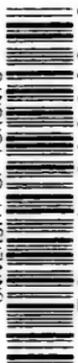
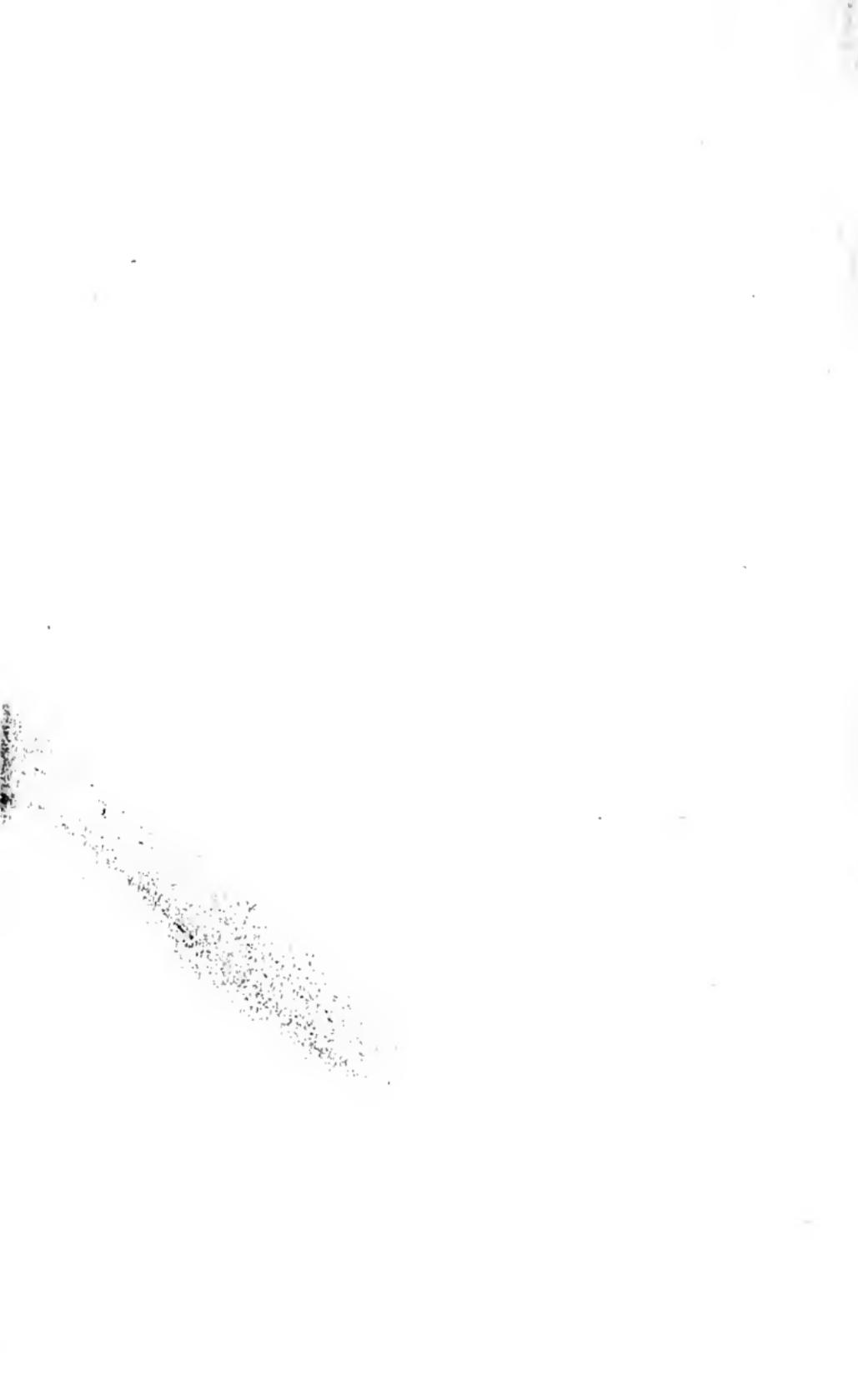


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THE
ESSAYS,

OR

Councils, Civil and Moral,

OF

Sir FRANCIS BACON,

Lord *Verulam*, Viscount *St. Alban*.

With a TABLE of the Colours

OF

GOOD and EVIL.

And a Discourse

Of the WISDOM of the

ANCIENTS.

To which is added in this Edition the Character
of Queen ELIZABETH.

L O N D O N :

Printed by *H. Clark*, for *R. Chiswell*, *S. Smith*,
T. Bennet, *B. Walford*, *T. Childe*, *G. Sawbridge*,
and *R. Wellington*. 1706.

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1706

TO THE
Right Honourable my very good Lord,
THE
Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace,
LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL
OF
ENGLAND:

Excellent Lord,

Solomon *says*, A Good Name is a precious Ointment; and, I assure my self, such will Your Grace's Name be with Posterity; for your Fortune and Merit, both have been Eminent; and You have planted Things that are like to last. I do now publish my Essays; which, of all my other Works, have been most Current: For that, as it seems, they come home to Men's Business, and Bosoms. I have enlarged them both in Number and Weight;

The Epistle Dedicatory.

so that they are indeed a New Work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my Affection, and Obligation to Your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English and Latin: For I conceive, that the Latin Volume of them, (being in the Universal Language) may last as long as Books last. My Instauration I dedicated to the King; my History of Henry the Seventh (which I have now also translated into Latin) and my Portions of Natural History to the Prince. And these I Dedicate to Your Grace, being of the best Fruits, that, by the good increase which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yield. God lead Your Grace by the Hand.

Your Graces most obliged

And Faithful Servant,

Fr. St. ALBAN.

Elogies on the Illustrious Author:

Ben. Johnson, in his *Discoveries*, p. 101.

THere happened in my Time, one noble Speaker [Lord *Verulam*] who was full of Gravity in his Speaking. His Language (where he could spare or pass by a Jest) was nobly Censorious. No Man ever spake more neatly, more prestly, more weightily or suffered less emptiness, less Idleness in what he uttered. No Member of his Speech but consisted of his own Graces. His Hearers could not cough or look aside from him without Loss. He commanded where he Spoke; and had his Judges angry and pleased at his Devotion. No Man had their Affections more in his Power. The fear of every Man that heard him, was, lest he should make an end. *And afterwards*, Lord *Egerton*, the Chancellor, a great and grave Orator, &c. But his Learned and able, (though unfortunate) Successor, [Lord *Bacon*] is he, who hath filled up all Members, and performed that in our Tongue, which may be compar'd or prefer'd, either to insolent *Greece* or haughty *Rome*. In short, within his View, and about his Times, were all the Wits born, that could honour a Language or help Study. Now Things daily fall; Wits grow downward, and Eloquence goes backward: So that he may be nam'd and stand as the mark and *ἀκμή* of our Language.

