as a very necessary thing. Because man being composed of soul and body, and these two substances being limited they cannot bear continuous work: therefore some let up must be given them, and delectation, which one cannot better offer them than by the plays of the theater, which rejoice equally sight and hearing; in which consist the pleasures that the philoso-

Philosophes appellent humaines, afin de les distinguer des voluptez brutales, à sçavoir celles du goust & de l'attouchement. Bref on ne doit interdire ce passetemps, puis que le sage Socrate vient ouir le bouffon Aristophane, & le graue Caton desire voir les florales. Toutesfois pour donner plaisir sans scandale, rien ne me semble plus] propre que la musique, de laquelle tout homme est amoureux, exceptez quelques mechaniques ou bien ceux qui ont l'ame mal disposee. Certainement nos esprit ont vne grande inclination à l'harmonie, & goustent sa douceur avec plus d'attention & rauissement que toute autre chose. Ses merueilleux effects ont contrainct les deux plus politiques Philosophes de dire que pour regler les mœurs il falloit apporter vn reglement à la musique, & que d'icelle dependoit la manutention d'un estat. Je ne m'arresteray pas à examiner ceste maxime, mais il faut aduoüer qu'il n'y a chose qui puisse plus addoucir les hommes & les rendre paisibles. Tesmoing ce peuple d'Arcadie, qui deuint farouche & cruel, pour auoir quitté la musique, en laquelle selon la coustume du pays vn chacun estoit tenu de s'exercer iusques à l'aage de trente ans. A quoy l'Empereur Solyman deuoit penser, lors que le Roy François premier luy enuoya par forme de present des chantres avec luths, violes, & musique choisie. Il eut quelque temps la patience de les

179 ouyr; mais voyant que sa cour y prenoit] plaisir, il

180

phers call human, so as to distinguish them from the brutal pleasures, to wit, those of the taste and of the touch. Briefly one must not stop this pastime, since the wise Socrates comes to hear the buffoon Aristophanes, and the grave Cato desires to see the floral games. Nevertheless to give pleasure without scandal, nothing seems to me more appropriate than music, of which every man is an admirer, except a few mechanical ones or those who have deranged minds. Certainly our souls have a great inclination towards harmony, and taste its sweetness with more attention and charm than any other thing. Its marvelous effects have forced the two most politic philosophers to say that in order to regulate morals it was necessary to give a regulation to music, and that from this depended the maintenance of the State. I shall not stop to examine this maxim, but one must avow that there is nothing that can more soften men and render them peaceable. Witness that people of Arcadia, which became ferocious and cruel, because they had abandoned music, in which according to the custom of the country every one was required to practice himself until the age of thirty years. Of what must the Emperor Solyman have thought, when King Francis the First sent him as a present singers with lutes, violas and selected music. He had the patience to listen to them for some time; but seeing that his court took pleasure in it, he

renuoya les musiciens, & fit ietter dans le feu leurs instrumens & leurs liures. Ceste action est barbare, & a pour fondement vne fausse opinion à sçauoir, que la musique rend les hommes effeminez, comme si Achilles eust perdu sa generosité en iouant de sa lyre, où les Lacedemoniens eussent esté moins vaillans qui alloient au combat au son des flustes. La musique n'emousse aucunement la pointe des courages, au contraire elle nous anime à la vertu par vn secret enthousiasme, en touchant l'ame d'vn celeste plisir, & desracinant peu à peu toute inhumanité & felonnie. Le vulgaire appelle cela delicatesses & lascheté, en quoy il se trompe, attendu que ces vices n'ont rien de commun avec la douceur & mansuetude, vertus conuenables à l'homme. Et quand la musique apportera quelque alteration aux meurs, comme les choses les plus salutaires aucunes fois sont mal appliquees par la faute de ceux qui en vsent, ce sera le deuoir des censeurs d'y apporter remede, aussi bien qu'aux autres abus. Ce magistrat est necessaire

181 pour l'accomplissement] d'vne parfaite police. Sa charge consiste à faire le denombrement, & à reformer les mœurs. Quant au denombrement nous en auons monstré les vtilitez. Mais la reformation est encore de plus grande consequence. Car on ne peut bien esperer d'vn Royaume, où les meurs sont desreglees. Les iuges n'y donnent point ordre, pour ce qu'ils ne punissent que les crimes, & passent par conuenance beaucoup de vices

sent back the musicians, and had the instruments and the books thrown into the fire. This action is barbarous, and has, for its base a false notion, to wit, that music renders men effeminate, as if Achilles would have lost his generosity in playing on his lyre, or the Lacedemonians would have been less valiant because they advanced to combat to the sound of flutes. Music does not blunt in any way the shafts of courage, on the contrary it urges us to virtue by a secret enthusiasm, by touching the soul with a celestial pleasure, and uprooting little by little all inhumanity and felony. The vulgar calls that weakness and cowardice, in which he is mistaken, since those vices have nothing in common with sweetness and modesty, virtues befitting man. And even if music should bring some changes in morals, as the most wholesome things are sometimes ill applied by the fault of those who make use of them, it will be the duty of the censors to bring a remedy to this, as well as to the other abuses. This magistrate is necessary for the carrying out of a proper policy. His work consists in taking the census, and in reforming the morals. As for the census we have shown its usefulness. But the reformation is of still greater consequence. For one cannot have much hope for a kingdom where the morals are irregular. The judges do not attend to this, because they only punish crimes, and overlook through connivance many vices which in-

qui minent insensiblement vn estat. Ils ne contreroolent point les enfans desobeïssans à leur pere, ils laissent viure à la desbandade les rufiens, maquereaux, pariures, ioïeurs, breslandiers, yurongnes, querelleux, & faineans. Et neantmoins de telles gens viennent les seditions & ruines des republicues. Je sçay bien qu'il ne les faut pas punir si rigoureusement que les voleurs & meurtriers: ausi la puissance des censeurs ne s'estend pas iusques-là que de condamner à mort ny mesme à emprisonnement. Tout ce qu'ils pouuoient faire à Rome, c'est de noter publiquement ceux qui viuoient mal, en degradant vn chacun selon sa qualité. Si] le delinquant estoit Senateur, ils luy defendoient l'entree du conseil: ils ostoient l'ordre à vn cheualier, & le droict de bourgeoisie à vn simple citoyen. Ceste ignominie faisoit plus d'effect que toutes les loix & ordonnances des iuges: car encore qu'elle fit plus de honte que de mal, il ne se trouuoit homme si effronté qui ne redoutast le iugement du Censeur. Il est vray que ce magistrat n'estoit donné qu'à ceux qui auoient de l'autorité pour leur aage & preud'homme. L'apprehension du dehonneur sert de bride pour arrester les plus meschans: & encore qu'ils fassent profession d'impudence, si est-ce que plusieurs ne veulent pas estre recogneus tels qu'ils sont, ny estre exposez à la mocquerie du peuple, comme ils seroient apres auoir esté biffez & ignominieusement traictez par les censeurs.

sensibly undermine a State. They do not control children disobedient to their father, they allow ruffians to live helter-skelter, pimps, perjurers, gamblers, gamblers, drunkards, wranglers, and idlers. And nevertheless from such people come the seditions and the ruin of republics. I know well that they must not be punished so rigorously as robbers and murderers: also that the power of the censors does not extend so far as to condemn to death nor even to imprisonment. All that they could do at Rome, was to note publicly those who lived badly, by degrading each one according to his quality. If the delinquent was Senator, they forbade him the entry to the council: they took away his rank from a knight, and the burgher right from a simple citizen. This ignominy had more effect than all the laws and ordinances of the judges: for even though it caused more shame than injury, there was not a man so bold that he did not dread the judgment of the censor. It is true that that office was not given except to those who had authority through their age and goodness. The apprehension of dishonor serves as a check to halt the most wicked: and even if they make profession of impudence, yet it is a fact that many do not wish to be recognized for what they are, nor be exposed to the mockery of the people, as they would be after having been scratched out and ignominiously treated by the censors. One would

On verroit alors ces vauriens aller la teste baissee, n'oser paroistre en compagnie: on les monstreroit au doigt, afin de les fuir comme pestes. Ce qui seruiroit d'exemple pour apprendre à viure honnestement. Quelqu'un pourra dire

183 que ce temps ne reçoit pas vne] telle seuerité, & que les hommes d'aujourd'huy ne se gouvernent pas à la façon des anciens. Et ie responds que ceste maxime est fausse, & contraire a l'experience, à la raison, & à l'authorité du sage qui nous enseigne. *Que rien ne se voit nouveau sous le Soleil.* Les actions & euenemens sont nouveaux en leur indiuidu, mais les especes ont tousiours esté comme à present. Les mesmes causes qui ont iadis conserué les monarchies, les peuuent encore maintenir, & aussi elles se ruinent par les mesmes moyens que le temps passé. C'est vne lascheté de courage ou vne malice extreme de voir le desordre, & n'y vouloir appliquer le remede, & quand on propose quelque expedient d'alleguer pour toute raison, que c'est vne police du vieil temps. Telles reparties sont familiares à ceux qui ne sçauent que dire, ou qui ne trouuent rien de bon, que ce qui vient de leur ceruelle. Aussi ce n'est pas à eux à qui on doit demander conseil, touchant le restablissement de la censure.

184 S'il est question de confisquer les mauuaises marchandises,] on ne prendra pas conseil de ceux qui les vendent. Quand les legislatureurs ont ordonné des peines, ils n'ont pas consideré les affections des coupables, & ne leur ont pas demandé



see then those scamps go with downcast head, not daring to appear in society: one would point them out with the finger, in order to flee from them like a pestilence, which would serve as an example to learn to live honestly. Some one may say that this present time does not need such severity, and that the men of to-day are not governed in the manner of the ancients. And I reply that this maxim is false, and contrary to experience, reason, and the authority of the sage who taught us. *That nothing new is seen under the sun.* Actions and events are new in each individual case, but the species have always been the same as at present. The same causes that formerly preserved monarchies, can still maintain them, and also they are ruined by the same means as in the past. It is a want of courage or an extreme maliciousness to see disorder, and not wish to apply to it a remedy, and when one proposes some expedient, to declare for sole reason, that it is a regulation of ancient times. Such answers are familiar to those who do not know what to say, or who find nothing good, except what comes from their own brain. Therefore it is not to them that one must turn for advice as regards the re-establishment of the censorship. If it is a question of confiscating bad merchandises, one would not take advice from those who sell them. When the legislators have ordered punishments, they did not consider the desires of the guilty, and did not

aduis. Que les Roys donc remettent la censure, sans auoir esgard à ceux qui s'ytrouuent interessez, & qu'ils ne mettent point en deliberation s'il faut reformer les meurs, puis que c'est vne chose necessaire qui a maintenu si long temps l'Empire Romain, & de laquelle encore aujourd'huy quelques republiques se seruent. Or pour bien enfourner ceste reformation il la faut commencer par l'instruction de la ieunesse, de laquelle iadis on auoit tant de soing, & maintenant on n'en tient quasi conte, pource que les Magistrats s'en rapportent aux parens, & ceux-cy laschent la bride à leurs enfans. Ce qui est dautant plus dangereux en ce temps que la puissance des peres est aneantie. Car lors qu'ils auoient authorité souueraine sur les enfans, ils les chastioient selon leur volonté, & mesmes les faisoient mourir sans cognoissance de cause, la iustice presupposant qu'un] homme ne seroit pas si desnaturé de battre ou tuer son fils sansvn grand subiet. Maintenant que la crainte de ceste puissance paternelle est ostee, & que les enfans se licentient de telle sorte, qu'ils font la loy à leurs peres, & aucunesfois les outragent d'effect ou de parole, pour euiter les malheurs qui en peuuent arriuer, il faut que la republique entreprenne ceste charge, & qu'elle commette des magistrats pour auoir soing particulier de ces ieunes plantes, afin qu'elles produisent de bon fructs. Les Lacedemoniens entendoient bien cela,

