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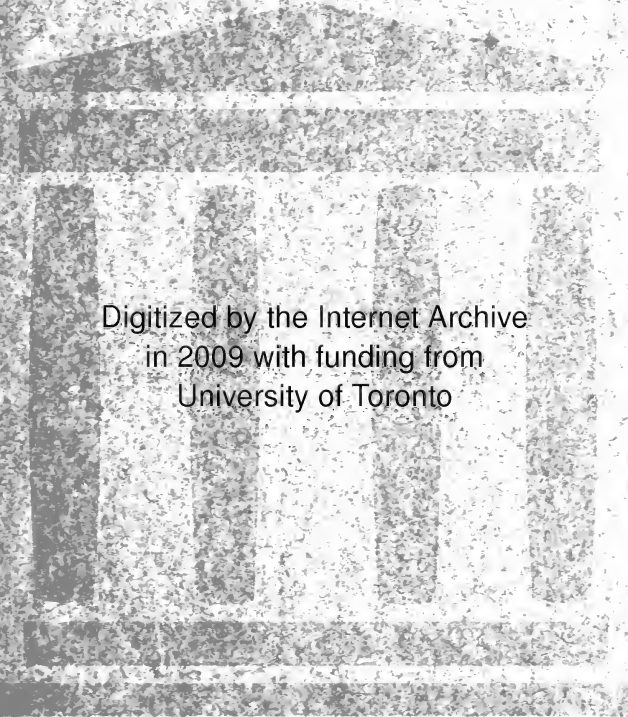
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A
S P E E C H
DELIVERED
BY

Sir Francis Bacon,

In the lower House of
Parliament *quinto* I A C O B I, con-
cerning the Article of *Naturali-*
zation of the *Scottish* Nation.



LONDON,
Printed Anno, 1641.

A

S P E E C H

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Sir Francis Bacon,

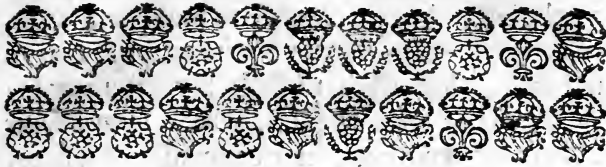
In the lower House of

Parliament upon the 20th of January
during the State of War
between the King and the People



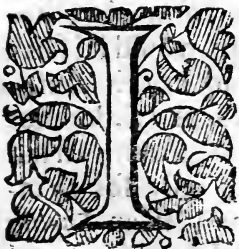
LONDON,

Printed Anno 1641



A SPEECH

Used by Sir *Francis Bacon* in
the lower House of *Parlia-*
ment, quinto Jacobi, con-
cerning the Article of *Na-*
turalization of the
Scottish Na-
tion.



IT may please you (Master
Speaker) preface will I
use none; but put my selfe
upon your good opinions,
to which I have beene ac-
customed beyond my de-
servings, neither will I
hold you in suspence,
what way I will chuse, but now at the first de-
clare my selfe, that I meane to counsell the

House to Naturalize this Nation, wherein nevertheless have a request to make unto you, which is of more efficacy to the purpose I have in hand, than all that I shall say afterwards: And it is the same request, which *Demosthenes* did more then once, in great causes of estate, make to the people of *Athens*, That when they took into their hands the Balls, whereby to give their voices (according as the manner of them was) they would raise their thoughts, and lay aside those considerations, which their private vacations and degrees might minister and represent unto them, and would take upon them, cogitations and minds agreeable to the dignity and honour of the estate.

For (Master Speaker) as it was aptly and sharply said by *Alexander* to *Parmenio*, when upon their recitall of the great offers which *Darius* made, *Parmenio* said unto him, I would accept these offers, were I as *Alexander*, hee turned it upon him againe, so would I (saith hee) were I as *Parmenio*, so in this cause: if an honest *English* Merchant (I doe not single out that State in disgrace, for this Island ever held it honourable, but only for an instance of a private profession) If an *English* Merchant should say, surely I would proceed no further in the union, were I as the King, it might bee reasonably answered; no more
would

would the King, were he as an *English* Merchant; and the like may be said of a Gentleman in the Country, bee he never so worthy or sufficient, or of a Lawyer be hee never so wise or learned, or of any other particular condition in this Kingdome, for certainly (Master Speaker) if a man shall be only or chiefly sensible of those respects which his particular affection, and degree shall suggest, and infuse into him, and not enter into true and worthy considerations of estate, he shall never be able aright to give counsell, or take counsell in this matter, for that if this request be granted, I account the cause obtained.