And a little after, My Conceit of his Person was never increased toward him, by his Place or Honours. But I have and do Reverence him for the Greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seem'd to me ever by his Work, one of the greatest Men, and most worthy of Admiration, that had been in many Ages. In his Adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him Strength, for Greatness he could not want. Neither
could

could I condole in a Word or Syllable for him ; as knowing no Accident could do harm to Vertue, but rather help to make it manifest.

A. Cowley, in his Poem to the Royal Society, after some Reflections upon the State of Philosophy aforetime, goes on.

Some few exalted Spirits this latter Age has shown,
That labour'd to assert the Liberty
(From Guardians, who were now Usurpers grown)
Of this Old Minor still, Captiv'd Philosophy ;
But 'twas Rebellion call'd to Fight
For such a long oppressed Right.

BACON at last, a mighty Man, arose,
Whom a wise King and Nature chose
Lord Chancellor o' both their Laws,
And boldly undertook the injur'd Pupils Cause.

III.

Authority, which did a Body boast,
Though 'twas but Air condens'd, and stalk'd about,
Like some old Giants more Gigantick Ghost ;
To terrise the Learned Rout
With the plain Magick of true Reasons Light,
He chac'd out of our Sight,
Nor suffer'd Living Men to be misled
By the vain shadows of the Dead :
To Graves from whence it rose, the conquer'd Phantome fled ;
He broke that Monstrous God which stood
In midst of th' Orchard, and the whole did claim,
Which with a useless Sithe of Wood,
And something else not worth a Name,
(Both vast for shew, yet neither fit
Or to Defend, or to Beget ;

*Ridiculous and senseless Terrors !) made
 Children and superstitious Men afraid.
 The Orchard's open now, and free ;
 B A C O N has broke that Scare-crow Deity
 Come, enter, all that will,
 Behold the rip'ned Fruit, come gather now your fill.
 Yet still, methinks, we fain wou'd be
 Catching at the Forbidden Tree,
 We would be like the Deity,
 When Truth and Falshood, Good and Evil, we
 Without the Senses aid within our selves would see ;
 For 'tis God only who can find.
 All Nature in his Mind.*

IV.

*From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought,
 (Though we our Thoughts from them perversly drew)
 To Things, the Minds right Object, he it brought,
 Like foolish Birds to painted Grapes we flew ;
 He sought and gather'd for our Use the True ;
 And when on heaps the chosen Bunches lay,
 He prest them wisely the Mechanic way,
 Till all their Juyce did in one Vessel join,
 Ferment into a Nourishment Divine,
 Tho Thirsty Souls refreshing Wine.
 Who to the Life an exact Piece would make,
 Must not from others Work a Copy take ;
 No, not from Ruben's or Vandike ;
 Much less content himself to make it like
 Th' Ideas and the Images which lie
 In his own Fancy, or his Memory.
 No, he before his Sight must place
 The Natural and Living Face ;
 The real Object must command
 Each Judgment of his Eye, and Motion of his Hand.*

V.

*From these long Errors of the way,
 In which our wandring Predecessors went,
 And like th' old Hebrews many Tears did stray
 In Desarts but of small Extent,
 BACON, like Moses, led us forth at last,
 The barren Wilderness he past,
 Did on the very Border stand,
 Of the Blest promis'd Land,
 And from the Mountain Top of his Exalted Wit,
 Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.
 But Life did never to one Man allow
 Time to Discover Worlds, and Conquer too;
 Nor can so short a Line sufficient be
 To fathom the vast depths of Natures Sea:
 The Work he did we ought t' admire,
 And were unjust if we should more require
 From his few Tears, divided 'twixt the Excess
 Of low Affliction, and high Happiness:
 For who on Things remote can fix his Sight,
 That's always in a Triumph, or a Fight?*

A. Cowley.

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ESSAYS.

I.

Of Truth.

WHat is *Truth*? Said jesting *Pilate*, and would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a Bondage to fix a Belief; affecting Free-will in thi king, as well as in acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing Wits, which are of the same Veins; though there be not so much Blood in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth*; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon Men's Thoughts, that doth bring *Lyes* in favour; but a natural, though corrupt Love, of the *Lye* it self. One of the later Schools of the *Grecians* examineth the Matter, and is at a stand, to think what should be in it, that Men should love *Lyes*; where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets, nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant, but for the *Lyes* sake. But I cannot tell. This same *Truth* is a naked and open Day-light, that doth not shew the Masks, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the World, half so stately and daintily as Candle-light. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearl, that sheweth best by Day; but it will not rise to the price of a Diamond or

Sir Francis Bacon's *Essays*.

Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied Lights. A mixture of a *Lye* doth ever add Pleasure. Doth any Man doubt, that if there were taken out of Men's Minds vain Opinions, flattering Hopes, false Valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Minds of a number of Men, poor shrunken things, full of Melancholy and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers in great severity call'd Poësie, *Vinum Dæmonum*, because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a *Lye*. But it is not the *Lye* that passeth through the Mind, but the *Lye* that sinketh in, and setteth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in Men's depraved Judgments and Affections; yet *Truth*, which only doth judge it self, teacheth, that the Enquiry of *Truth*, which is the love-making, or wooing of it: The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the presence of it: And the belief of *Truth*, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God in the Works of the Days, was Light of the Sense; the last was the Light of Reason; and his Sabbath-work ever since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed Light upon the face of the Matter or Chaos; then he breathed Light into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the Shore, and to see Ships tost upon the Sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battle, and the adventure thereof below: But no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage-ground of Truth, (an Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and serene:) and to see the Errors, and Wand'rings, and Mists, and Tempests in the Vale below: So always that this prospect be with Pity, and not with Swelling or Pride. Certainly it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Man's Mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the Poles of Truth.*

To pass from Theological and Philosophical *Truth*, to the *Truth* of Civil Business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that Practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature, and that mixture of Falshood is like allay in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the Serpent, which goeth basely upon the Belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice that doth so cover a Man with shame, as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore *Montaigne* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, Why the word of the *Lye* should be such a Disgrace, and such an odious Charge: Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a Man lyeth, is as much as to say, that he is a Brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lye* faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the wickedness and falshood, and breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peal, to call the Judgments of God upon the Generations of Men; it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *He shall not find Faith upon the Earth.*

II.

Of Death.