ask them for advice. Let the Kings then restore the censorship, without regard for those who are interested in it, and let them not permit to be debated whether morals should be reformed, since it is a necessary thing that maintained the Roman Empire such a long time, and of which to-day a few republics still make use. Now to properly start this reformation it must be begun by instructing the youth, of whom formerly one took so much care, and now of which one now takes scarcely any, because the magistrates refer this matter to the parents, and these latter give a loose rein to their children. Which is all the more dangerous in these times that the power of the fathers is crushed. For when they had sovereign authority over the children, they punished them according to their will, and even caused them to die without knowing the reason, justice presupposing that a man would not be so unnatural as to beat or kill his son without some great cause. Now that the fear of this paternal punishment is taken away, and that the children free themselves to such an extent, that they lay down the law to their parents, and sometimes outrage them by deed or word, in order to avoid the evils that can result therefrom, the republic must undertake this charge, and that it commissions magistrates to have particular care of these young plants, in order that they produce good fruits. The Lacedemonians understood that

qui ne permettoient pas aux peres de nourrir leurs enfans à leur mode, mais les distribuoiēt par bandes dès l'aage de sept ans, & les donnoient en charge à vn Magistrat estably pour cest effect, qui les faisoit boire & manger ensemble publiquement, & les accoustumoit à mesmes exercices. Mais ils failloient en ce qu'ils ne leur monstroient principalement qu'à luicter, & à se battre. Car outre ce que la luicte est trop violente & peut facilement gaster le tendre corps des enfans, ils apprenoiēt à deuenir fiers, querelleux] & barbares, qui sont qualitez indignes d'une publique discipline. Aristote trouue plus à propos de les instruire aux arts liberaux. Et pour en parler plus distinctement, ie conseillerois que iusques à quatorze ans, on leur fit apprendre à lire, escrire, & compter: d'auantage qu'on leur donnast la cognoissance des loix & antiquitez de leur pays, à la façon des enfans Romains qui apprenoiēt par cœur les loix des douze tables. Les Candiots mettoient leurs ordonnances en musique, afin de les faire couler dans les tendres esprits avec plus de facilité & plaisir. Outre cela, ils leur monstroient les hymnes composez en la louange des Dieux & des hommes illustres. C'estoient toutes leçons d'honneur, & qui meritent d'estre renouvelles. Je serois aussi d'aduis qu'on enseignast aux enfans les langues estrangeres qui ont plus de vogue parmy leurs compatriotes, comme la Grecque & Latine entre les Chres-

well, who did not permit the fathers to nourish their children in their own way, but distributed them in bands at the age of seven, and gave them in charge of a magistrate appointed for that purpose, who made them drink and eat together publicly, and accustomed them to the same exercises. But they failed in that they did not show them much except how to struggle, and to fight. For besides that wrestling is too violent and can easily injure the tender body of children, they learnt to become proud, quarrelsome and barbarous, which are qualities unworthy of public discipline. Aristotle finds it more to the point to instruct them in the liberal arts. And to speak more distinctly of this I should counsel that until the age of fourteen years, they should be taught to read, write, and count: in addition they should be given a knowledge of the laws and antiquities of their country, according to the fashion of the Roman children who learnt by heart the laws of the twelve tables. The Candiots set their regulations to music, in order to make them glide into the young souls with more facility and pleasure. Besides that, they showed them the hymns composed in praise of the Gods and of the illustrious men. These were all lessons of honor, and which merit to be renewed. I should also be of the opinion that the children be taught foreign languages which are most in use among their compatriots, like Greek and Latin among

tiens, & l'Arabique entre les Mahumetains. Ceste science ne leur seroit point inutile, elle esclairceroit leurs esprits, & leur apporteroit du contentement quand ils se]roient plus grands, s'ils vouloient s'advancer plus auant és estudes de Theologie, medecine, iurisprudence & Philosophie: sinon, ils pourroient tousiours se vanter de n'auoir point passe inutilement leur enfance, comme font plusieurs qui sont accoustumez dés le berceau à niaiser & folastrer, en sorte qu'au bout du temps ils ne sçauent que des sotises. Ne vaut-il pas mieux faire guster aux enfans les bonnes disciplines, en attendant qu'ils soient plus robustes, & alors il sera bon de leur faire exercer alternatiuement le corps & l'esprit, afin qu'ils sçachent non seulement bien dire & iuger de toutes choses, mais aussi se defendre courageusement en vne necessité. A ceste fin depuis quatorze ans ils apprennent à manier vn cheual, nager, sauter, & tirer des armes, en continuant toutesfois leurs premiers exercices cy dessus specifiez iusques à l'aage de 18. ans. Et alors on les rendroit à leurs peres, qui receuroient vn extreme plaisir. Et comme les Gaulois ne vouloient voir leurs enfans qu'ils ne fussent propres à porter les armes, aussi chacun se resiouïroit voyant son fils capable] de paroistre en guerre & en paix. Il luy feroit prendre vne vacation sortable à sa qualité, & au lieu que les enfans auourd'huy sont reuesches, il le trouueroit souple

Christians, and Arabic between Mohammetans. This science would not be useless for them, it would enlighten their minds, and would bring them assistance when they are grown up, if they should wish to advance further in the studies of theology, medicine, jurisprudence and philosophy: if not, they can always boast of not having uselessly passed their childhood, as do some who are accustomed from the cradle to fool and play, so that at the end of time they know nothing but absurdities. Is it not better to make the children taste good discipline, while waiting for them to become stronger, and then it will be well to make them exercise alternately the body and the mind, so that they may know not only how to speak well and judge well of all things, but also how to defend themselves courageously in case of necessity. To this end from fourteen years they will learn how to ride a horse, swim, jump, and fire arms, continuing nevertheless their first exercises above specified until the age of eighteen years. And then they would be returned to their fathers, who would receive an extreme pleasure. And as the Gauls did not wish to see their children unless they were fitted to bear arms, so would every one rejoice at seeing his son capable of appearing in war and in peace. He will make him take an occupation suitable to his station, and instead of the children being as to-day headstrong, he would find him pliable to

à ses commandemens, & à la raison, par le moyen de la bonne instruction qu'il auroit receuë. D'autre part le Prince auroit vne pepiniere d'hommes de conseil & de main, qui l'assisteroient au besoing. Il cognoistroit ceux qui le pourroient seruir en quelque façon que ce soit, & sans auoir recours aux estrangers, touueroit entre ses subiects vne infinité de bons officiers soldats & artisans. Certainement il n'y a rien de si grande importance que l'instruction de la ieunesse. C'est le fondement d'un estat, l'appuy de la tranquillité que nous cherchons. Les censeurs donc y doiuent auoir l'œil. Et afin que personne ne s'alentisse d'oisiueté ils contraindront vn chacun de choisir vn genre de vie, apres qu'il sera sorti de l'Academie publique. En quoy ie ne puis approuuer la coutume des *Ægyptiens* & *Lacedemoniens*, qui vouloient que les enfans fussent d'un mesme mestier que leur] pere, tellement que le fils d'un cuisinier estoit cuisinier, & le fils d'un audiencier ne pouuoit aspirer à aucun office plus honorable. C'estoit fermer la porte à la vertu & industrie. Il vaut bien mieux laisser ceste eslection libre aux ieunes hommes, afin qu'ils s'addonnent à vn exercice, où leur naturel & capacité les portera, sous le bon plaisir toutesfois du Prince, duquel ils doiuent estre authorisez pour exercer quelque vacation. Car si tous vouloient estre d'une condition, le public y seroit notablement



his commands, and to reason, on account of the good instruction that he would have received. Besides the Prince will have a nursery of men fitted for council and work, who in case of need would assist him. He would know those who would be able to serve him in any sort of way, and without having recourse to foreigners, would find among his subjects an infinity of good officers, soldiers and artisans. Certainly there is nothing of so great importance as the instruction of youth. It is the foundation of a State, the support of the tranquility which we are seeking. The censors therefore must have their eye upon it. And so that no one may grow dull with idleness they will force each to choose a mode of life, after he shall have come from the public academy. In which I cannot approve the custom of the Egyptians and Lacedemonians, who wished that the children should have the same occupation as the father, so much so that the son of a cook was a cook, and the son of a crier could not aspire to any more honorable office. That was closing the door to virtue and industry. It is much better to leave this selection free to young men, so that they may take up an occupation to which their nature and capacity leads them, subject to the good pleasure however of the Prince, by whom they must be authorized to exercise a calling. For if all wished to be in the same occupation, the public would be notably

interessé. Occasion pourquoy il est besoing d'apporter vn reglement en cecy, afin qu'en vne ville il se trouue toute sorte d'estats suffisamment, & que les vns ne se multiplient excessiuelement au preiudice de la Republique. Car il n'est pas à propos que les subiects soient tous soldats pour les inconueniens qui en peuuent arriuer, qui furent bien preueus par le Roy François, lors qu'il cassa les legionnaires. Il n'est pas aussi expedient d'auoir tant de iuges, Prestres, Religieux, Procureurs, Aduocats, praticiens, & Sergens, dont la grande multitude affoi]blit les Royaumes. Il est besoing que tous ces gens-là soient reduicts à vn certain nombre, & conuenable à l'estenduë de leur ville ou prouince. A quoy les censeurs pourront facilement pourueoir, puis qu'ils ont la charge de faire le denombrement du peuple & d'enregistter les noms & qualitez d'vn chacun. Quant aux Gentilshommes on n'en peut pas regler le nombre, attendu qu'il depend de la fortune des familles nobles. Il suffira de les retenir en leur deuoir par l'aprehension d'vne infamie, au cas qu'ils commettent quelque indignité, & les soubsmettre à la censure comme les autres en ce qui touche le reglement des mœurs. Et pour le regard des laboureurs, artisans, manœuures, & generalement de tous marchands trafiquans par mer ou par terre, la grandeur & le profit des estats depend d'eux totalement, de maniere qu'on ne doit pas en craindre

interested in it. Wherefore there is need to bring this under regulation, so that in a city there are sufficient of all sorts of callings, and that certain ones should not multiply too excessively to the prejudice of the republic. For it is not proper that the subjects should all be soldiers on account of the inconveniences that can result therefrom, which were well foreseen by King Francis, when he broke the legionnaires. It is not also expedient to have so many judges, priests, monks, lawyers, advocates, patricians, and sergeants, of whom a too great multitude weakens kingdoms. It is needful that all those people should be reduced to a certain number, and proportionate to the extent of their city or province. This the censors can easily accomplish, since they have the charge of taking the census of the people and to register the name and occupation of every one. As for the gentry one can not regulate their number, since this depends on the fortunes of the noble families. It will suffice to hold them to their duty through the fear of the discovery of an infamy, in case they should commit some wrong act, and submit them to the censure the same as the others concerning the regulation of morals. And for the case of laborers, artisans, workmen, and generally of all merchants trading by sea or by land, the grandeur and profit of States depends entirely upon them, so that one must not fear multitudes of them.