But to proceed to the matter it self; all consultations do rest upon questions comparative, for when a question is *de vero*; it is simple, for there is but one truth, but when a question is *de bono*; it is for the most part comparative, for there be differing degrees of good and evill, and the best of the good is to be preferred and chosen, and the worst of the evill is to be declined and avoided, and therefore in questions of this nature, you may not looke for answer, proper to every inconvenience alleaged, for somewhat that cannot be specially answered, may neverthelesse be encountred, and overweighed by matter of greater moment, and therefore, for the matter which I shall

shall set forth unto you, will naturally receive the distribution of three parts.

The answer to the inconveniences objected concerning the Naturalization.

First, an answer to these inconveniences which have beene alleaged to ensue, if wee should give way to this Naturalization, which I suppose you will not finde to bee, which I suppose will not be so great, as they have bin made, but that much droffe is put into the balance, to help to make weight.

Secondly, an encounter against the remaynder of these inconveniences, which cannot properly be answered, by much greater inconveniences, which wee shall incurre, if wee doe not proceed to this Naturalization.

Thirdly, an encounter likewise, but of another nature, that is by the gaine and benefit, which wee shall draw and purchase to our selves by proceeding to this Naturalization. And yet to avoid confusion, which ever followeth of too much generality, it is necessary for me (before I proceed to perswasion) to use some distribution of the points or parts of Naturalization, which certainly can be no better, or none other, than the ancient distinction of *jus Civitatis, jus suffragii vel tribus, Jus Petitionis sive honoris*: for all ability and capacitie is either of private interest, of *Meum & Tuum*, or of publike service, and the publike consisteth chiefly

chiefly either in voice or in office, now it is the first of these (Master Speaker) that I will only handle at this time, and in this place, and referre the other two for a Committee, because they receive more distinction and restriction.

To come to the inconveniences alleaged on the other part, the first of them is, that their may ensue of this Naturalization, a surcharge of people upon this Realm of *England*, which is supposed already, to have the full charge and contentment, and therefore there cannot be an admission of the adoptive, without a dismissal of the former times, and conditions of all those, that are native subjects of this Realm. A grave objection, (Master Speaker) and very dutifull, for it proceeds not, of any unkindnesse to the *Scottish* Nation, but of a naturall fastnesse to our selves, for that answer of the Virgins, *Ne forte non sufficiat vobis & nobis*, proceeds not out of any envy, or maligne humour, but out of providence, and the originall charity, which begins with our selves, and I must confesse (M. Speaker) that as the Gentleman said, when *Abraham* and *Lot*, in regard of the greatnesse of their Families, grew pent, and straitned, It is true, that though they were brethren they grew to difference, and to those words, *Vade tu ad dexte-*

ram, & ego ad sinistram; But certainly, I should never have brought that example on that side, for wee see what followed of it, how this separation *ad dextram & ad sinistram*, Caused the miserable captivity of the one brother, and the dangerous though prosperous war of the other, for his rescue and recovery.

But to this objection, (Master Speaker) being so weighty, and so principall, I meane to give three severall answers, every one of them being to my understanding by it selfe Sufficient.

The opinion of
the number of
the Scottish
Nation.

The first is, that the opinion, of the number of the *Scottish* Nation, that should be likely to plant themselves here amongst us, will bee found to bee a thing, rather in conceit then in event, for (Master Speaker) you shall finde these plausible similitudes of a tree, that will thrive the better, if it bee removed into the more fruitfull soile, and of sheepe or cattell, that if they finde a gap or passage open, will leave the more barren pasture, and get into the more rich and plentifull, to be but arguments meereley superficiall, and to have no found resemblance, with the transplanting or transferring of families, for the tree we know by nature, as soone as it is set in the better ground, can fasten upon it, and take nutriment from it, and a sheep as soone as he gets into
the

the better pasture , what should let him to graze or feed , But there belongeth more I take it, to a family or particular person , that shall remove from one Nation to another, for if (Master Speaker) they have not stock, meanes, acquaintance, and custome, habitation, trades, countenance, and the like, I hope you doubt not, but they will starve in the midst of the rich pasture, and are farre enough from grazing at their pleasure, and therefore in this point, which is conjecturall, experience is the best guide for the time past, is a pattern of the time to come, I think no man doubteth (Master Speaker) but his Majesties first coming in , was the greatest spring-tide for the confluence , and enterance of that Nation.

Conjecturall
experience.

Now I would fain understand in these four yeeres space, and the fulnesse, and strength of the Court and Tide , how many families of the Scotch men, are planted in the Citties, Burroughs and Townes of this Kingdom, for I doe assure my selfe, then more then some persons of quality, about his Majesties person heere at Court and in *London*, and some other inferiour persons, that have a dependance upon them , the returne and certificate, if such a Survey should bee made, would be of number extremely small, I report mee to all your

private knowledges of the places where you inhabite.