MEN fear *Death*, as Children fear to go in the dark: And as that natural fear in Children is encreased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly the Contemplation of *Death*, as the *Wages of Sin*, and passage to another World, is Holy and Religious; but the fear of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in religious Meditations, there is sometimes a mixture of Vanity and Superstition. You shall read in some of the Friars Books of *Mortification*, that a Man should think with himself, what the Pain is, if he have but his Fingers ends pressed

or tortured, and thereby imagine what the Pains of *Death* are, when the whole Body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times *Death* passeth with less Pain, than the torture of a Limb: For the most vital Parts are not the quickest of Sense. And by him that spake only as a Philosopher, and natural Man, it was well said; *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipsa*, Groans, and Convulsions, and discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blacks, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no Passion in the Mind of Man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of *Death*: And therefore *Death* is no such terrible Enemy, when a Man hath so many attendants about him, that can win the Combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death*; *Love* slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Grief* flieth to it; *Fear* pre-occupateth it. Nay we read, after *Otho* the Emperor had slain himself, *Pity* (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meer compassion to their Sovereign, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay, *Seneca* adds *Niceness* and *Satiety*; *Cogita quam diu eadem faceres*; *Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiam Fastidiosus potest*. A Man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good Spirits the approaches of *Death* make. For they appear to be the same Men till the last instant. *Augustus Caesar* died in a Complement; *Livia, Conjugii nostri memor, vive, & vale*. *Tiberius* in Dissimulation, as *Tacitus* saith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio deserebant*. *Vespasian* in a Jest, sitting upon the stool; *Ut puto, Deus fio*. *Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani*, holding forth his Neck. *Septimius Severus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*; and the like. Certainly the *Stoicks* bestowed too much cost upon *Death*, and by their great Preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, *Qui finem vite extremum inter munera ponat Natura*.

It is as natural to die, as to be born; and to a little Infant perhaps the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Blood, who for the time scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a Mind fix'd, and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of *Death*. But above all, believe it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends and Expectations. *Death* hath this also; that it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envy.

— *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

III.

Of Unity in Religion.

Religion being the chief band of humane Society, it is a happy thing when it self is well contained within the true band of *Unity*. The Quarrels and Divisions about *Religion* were Evils unknown to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the Religion of the Heathen consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies, than in any constant Belief. For you may imagine what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, that he is a *Jealous* God, and therefore his Worship and *Religion* will endure no Mixture or *Partner*. We shall therefore speak a few Words concerning the *Unity* of the Church; *What are the Fruits thereof, what the Bonds, and what the Means.*

The *Fruits* of *Unity* (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; the one towards those that are *without the Church*, the other towards those that are *within*. For the former; It is certain, that Heresies and Schisms are of all others the greatest Scandals, yea, more than corruption of Manners. For as in the Natural Body, a Wound or Solution of continuity, is worse than

a corrupt Humour ; so in the Spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as a breach of *Unity*: And therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith, *Ecce in deserto*, another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*; that is; when some Men seek Christ in the Conventicles of Hereticks, and others in an outward face of a Church, that Voice had need continually to sound in Men's Ears, *Nolite exire, Go not out*. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those *without*) saith, *If an Heathen come in and hear you speak with several Tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when Atheists and prophane Persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary Opinions in *Religion*; it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them to *sit down in the Chair of the Scorners*. It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that in his Catalogue of Books of a feigned Library, sets down this Title of a Book, *The Morrice-dance of Hereticks*. For indeed every Sect of them hath a divers Posture, or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in Worldings, and depraved Politicks, who are apt to contemn Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit toward those that are within*. It is *Peace* which containeth infinite Blessings; it establisheth Faith; it kindleth Charity; the outward Peace of the Church distilleth into Peace of Conscience; and it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controversies, into Treatises of *Mortification and Devotion*.

Concerning the *Bonds of Unity*, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extreams. For to certain *Zealots* all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it Peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with Peace? Turn thee behind me.* Peace is not the Matter, but following a Party. Contrariwise certain *Laodiceans*, and luke-warm Persons, think they may accomodate Points

of Religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty Reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and Man. But these extreams are to be avoided; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross Clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded. *He that is not with us, is against us*: And again, *He that is not against us, is with us*: That is, if the points Fundamental, and of Substance in Religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from Points not meerly of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a thing may seem to many a Matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this Advice, according to my small Model: Men ought to take heed of rendring God's Church by two kinds of Controversies: The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, *Christ's Coat indeed had no seam, but the Churches Vesture was of divers Colours*; whereupon he saith, *Investe varietas sit, scissura non sit*; they be two things, *Unity* and *Uniformity*. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenuous than substantial. A Man that is of Judgment and Understanding, shall sometimes hear Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ, mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass, in that distance of Judgment which is between Man and Man, shall we not think, that God above, that knows the Heart, doth not discern that frail Men in some of their Contradictions intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such Controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devit a profanas*

fanas vocum novitates, & oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ;
Men create Oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Unities*; the one, when the *Peace* is grounded but upon an implicate Ignorance; for all Colours will agree in the dark: The other when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in Fundamental Points. For Truth and Falshood in such Things, are like the *Iron and Clay in the Toes of Nebuchadnezzar's Image*, they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the *Means of procuring Unity*; Men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting of *Religious Unity*, they do not dissolve and deface the Laws of Charity, and of Humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians, the Spiritual and Temporal; and both have their due Office and Place in the maintenance of *Religion*. But we may not take up the third Sword, which is *Mahomet's Sword*, or like unto it; that is, to propagate *Religion* by Wars, or by sanguinary Persecutions to force Consciences, except it be in cases of overt Scandal, Blasphemy, or intermixture of Practice against the State; much less to nourish Seditions, to authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions, to put the Sword into the People's Hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first Table against the Second, and so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the sacrificing of his own Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

what would he have said, if he had known of the Massacre in *France*, or the Powder-Treason of *England*? He would have been seven times more Epicure and
Atheist

Atheist than he was : For as the Temporal Sword is to be drawn with great Circumspection in cases of *Religion*; so it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the common People. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devil said, *I will ascend and be like the highest*; but it is greater Blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in, saying, *I will descend and be like the Prince of Darkness*; And what is it better, to make the cause of *Religion* to descend to the cruel and execrable Actions of Murdering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States and Governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a Dove, in the shape of a Vulture or Raven; and to set out of the Bark of a Christian Church, a Flag of a Bark of Pyrates and *Assassines*. Therefore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrin and Decree, Princes by their Sword, and all Learnings both Christian and Moral, as by their Mercury Rod, do damn and send to Hell for ever those Facts and Opinions, tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in Councils concerning *Religion*, that Council of the Apostle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*: And it was a notable Observation of a wise Father, and no less ingenuously confessed, *That those which held and perswaded pressure of Consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.*

IV.