la multitude. Seulement il faut prendre garde qu'ils n'entreprennent les vns sur les autres, & qu'un chacun se contienne és bornes de son mestier, pour euitier confusion & discorde. Voila  
191 les moyens] d'entretenir la paix particulierement en chaque monarchie. Il y en a d'autres plus vniuersels, qui concernent la bonne intelligence de tous les Souuerains respectiuelement l'un avec l'autre, dont le premier & le plus important est, qu'ils se contentent des limites de leur seigneurie, qui leur seront prescripts par la generale assemblee, de laquelle nous auons parlé. Ce point estant gaigné il faudra aduiser à ce que les particuliers de diuerses nations se puissent hanter & trafiquer ensemble en assurance, & que s'il suruient quelque procez ou dispute entr'eux, que le magistrat du lieu les accorde promptement sans faueur ny acception de personne. Car puis qu'il s'agist d'une paix vniuerselle, il faut rendre la iustice aux estrangers, & ne permettre point qu'ils soient offensez en aucune sorte par les originaires du pays, quand ils y viendront pour leurs affaires ou mesmes pour leur plaisir. Les Romains auoient vn preteur destiné pour iuger les causes des estrangers. Il sera bon de faire le mesme en chaque ville & bourgade,  
192 ou les estrangers sont souuuentefois [*sic*] pillez & outragez impunément par la conniueance des magistrats, qui n'en font aucune raison. Et neantmoins l'iniure faicte à des particuliers cause

Only care must be taken that they do not trespass one upon the other, and that each one contains himself within the bounds of his occupation, in order to avoid confusion and discord. Those are the means to maintain peace especially in each monarchy. There are others more universal, which concern the good relations of all sovereigns respectively one with the other, of which the first and the most important is, that they content themselves with the limits of their lordship, which shall be prescribed to them by the general assembly, of which we have spoken. This point being settled it will be necessary to agree how the individuals of diverse nations can meet and trade together in safety, and that if some trial or dispute arises between them, that the magistrate of the locality will promptly bring them into accord without favor or orders from any one. For since it is a question of a universal peace, justice must be rendered to foreigners, and they must not be permitted to be harmed in any way by natives of the country, when they come there for their business or even for their pleasure. The Romans had an officer appointed to judge the cases of foreigners. It would be a good thing to do the same in each town and borough, where foreigners are often pillaged and outraged with impunity through the connivance of the magistrates, who pay no attention to them. And nevertheless the injury done to individuals

aucunesfois des guerres publiques. Les Suisses se banderent contre le Duc de Bourgogne pour venger le tort fait à vn de leurs Bourgeois à qui on auoit volé vne chartee de peaux de mouton. Or la paix vniuerselle estant establie il n'y a aucune doubte que plusieurs mauuais garnimens s'efforceront de la troubler par toute sorte d'artifices, & pour accomplir leur desseing feront mil indignitez aux marchands forains, & les attaqueront en leurs personnes, ou en leurs biens, afin de les estranger & rompre la communication mutuelle, qui est le seul lien d'amitié & d'alliance. Partant il sera necessaire de peur qu'on ne soit contrainct d'vser de represailles, qui ne font qu'alterer la paix, que chaque Prince prenne en sa sauuegarde les estrangers à l'encontre de ses subiects, au cas qu'ils soient par eux molestez. Je dis à l'encontre de ses subiects, car il n'est pas licite de prester secours à vn homme reuolté contre] son Souuerain. En quoy le Roy François premier fut mal conseillé, quand il receut Robert de la Marche contre Charles cinquiesme Empereur, & pour reparer la faute, quelques annees apres d'vn cœur trop magnanime il refusa les offres tres-aduantageuses des Gantois, qui imploroient son secours contre le dit Prince. Et toutesfois il auoit plus d'occasion de prendre le fait & cause de ces peuples, comme de ceux qui estoient ses naturels subiects, & qui d'ancienneté releuoient de la France. Le Roy Loys vnziesme

causes sometimes public wars. The Swiss banded together against the Duke of Burgundy to avenge the wrong done to one of their burghers from whom was stolen a wagon load of sheep skins. Now universal peace being established there is no doubt that several bad scapegraces will try to disturb it by all sorts of means, and to accomplish their object will commit a thousand indignities on foreign merchants, and will attack their persons, or their goods, in order to estrange and break the mutual interchange, which is the only bond of friendship and alliance. Therefore it will be necessary for fear that one will be forced to make use of reprisals, that only serve to overturn peace, that each Prince shall take foreigners under his protection as against his own subjects, in case that they are molested by them. I say as against his own subjects, for it is right to lend aid to a man in revolt against his sovereign. In which King Francis was badly advised, when he received Robert de la Marche against the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and to repair his fault a few years later with too magnanimous a heart he refused the very advantageous offers of the inhabitants of Ghent, who implored his aid against the said Prince. And nevertheless he had more reason to take the side and cause of those people, as of those who were his natural subjects, and who formerly were dependents of France. King Louis the Eleventh had committed

auoit faict la mesme faute de receuoir les Liegeois en sa protection. C'est pourquoy és traictez de paix on met ordinairement ceste clause, que les Princes alliez ne receuront point les subiects l'un de l'autre si ceux qui se veulent refugier n'ont le consentement de leur Souuerain. Ce qui estoit pratiqué par les peuples confederez de Rome, qui stipuloient expressement, que leurs bourgeois ne seroient points faits citoyens Romains sans leur permission. Aussi nos Annalistes rapportent, que par l'accord faict entre ces deux Roys de] 194 France Gontran & Childebert, il fut dit qu'aucun d'eux ne solliciteroit, & ne retireroit par deuers soy les subiects de son compaignon. Vn semblable article se trouue aux traictez d'alliance entre les Roys de France & les Suysses: car la grandeur des Princes consiste principalement en la multitude des vassaux & subiects, & partant ne faut permettre qu'ils se desbandent, & changent de domicile selon leur volonté: encore moins leur doit-on permettre ceste liberté quand ils ont desobligé leur Souuerain par quelque meschanceté ou desseruice. Au demeurant, nous cherchons vne paix, qui ne soit point fourree, ny pour durer trois iours, mais qui soit volontaire, égale, & permanente: vne paix qui rende à vn chacun ce qui luy appartient, le priuilege au citoyen, l'hospitalité à l'estranger, & à tous indifferemment la liberté de voyage & negotiation. Car les Lacedemoniens auoient tort de



the same fault of receiving the inhabitants of Liege under his protection. It is because of this that in treaties of peace one ordinarily inserts this clause, that allied Princes will not receive the subjects of one another if those who wish to seek a refuge have not the consent of their sovereign. Which was practiced by the confederated peoples of Rome, who expressly stipulated that their burghers should not be made Roman citizens without their permission. Also our chroniclers relate, that by the agreement concluded between the two Kings of France Gontran and Childebert, it was said that neither of them should solicit, and should not draw to himself the subjects of his companion. A similar article is found in the treaties of alliance between the Kings of France and the Swiss: for the grandeur of Princes consists chiefly in the number of vassals and subjects, and therefore they must not be permitted to disband themselves, and change their domicile at will: still less must one grant them this liberty when they have disobeyed their sovereign by some evil deed or lack of service. After all, we seek a peace, which is not patched up, nor for three days, but which is voluntary, equitable, and permanent: a peace which gives to each one what belongs to him, privilege to the citizen, hospitality to the foreigner, and to all indifferently the liberty of travel and trading. For the Lacedemonians were wrong in driving the for-

chasser les estrangers de leur ville. La coustume des Leucaniens est bien plus honneste, qui condamnoient à l'amende celui qui auoit le soir  
 195 refusé son logis à vn] pelerin. Les Atheniens, Candiots, Romains, & tous les braues peuples ont esté hospitaliers, recognoissans que l'homme est vn animal de societé, qui doit accommoder ses voisins de ce qu'il a, & reciproquement aussi recevoir d'eux vne pareille courtoisie.

Or d'autant que le commerce & communication des peuples s'entretient par le moyen de la monnoye, qui va de part & d'autre, il est besoin de regler le prix, le poids, & la loy d'icelle, avec resolution de ne rien innouer en ces choses, pour quelque pretexte que ce soit: car s'il y a de l'incertitude au cours ou en la qualite de la monnoye, les contracts seront incertains, & personne ne sera iamais asseuré de ce qu'il aura. Le Prince ne doit alterer à son plasir le pied d'vne mesme monnoye, autrement il feroit tort aux autres, & ne trouueroit aucun qui voulut traiter avec luy. Or en cecy il y a deux abus, qui sont conioincts, asçauoir l'affloiblissement & changement de prix de la monnoye. Et tout ce mal vient du meslange de ces 3. metaux, or, argent, & cuiure, pource que depuis qu'on les a meslé és ourages d'orfeures  
 196 &] statuaires, on a faict le mesme aussi és monnoyes: en quoy les vns ont esté plus religieux

eigners from their town. The custom of the Lucanians is much more honest, which condemned with a fine he who had refused in the evening lodgings to a wayfarer. The Athenians, Candiots, Romans, and all the brave peoples were hospitable, recognizing that man is a sociable animal, who must accommodate his neighbors with what he has, and reciprocally also receive from them a similar courtesy.

Now in as much as commerce and the intercommunication of the peoples are maintained by means of money, which goes from one place to another, it is necessary to regulate the price, weight, and its law, with the fixed resolve to start nothing new in those things, for any pretext whatsoever: for if there is uncertainty in the exchange or in the quality of the money, the contracts will be uncertain, and no one will ever be assured of what he will have. The Prince must not alter at his pleasure the weight of similar pieces of money, otherwise he will do wrong to the others, and would find no one who would trade with him. Now in this there are two abuses, that are joint, to wit, the weakening and the change of the value of money. And all this evil comes from the mixing of these three metals, gold, silver, and copper, because since they have been mixed in works of goldsmithing and statuary, one has done the same also in moneys: in which some have been more

que les autres & ont moins alteré & sophistiqué l'or & l'argent, en faisant tous les deux de plus haute loy que leurs voisins. Dont il ne se faut pas estonner, attendu qu'en vn mesme pays la loy se change. Car on sçait que les solds qui ont cours maintenant en France n'approchent pas de la bonté de ceux du temps de saint Loys, & ceux de ce temps n'ont pas la loy des quarts d'escu & pieces de vingt sols. Ce qui cause le rehaussement des fortes monnoyes, lesquelles sont attirées finement par les marchands estrangers & regnicoles, qui les refondent pour en faire d'autres plus foibles, & les bailler en payement au peuple, qui reçoit du billon pour bon argent, ne sçachant discerner l'un d'auec l'autre. Puis il est tout estonné de voir son billon descrié, & les pieces de bonne mise si haussees pour la rareté d'icelles, que celuy qui pensoit auoir en sa bourse la quatriesme partie d'un escu, n'en a pas la vingtieseme. Cecy apporte plus de preiudice aux François qu'aux autres nations. Car si au lieu d'augmenter ils rabaissoient le prix de l'or & de l'argent, les estrangers qui ont ces deux metaux à commandement seroient contraincts d'en apporter en ce royaume, pour achepter bien chèrement les marchandises dont ils ne se peuuent passer, comme bled, vins, sel, & pastel. Mais elles ne leur coustent gueres, pource que leur or est trop estimé parmy nous, & d'auantage pour faire mieux leur profit, ils nous apportent des perles,