Now (Master Speaker) as I said, *Si in ligno viridi ita fit, quid fiet in arido*, I am sure there will be no more such spring tides; but you will tell me of a multitude of families of the *Scottish* nation in *Polonia*, and if they multiply in a Countrey so farre, how much more at hand, for that (Master Speaker) you must impute it of necessity to some speciall accident of time and place that draws thē thether: for you see plainly before your eys, that in *Geneva*, which is much neerer, where in *France* they are invited with priviledges, and with the very priviledge of naturalization, yet no such number can bee found, so as it cannot either bee neerenes of place, or priviledge of person that is the cause. But shall I tell you (Master Speaker) what I thinke; In all the places of the world, neere or farre of, they will never take that course of life in this Kingdome, which they content themselves with in *Poland*; for we see it to bee the nature of all men that will rather discover poverty abroad then at home; There is never a gentleman, that hath over reached himself in expences, and thereby must abate his countenance, but hee will rather travell, and doe it abroad, then at home, and we know well they have good high stomacks, and have ever stood

stood in some tearmes of emulation, and therefore they will never live heere except they can live in good fashion, so as I assure you (Master Speaker) I am of opinion, that the first which we now have, to admit them, will have like as that contention had between the Nobility and people of *Rome*, for admitting of a *Plebean* Common-wealth, whilst it was in passage it was very vehement, and mightily stood upon, and when the people had obtained it, they never made any *Plebean Consul*, not in 60 years after, and so will this be, for many yeers, as I am perswaded, rather a matter in opinion and reputation, then in effect, and this is the first answer, that I give to this main inconvenience pretended of surcharge of people.

The second answer, which I give to this objection is this, I must have leave to doubt (Master Speaker) that this Realme of *England* is not peopled to the full, for certain it is, that the territories of *France*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, and some part of *Germany*, doe in equall space of ground, beare and containe, a farre greater quantity of people, if they were mustered by the Poll, neither can I see, that this Kingdome is so much inferiour, unto those forrain parts in fruitfulnessse, as it is in population, which makes mee conceive wee have not our full charge; besides I do see manifestly a-

England not
peopled to the
full.

mongst us; the badges and tokens, rather of scarcenesse, then of presse of people, as drowned grounds, Commons, Wastes, and the like, which is a plain demonstration, that howsoever there may be an overswelling throng and presse of people, here about *London*, which is most in our eie, yet the body of the Kingdome is but thin sowne with people, and whosoever shal compare the ruines and decayes of ancient Towns in this Realme, with the erectments and augmentations of new, cannot but judge that this Realme hath been farre better peopled in former times, it may be in the *Hep-tarchy*, or otherwise generally the rule holdeth, The smaller the State the greater the population *Pro rato*, And whether this be true or no, we neede not seeke further, then to call to our remembrance, how many of us serue heere in this place, for desolate and decayed Burroughs,

Mediterrane,
not Maritime
Countries
surcharged
with people.

Againe, (Master Speaker) whosoever looketh into the principle of estate, must hold, that it is the *Mediterrane* Countries, and not the Maritime which need to feare surcharge of people, for all sea provinces and especially Islands have an other element besides the earth and soile, for their sustentation, what an infinite of people are, and may bee sustained by fishing, carriage by sea, and merchandizing, wherein

wherein I doe again discover, that wee are not all prickt by the multitude of people, for if we were, it were not possible, wee should relinquish, and resigne, such an infinite benefit of fishing, to the Flemming, as it is well knowne wee do, and therefore I see, that wee have waists by Sea, as well as by land, which still is an infallible argument that our industry is not awakned, to seeke maintenance to any our great charge or presse of people. And lastly, (Master Speaker) there was never any Kingdome in this World, had I think, so faire and happy means to issue and discharge the multitude of their people, as this Kingdom hath, in regard of that desolate and wasted Kingdome of *Ireland*, which being a countrey blessed with all most all the dowryes of nature, as Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, good Soile, and temperate climate, and now at last blest under his Majesty also with obedience, doth as it were continually call unto us, for our Colonies and Plantations, and so I conclude my second answer, to this pretended inconvenience of surcharge of people.

The third answer (Maister Speaker) which I give is this, I demande what is the worst effect that can follow of your surcharge of people, look into it and you shall finde it none other then some honourable warre, for the enlargement

largement of their borders, which finde themselves pent, upon forraine parts, with inconveniences, which in a warlike Nation, I know not whether I should tearme an inconvenience or noe, for the saying is most true, though in an other sense, *Omne solum forti patria*. It was spoken of the patience of an exiled man, but it is no lesse true in the valour of a warlike Nation, and certainly (Master Speaker) I hope I may speake it without offence, that whensoever we should hold our selves worthy, and whensoever just cause should be given, either to recover our ancient rights, or to revenge our late wrongs, or to attaine the honour of our ancestors, or to enlarge the patrimony of our posterities, wee would never in this manner forget the considerations of amplitude and greatnesse, and fall at variance about profit and reckonings, fitter a great deale for private persons, then for Parliaments, and Kingdomes, and thus (Master Speaker) I leave this first objection, to such satisfactions as you have heard of.