Of *Revenge.*

R*evenge* is a kind of wild Justice; which the more Man's Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as to the first wrong, it doth but offend the Law, but the *Revenge* of that wrong putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly in taking *Revenge*, a Man is but

but even with his Enemy; but in passing it over he is superior: for it is a Prince's part to pardon. And *Solomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the Glory of a Man to pass by an Offence*. That which is past, is gone, and irrecoverable; and wise Men have enough to do with things present, and to come: therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no Man doth a wrong for the wrongs sake, but thereby to purchase himself Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man for loving himself better than me? And if any Man should do wrong meerly out of ill Nature, why? Yet it is but like the Thorn or Bryar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of *Revenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then let a Man take heed, that the *Revenge* be such, as there is no Law to punish; else a Man's Enemy is still before-hand, and it is two for one. Some when they take *Revenge*, are desirous the Party should know whence it cometh: This is the more generous. For the Delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt, as in making the Party repent. But base and crafty Cowards are like the Arrow that flieth in the Dark. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence* had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall read*, (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; but you never read, that we are commanded to forgive our Friends*. But yet the Spirit of *Job* was in a better tune; *Shall we* (saith he) *take good from God's hand, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a Man that studieth *Revenge*, keeps his own Wounds green, which otherwise would heal, and do well: *Publick Revenges* are for the most part Fortunate, as that for the death of *Cesar*, for the death of *Pertinax*, for the death of *Henry* the Third of *France*, and many more. But in private *Revenges* it is not so. Nay, rather vindicative Persons live the Life of Witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate. Of

V.

Of Adversity.

IT was an high of Speech *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoicks) *That the good things which belong to Prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to Adversity are to be admired: Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly, if Miracles be the command over Nature, they appear most in *Adversity*. It is yet a higher Speech of his, than the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a Man, and the security of a God: Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in Poësie, where Transcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have been busie with it; for it is in effect the thing, which is figured in that strange Fiction of the ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without Mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules*, when he went to unbind *Prometheus* (by whom Humane Nature is represented) sailed the length of the great Ocean in an Earthen Pot or Pitcher; Lively describing Christian Resolution, that saileth in the frail Bark of the Flesh, through the Waves of the World. But to speak in a mean: The Virtue of *Prosperity* is Temperance, the Virtue of *Adversity* is Fortitude, which in Morals is the more heroical Virtue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing of the *Old Testament*, *Adversity* is the Blessing of the *New*, which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the clearer Revelation of God's Favour. Yet even in the *Old Testament*, if you listen to *David's* Harp, you shall hear as many Hearse-like Airs, as Carols. And the Pencil of the Holy Ghost hath labour'd more in describing the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Solomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Fears and Distastes; and *Adversity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. We see in Needle-works and Embroideries,

broideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively Work upon a sad and solemn Ground, than to have a dark and melancholy Work upon a lightfom Ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of the Heart, by the pleasure of the Eye. Certainly Vertue is like precious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed or crushed: For *Prosperity* doth best discover Vice, but *Adversity* doth best discover Vertue.

VI.

Of Simulation and Dissimulation.

D*issimulation* is but a faint kind of Policy or Wisdom; for it asketh a strong Wit and a strong Heart, to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers: *Tacitus* saith, *Livia* sorted well with the Arts of her Husband and *Dissimulation* of her Son; attributing Arts or Policy to *Augustus*, and *Dissimulation* to *Tiberius*. And again, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian* to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the extream Caution or Closeness of Tiberius*. These properties of Arts, or Policy, and *Dissimulation*, or *Closeness*, are indeed habits and faculties, several, and to be distinguished. For if a Man have that penetration of Judgment, as he can discern, what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom, and when (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him a habit of *Dissimulation* is a hindrance, and a poorness. But if a Man cannot attain to that Judgment, then it is left to him generally to be Close, and a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot chuse or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general; like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men that ever were,

were, have had all an openness and frankness of Dealing; and a Name of Certainty and Veracity: but then they were like Horses, well managed; for they could tell passing well, when to stop or turn; And at such times, when they thought the case indeed required *Dissimulation*, if then they used it, it came to pass, that the former Opinion spread abroad of their good Faith, and clearness of Dealing, made them almost invisible.

There are three Degrees of this hiding and veiling of Man's self. The first *Clofeness, Reservation, and Secrecy*; when a Man leaveth himself without Observation, or without hold to be taken what he is. The Second *Dissimulation* in the *Negative*, when a Man lets fall Signs and Arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third *Simulation* in the *Affirmative*, when a Man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy*: It is indeed the virtue of a Confessor; and assuredly the *Secret* Man heareth many Confessions; For who will open himself to a Blab, or a Babler? But if a Man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth Discovery, as the more close Air sucketh in the more open: And as in Confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a Man's Heart; so *Secret*, Men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while Men rather discharge their Minds, than impart their Minds. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say truth) *Nakedness* is uncomely, as well in Mind as in Body; and it addeth no small Reverence to Mens Manners and Actions, if they be not altogether open. As for Talkers, and Futile Persons, they are commonly vain, and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, *that an habit of Secrecy is both politic and moral*. And in this part it is good, that a Man's Face give his Tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of Man's self, by the tracts of his Countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed, than a Man's words.

For

For the second, which is *Dissimulation*: It followeth many times upon *Secrecy* by a necessity; so that he that will be *Secret*, must be a *Dissembler* in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man to keep an indifferent Carriage between both, and to be *Secret* without swaying the Balance on either side. They will so beset a Man with Questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech: As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no Man can be *Secret*, except he give himself a little scope of *Dissimulation*, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of *Secrecy*.

But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession: That I hold more culpable, and less politick, except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a general custom of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising either of a natural Falseness or Fearfulness, or of a Mind that hath some main Faults; which because a Man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation* in other things, lest his Hand should be out of use.

The great *Advantages* of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* are three. First, To lay asleep Opposition, and to surprize: For where a Man's Intentions are publish'd, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Man's self a fair Retreat: For a Man engage himself by a manifest Declaration, he must go through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Mind of another: For to him that open himself, Men will hardly shew themselves averse, but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of Speech to freedom of Thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd Proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a Lye, and thou shalt find a Truth*; as if there were no way of discovery, but by *Simulation*.

There be also three *disadvantages* to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the Feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, That it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, That it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is *Trust* and *Belief*. The composition and temperature is, to have *Openness* in fame and opinion, *Secrecy* in habit, *Dissimulation* in seasonable use, and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

VII.

Of Parents and Children.

THE joys of *Parents* are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. *Children* sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of Life, but they mitigate the remembrance of Death. The perpetuity by generation is common to Beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to Men: and surely a man shall see the noblest Works and Foundations have proceeded from *Childless Men*, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have fail'd: So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their Houses, are most indulgent towards their *Children*, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work, and so both *Children* and *Creatures*.