religious than others and altered and changed less gold and silver, in making both of a higher alloy than their neighbors. At which one must not be astonished, since in the same country the alloy changes. For one knows that the solds that are current at present in France do not approach the value of those of the time of Saint Louis, and those of that time have not the alloy of the quarter *ecu* and pieces of twenty solds. Which causes the rise in value of the better moneys, which are quietly withdrawn by foreign and native merchants, who melt them to make out of them lighter ones, and give them in payment to the people, who receive bad money for good, not knowing how to discern the one from the other. Then he is all astonished to see his bad money decried, and the good pieces raised so high owing to their scarcity, that he who thought he had in his purse the fourth part of an *ecu*, has not the twentieth. This brings more prejudice to the French than to other nations. For if instead of augmenting they lowered the price of gold and silver, the foreigners who have those two metals at their command would be forced to bring some into this kingdom, to buy very dearly the merchandises without which they cannot get along, such as wheat, wine, salt, and hay. But they cost them little, because their gold is too much thought of among us, and in addition the better to make their profit, they bring to us pearls,

des soyes, des parfums, & autres bagatelles qu'il nous donnent en contr'eschange des choses necessaires, ou les vendent au poids de l'or. Nous auons veu le marc d'or encheri de trente huict liures en l'espace de douze ans en pleine paix, & à compter depuis l'annee mil cinq cens soixante & dix-sept iusques à mil six cens deux il a haussé de cinquante six liures six solds & demy. Le sçay que la necessité des affaires peut couvrir ceste faute, comme du regne de Charles septiesme l'an mil quatre cens vingt deux, le marc d'or s'exposa pour deux mil huict cens quarante sept liures, & l'escu vallut  
198 ius]ques à quarante liures: & le marc d'argent s'exposa pour trois cens soixante liures. Mais le malheur du temps causoit vn tel desordre, lequel estant cessé on remit ces metaux à leur estimation ordinaire, chacun recognoissant que l'augmentation de leur prix estoit la diminuation des richesses tant en general, qu'en particulier. Car celuy qui auoit presté cent escus d'or au mois d'Aoust mil six cens deux, s'il a eu patience iusques à l'an mil six cens quatorze, il n'en reçoit que quatrevingt en semblables especes, à cause du rehaussement. Il est vray qu'il n'y a point d'interest, pourueu que le rehaussement tienne, qu'il soit semblable par tout, & que les marchadises n'en deuiennent point plus cheres,

silks, perfumes, and other bagatelles that they give us in exchange for the necessary things, or which they sell for their weight of gold. We have seen the mark of gold enhanced in value by thirty-eight livres in the space of twelve years in times of peace, and to count from the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-seven until one thousand six hundred and two it has risen to fifty-six livres six and a half solds. I know that the necessities of business may hide this fault, as in the reign of Charles the Seventh in the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-two, when the mark of gold exchanged for two thousand eight hundred and forty-seven livres, and the ecu was worth as high as forty livres: and the mark of silver exchanged for three hundred and sixty livres. But the depression of that time caused such a disorder, which having ceased those metals were restored to their ordinary value, every one recognizing that the rise in their value was the diminution of wealth as well in general, as in particular. For he who had lent one hundred *ecus* of gold in the month of August, one thousand six hundred and two, if he was patient until the year one thousand six hundred and fourteen, received from them only eighty in similar kind, on account of the rise in value. It is true that there is no interest, provided that the rise holds good, that it is similar everywhere, and that merchandises do not on that account become

comme il arriue ordinairement. Iagoit qu'un certain personnage aye soustenu par un liure publié sur ce subiect, qu'il y a beaucoup à perdre sur une piece d'or & d'argent, encore qu'on la mette pour le mesme prix qu'on l'a receüe. Ce qu'il prouue en ceste façon. *Le Bourgeois qui du temps du Roy Iean auoit trente six liures de rente* 199 *fonciere ou constituée,] pour payement de sadicte rente auoit trente six francs d'or à pied ou à cheual, à raison de vingt solds piece qu'ils valoient lors, ou monnoye d'argent à l'equipollent. Pour lesquels trente six francs d'or, il pouuoit auoir neuf muids de vin à raison de quatre liures dudit temps, qui estoient quatre francs d'or valans douze liures de present. Si ce Bourgeois est maintenant payé de sadicte rente en ladicte monnoye de francs d'or, il n'en receura que douze, valans à raison de soixante solds piece, comme ils se mettent à present, ladicte somme de trente six liures: pour lesquels douze francs d'or il n'aura pour le iourd'huy, que trois muids de vin, à raison de douze liures que chaque muid vaut à present, au lieu que lors il en auoit neuf muids. Il perd donc six muids de vin sur ces douze francs d'or, encore qu'il les ait mis pour le mesme prix de soixante solds, qu'il les a receus. Le gentilhomme ou autres de quelque estat qu'il soit qui au temps de S. Loys auoit seize liures de cens ou rente, peut luy payer ceste rente, on luy bailloit cinq marcs d'argent*



dearer, as ordinarily happens. I know that a certain personage has sustained by a book published on these subjects, that there is much to lose on a piece of gold and silver, even when one places it for the same price that one received it. Which he proves in this fashion. *The burgher who in the time of King John had thirty-six livres income from land or constituted, for payment of his said income had thirty-six francs in gold on foot or on horseback, in the ratio of twenty solds apiece which they were worth then, or the equivalent of silver money. For which thirty-six francs in gold, he could have nine hogsheads of wine for four livres of that time, which were four francs in gold worth twelve livres of the present. If this burgher is now paid for his said income in the said money of gold francs, he would receive only twelve, worth in the ratio of sixty solds each, as they are worth at present, the said sum of thirty-six livres: for which twelve francs of gold he will not have to-day, more than three hogsheads of wine, for twelve livres that each hogshead is worth at present, instead that then he had nine hogsheads. He loses therefore six hogsheads of wine on his twelve francs in gold, even though he has placed them for the same price of sixty solds, which he received them at. The gentleman or other person of whatever rank he might be who in the time of Saint Louis had sixteen livres of a hundred or an income, can pay him this income, in granting him five marks of fine silver,*

fin, ou monnoye d'or à l'equipollent. Car au marc  
 200 d'argent fin n'y] auoit lors que la quantité de  
 soixante quatre pieces appellees solds ou gros tour-  
 nois. Maintenant pour luy payer ceste rente, on  
 ne luy baille qu'un marc d'argent fin, qui n'est  
 que la cinquiesme partie de l'argent contenu aux  
 premieres seize liures. En ce temps là on auoit  
 pour seize liures seize aulnes de drap à raison de  
 vingt solds l'aulne, aussi bon ou meilleur que celuy  
 qui à present couste cent solds tournois. Maintenant  
 pour seize liures on n'a que trois aulnes un cinquiesme  
 de drap à cent sols l'aulne, au lieu qu'on en auoit  
 seize le temps passé, qui est perte de douze aulnes,  
 quatre cinquiesme de drap sur seize liures, combien  
 qu'on aye mis chacune liure pour pareil prix de  
 vingt sols qu'elle a esté receuë. Si nous le prenons  
 au sold ou douzain, nous trouuerons le semblable.  
 Car pour dix sols que le gentilhomme receuoit ancienne-  
 ment de ses rentes ou censiuës, contenant autant  
 d'argent fin que les cinquante de maintenant, il pouuoit  
 auoir cinq chappons, à raison de deux sols piece.  
 Maintenant pour dix sols il n'a qu'un chapon,  
 qui est perte sur dix sols de quatre chappons, combien  
 qu'il aye mis lesdits sols pour douze deniers chacun,  
 qui est le mesme prix qu'il les a receus. C'est la  
 201 demonstration dudit sieur, laquelle il adjiouste à  
 un autre Paradoxe, à sçauoir, que rien n'est  
 encheri en France depuis trois cens ans. On ne  
 se peut plaindra, dit-il, qu'une chose soit encherie

or the equivalent in gold money. For to the mark of fine silver there was then not more than the quantity of sixty-four pieces called solds or gros tournois. Now to pay him this income, one grants him but one mark of fine silver, which is but the fifth part of the silver contained in the first sixteen livres. In that time one had for sixteen livres sixteen yards of cloth in the ratio of twenty solds the yard, as good as or better than the one that now costs one hundred solds tournois. Now for sixteen livres one has but three yards, a fifth of the cloth at a hundred solds the yard, instead of which one had sixteen in the time past, which is a loss of twelve yards, four fifths of cloth on sixteen livres, no matter how much one has placed each livre for such a price of twenty solds at which it was received. If we take it at the sold or dozen, we find the same thing. For for the ten solds that the gentleman received formerly from his incomes or manors, containing as much fine silver as the fifties of to-day, he could have five capons, at the ratio of two solds apiece. Now for ten solds he has only one capon, which is a loss of ten solds on four capons, no matter even if he has placed the said solds for twelve deniers each, which is the same price at which he received them. That is the demonstration of the said gentleman, to which he adds another paradox, to wit, that nothing has become dearer in France since three hundred years. One cannot complain, says he, that an article has grown

depuis trois cens ans, sinon que pour l'achepter il faille aujourdhuy bailler plus d'or ou d'argent, que le temps passé. Or est-il que pour l'achept de toutes choses on ne baille point maintenant plus d'or n'y d'argent qu'on y bailloit alors: car du temps de Philippe de Valois qui commença à regner l'an mil trois cens vingt huict l'aulne de velours coustoit quatre escus aussi bons voire meilleurs en poix, & valeur que nos escus au soleil de maintenant, & chaque escu ne valoit que vingt sols monnoye d'argent, aujourdhuy que l'escu vaut cinquante solds & que l'aulne de velours est vendue dix liures, neantmoins pour payer ces dix liures, il ne faut que ladicte somme de quatre escus à raison de cinquante sols piece, comme ils sont par l'ordonnance, ou monnoye d'argent à la valeur. Donques l'aulne de velours n'est point plus chere qu'elle estoit alors. Voila sa raison, mais elle est sophistique, & n'a que l'apparence, car sa premiere proposition laquelle il suppose comme indubitable, & que Bodin mesmes luy accorde inconsiderement, est fausse. D'autant que les] choses ne s'acheptent suelement par or & argent, mais par le cuiure, qui fait vne troisieme espece de monnoye de moindre valeur, & neantmoins qui regle le prix de toutes les autres, comme l'asse d'airain mesuroit à Rome le sesterce, & le denier, & autres plus grosses monnoyes, pource qu'un sesterce valoit deux asses & demy, un denier d'argent en valoit dix, & ceste derniere monnoye estant

*dearer since three hundred years, except that to buy it it is necessary to pay to-day more gold or silver, than in the time past. Now it is true that for the purchase of all things one does not now pay more gold nor silver than one paid then: for in the time of Philip of Valois who began to reign in the year one thousand three hundred and twenty-eight, the yard of velvet cost four ecus as good or even better in weight, and value as our ecus in the sunlight of to-day, and each ecu was worth only twenty solds of silver money, while to-day the ecu is worth fifty solds apiece, and as the yard of cloth is sold ten livres, nevertheless to pay these ten livres, there is need only of the said sum of four ecus, at the rate of fifty solds apiece, as they are by decree, or silver money at the value. So the yard of velvet is not dearer than it was then. That is his reason, but it is sophistical, and is only apparent, for his first proposition which he supposes to be indubitable, and which even Bodin inconsiderately accords him, is false. Especially since that things are bought not only with gold and silver, but also with copper, which makes a third kind of money of less value, and nevertheless which regulates the price of all the others, as the asse of brass measured at Rome the sesterce, and the denier, and other bigger moneys, because a sesterce was worth two asses and a half, a denier of silver was worth ten, and this last money becoming*

haussee, elle fut estimee seize asses: car en fait de poids, mesures, & monnoyes, ce qui est le plus petit est la reigle du plus grand. Cela estant, ie dis que la bonté des monnoyes ne gist qu'en leur estimation, de maniere que celle-cy estant augmentee, leur bonté pareillement s'augmente, & par consequent l'escu d'or quand il ne vaut que vingt solds, c'est à dire deux cens quarante deniers, n'est pas si bon que lors qu'il vaut soixante solds, ou sept cens vingt deniers, pource que sa valeur se doit mesurer aux petites monnoyes, & l'or & l'argent ne valent qu'autant qu'il plaist au Prince & au peuple, tellement qu'en