The fundamentall Lawes of *England* & *Scotland* are divers and severall.

The second objection is, that the fundamentall lawes of these Kingdomes, of *England* and *Scotland*, are yet diverse and severall, nay more that it is declared by the instrument, that they shall so continue; and that there is no intent in
his

his Majesty to make innovation in them, and therefore that it should not be seasonable, to proceed to this Naturalization, whereby to endow them with our Rights and Privileges, except they should likewise receive, and submit themselves to our lawes, and this objection likewise (Master Speaker) I allow to be a weighty objection and worthy to be well answered, and discussed.

The answer to
the second ob-
jection.

The answer which I shall offer is this, It is true for mine owne part (Master Speaker) that I wish the *Scottish* Nation governed by our Lawes; for I hold our lawes, with some reducement, worthy to govern, and it were the World, but this is that which I say, and I desire therein your attention, That according to true reason of estate, Naturalization is in order first and precedent to union of Lawes, and in nature seperable, and in degree a lesse matter, and not inseperable from union of Laws, for Naturalization doth but take out the marks of a Forreiner; but union of Lawes makes them entirely as our selves, Naturalization taketh away seperation, but union of lawes doth take away distinction, doe wee not see (Master Speaker) that in the administration of the World under the great Monarch God himselfe that his Lawes are diverse, one Law in spirits, another in bodies, one Law in Regions celestiall, another in Elementary, and yet the Creatures are all one masse or lump, without any vacuum or seperation,

not likewise see in the state of the Church; that amongst all people, of all languages, and Linages, there is communion of Saints, and that wee are all fellow Citizens, and Naturalizants of the heavenly Jerufalem, And yet neuer the lesse, divers Ecclesiasticall-Laws, Policies and Heirarchies, according to the speech of that worthy Father, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*, and these certainly (Master Speaker) as they are the bonds of love they are the more speciall and private bond, and the bond of Naturalization, the more common and generall, for the lawes are rather *Figura Reipublicæ*, then *forma*, and rather Bonds of perfection, then Bonds of entirenesse, and therefore we see in the experience of our own government, that in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, all our Statutes and Laws, since *Poynings* Laws, are not in force, and yet we deny them not the benefit of Naturalization, in *Gersey* and *Fernesey* and the Isle of *Man*, our common Lawes are not in force, and yet they have the benefit of Naturalization, neither need any man doubt, but that our Lawes and Customes must in small time gather and win upon theirs, for here is the seate of the Kingdome, whence come the supream directions of estate, here is the Kings person and example of which the verse saith,

Poynings Laws.

Regis

Regis ad exemplum, totus componitur orbis.

And therefore it is not possible, although not by solemne and formall acts of estates, yet by the secret operation of no long time, but they will come under the yoake of our laws, and so *Dulcis tractus pari jugo*, and this is the answer I give to the second objection.

The third objection, is some inequality, in the fortunes of these two Nations, *England* and *Scotland*, by the commixture whereof, there may ensue advantage to them, and losse to us, wherein (M. Speaker) it is well that this difference or disparity consisteth, but in the external goods of fortune, for indeed it must be confessed that for the goods of the minde and body they are *alteri nos*, or our selves, for to doe them but right, wee know in their capacities and understandings, they are a people ingenious, in labour industrious, in courage valiant, in body hard, active, and comely, more might be said, but in commending them, we doe but in effect, commend our selves, for they are of one part, and continent with us, and the truth is, we are participant, both of their vertue, and vices, for if they have beene noted, to be a people not soe tractable in government, we cannot without flatter-

Inequality in the fortunes betweene *England* and *Scotland*.

tering our selves, free our selves altogether from that fault; being indeed incident to all martiall people, as wee see it evident by the example of the Romans, and others, even like unto fierce horses; that though they be of better service then others, yet are they harder to guide and manage.