The difference in affection of *Parents* towards their several *Children*, is many times unequal, and sometimes un-

worthy, especially in the *Mother*; as *Solomon* saith, *A wise Son rejoyceth the Father, but an ungracious Son shames the Mother.* A man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst, some that are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of *Parents* in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them sui seuit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best, when men keep their authority towards their *Children*, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and *School-Masters*, and *Servants*) in creating and breeding an emulation between *Brothers*, during *Childhood*, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference between *Children* and *Nephews*, or near *Kinsfolks*; but so they be of the lump they care not, though they pass not through their own body. And to say truth, in Nature it is much a like matter, in so much that we see a *Nephew* sometimes resembleth an *Uncle*, or a *Kinsman* more than his own *Parent*, as the Blood happens. Let *Parents* chuse betimes the vocations and courses they mean their *Children* should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the *Children* be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it: but generally the Precept is good, *Optimum elige, suave & facile illud facit consuetudo*, *Younger Brothers* are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the *elder* are disinherited.

VIII.

Of Marriage and Single Life.

HE that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath given hostages to Fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of Vertue or Mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the publick, have proceeded from the *unmarried* or *Childless Men*, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick. Yet it were great reason, that those that have *Children* should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinencies. Nay, there are some other, that account *Wife* and *Children* but as Bills of Charges. Nay, more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take pride in having no *Children*, because they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk, *Such an one is a great rich Man*; and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life* is Liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried men* are best Friends, best Masters, best Servants, but not always best Subjects; for they are light to run away, and almost all Fugitives are of that condition. A *single life* doth well with *Church-men*: for *Charity* will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Pool. It is indifferent for *Judges* and *Magistrates*; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a Servant five times wors than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I find the Generals

commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their *Wives* and *Children*. And I think the despising of *Marriage* amongst the *Turks*, making the vulgar Souldier more base. Certainly *Wife* and *Children* are a kind of humanity; and *Single men*, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust: yet on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) because their tenderneſs is not ſo oft called upon. Grave natures, led by cuſtom, and therefore conſtant, are commonly loving *Huſbands*; as was ſaid of *Ulyſſes*, *Vetulam ſuam prætulit immortalitati*. Chafte Women are often proud and froward, as preſuming upon the merit of their chaſtity. It is one of the beſt bonds both of chaſtity and obedience in the *Wife*, if ſhe thinks her *Huſband* wiſe, which ſhe will never do, if ſhe find him *jealous*. *Wives* are young mens Miſtreſſes, Companions for middle Age, and old mens Nurſes; ſo as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wiſe men, that made answer to the queſtion; When a man ſhould marry? *A young man not yet, an elder man not at all*. It is often ſeen, that bad *Huſbands* have very good *Wives*; whether it be, that it raiſeth the price of their *Huſbands* kindneſs when it comes, or that the *Wives* take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad *Huſbands* were of their own chuſing, againſt their Friends conſent; for then they will be ſure to make good their own folly.

IX.

Of Envy.

THERE be none of the *Affections*, which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but *Love* and *Envy*. They both have vehement wiſhes, they frame themſelves

selves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the Scripture calleth *Envy, an evil eye*; and the Astrologers call the evil influences of the Stars, *Evil Aspects*; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged in the act of *Envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the Eye*. Nay, some have been so curious, as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussio[n] of an *Envious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory or Triumph; for that sets an edge upon *Envy*: And besides, at such times the spirits of the *Person envied* do come forth most into the outward parts and so meet the blow.

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

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

A man that is busie and inquisitive, is commonly *Envious*: for to know much of other mens matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his estate; therefore it must needs be, that he taketh a kind of pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own business, find much matter for *Envy*: For *Envy* is a gadding passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keep home, *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of noble Birth are noted to be *envious* towards new Men when they rise: For the distance is altered;

and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and Eunuchs, and old Men, and Bastards are *envious*: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair anothers, except these defects light upon a very brave and heroicall nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or lame man, did such great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agefilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as Men fallen out with the times, and think other mens harms a Redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters out of levity and vain glory, are ever *Envious*; For they can not want work, it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them; which was the character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *envied Poets* and *Painters*, and *Artificers* in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near Kinsfolks and fellows in Office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their equals, when they are raised: For it doth unbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth them, and cometh oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and *Envy* ever redoubleth from speech and Fame. *Cain's Envy* was the more vile and malignant towards his Brother *Abel*, because when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to *Envy*.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to *Envy*. First, Persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced are less *envied*: For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no Man *envyeth* the payment of a Debt.

but Rewards and Liberality rather. Again, *Envy* is ever joyned with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no *Envy*; and therefore Kings are not *envied*, but by Kings. Nevertheless it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most *envied* at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwise, Persons of worth and merit are most *envied*, when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same *Lustre*; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less *envied* in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and *Envy* is as the Sun-beams, that beat hotter upon a Bank or steep rising Ground, than upon a Flat. And for the same reasons, those that are advanced by degrees are less *envied*, than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have joyned with their Honour great Travels, Cares or Perils, are less subject to *Envy*: For men think that they earn their Honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and Pity ever healeth *Envy*: Wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politick Persons in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a life they lead, chanting *Quant a patimur*. Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of *Envy*. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth *Envy* more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, than for a great Person to preserve all other inferior Officers in their full rights and preheminencies of their places: for by that means there be so many Skreens between him and *Envy*.

Above all, those are most subject to *Envy* which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and

proud manner, being never well but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise Men will rather do Sacrifice to *Envy*, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crost and over-born of things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, That the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw less *Envy*, than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a Man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, To conclude this part; As we said in the beginning, that the act of *Envy* had somewhat in it of *witchcraft*, so there is no other cure of *Envy* but the cure of *witchcraft*; and that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great Persons, bring in ever upon the Stage some body upon whom to drive the *Envy* that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon Ministers and Servants, sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who, so they may have Power and Business, will take it at any cost.

Now to speak of *publick Envy*. There is yet some good in *publick Envy*; whereas in *private* there is none. For *publick Envy* is an *Ostracism*, that eclipseth Men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This *Envy* being, in the Latin word *Invidia*, goeth in the modern Languages by the name of *Discontentment*, of which we shall speak in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease in a State like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when *Envy* is gotten once in a State, it reduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour.

odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of *Envy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in *infections*; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This *publick Envy* seemeth to bear chiefly upon principal Officers or Ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the *Envy* upon the Ministers be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the *Envy* be general, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate, then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State it self. And so much of *publick Envy*, or *Discontentment*, and the difference thereof from *private Envy*, which was handled in the first place.

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

X.

Of Love.