203 Lacedemone lors que la mon]noye de fer fut en vsage ces deux metaux estoient superflus, & aujourd'huy en Ethiopie où la monnoye de sel a cours, l'or est inutile, pour le commerce, & l'airain dont nous parlons estoit plus precieux que l'or parmy certains peuples orientaux selon le rapport de Iosephe. C'est donc mal conclu de dire que le velours ne couste pas plus cher que iadis, pource qu'on ne baille que quatre escus en or comme on faisoit il y a trois cens ans: car ces escus qu'on baille maintenant, quand bien ce seroient les mesmes especes du temps passé, sont de meilleure mise, & de plus haut prix qu'ils n'estoient, attendu qu'ils valent d'auantage de menuë monnoye. Et si les solds d'argent fin que fit forger sinct Louys, estoient encore en estre, ils vaudroient trois ou quatre fois plus

raised, was estimated at sixteen asses: for in questions of weight, measures, and moneys, that which is the smallest is the measure of the greater. This being so, I say that the goodness of moneys lies only in their estimated goodness, so that this being augmented, their value similarly augments, and consequently the ecu of gold when it is worth only twenty solds, that is to say two hundred and forty deniers, is not so good as when it is worth sixty solds, or seven hundred and twenty deniers, since its value must be measured by the small moneys, and gold and silver are worth only as much as it pleases the Prince and the people, so much so that in Lacedemonia when money of iron was in use those two metals were superfluous, and to-day in Ethiopia where money of salt is current, gold is useless, for commerce, and the brass of which we spoke was more precious than gold among certain oriental peoples according to the report of Joseph. It is then a wrong conclusion to say that velvet does not cost more than formerly, because one hands over only four ecus in gold as one did three hundred years ago: for these ecus than one now hands over, even though they were the same kinds as those of past times, are in better circulation, and of a higher price than they were, since they are worth more small coin. And if the solds of fine silver that Saint Louis had struck, were still in being, they would be worth three or four times more

qu'ils ne valoient en leur commencement, pour ce qu'alors ils ne se mettoient que pour douze deniers, & maintenant d'un de ces solds là, on en feroit trois ou quatre, qui vaudroient autant chacun. Comme lors que les Romains diminuèrent les poids] de leur asse, en luy gardant son estimation accoustumee, & que d'un ils en firent six, ceux qui auoient le vieil asse pesant vne liure, estoient plus riches cinq fois qu'auparavant, & s'ils deuoient quatre asses, ils ne pouuoient sans se faire tort les rendre en mesme espece à leurs creanciers, & ceux-cy ne les pouuoient recevoir sans vsure, à cause du prix que nouvellement le peuple leur auoit baillé, lequel prix est la vraye & essentielle bonté de la monnoye. D'où nous pouuons inferer l'absurdité de la premiere proposition du mesme autheur, quand il dit, que celui qui auoit de rente trente six francs d'or ne les reçoit pas aujourd'huy. Car encore qu'il ne les reçoit en matiere, il les reçoit en estimation, qui est equiuallente. Que si pour douze escus, il ne peut auoir comme autresfois neuf miuds de vin, cela ne vient pas de l'augmentation du prix de l'or, attendu qu'il ne s'ensuit pas necessairement que les marchandises encherissent pour le rehaussement des monnoyes. Il y a bien d'autres causes d'encherissement, à sçauoir, le luxe, l'abondance d'or & d'argent, & les] monopoles. Au surplus ledit personnage s'embarasse en ses conceptions: car d'un costé il nie l'encherissement,



than they were worth in their beginning, because then they would pass but for twelve deniers, and now with one of those solds, one would make three or four, each of which would be worth as much. As when the Romans diminished the weight of their asse, in keeping it its accustomed estimation, and that of one they made six, those who had the old asse weighing a livre, were five times richer than formerly, and if they owed four asses, they could not without doing themselves a wrong give them back in the same kind to their creditors, and these could not receive them without usury, because of the price that the people had recently given them, which price is the true and essential value of money. From which we can infer the absurdity of the first proposition of the same author, when he says, that he who had in rent thirty-six francs in gold does not receive them to-day. For even though he does not receive them in kind, he receives them in value, which is equivalent. That if for twelve *ecus*, he cannot have as formerly nine hogsheads of wine, that does not come from the increased price of gold, since it does not follow necessarily that merchandises become dearer on account of the rise of the moneys. There are many other reasons for the rise of prices, to wit, luxury, abundance of gold and silver, and monopolies. Besides which the said personage gets mixed in his conceptions: for on the one hand he denies the rise of

& d'ailleurs il en donne des exemples, qui est vne manifeste contradiction. Ce qui i'ay voulu représenter en passant, pour suppleer le defaut de Bodin, qui n'a pas donné la solution de ces raisons, & s'est contenté de les mettre en auant, sans y répondre directement. Je confesse toutesfois que le surhaussement des monnoyes est preiudiciable pour les raisons susdictes, & qu'il est necessaire que les Princes d'vn commun consentement reduisent les monnoyes à vn mesme pied, afinque chacun puisse contracter par tout sans dommage. Surquoy on a donné plusieurs aduis qui meritoient d'estre pratiquez. Premièrement on conseille de donner en tout pays vn mesme prix au marc d'or, & d'eualüer douze liures d'argent à vne liure d'or. Laquelle proportion a esté anciennement, & est encore ou à peu prés gardee en la plus grande partie du monde, de façon qu'vn Roy des Indes du temps d'Auguste s'emerueilla de voir que ses subiects s'accordoient en ceste police avec les Romains.] Secondement on est d'aduis de deffendre le billon, comme ont desia fait quelques Roys, pource qu'il donne occasion de falsifier ou affoiblir les monnoyes, & d'auantage il n'est iamais esgal, de maniere que les hommes qui entendent le pair, amassent le plus qu'ils peuuent de bonnes monnoyes pour en faire de pires à leur profit & à la perte incroyable du peuple: ce qu'ils ne feroient pas, si les monnoyes estoient d'or & argent pur: car quand vn metal simple est sup-

prices, and on the other hand he gives examples of it, which is a manifest contradiction. Which I have wished to present in passing, to supply the defect of Bodin, who has not given the solution of his reasons, and has contented himself in bringing them forward, without replying to them directly. I confess nevertheless that the great rise of moneys is a bad thing for the things said above, and that it is necessary that Princes of a common consent reduce the moneys to one similar standard, so that each person may make a contract everywhere without damage. Concerning which several plans have been suggested that merit being practiced. First one counsels giving in all countries the same value to the gold mark, and to value twelve silver livres to one gold livre. Which proportion was anciently, and is still or nearly kept in the greater part of the world, so that a King of the Indies of the time of Augustus was astonished to see that his subjects agreed in this policy with the Romans. Second, one is of the opinion to forbid copper, as some Kings already have done, because it gives a chance to falsify or weaken the moneys, and besides it is never equal, so that the men who understand parity, collect all the good money they can to make of it bad money for their profit and the incredible loss of the people: which they would not do if the moneys were of pure gold and silver: for when a simple metal is substituted for an-

posé pour vn autre, la couleur, le poids, le volume, le son, & autres proprietes descourent facilement la tromperie, mais il est mal aisé de cognoistre la qualité & valeur de billon qui est si diuerse & inegale. Occasion pourquoy il est expedient de defendre generalement le meslange des metaux, & particulièrement aux monnoyeurs, ioyauliers, & orfeures, sur peine de la vie, afin que tous leurs ourages soient de metaux simples, & que les fraudes qui s'y pourroient commettre soient aisees à descourir. Toutesfois pource qu'il est impossible, d'affiner l'or & l'argent parfaitement, sans deschet, &] grande despence, on doit suiuant les anciennes ordonnances de ce Royaume mettre l'or en ourage & en monnoye à vingt & trois carats, & l'argent à vnze deniers douze grains de fin. Ce faisant la proportion sera gardee de l'or à l'argent, attendu que la mixtion en l'vn & l'autre sera esgale, tellement qu'en tous ourages d'or, ou d'argent il n'y aura que la vingt quatriesme partie d'autre metal, & ainsi on changera sans aucune perte l'or avec l'argent, en prenant douze liures d'argent pour vne liure d'or suiuant la precedente police, pource que l'vn & l'autre seront esgallement affinez. Car de faire ces deux metaux plus foibles, comme on fait aujourd'huy, c'est donner beau ieu aux trompeurs pour falsifier les monnoyes. Et n'est pas moins dangereux de permettre qu'ils soient d'vne loy inegale en diuerses prouinces, d'autant que les

other, the color, the weight, the volume, the sound, and other properties easily disclose the falsification, but it is not easy to recognize the quality and value of copper which is so diverse and unequal. Reason why it is expedient to forbid as a general thing the mixture of the metals, and especially to the coiners, jewellers, and goldsmiths, upon pain of death, so that all their work may be of pure metals, and that the frauds that might be committed may be easy to discover. Nevertheless because it is impossible, to refine gold and silver completely, without loss and great expense, one must according to the ancient regulations of this kingdom place gold in the crafts and in moneys at twenty-three carats, and silver at eleven deniers twelve grains fine. Which being done the proportion will be kept of gold to silver, since the mixture in the one and the other will be equal, so much so that in all works in gold, or in silver there will be but the twenty-fourth part of another metal, and thus one will exchange without loss gold with silver, by taking twelve livres of silver for one livre of gold following the foregoing regulation, because the one and the other will be equally refined. For to make those two metals less pure, as is done to-day, is to give a fine opportunity to the cheats to falsify the moneys. And it is not less dangerous to allow that they shall be of unequal alloy in various provinces, since the better moneys that

plus fortes monnoyes. qui ont cours en vn pays, sont recueillis finement par les bons mesnagers qui les conuertissent en pieces plus foibles qui sont de mise en vn autre pays, & souuentesfois  
 208 les orfeures & affineurs en font leurs] ourages, afin d'auoir par deuers eux toute la pureté de l'or & de l'argent; le billon demeurant au peuple. Ces deux inconueniens sont assez cogneus, notamment le premier. Pource que les reaux de Castille à cause de leur bonté ont esté conuertis par plusieurs Souuerains en monnoyes de leurs pays, & en cela ils ont fait vn grand profit. Les Suisses en ont fait de mesme des testons de France, dont ils ont forgé des testons à leur pied, qui estoient plus foibles de loy & de poids que les nostres. Car les Princes ne se contentent d'affoiblir la loy de leurs monnoyes, ils diminuent aussi le poids d'icelles, sans rien amoindrir de leur estimation. L'escu sold qui iadis pesoit quatre deniers, fut reduict sous le regne de Francois premier à deux deniers seize grains, & sous Charles neusiesme fut encore diminué de son poids. Les autres souuerains n'ont pas esté plus conscientieux pour ce regard, attendu que les escus d'Hespagne sous Charles cinquiesme furent affoiblis de trois grains: & à son exemple il en fut forgé en toutes les Seigneuries d'Italie, qui n'auoient que] deux deniers seize grains de poids, & vingt deux carats de fin au plus. Et ne faut doubter que tant plus on ira en auant, la necessité des guerres, le luxe, & la prodigalité