But for this objection (Master Speaker) I purpose to answer it, not by the authority of Scriptures, which saith, *Beatus est dare quam accipere*, But an authority, framed and derived from the judgment of our selves, and our ancestors in the same case; as to the point, for (Master Speaker) in all the lives of our Kings, none useth to carry greater cōmendation then his Majesties noble progenitor King *Edward* the first of that name, and amongst his other cōmendations, both of warre and policie, none is more celebrated, then his purpose and enterprise, for that conquest of *Scotland*, as not bending his designs, to glorious conquests abroad; but to solid strength at home, which nevertheless if it had succeeded, could not but have brought in all these inconveniences, of the commixture of a more opulent Kingdome; with a lesse, that are now alledged, for it is not the yoake, either of our lawes or armes, that can alter the nature of the Climate, or the nature of the soil, neither is it the manner of the

Laws nor
Arms cannot
alter the na-
ture of climat.

the Commixture, that can alter the nature of Commixture, and therefore (Master Speaker) if it were good for us then, it is good for us now, and not to be prized the lesser, because we payed not so deare for it. But a more full objection, I refer over to that, which will come after, to bee spoken touching surety, and greatnesse.

The fourth Objection (Master Speaker) is not properly an objection but rather a pre-occupation of an objection of the other side, for it may bee said and very materially, whereabouts wee doe contend, the benefit of Naturalization is by the Law, in as many as have beene, or shall bee borne, since his Majesties comming to the Crown, already settled and invested, there is no more then, but to bring the *Ante-nati*, into the degree of the *Post-nati*, that men grown, that have well deserved, may bee in no worfe case, then children which have not deserved, and elder brothers in no worfe case, then younger brothers, so as wee stand upon *quiddam non quantum*, being but a little difference of time, of one generation from an other, to this (M. Speaker) it is said by some, that the Law is not so but that the *post-nati* are aliens as the rest. A pointe, that I mean not much to argue, both because it hath been well spoken, by the gentleman that spoke last

before mee, and because I doe desire in this case, and in this place, to speak rather of Conueniencie, then of Law, only this I will say, that, that opinion seems to mee contrary to opinion of Law, and contrary to Authority, and experience of Law; for reason of Law, when I meditate of it, my thinks the wisdome of the Common Lawes of *England* well observed, is admirable in the distribution of the benefit and protection of the Lawes, according to the several conditions of persons in an excellent proportion, the degrees are foure, but bipartite; two of Aliens, and two of Subjects.

The first degree of an alien.

The first degree is of an alien borne under a King, or State, that is enemy, if such an one come into this Kingdom without safe conduct, it is at his perrill, the Law giveth him no protection neither for Body, Lands, nor Goods, so as if hee be slaine, there is no remedy by any appeale at the parties suit although the party were an *English* woman, marry at the Kings suit, the case may bee otherwise in regard of the offence, to the peace, and Crown.

The second degree of an alien born under a State, that is Friend.

The second degree is of an alien that is born under the faith and alleigance of a King or state, that is a friend, unto such a person, the Law doth imparte a great benefit and protection

ction that is concerning things personall, transitory and moveable, as goods and chattells, contracts and the like, but not concerning freehold and Inheritance, and the reason is because hee may be an enemy, though he be not; for the State under the obeyfance of which hee is may enter into quarrell, and hostility, and therefore as the Law, hath but a transitory assurance of him, so it rewards him, but with transitory benefits.

The third degree is of a subject who having beene an alien is by charter and denisation, to such an one, the law doth imparte, yet a more ample benefit, for it gives him power to purchase freehold and inheritance to his owne use, and likewise to enable those Children, borne after his denization to inherit, but neverthelesse hee cannot make title, or convey pedigree from any ancestors peramount, for the Law thinks not good to make him in the same degree, with a subject born, because hee was once an alien, and so might once have beene an Enemy, *Et nemo sub iio fingitur*; affections cannot be settled by any benefit, as when from their Nativity, they are imbred, and inherent.

The third degree of an alien subject.

And the fourth degree, which is the perfect degree

The fourth degree the perfect degree.

degree, is of such a person, as neither is enemy, nor can be enemy in time to come, nor would have beene enemy in time past, nor can bee enemy in time to come, therefore the Law gives unto him, the full benefit of Naturalization.

Now (Master Speaker) if these be true steps and pices of the Law, no man can deny, but whosoever is borne under the Kings obedience never could *in aliquo puncto temporis* bee an enemy, and therefore in reason of Law, is natural, Nay, contrariwise, he is bound *Jure naturalitatis* to defend this Kingdome of *England*, against all Innovators and Rebels, and therefore as hee is obliged to the protection of Aliens, and that perpetually, and universally, so he is to have that perpetuall and universall benefit and protection of lawes which is Naturalization.

For forme of pleading it is true that hath beene said, that if a man, would pleade an other to be an alien, he must not only set forth negatively, and primitively, that hee was born out of the obedience of our Sovereaine Lord the King, but affirmatively, under the obedience of a forraine King, or state, in particular, which never can bee done in this case.