THE Stage is more beholding to *Love* than the Life of Man. For, as to the Stage, *Love* is even matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: but in
Life

Life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a *Syren*, sometimes like a *Fury*. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the Memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of *Love*: which shew, that great Spirits, and great Business, do keep out this weak Passion. You must except nevertheless, *Marcus Antonnius*, the half Partner of the Empire of Rome; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir* the Law-giver: whereof the former was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter was an Austere and Wise Man. And therefore it seems, (though rarely) that *Love* can find entrance, not only into an open Heart, but also into an Heart well fortifi'd, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of *Epicurus*, *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus*. As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all noble Objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little Idol, and make himself a Subject, though not of the Mouth (as beasts are) yet of the Eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the Excess of this passion; and how it braves the Nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual *Hyperbole* is comely in nothing but in *Love*. Neither is it meerly in the Phrase: for whereas it hath been well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligencce, is a Man's self; certainly, the *Love* is more. For there was never a proud Man thought so absurdly well of himself as the *Lover* doth of the Person *Loved*: and therefore it was well said, that *it is impossible to Love, and to be wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the Party *Loved*: but to the *Loved* most of all; except the *Love* be reciproque: for it is a true rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret Contempt. By how much the more Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it self. As for the other losse

the *Poets* Relation doth well figure them ; that he that preferreth *Helena*, gitteth the gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both *Riches* and *Wisdom*. This passion hath his Floods in the very times of weakness : which are great *Prosperity* and great *Adversity* ; though this latter hath been less observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more frequent, and therefore shew it to be the Child of Folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit *Love* ; yet make it keep Quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious Affairs and Actions of Life : for if it check once with Business, it troubleth Mens Fortunes, and maketh Men that they can no ways be true to their own Ends. I know not how, but martial Men are given to *Love* ; I think it is but as they are given to *Wine* ; for *Perils* commonly ask to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in a Man's Nature a secret Inclination and Motion towards *Love* of others ; which if it be not spent upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it self towards many, and maketh men become Humane and Charitable ; as it is seen somtimes in *Friars*. *Nuptial Love* maketh Mankind ; *Friendly Love* perfecteth it ; but wanton *Love* corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI.

Of Great Place.

MEN in *Great Place* are thrice *Servants* : *Servants* of the *Sovereign* or *State* ; *Servants* of *Fame* ; and *Servants* of *Business*. So as they have no Freedom, either in their *Persons*, nor in their *Actions*, nor in their *Times*. It is a strange desire to seek *Power*, and to lose *Liberty* ; or to seek *Power* over *others*, and to lose *Power* over a *Manself*. The Rising unto *Place* is laborious ; and by *Pains* Men come to greater *Pains* : and it is sometimes

times base; and by *Indignities* Men come to *Dignities*. The Standing is Slippery, and the Regress is either a Downfall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire Men cannot when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: but are impatient of *Privateness*, even in Age and Sickness, which require the Shadow: Like old Townsmen; that will be still sitting at their Street Door, though thereby they offer Age to Scorn. Certainly Great Persons had need to borrow other Mens Opinions, to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other Men think of them, and that other Men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own Grievances; though they be the last that find their own Fault. Certainly, Men, in great Fortunes are Strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of Business, they have no time to tend their Health, either of Body or Mind. *Illis mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In Place, there is licence to do Good and Evil, whereof the latter is a Curse; for in Evil, the best Condition is not to Will, the second not to Can. But Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards Men are little better than good Dreams, except they be put in Act; and that cannot be without Power and Place, as the Vantage and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works is the end of Man's motion; and Conscience of the same is the accomplishment of Man's rest: for if a Man can be partaker of God's Theater; he shall likewise be partaker of God's Rest. *Et convertit Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quae fecerunt manus sua, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy Place, set before thee the best Examples; for Imitation is a Globe of Precepts. And af
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ter a time set before thee thine own Example ; and examine thy self strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same *Place* : not to set off thy self by taxing their Memory ; but to direct thy self what to avoid. Reform therefore without bravery or scandal of former Times and Persons ; but yet set it down to thy self, as well to create good Precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first Institution, and observe therein, and how they have degenerated ; but yet ask Counsel of both Times, of the Ancienter Time what is best, and of the Latter Time what is fittest. Seek to make thy Course Regular, that Men may know before-hand what they may expect, but be not too positive and peremptory ; and express thy self well when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the right of thy *Place*, but stir not questions of Jurisdiction ; and rather assume thy Right in Silence and *de facto*, than voice it with Claims and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Right of Inferior *Places* ; and think it more Honour to direct in chief, than to be busie in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices, touching the Execution of thy *Place* : and do not drive away such as bring Information, as Medlers, but accept of them in good part. The Vices of *Authority* are chiefly four : *Delays*, *Corruption*, *Roughness* and *Faction*. For *Delays*, Give easie access, Keep Times appointed, Go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For *Corruption*, Not only binds thine own hands, or thy Servants hands from taking, but binds the hands of Suitors also from offering : For Integrity used, doth the one ; but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other ; and avoid not only the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore always when thou changett thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that
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move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A Servant, or a Favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of Esteem, is commonly thought but a By-way to close Corruption. For *Roughness*, It is a needless cause of *Discontent*; *Severity* breedeth Fear, but *Roughness* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for *Facility*, it is worse than Bribery: for Bribes come but now and then; but if Importunity, or idle respects lead a Man, he shall never be without, as *Solomon* saith, *To respect Persons is not good; for such a Man will transgress for a piece of bread.* It is most true that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the Man*: and it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu, capax Imperii nisi imperasset*; saith *Tacitus*, of *Galba*: but of *Vespasian* he saith, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiency, the other of Manners and Affection. It is an assured Sign of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends: for *Honour*, is or should be the place of Vertue; and as in Nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place; so Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authority settled and calm. All rising to *Great Place*, is by a winding Stair; and if there be *Factions*, it is good to side a Mans self, whilst he is in the Rising; and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy Predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembering of thy Place in Conversation, and private Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said, *When he sits in Place he is another Man.*

XII.

Of Boldness.

IT is a trivial Grammar-School Text, but yet worthy a wise Man's consideration. Question was ask'd of *Demosthenes*, *What was the chief part of an Orator?* He answer'd, *Action*; What next? *Action*; What next again? *Action*; He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an Orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a Player, should be plac'd so high above those other noble parts of *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the rest: Nay, almost alone; as if it were All in All. But the reason is plain. There is in Humane Nature generally more of the Fool than of the Wise; and therefore those Faculties, by which the foolish part of Mens minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of *Boldness* in civil business: What first? *Boldness*; What second and third? *Boldness*. And yet *Boldness* is a Child of Ignorance and Baseness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot, those that are either shallow in judgment, or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise Men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done Wonders in popular States, but with Senates and Princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into action, than soon after: for *Boldness* is an ill Keeper of Promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanks* for the Natural Body, so are there *Mountebanks* for the Politick Body: Men that undertake great Cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the grounds of Science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a *Bold Fellow* many times do *Mahomet's* miracle: *Mahomet* made the People believe, that he

he would call an Hill to him ; and from the top of it offer up his Prayers for the observers of his Law. The People assembled, *Mahomet* call'd the Hill to him again and again ; and when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abash'd, but said, *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the Hill.* So these Men, when they have promis'd great matters, and fail'd most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of *Boldness*) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to Men of great judgment, *Bold Persons* are a sport to behold ; nay, and to the Vulgar also, *Boldness* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldness* is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see, when a *Bold Fellow* is out of countenance ; for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must: for in bashfulness the Spirits do a little go and come; but with *Bold Men*, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay, like a Stale of Chefs, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a Satyr than for a serious Observation. This is well to be weigh'd, That *Boldness* is ever blind ; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniencies ; therefore it is ill in Counsel, good in Execution : so that the right use of *Bold persons* is, that they never command in Chief, but be Seconds, and under the direction of others. For in Counsel it is good to see Dangers, and in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII.

Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature.

I Take *Goodness* in this sense, the affecting of the weal of Men, which is that the *Grecians* call *Philanthropia*; and the Word *Humanity* (as it is us'd) is a little too light

to express it. *Goodness* I call the Habit, and *Goodness of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Virtues and Dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the Character of the Deity; and without it Man is a busie, mischievous wretched thing, no better than a kind of Vermine. *Goodness* answers to the *Theological Virtue*, *Charity*, and admits no excess, but error. The desire of power in excess, caus'd the Angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess, caus'd Man to fall; but in *Charity*, there is no excess, neither can Angel or Man come in danger by it. The Inclination of *Goodness* is imprinted deeply in the nature of Man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto other living Creatures; as it is seen in the *Turks*, a cruel People, who nevertheless are kind to Beasts, and give Alms to Dogs and Birds: Insomuch as *Busbequius* reporteth, a Christian Boy in *Constantinople* had like to have been stoned for gagging, in a waggishness, a long-bill'd Fowl. Errors indeed, in this Virtue, in *Goodness* or *Charity*, may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente*; So good that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Machiavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian faith had given up good Men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust*: which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodness* as the Christian Religion doth: therefore to avoid the scandal, and danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an Habit so excellent. Seek the good of other Men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give the *Aesop's* Cock a Gem, who would be better pleas'd and happier if he had had a Barley Corn. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to shine upon the Just and Unjust*; but he doth not rain Wealth, nor shine Honour and Virtues upon Men equally. Common Bene-

nefits are to be communicated with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware, how in making the *Portraiture*, thou breakest the Pattern; for Divinity maketh the love of our selves the Pattern; the love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast and give it to the Poor, and follow me*: but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou mayst do as much good with little means as with great: for otherwise, in feeding the Streams thou driest the Fountain. Neither is there only a *Habit of Goodness* directed by right Reason: but there is in some Men, even in Nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side, there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their Nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and meer mischief. Such Men in other Mens calamities, are as it were in season, and are ever on the loading part; not so good as the Dogs that lick'd *Lazarus's* sores, but like Flies, that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; *Misanthropi*, that make it their practice to bring Men to the Bough, and yet have never a Tree for the purpose of their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such dispositions are the very errors of Humane Nature; and yet they are the fittest Timber to make great Politicks of: like to knee-Timber, that is good for Ships that are ordain'd to be toss'd, but not for building Houses, that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of *Goodness* are many. If a Man be gracious and courteous to Strangers, it shews he is a Citizen of the World; and that his heart is no Island cut off from other Lands, but a Continent that joyns to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it self, when it gives the Balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above Injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he

be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs Mens minds, and not their trash. But above all, if he have *St. Paul's* Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from Christ, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shews much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of conformity with *Christ* himself.

XIV.

Of Nobility.

WE will speak of *Nobility*, First as a *Portion*. of an *Estate*; then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure and absolute *Tyranny*, as that of the *Turks*; for *Nobility* attempers *Sovereignty*, and draws the eyes of the People somewhat aside from the *Line Royal*. But for *Democracies* they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to *Sedition*, than where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For Mens eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for business-sake, as the fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their diversity of Religion, and of Cantons: for Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries* in their Government excel; for where there is an equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more chearful. A great and potent *Nobility* addeth Majesty to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; and putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well when *Nobles* are not too great for *Sovereignty*, nor for Justice; and yet maintain'd in that height, as the Insolency of Inferiours may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings. A numerous *Nobility* causeth Pover-

ty and inconvenience in a State: for it is a surcharge of Expence; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the *Nobility* fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between Honour and Means.

As for *Nobility* in particular Persons, It is a reverend thing to see an ancient Castle or Building not in decay; or to see a fair Timber Tree sound and perfect: how much more to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waves and Weathers of Time. For New *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; but Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first rais'd to *Nobility* are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent than their Descendents; for there is rarely any Rising, but by a commixture of good and evil Arts. But it is reason the memory of their Virtues remain to their Posterity; and their Faults die with themselves. *Nobility* of Birth commonly abateth Industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, *Noble Persons* cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of Envy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the Passive Envy from others towards them; because they are in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings that have able Men of their *Nobility*, shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business: for People naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

XV.

Of Seditions and Troubles.

Shepherds of People had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempests* in State; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural *Tempests* are greatest about the *Aequinoctial*. And as there are cer-
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tain hollow blasts of Wind, and secret swellings of Seas before a Tempest, so are there in States.

———*Ille etiam cecos instare Tumultus
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque & operta tumescere Bella.*

Libels and Licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false News often running up and down to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embrac'd, are amongst the Signs of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giving the Pedigree of *Fame*, saith, *She was Sister to the Giants*.

*Illam Terra Parens ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit.*———

As if *Fames* were the Relicks of *Seditious* past; but they are no less indeed, the Preludes of *Seditious* to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, That *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: For that shews the Envy great, as *Tacitus* saith, *Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt*. Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames* are a sign of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them with too much severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*: For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder long-liv'd.

Also that kind of Obedience which *Tacitus* speaketh of is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi*; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking off the Yoak, and essay

of disobedience ; especially, if in those Disputings, they which are for the direction, speak fearfully and tenderly ; and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as *Machiavel*. noteth well ; when Princes, that ought to be common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and lean to a side, it is a Boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side ; as was well seen in the time of *Henry* the third of *France* : For first himself entred League for the extirpation of the *Protestants*, and presently after the same League was turn'd upon himself: For when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there are other Bands that tie faster than the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be almost put out of possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrels, and Factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest Persons in a Government, ought to be as the motions of the Planets under *Primum Mobile* (according to the old Opinion;) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest Motion, and softly in their own Motion. And therefore when great Ones in their own particular motion move violently ; and as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberius quam ut Imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the Orbs are out of Frame : For Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threat'neth the dissolving thereof; *Salvam cingula Regum*.

So when any of the four Pillars of Government are mainly shaken or weak'ned, (which are *Religion*, *Justice*, *Counsel*, and *Treasure*) Men had need to pray for fair weather.

But let us pass from this part of Predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth) and let us speak first of the *Materials* of *Seditious* ; then of the *Motives* of them ; and thirdly, of the *Remedies*.