are current in one country, are collected quietly by the good managers who convert them into poorer pieces that are in use in another country, and oftentimes the goldsmiths and refiners make their works out of them, so as to have by them all the purity of gold and silver; the copper remaining for the people. These two inconveniences are pretty well known, notably the first. For which the *reaux* of Castile because of their purity were converted by several sovereigns into moneys of their countries, and in that they made a great profit. The Swiss did the same with the *testons* of France, of which they coined *testons* at their standard, which was weaker in alloy and weight than ours. For Princes are not content to weaken the alloy of their moneys, they diminish also their weight, without in any way diminishing their designation. The *ecu sold* which formerly weighed four deniers, was reduced in the reign of Francis the First to two *deniers* sixteen grains, and under Charles the Ninth was still further cut down in weight. The other sovereigns have not been more conscientious in regard to this, since the *ecus* of Spain under Charles the Fifth were lowered by three grains: and following his example there were some coined in all the lordships of Italy, which had only two deniers sixteen grains of weight, and twenty-two carats fine at most. And it must not be doubted that the more one goes forward, the necessity caused by wars, luxury, and prodigal-

ne contraignent les Princes d'affoiblir de plus en plus les monnoyes s'ils ne s'accordent entre eux d'en forger à mesme loy & à mesme poids. Quant à la loy, il est aysé de l'establir esgale suiuant ce qui a este dit. Pour le poids il y a plus de difficulté, à cause de la diuersité d'iceluy, qui est telle, que malaysément on peut trouuer deux monarchies qui se seruent d'un semblable poids, & mesmes en vn seul Royaume, comme en France on voit beaucoup de villes dont les poids ont vne difference notable: principalement la liure de monnoye & orfeurie qu'on appelle marc d'or ou d'argent. Car encore que ce marc contienne par tout huict onces, il est pourtant fort diuersifié, pource que les onces sont plus fortes en vn lieu qu'en vn autre: comme à Geneue sept onces en valent presque huict de celles de Paris. Et au contraire il ne faut guerre plus de cinq onces Parisiennes, pour peser] autant que le marc de Piedmont, Milan & Gennes. Ce qui apporte vne grande incommodité au trafic, & donne occasion aux marchands rusez, d'affronter les estrangers en leur faisant accroire ce qu'ils veulent du poids dont il ne sçauent la valeur. Et quelque preuoyance qu'apportent les Roys, ils ne pourront iamais empescher les pipeurs d'achepter au poids fort, & de vendre au poids foible, tandis qu'une telle diuersité aura lieu dans l'enclos de leur estat, ou de celuy de leurs voisins & autres avec lesquels ils ont commerce. C'est pourquoy



ity will force the Princes to debase more and more the moneys if they do not agree among themselves to coin them of the same alloy and the same weight. As to the alloy, it is easy to establish it equally according to what has been said. For the weight there is more difficulty, because of the diversity of this, which is such, that with difficulty can one find two monarchies that use the same weights, and even in a single Kingdom, as in France one sees many towns whose weights have a notable difference: principally the livre of money and goldsmithing which one calls the gold or silver mark. For even if this mark contains everywhere eight ounces, it is nevertheless much diversified, because the ounces are heavier in one locality than in another: as at Geneva seven ounces are worth almost eight of those of Paris. And on the contrary there is need only of five Parisian ounces, to weigh as much as the mark of Piedmont, Milan and Genoa. Which brings a great disturbance to commerce, and gives opportunity to shrewd merchants, to cheat foreigners by making them believe what they wish of the weight of which they do not know the value. And whatever foresight kings may have, they can never prevent the deceiver from buying high, and selling low, while such a diversity exists within the confines of their State, or in that of their neighbors and of others with whom they have trade. It is for that that there

il est besoin qu'ils consentent tous à vn reglement general, par lequel non seulement l'or & l'argent, mais aussi les marchandises soient vendues à vn poids esgal en tout pays. Ce qui ne sera mal aysé à faire, la nature en cecy nous seruant de guide, les œuures de laquelle à sçauoir les grains seruent pour regler les poids & les mesures. Quant à celles-cy, anciennement on prenoit la lieuë pour deux milles, le mille pour huict stades, le stade pour centvingtcing pas, le pas pour 5. 211 pieds, le pied pour quatre palmes, le palme] pour quatre doigts, & vn doigt pour quatre grains. En matiere de poids on vient pareillement au grain, comme à la regle de tous les autres. Le marc contient huict onces, l'once vaut huict drachmes ou gros, qui valent autant que vingt quatre deniers, chaque gros valant trois deniers, & le denier peze vingt quatre grains. Laquelle regle est auiourd'huy gardee en plusieurs Royaumes, & l'estoit iadis en Grece, comme veritablement elle est fort propre à la negotiation. Ainsi l'once peze cinq cens soixante & seize grains, le marc quatre mil six cens huict, & la liure marchande en peze vne fois autant. Sans doubte si ce reglement estoit receu par tous les peuples, le commerce seroit bien plus facile. Toutesfois il y a vne chose qui semble empescher ou diminuer son vtilité assçauoir la difference des grains en la pesanteur; d'autant qu'il y en a qui pesent plus en vn lieu qu'en l'autre, au

is need that they all agree to a general regulation, by which not only gold and silver, but also merchandise should be sold by an equal weight in all countries. Which would not be difficult to do, nature serving us in this as a guide, whose works, to wit, grain would serve to regulate weights and measures. As to these latter, anciently one counted the league as two miles, the mile for eight furlongs, the furlong for one hundred and twenty-five paces, the pace for five feet, the foot for four palms, the palm for four fingers, the finger for four grains. In the matter of weights one comes equally to the grain, as ruling all the others. The mark contains eight ounces, the ounce is worth eight drams or gros, which are worth as much as twenty-four deniers, each gros is worth three deniers, and the denier weighs twenty-four grains. Which rule is to-day kept in several kingdoms, was formerly in Greece, as indeed it is excellent for commerce. Thus the ounce weighs five hundred and seventy-six grains, the mark four thousand six hundred and eight, and the livre merchant weighs once again as much. Without doubt if this regulation was received by all peoples, commerce would be much more easy. Nevertheless there is one thing that seems to prevent or diminish its usefulness, to wit, the difference of the grains in weight; in as much as there are some that weigh more in one locality than in another, by means of

212 moyen dequoy on ne peut égaler les marcs & les onces des pays differens, puisque leur mesure est changeante & inegale, si ce n'est que] tous les Souuerains s'accordent de mesurer tous leur poids selon les grains d'un certains país tel qu'ils choisiront d'un commun consentement, afin que le qualibre & pesanteur du grain estant stable, les autres poids qui s'y rapportent, ayent aussi vne certitude qui ne puisse estre reuouee endoute: Que si chaque Souuerain veut auoir son poids à part, ou pour tenir sa grandeur, ou pour la difficulté qu'il y a de le changer, en ce cas il faudra estimer le marc d'or & d'argent selon sa pesanteur. Car estans reduicts à vne mesme loy, à sçauoir l'or à vingt trois carats, l'argent à onze deniers douze grains de fin, comme nous auons dit, & en outre gardant la proportion duodecuple entre ces metaux, suiuant l'ancienne coustume, il ne restera plus que de considerer leur quantité, & de leur donner le prix & proportion d'icelle, en telle sorte que le marc qui aura ses quatre mil six cens huict grains plus pesans qu'un autre, sera aussi plus prisé selon l'excez de sa pesanteur. Mais d'autant que cest excez ne peut estre liquidé sinon par vne

213 mesure commune, il est] plus à propos de pratiquer le reglement cy dessus mentionné. Car on fera toujours accroire à vn estranger que son poids n'est pas meilleur que celui du pays où il trafique, encore

which one cannot equalize the marks and the ounces of the different countries, since their measure is changing and unequal, unless all the sovereigns agree to measure all their weights according to the grains of a certain country such as they shall choose by common consent, so that the quality and weight of the grain being stable, the other weights that are based upon it, have also a certitude that cannot be placed in doubt: That if every sovereign wishes to have his own separate weight, either to maintain his grandeur, or because of the difficulty he may have to change it, in that case it will be necessary to estimate the gold or silver mark according to its weight. For being made of a same alloy, to wit, gold at twenty-three carats, silver at eleven deniers twelve grains fine, as we have said, and besides keeping the proportion of twelve between these metals, following the ancient custom, there will remain only to consider their quantity, and to give them its price and proportion, in such a way that the mark which will have its four thousand six hundred and eight grains heavier than another, will be also more prized according to the excess of its weight. But in as much as this excess cannot be liquidated except by a common measure, it is more to the point to practice the regulation mentioned above. For one will always make a foreigner believe that his weight is not better than that of the country where he is trading, even though

qu'il excède d'une once ou de plus, que s'il conteste, il trouvera une infinité de témoins contre luy, & faudra faire de deux choses l'une, ou se laisser tromper, ou retourner en sa maison sans rien faire. Ce qui est capable de rompre le cours du trafic, lequel ne se peut bien entretenir que par l'égalité des poids & mesures. Encore celles-cy ne sont pas si nécessaires, & quelques peuples ne s'en servent point, comme les Chinois, qui ont accoustumé de peser tout, mesmes le linge, estimans que les tromperies sont plus faciles, & ordinaires aux mesures, dequoy il ne faut nullement douter, pourveu qu'il n'y ait qu'une sorte de poids: ou s'il y en a plusieurs, à tout le moins que leur différence soit publiée & leur proportion recogneuë, afin d'éviter les supercheries, qui autrement seroient inevitables. Et le règlement doit avoir lieu notamment au poids de l'or & de l'argent,