As

As for authority, I will not presse it, you know all what hath beene published by the Kings Proclamation, and for experience of Lawes, wee see it in the subjects of *Ireland*, in the Subjects of *Gernsey*, and *Iernesey*, parcels of the Duchy of *Normandy*, in the Subjects of *Callis*, when it was *English*, which was parcel of the Crowne of *France*, But as I said, I am not willing to enter into an argument of Law, but to hold my selfe to point of conveniencie, so as for my part, I hold all, *Naturales ipso jure*, But yet I am farr from opinion, that it should be a thing superfluous to have it done by.

Chiefely, in respect of that true principall of State, *Principum actiones ad famam sunt Componenda*, It will lift up a signe to all the World, of our Loves towards them, and good agreement with them, and these are (M^r. Speaker, the materiall objections, which have beene on the other side, whereunto you have heard my answeres, weigh them in your wisdomes, and so I conclude that generall part.

Now (Master Speaker) according as I promised I must fill the other ballance, in expressing unto you the inconveniences, which wee shall incur, if we shall not proceed to this Naturalization, wherein that conyenience above all others, and alone by it selfe, if there were

none other, doth exceedingly moove mee, and may moove you, is a position of estate, collected out of the Records of time, which is this, That whatsoever severall Kingdomes or Estates, have bene united in Sovereignty, if that union hath not bene fortified, and bound in with a further union, and namely that which is now in question (of Naturalization) this hath followed, that at one time or other, they have broken, being upon all occasions apt to relaps and revolt to the former Separation.

The union between the Romans and the Latins.

Of this assertion, The first example which I will set before you, is of the memorable Union, which was betweene the Romans and the Latins, which continued from the Battell at the Lake of *Regilla*, for many yeeres unto the Consulship.

At what time, their began about this very point of Naturalization, that warr which was called *Bellum Sociale*, being the most bloody and pernicious warre, that ever the Romane State endured, wherein after numbers of battles, and infinite sieges and surprises of Towns, the Romanes in the end prevailed, and mastered the Latins, And ever as they held the honour of the warre, so looking back into what perdition and confusion, they were near

to

to have been brought, they presently naturalized them all, you speake of a naturalization in blood, there was a naturalization indeed in blood.

Let me set before you againe, the example of *Sparta* and the rest of the *Peneloponnesus* their associates. The State of *Sparta*, was a nice and jealous state of this point of imparting naturalization to their confederates; But what was the issue of it, after they held them in a kind of society and amity for divers yeers, upon the first occasiō given which was no more then the surprisall of the Castle of *Thebes*; by certaine desperate conspirators in the habit of Masters, there ensued immediatly a general revolt & defection of their associates, which was the ruine of their State never afterwards to be recovered.

Sparta and Peneloponnesus.

Of latter times, Let me lead your considerations, to behold the like events in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, which Kingdom was united with *Castile*, and the rest of *Spain*, in the persons of *Ferdinando*, and *Isabella*, and so continued many yeers, but yet so as it stood a Kingdome severed and divided from the rest of *Spain* in priviledges, and directly in this point of Naturalization, or capacity of inheritance, what came of this, Thus much, that now of fresh

The Union of the Kingdome of *Arragon.*

memory, not past twelve yeeres since, onely upon the voice of a condemned man, out of the grate of a prison, towards the streete, that cried which is as much as Liberties or Priviledges, there was raised a dangerous rebellion, which was suppressed with difficulty with an army Royall, and their priviledges disanulled, and they incorporated, with the rest of *Spaine*, upon so small a sparke, notwithstanding so long continuance, were ready to break, and sever againe.

*Florence and
Pisa.*

The like may be said of the State of *Florence*, and *Pisa*, which City of *Pisa* being united unto *Florence*, but not endued with the benefit of Naturalization, upon the first sight of forraine assistance, by the expedition of *Charles* the 8th. of *France* into *Italy*, did revolte, though it bee since againe reunited, and incorporated.

*Charles the
Eighth.*

The like effects in barbarous governments.

The same effect wee see in the most barbarous Government, which shewes it the rather to bee an effect of nature, for it was thought a fit policy by the councill of *Constantinople*, to retaine the Provinces of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, which were as the nurfes of *Constantinople*, in respect of their provisions, to the end they might bee the lesse wasted, onely under *Vayvods*, as Vassals and *Homagers*, and not under *Bashaws*, as Provinces of the *Turkish* Empire,

pire, w^{ch} policy we see by late experience proved unfortunat, as appeared by the revolt of the same three Provinces, under the Armies & Conduct of *Sigismond* Prince of *Transylvania* a leader very famous for a time, which revolt is not yet fully recovered, whereas we seldome or never hear of revolts of Provinces incorporate to the *Turkish* Empire.

On the other part (Master Speaker) because it is true, which the Logicians say, *Opposita juxta se posita magis*, Let us take a view, and wee shall find that wheresoever Kingdomes and States have beene united, and that union incorporate, by the bond of Naturalization mutually, you shall never observe them afterwards upon any occasion of trouble or otherwise, to breake, and sever againe, as wee see most evidently before our eies, in our Provinces of *France* that is to say *Guyen, Province, Normandy, Briain*, which notwithstanding the infinite infesting troubles of that Kingdome, never offered to breake againe.

Naturalization a sure bond.

We see the like effect, in all the Kingdomes of *Spaine*, which are mutually Naturalized as *Leon, Castile, Valentia, Andaluzza, Granada* and the rest, except *Arragon* which held the contrary course, and therefore had the con-

*England never
severed after
once united.*

trary successe , as it was said of *Portingall*,
of which there is not yet sufficient triall,
and lastly wee see the like effect , in our
own Nation , which never rent asunder
after it was united , so as wee now
scarce know whether the Heptarchy were
a Story or a Fable , and therefore (Master
Speaker) when I revolve with my selfe,
these examples and others, so lively expressing
the necessity of a Naturalization to avoid a
relaps into a seperation, and doe heere see ma-
ny arguments and scruples on the other side,
it makes mee think on the old Bishop which
upon a publique disputation of certaine Chri-
stian Divines , with some learned men of the
heathen, did extreamely presse to bee heard ,
and they were loath to suffer him, because they
knew hee was unlearned, though otherwise an
holy, and well meaning man , But at last, with
much adoe hee got to be heard, and when hee
came to speake, in stead of using Argument, he
did only say over his belief, but did it with such
assurance and constancy, that it did strike the
minds of those that heard him, more then any
Argument had done, and so (Master Speaker)
against all these wittie and subtile Arguments,
I say I doe believe , and I would bee sorry to
bee found a prophet in it, that except we pro-
ceed with this Naturalization, though not per-
haps in his Majesties time, who hath such inte-
rest

rest in both nations, yet in the meane time of his Discendants, these realms will bee in continuall danger, to divide and breake again, now if any man bee of that carelesse minde,

Maneat mors ea, ea cura nepotes.

Or of that harde minde, to leave things to be tried by the sharpest sword, sure I am, hee is not of Saint *Pauls* opinion, who affirmeth that whosoever useth not fore-sight and provision for his family, is worse then an unbeliever, much more if wee shall not use fore-sight, for these two Kingdomes, that comprehend in them so many families, but leave things open to the perill of future divisions, and thus have I expressed unto you, what inconveniences, of all others sinke deepest with mee, as the most weighty, neither doth their want other inconveniences (Master Speaker) the effects and influence whereof, I feare will not bee adjourned to so long a day, as this that I have spoken of, But I leave it to your considerations, and wisdomes, to consider, whether you doe not thinke, in case by the deniall of this Naturalization, any Pike, alienation, or unkindnesse, I doe not say should bee, but should be thought to bee, or noised to bee betweene these two Nations, whether it will not quicken or exite, all the envious, and malicious

A binding in-
convenience.

licious humours, wheresoever (which are now covered) against us, either forraine or at home, and so open the way to practice, and other Engines, and machinations, to the disturbance of this State. As for that other inconvenience, it is too binding and too pressing to be spoken of, and may do better a great deale in your mindes then in my mouth, or the mouth of any man else, because as I have said it doth presse our liberty too farre, and therefore (M. Speaker) I come to this third generall part of my division, concerning the benefit which we shall purchase, by knitting this knot, surer and straiter, betweene these two Kingdomes, by the Communicating of Naturalization.

The benefit
of Surety.

The benefits may appeare to be two, the one surety the other greatnesse, touching surety (Master Speaker) it was well said by *Titus Quintus* the *Romane*, touching the State of *Pelopnesus*, that the Tortoise is safe within her shell, *Testudo inter tegumen tuta est*, but if there be any parts that ly open, they endanger all the rest, wee know well, that although the state at this time bee in a happy peace, yet for the time past, the more ancient enemy is the *French*, and the more late the *Spaniard*, and both these had as it were, their severall poster-
tern

stern gates, whereby they might have approach and enterance, to any us, *France* had *Scotland* and *Spaine* had *Ireland*, for these were but the two accessses which did comfort and encourage, both these enemies to assaile and trouble us, wee see that of *Scotland* is cut off, by the Union of these two Kingdomes, if that it shall bee made constant and permanent, that of *Ireland* is cut off likewise by the convenient situation of the North of *Scotland*, towards the North of *Ireland*, where the fore was, which wee see being suddenly closed by meanes of this salve, so that as now there are no parts of the State exposed to danger to bee a temptation to the ambition of Forreiners, but their approches and avenues are taken away, for, I doe little doubt but these Forreiners, which had so little successe, when they had those advantages, will have much lesse comfort, now that they bee taken from them, and soe much for surety.