214 ou les fraudes sont d'autant plus à craindre qu'elles sont lucratives. Je dis donc pour retourner propos, qu'on doit assurer non seulement la loy, mais aussi le poids des monnoyes, & à cest effect limiter le nombre des pieces qui seront faictes en un marc d'or ou d'argent, de mesme poids, nom & valeur. Et de ces monnoyes égales on en pourra faire huit, seize, trente deux, & soixante quatre pieces au marc, ou plus s'il est besoing, les multipliant par proportion, en telle maniere toutesfois que leur petitesse ne leur cause une trop grande

it exceeds by an ounce or more, that if he contests, he will find any number of witnesses against him, and will have to do one of two things, either allow himself to be fooled, or return to his home without doing anything. Which is capable of breaking the course of trade, which cannot well be maintained except by the equality of weights and measures. Indeed these latter are not so necessary, and some peoples do not use them, like the Chinese, who are accustomed to weigh everything, even linen, thinking that cheating is more easy, and common with measures, of which there is no reason to doubt, provided that there is only one kind of weights: but if there are several, at least let their differences be published and their proportion recognized, in order to avoid the cheatings, which otherwise would be inevitable. And the regulation must apply especially to the weight of gold and silver, where frauds are all the more to be feared because they are lucrative. I say then so as to return to the point, that one must assure not only the alloy, but also the weight of the moneys, and to this end limit the number of pieces that will be made into one mark of gold or silver, of the same weight, name and value. And of these equal moneys one can make eight, sixteen, thirty-two, and sixty-four pieces to the mark, or more if they are needed, multiplying them in proportion, in such form however, that their smallness does not make them too

fragilité. Par ce moyen les plus grosses monnoyes dont les huict feront le marc, peseront chacune vne once, les seize, demy once, les trente deux auront deux gros de poids, & les soixante quatre peseront chacune vn gros. Alors le change de l'or en argent sera bien aysé non seulement en masse & hors d'œuure, mais en monnoye. Car pour vne piece d'or on en baillera douze d'argent de mesme poids. Lequel reglement aura lieu tant parmy les compatriotes que parmy les estrangers, dautant que le pied des monnoyes estant par tout] égal, il ne restera aucun subiect de les rehausser en vn pays plus qu'en l'autre, si ce n'est que les Princes veulent troubler cest ordre pour les droicts de seigneurie traicte & brassage, qu'ils prennent sur les monnoyes forgees en leurs terres: ce qu'ils ne doiuent faire qu'avec toute moderation, & ne point tant songer à leur profit particulier, qu'au general, à leur reputation, & à l'exemple des autres Souuerains, avec lesquels ils se doiuent pareillement accorder pour le reglement de tels droicts. Apres cela, pour obuier aux falsification & rongneures des monnoyes, il sera expedient de les faire au moule, à la façon des anciennes medalles, pource que le moule feroit toutes les pieces qui auroient mesme nom & valeur, égales en largeur grosseur, poids & rotondité, lesquelles choses le faux monnoyeur ne pourroit si bien contrefaire que son imposture ne fut descouuerte, d'autant que le cuiure qu'il



fragile. By this means the biggest moneys of which eight will make the mark, will weigh each one ounce, sixteen a half ounce, thirty-two will have two gros of weight, and sixty-four will weigh each a gros. Then the change of gold into silver will be very easy not only in bulk and out of works of art, but also in money. For for one piece of gold one will hand over twelve of silver of the same weight. Which regulation will apply as well among compatriots as among strangers, since the parity of moneys being everywhere equal, there will remain no reason to raise them in one country more than in another, unless the Princes wish to disturb this order for the rights of seigniorage, coining and minting, which they take on the moneys coined in their lands: which they must not do except with all moderation, and not dream so much of their individual profit as of the general profit, of their reputation, and of the example of the other sovereigns, with whom they must mutually agree for the regulation of such rights. After that, to obviate the counterfeiting and the clipping of moneys, it will be expedient to coin them in a mold, in the manner of the ancient medals, because the mold will make all pieces that shall have the same name and value, equal in breadth, thickness, weight and rotundity, which things the counterfeiter will not be able to counterfeit so neatly that his imposture will not be discovered, the more so that the copper which

supposeroit au lieu d'or ou d'argent, est de plus grand volume en poids esgal, que ces deux metaux, estant beaucoup plus leger, & ainsi vn escu faux  
216 seroit aysé à recognoistre] en le confrontant avec vn autre qui seroit de bonne mise. Maintenant on a des moulins à forger monnoyes qui peuuent bien seruir à cest effet, dont le premier fut dressé à Paris dés l'an mil cinq cens cinquante trois. Quoy que plusieurs n'en approuuent point l'vsage, si est-ce qu'il peut apporter plus de profit que d'inconuenient, & on a veu fort peu de pieces au moulin falsifiees, ou rongnees, les faussaires craignans d'estre descouuers par le moyen que nous venons de représenter, c'est à dire par la confrontation de la monnoye fausse avec la legitime pour le regard du volume & du poids. Car les pieces de mesme tiltre & loy se feront tousiours esgales au moulin qui escache, au coupoir qui coupe, & à la presse qui serre tousiours egaleme[n]t ce qui ne se peut faire au marteau, n'estant pas conduit ny manié par forces ou mesures semblables. Ceste inegalité sert de pretexte aux faux monnoyeurs & rongneurs, qui ne craignent rien tant que de voir les monnoyes reduictes à vne egalité  
217 oste tous] moyens de desguiser leur artifice. Et pour les trauerser encore dauantage, il faudroit renouueller l'ordonnance de Charlemagne, par laquelle il defendit de forger monnoye ailleurs qu'en

he will substitute in place of gold or silver, is of much greater volume in equal weight, than those two metals, being very much lighter, and thus a false ecu will be easy to recognize by comparing it with another of good alloy. Now there are mints to coin moneys, which can serve well for this purpose, of which the first was built at Paris as far back as the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-three. Although many do not approve their use, yet it is a fact that they bring more advantage than inconvenience, and one has seen very few pieces at the mints counterfeited, or clipped, the falsifiers fearing to be discovered, by the means that we have just mentioned, that is to say by the comparison of the false money with the genuine money in the matter of volume and weight. For the pieces of the same title and alloy will be always equal at the mint that stamps, at the cutter that cuts, and at the press which presses always equally, which cannot be done with the hammer, this not being conducted nor handled by similar forces or measures. This inequality serves for pretext to the counterfeiters and clippers, who fear nothing so much as to see the moneys reduced to an equality of form, weight and volume, since that takes away from them all means of disguising their frauds. And to upset them still more, it would be well to renew the edict of Charlemagne, whereby he forbade to coin money elsewhere than in his palace.

son Palais. Bien que son empire fut de grande estenduë, neantmoins il ne destinoit qu'un lieu à un tel affaire. Aussi en une monarchie il suffira de choisir pour la forge des monnoyes une ville ou deux tout au plus, afin de retrancher les occasions de mal faire aux hommes cauteleaux. Mais le principal remede c'est d'abolir le billon, qui est tousiours inegal & incertain, & partant n'est pas propre pour entretenir la proportion de l'or à l'argent, ny pour le change de ces metaux. Ce qu'on a recogneu en France, lors qu'on affoiblit les douzains, dont les soixante payoient l'escu, iagoit que leur fin ne valust pas cinquante trois solds. Pour ceste mesme consideration ie conseilerois aussi de descrire la monnoye de cuiure, pource qu'on a forgé n'aguères des doubles & deniers, qui ne payoient pas la bonte de l'escu, encore qu'on

218 en baillest pour neuf liures quin]ze solds, selon l'estimation commune. Qui est une perte incroyable pour le menu peuple, & aussi pour les marguilliers, mendiens, & hospitaux, qui ne reçoivent autre chose. Il vaudroit donc mieux pour l'accomplissement de ceste police reduire toutes les monnoyes à deux especes comme on a fait en quelques Royaumes, & d'un marc d'argent faire autant de petites pieces qu'on pourroit, qui tiendroit la place des doubles & deniers de cuiure, pour s'en servir pour les aumosnes, & achat des plus viles marchandises. Il ne seroit pas necessaire de forger huict mil pieces au marc à la

Even though his empire was of wide extent, nevertheless he assigned only one place for such a business. Therefore in a monarchy it will suffice to choose for the coining of moneys one town or two at the most, in order to cut down the opportunities of wrongdoing for crafty men. But the chief remedy is to abolish the copper money, which is always unequal and uncertain, and therefore is not proper to maintain the ratio of gold to silver, nor for the exchange of those metals. Which was recognized in France, when they debased the douzains, of which sixty paid the ecu, [although] I know that their end was not worth fifty-three *solds*. For this same reason I shall counsel also to discard the money of brass, because there were coined formerly doubles and deniers, which did not pay the value of the ecu, even when one gave them for nine livres fifteen *solds*, according to their common acceptance. Which is an incredible loss for the small people, and also for the church wardens, beggars, and hospitals, who received nothing else. It would be better then for the carrying out of this policy to reduce all the moneys to two kinds as has been done in some kingdoms, and of one silver mark make as many little pieces as one could, which would take the place of the doubles and deniers of copper, to serve for the charities; and the buying of the more common merchandise. It would not be necessary to coin eight thousand to the mark

façon de Lorraine. Ce seroit assez d'en faire deux mil, afin qu'elles fussent plus fermes & plus aysees à garder. Que si on ne veut bannir la monnoye de cuiure, comme devray il est difficile de s'en passer, pour le moins qu'elle soit pure, & sans mistion d'autre metal, & qu'on luy donne vn prix permanent, non pas variable, comme il fut iadis en la ville de Rome, où le denier d'argent qui selon

219 l'opinion de plusieurs pesoit autant que] la drachme ou gros de nostre temps, valoit dix asses, c'est à dire dix liures d'airain, la liure alors estant de douze onces: tellement qu'une liure d'argent en valoit neuf cens soixante d'airain & au bout de quelque temps on diminua tellement le poids de l'asse, que d'un on en fit vingt quatre, du poids de demi once chacun, qui auoient la mesme estimation que lors qu'ils pesoient vne liure. Et toutesfois la moindre monnoye doibt auoir vn prix arrêté, pource que c'est la regle & mesure des autres. Il faut donc ou deffendre totalement l'usage de cuiure pour la monnoye, ou luy donner vn certain prix qui demeure à iamais, aussi bien que celui d'or & d'argent, afin que chacun soit assuré de ce qu'il aura vallant. Or quant au billon, ie sçay qu'on ne le peut descrier sans faire tort au peuple, qui perdra beaucoup si on reduict les monnoyes à la cy dessus mentionnee: mais aussi il sera assuré

220 d'auoir à l'aduenir de bonnes monnoyes,] & n'aura

according to the custom of Lorraine. It would be enough to make two thousand, so that they would be firmer and more easier to keep. But if one did not wish to banish the copper money, and in truth it is difficult to get on without it, at least let it be pure, and without mixture of other metal, and let one give it a fixed price, not variable as it was formerly in the city of Rome, where the silver *denier* which according to the opinion of many weighed as much as the dram or gros of our time, was worth ten *asses*, that is to say, ten pounds of brass, a pound then being of twelve ounces: so much so that a pound of silver was worth nine hundred and sixty pounds of brass and after awhile they diminished so much the weight of the *asse*, that of one they made twenty-four, of the weight of a half ounce each, which had the same designation as when they weighed one pound. And nevertheless the smallest money must have a fixed price, because it is the rule and measure of the others. One must then either forbid entirely the use of copper for money, or give it a certain price which remains for all time, as well as that of gold and silver, so that everyone may be assured of the value of what he has. Now as to the copper coin, I know that one cannot degrade it without doing a wrong to the people, who will lose much if one reduces the moneys to that above mentioned: but also they will be assured to have in the future good moneys, and will

point occasion d'apprehender vn rehaussement ou descry d'icelles, comme il arriue trop souuent. Et la perte qu'il peut souffrir en ceste police ne sera iamais si grande, que l'vtilité de la paix generale: ioinct que le Monarque peut d'ailleurs recompenser son peuple & preuenir le mescontentement causé d'vne telle nouueauté, en rabbaissant les tailles, & en faisant distribuer gratuitement du bled ou autres viures, aux plus necessiteux, afin qu'ils portent patiemment le descri de leur billon, dont eux & leur posterité receuront finalement le fruict. En somme il ne faut craindre d'entreprendre vne chose qui est necessaire, & facile à executer, pourueu que la paix soit vniuerselle. Mais pour bien commencer cest affaire, il faudroit qu'vn puissant Prince exhortast tous les autres à suiure le reglement susdict, afin que les passages estans libres & le commerce estant ouuert par le moyen de la paix, on puisse trafiquer par tout sans dommage. Il n'y a personne qui soit plus capable de cela que le Pape. C'est son deuoir de moyenner vne concorde general

221 entre les Princes Chrestiens. Et pour le regard des Mahometans, qui font vne notable partie du monde, le Roy de France pour le credit & reputation qu'il a parmy eux, pourra plus aysement les faire condescendre à la paix. Car l'Empereur, les Roys d'Hespagne, de Pologne, de Perse, & d'Æthiopie, feroient peut-estre quelque difficulté d'enuoyer sur ce subiect leurs Ambassadeurs au grand



not have occasion to fear a raising or debasing of them, as happens too often. And the loss that they can suffer in this policy will never be so great, as the utility of a general peace: added that the monarch can besides reward his people and prevent the discontent caused by such a novelty, by lowering the taxes, and by making a gratuitous distribution of wheat or other foods, to the most needy, so that they will bear patiently the discrediting of their copper, of which they and their posterity will finally receive the fruits. In fine one must not fear to undertake a thing which is necessary, and easy to execute, provided that peace be universal. But in order to begin this affair properly, it would be necessary that a powerful Prince should exhort all the others to follow the regulation described above, in order that the passages being free and commerce being open by means of peace, one can trade everywhere without damage. There is no one more capable of that than the Pope. It is his duty to bring about a general concord between the Christian Princes. And as regards the Mahometans, who form a notable part of the world, the King of France, on account of the credit and reputation that he has among them, will more easily make them condescend to peace. For the Emperor, the Kings of Spain, of Poland, of Persia, and of Ethiopia, would make perhaps some difficulty to send on this subject their ambassadors to the Grand Turk,

Seigneur, & craindroient qu'on eust opinion que la crainte qu'ils auroient de sa puissance ne les contraignit de pourchasser la paix. Laquelle consideration n'a point de lieu pour le regard de nostre Roy, d'autant qu'il n'a point d'occasion de redouter l'Empereur des Turcs: voila pourquoy il peut honorablement entreprendre cest affaire, attendu mesme l'ancienne alliance qui est entre les deux Royaumes de France & Turquie. Quoy que ce soit, il est bien seant que les Chrestiens parlent de la paix les premiers, quand ce ne seroit que pour auoir la liberté d'aller au saint sepulchre, & eux estans d'accord avec le Turc pourront sans difficulté] obtenir aussi la paix des autres Monarques, qui ne sont assex forts pour resister à deux partis si puissans. Nous lisons que l'Hermite Simonet Camertin accorda François Sforce avec les Venitiens. On a veu depuis quatre vingts ans les deux plus grands Princes de la chrestienté deux fois reconciliez par l'entremise d'un simple Religieux: A plus forte raison nous devons esperer vne bonne paix, si les Souuerains s'en meslent. Dieu qui manie le cœur des Roys les vueille disposer à vne si sainte entreprise, afin de faire cesser tant de maux, & de ramener ce beau siecle que les anciens Theologiens promettent apres la reuolution de six mille ans. Car ils disent qu'alors le monde viura heureusement & en repos: Or est-il que ce terme est tantost expiré, & quand il ne le seroit pas,

and they might fear that the idea might arise that the fear that they had of his power forced them to purchase peace. Which consideration has no point as regards our King, since he has no reason to fear the Emperor of the Turks: that is why he can honorably undertake this affair, the more on account of the ancient alliance which exists between the two monarchies of France and Turkey. However this may be, it is very fitting that the Christians should speak of peace first, if it were only to have the freedom of going to the holy sepulchre, and they being in accord with the Turk will also be able without difficulty to obtain peace from the other monarchs, who are not strong enough to resist two such powerful parties. We read that the hermit Simonet Camertin reconciled Francis Sforza with the Venetians. One has seen since eighty years the two greatest Princes of Christendom twice reconciled by the enterprise of a monk. For all the more reason we must hope for a good peace, if the sovereigns take a hand in it themselves. May God who rules the hearts of kings wish to dispose them to so holy an undertaking, in order to cause to cease so many evils, and to bring back that beautiful century which the ancient theologians promise after there have rolled by six thousand years. For they say that then the world will live happily and in repose: Now it happens that that time has nearly expired, and even if it is not,

il ne tient qu'aux Princes de donner par ad-  
 uance ceste felicité à leurs peuples. Que voulons-  
 nous faire avec ces armes? Viurons nous tousiours  
 à la façon des bestes? Encore si nous procedions  
 en cecy d'une pareille moderation. Car elles ne  
 223 se battent] iamais en troupe, & ne se font point la  
 guerre sinon lors que la faim les presse ou quelque  
 autre necessité les pousse. Les hommes forment  
 vne querelle pour peu de chose, quelquesfois de  
 gayeté de cœur ils se mettent en campagne, non  
 pour combattre seul à seul, mais dix mille contre  
 dix mille, afin d'auoir le passe-temps de voir vn  
 tas de morts, & les ruisseaux de sang humain  
 coulans parmy la plaine. Representons no'deux  
 armées prestes à s'entrechocquer, les regards fu-  
 rieux, les faces hideuses des soldats, les menaces,  
 les cris barbares, qui se font d'une part & d'autre,  
 accompagnez d'un tonnerre de canons: puis vne  
 approche & mêlée espouventable, vne boucherie-  
 d'hommes, les vns desmembrez, les autres à demi  
 morts qui implorent la main de leurs compagnons,  
 & les coniuient de leur donner vn coup mortel,  
 afin d'abreger les tourmens de leur miserable &  
 languissante vie. Apres le carnage s'estend sur  
 les personnes foibles: les vieillards sont massacrez,  
 les enfans tuez ou emmenez captifs, les femmes  
 violees, les temples profanez, tout est à l'aban-  
 224 don, & rien ne se] trouue assureé que l'iniustice.  
 Et tout cela est ordinairement suiuy de deux

it depends only on the Princes to give beforehand this happiness to their peoples: What do we wish to do with these arms? Shall we always live like beasts? Even if we proceed in this with as much moderation. For they never fight in masses, and they do not make war upon one another except when hunger presses them or when some other necessity urges them. Men make a quarrel for small things, sometimes with a light heart they take the field, not to fight one to one, but ten thousand against ten thousand, in order to have the sport of seeing a heap of dead, and streams of human blood flowing in the plain. Let us imagine to ourselves two armies ready to rush upon one another, the furious looks, the hideous faces of the soldiers, the threats, the barbarous cries, which are made from one side and the other, accompanied with a thunder of cannons: then an advance and terrible hand to hand strife, a slaughter of men, some with their limbs lopped off, others half dead who beg the hand of their companions, and beseech them to give them a mortal blow, in order to shorten the torments of their miserable and ebbing life. Afterwards the carnage extends to feeble persons: the old men are massacred, the children killed or led away captives, the women violated, the temples profaned; everything is in a state of anarchy, and nothing is assured except injustice. And all that is generally followed by

autres maux, famine & peste. Car le labourage cessant à l'occasion de la guerre, le peuple n'a dequoy s'alimenter, & est contraint de manger indifferement toute sorte de viandes, bonnes & mauuaises, lesquelles au lieu de seruir de nourriture engendrent des humeurs corrompuës, d'où s'ensuiuent des dysenteries, & maladies contagieuses. Helas qu'Heraclite auoit raison de deplorer l'aveuglement de l'homme qui se cause luy-mesme tant de miseres! Miseres qui rendent sa condition pire que celle ces bestes, de sorte qu'il ne se faut point estonner si Gryllus, apres auoir esté metamorphosé en pourceau, aymoit mieux demeurer en tel estat, que de retourner en sa premiere figure. Aussi le sage Plotin estoit honteux d'estre homme, & ne vouloit iamais parler de ses parens ny de sa naissance. Et aujourd'huy qui faict que nous voyons tant de Timons & d'hommes solitaires? Si nous disons que ce sont des hypocondriaques, ils pourront dire à] bon droict, que nous les faisons deuenir tels. Les meschancetez, vilénies, & cruantez qu'ils voyent tous les iours, sont capables de leur faire hayr le monde, & faudroit estre insensible pour ne s'en esmouuoir. Or quand il n'y auroit autre consideration que la briueté de nostre vie, & la certitude de la mort, qui nous menace à tous momens, nous deurions auoir honte de nous tant tourmenter pour vn honneur imaginaire, & ferions mieux d'imiter les Ægyptiens qui apportoient vn Skelet ou

two other evils, famine and pestilence. For the farming stopping on the occasion of war, the people have not enough to feed themselves, and are forced indifferently to eat all sorts of victuals, good and bad, which instead of serving as nourishment give birth to corrupt humors, from which follow dysentery, and contagious maladies. Oh that Heraclitus was right to deplore the blindness of man who brings on himself so many miseries! Miseries that render his condition worse than that of beasts, so that one must not be astonished if Gryllus, after having been metamorphosed into a pig, preferred to remain in such a state, than to return to his first form. And therefore the wise Plotinus was ashamed of being a man, and would never speak of his parents nor of his birth. And to-day wherefore do we see so many Timons and solitary men? If we say that they are hypochondriacs, they can well say, that we cause them to become such. The wickednesses, villainies, and cruelties that they see every day are sufficient to make them hate the world, and one would have to be insensible not to be moved by it. Moreover even if there were no other consideration than the briefness of our life, and the certitude of death, which threatens us at every instant, we should be ashamed to torment ourselves so much for an imaginary honor, and would do better to imitate the Egyptians who brought a skeleton or other

quelque autre representation de mort au milieu d'un banquet, afin de conuier les assistans à se resiouyr & faire bonne chere tandis qu'ils en auoient l'occasion. Mais il faut viser plus haut & considerer qu'il y a vn Dieu qui punit les pechez des hommes, sur tout l'arrogance & la cruauté: quittons ces deux vices, & les guerres cesseront. Nous remettrons l'espee au fourreau quand nous aurons pensé à la vanité des opinions, qui nous font prendre les armes. Laissons adorer les glaius aux Scythes: Plustost imitons les Esseens qui n'auoient entre eux] aucun armurier: ou bien ces anciens peuples de Catay, qui ne sçauoient que c'estoit de tuer ny de malfaire. Quant à moy ie ne puis en cecy apporter que des vœux & humbles remonstrances, qui seront peut-estre inutiles. I'en ay voulu neantmoins laisser ce tesmoignage à la posterité. S'il ne sert de rien, patience. C'est peu de chose, de perdre du papier, & des paroles. Je protesteray en ce cas comme Solon d'auoir dit & faict ce qui m'a esté possible pour le bien public, & quelques vns qui liront ce petit liure, m'en sçauront gré, & m'honoreront comme i'espere de leur souuenance.

## FIN

*Fautes suruenues à l'Impression.*

Pag. 13. tous subiects. lisez ses subiects.

Pag. 16. ont la façon. lisez à la façon.

Pag. 106. Gaulois. lisez Gantois.



reminder of death in the midst of a banquet, in order to invite the assistants to rejoice, and eat well while they had the opportunity. But we must aim higher and consider that there is a God who punishes the sins of men, especially arrogance and cruelty: let us cast off those two vices, and wars will cease. We will put back the sword into the scabbard when we shall have thought over the vanity of the opinions, that make us take up arms. Let us allow the Scythians to adore the sword: Rather let us imitate the Essenes who had among them no armorer: or else those ancient people of Cathay, who did not know what it was to kill or do evil. As for me I can in this only bring wishes and humble remonstrances, which perhaps will be useless. I have wished, nevertheless, to leave this testimony to posterity. If it serves nothing, patience. It is a small matter, to lose paper, and words. I shall protest in that case like Solon of having said and done what was possible for me for the public good, and some few who read this little book, will be grateful to me for it, and will honor me as I hope with their remembrance.

THE END.

*Faults in the printing.*

- Page 13. all subjects. read his subjects.  
 Page 16. have the manner. read in the manner.  
 Page 106. Gauls. read inhabitants of Ghent.



TABLE DES MATIERES

*CONTENUËS EN CE LIURE*

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