For greatnesse (Master Speaker) I thinke The benefit of a man may speake it soberly, and without greatnesse. bravery, that this Kingdome of *England*, having *Scotland* united, *Ireland* reduced, the Sea provinces of the low Countries Contracted

tracted, and shipping maintained, is one of the greatest Monarchies, in forces truly esteemed, that hath beene in the World, for certainly the Kingdomes heere on earth, have a resemblance with the Kingdome of Heaven, which our Saviour compareth not to any great Kinnell or nut, but to a very small graine, yet such an one as is apt to grow and spread, and such doe I take to be the Constitution of this Kingdome, if indeed our Countrey bee referred to greatness and power, and not quenched too much with the consideration of utility and wealth, for (M. Speaker) was it not thinke you a true answer, that *Solon* of *Greece* made to rich King *Croesus* of *Lydia*, when he shewed unto him a great quantity of Gold that hee had gathered together in ostentation of his greatness and might, but *Solon* said to him contrary to his expectation, why Sir, if an other come that hath better Iron then you, hee will bee Lord of all your Gold, neither is the authority of *Machiavel* to be despised, who scorneth the proverbe of State, taken first from a speech of *Mucianus*, that monies are the finewes of wars, and faith, there are no true finewes of wars, but the very Armes of valiant men.

Nay

Nay more (Master Speaker) whoſoever shall look into the ſeminary, and beginning of the Monarchie of the world, hee shall finde them founded in poverty. The beginning of Monarchies founded in poverty

Persia a Countrey barren and poore in respect of *Media* whom they reduced.

Macedon a Kingdome ignoble, and mercenary untill *Phillip* the Sonne of *Amintas*. Macedon.

Rome had poore and pastorall beginning. Rome.

The *Turks* a band of *Sarmathian Scithes*, that in a vagabond maner made imprefion upon that part of *Asia* which is called *Turcomania*, out of which, after much varieties of fortune, sprung the *Othoman* family now the terror of the World. The Turks.

So we know the *Gothes*, *Vandalls*, *Alans*, *Huns*, *Lombards*, *Normans*, and the rest of the Northern people, in one age of the World, made their discent and expedition upon the *Romane* Empire, and came not as rovers to carry away prey & be gone again, but planted themselves in a number of rich and fruitfull Provinces, where not only

their generations, but their names remaine to this day, witnesse *Lombardy*, *Catalonia*, a name compounded of *Goth* and *Alan*, *Andaluzia*, a name corrupted from *Vandelitia*, *Hungaria*, *Normanzey*, and others.

The *Switzers*.

Nay the fortune of the *Swisses* of late yeeres, which are bred in a barren and moutenous Countrey, is not to bee forgotten, who first ruined the duke of *Burgundy*, the same who had almost ruined the Kingdome of *France*, what time after the battell neere *Granfon*, The rich Jewell of *Burgundy*, prised at many thousands, was sold for a few pence, by a common *Swisse*, that knew no more what a jewell meant, then did *Esopes* Cock; and againe, the same Nation in revenge of a scorne was the ruine of the French Kings affaires in *Italy*, *Lewis* the 12. for that King, when hee was pressed somewhat rudely, by an agent of the *Swissers*, to raise their pensions, brake into words of choller, (what saith hee) will these villains of the mountain put a taske upon mee, which words lost him his Duchy of *Millain*, and chased him out of *Italy*.

All which examples (Master Speaker) doe well prove *Solons* opinion, of the authority

rity and Majesty that Iron hath over Gold, and therefore if I shall speake unto you mine owne heart, me thinkes we should a little disdain, that the Nation of *Spain*, which howsoever of late it hath begun to rule, yet of ancient time, served many ages, first under *Carthage*, then under *Rome*, after under *Saracens*, *Goths* and others, should of late yeeres take unto them that Spirit, as to dreame of a monarchy in the West, according to that devise, *vidi Solem Orientem in Occidente*, onely because they have raised, from some wild, and unarmed people, Mines and store of Gold, and on the other side, that this Island of *Britain*, seated and named as it is, and that hath, I make no question, the best Iron in the World, that is the best souldiers of the World, shall thinke of nothing but accompts and audits, and *meum & tuum* and I cannot tell what.

(Master Speaker) I have I take it, gone through the parts which I propounded to my selfe, wherein if any man shall think I have sung a *placebo*, for mine owne particular, I would have him know that I am not so unseene in the world, but that I discern, it were much alike for my private fortune a *lacebo*, as to sing a *placebo* in this businesse,

But

But I have spoken out of the Fountain of
my heart, *Credidi propter quod locutus*
sum, I believed, therefore I spake,
so as my duty is performed,
The Judgment is yours,
God direct it for
the best.



F I N I S.