Concerning the *Materials* of Seditions; It is a thing well to be consider'd: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions* (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepar'd, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kinds; *much Poverty* and *much Discontentment*. It is certain, so many *Overthrown Estates*, so many *Votes for Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State of Rome* before the Civil War.

*Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.*

This same *multis utile Bellum*, is an assur'd and infallible sign of a State dispos'd to *Seditions* and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty* and broken Estate in the better sort, be join'd with a want and necessity in the mean People, the danger is eminent and great; for the *Rebellions* of the Belly are the worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politick Body like to *Humours* in the Natural, which are apt to gather preter-natural Heat, and to enflame. And let no Prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good: Nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise, be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, Timendi non item*. Besides, in great *Oppressions*, the same things that provoke the *Patience*, do withal make the *Courage*; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any Prince or State be secure concerning *Discontentments* because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no *Peril* hath ensued; for as it is true, that every *Vapour* or *Fume* doth not turn into a *Storm*: So it is nevertheless true, that *Storms* tho' they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last: And as the *Spanish Proverb* noteth well; *The Cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes and Motions of Seditions* are, *Innovation in Religion, Taxes, Alteration of Laws and Customs, breaking of Privileges, General Oppression, Advancement of unworthy Persons, Strangers, Dearth, Disbanded Soldiers, Factions grown desperate.* And whatsoever in offending People, joineth and knitteth them in a Common Cause.

For the *Remedies*; there may be some general Preservatives whereof we will speak; as for the just Cure, it must answer to the particular Disease, and so be left to Counsel rather than Rule.

The first *Remedy* or Prevention is, to remove by all means possible that *Material Cause of Sedition*, whereof we speak; which is *Want and Poverty* in the State. To which purpose serveth the Opening and well-Balancing of Trade, the Cherishing of Manufactures, the Banishing of Idleness, the Repressing of Waste and Excess by Sumptuary Laws, the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soil, the Regulating of Prizes of Things vendible, the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be foreseen, that the Population of a Kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by Wars) do not exceed the Stock of the Kingdom, which should maintain them. Neither is the Population to be reckon'd only by number; for a smaller number that spend more, and earn less, do wear out an Estate sooner than a greater number that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over-proportion to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown Clergy, for they bring nothing to the Stock. And in like manner, when more are bred Scholars than Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that forasmuch as the increase of any Estate must be upon the Foreigners; (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost.) There be but three things which one Nation selleth unto another; the *Commodity* as Nature yieldeth it; the

the *Manufacture* and the *Vecture* or *Carriage* : So that if these three Wheels go, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *Materiam superabit Opus* ; that the Work and Carriage is more worth than the Materials, and enricheth a State more : as is notably seen in the *Low-Country-men*, who have the best Mines above ground in the World.

Above all things good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys in a State be not gather'd into few Hands. For otherwise a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a streight hand upon the Devouring Trades of *Usury*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For removing *Discontentments*, or at least the danger of them, there is in every State (as we know) two Portions of *Subjects*, the *Nobles* and the *Commonalty*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great : for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort ; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then this is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the Waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets feign, that the rest of the Gods would have bound *Jupiter* ; which he hearing of, by the Counsel of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus* with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An Emblem no doubt, to shew how safe it is for Monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for *Griefs* and *Discontentments* to evaporate (so it be without too great Insolency or Bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the Humours back, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign Ulcers, and pernicious Imposthumations.

The part of *Epimetheus* might well become *Prometheus* in the case of *Discontentments*; for there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the Lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the Vessel. Certainly the politick and artificial nourishing and entertaining of *Hopes*, and carrying Men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*, is one of the best Antidotes against the Poison of *Discontentments*. And it is a certain sign of a wise Government and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts by *Hopes* when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some out-let of *Hope*; which is the less hard to do, because both particular Persons and Factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the fore-sight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit Head to be one that hath Greatness and Reputation, that hath Confidence with the *Discontented* Party, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought *Discontented* in his own particular; which kind of Persons are either to be won, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same Party that may oppose them, and so divide the Reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst *Remedies*. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; and those that are against it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditious*. *Cæsar* did himself infinite hurt in that Speech,
Sylla

Syllanes scivit literas, non potuit dictare: For it did utterly cut off that *Hope* which Men had entertain'd, that he would at one time or other give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himself by that Speech, *Legi à se militem, non emi*; for it put the Soldiers out of Hope of the Donative. *Probus* likewise by that Speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*: A Speech of great despair for the Soldiers: And many the like. Surely *Princes* had need, in tender matters, and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short Speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, Let Princes against all Events not be without some great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour near unto them, for the repressing of *Seditions* in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first breaking out of *Troubles*, than were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*. But let such Military Persons be assur'd, and well reputed of, rather than Factious and Popular, holding also good correspondence with the other great Men in the State, or else the Remedy is worse than the Disease.

XVI.

Of Atheism.

I Had rather believe all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, that this Universal Frame is without a Mind. And therefore God never wrought

wrought a Miracle to convince *Atheism*, because his ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Man's mind to *Atheism*, but depth in Philosophy bringeth Mens minds about to *Religion*; for while the mind of Man looketh upon second Causes scatter'd, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further: But when it beholdeth the Chain of them Confederate and Link'd together, it must needs fly to *Providence* and *Deity*. Nay, even that School which is most accus'd of *Atheism*, doth most demonstrate *Religion*: That is, the School of *Lucippus* and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Essence, duly and eternally plac'd, need no God, than that an Army of infinite small Portions, or Seeds un-plac'd, should have produc'd this order and beauty without a Divine Marshal. The Scripture saith, *The Fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*: It is not said, *The Fool hath thought in his heart*: So as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can throughly believe it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheism* is rather in the *Lip*, than in the *Heart* of Man, than by this; That *Atheists* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects. And, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for *Atheism* and not recant; whereas if they did truly think, that there were no such thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble for his Credit's sake, when he affirm'd, there were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enjoy'd themselves, without having respect to the Government of the World; wherein, they say, he did temporize; though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly
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he is traduc'd; for his Words are Noble and Divine; *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi Opiniones Dii applicare profanum.* Plato could have said no more: And although he had the confidence to deny the *Administration*, he had not the power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West* have names for their particular *Gods*, though they have no name for *God*; as if the *Heathens* should have had the names of *Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c.* but not the word *Deus*: which shews, that even those barbarous People have the notion, tho' they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against the *Atheist* the very *Savages* take part with the very subtlest *Philosophers*. The *Contemplative Atheist* is rare: A *Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian* perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are: For that all that impugn a receiv'd *Religion* or *Superstition*, are by the adverse part branded with the name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists* indeed are *Hypocrites*, which are ever handling *Holy Things*, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauteriz'd in the end. The *Causes* of *Atheism* are *Divisions* in *Religion*, if they be many: For any one main *Division* addeth *Zeal* to both sides, but many *Divisions* introduce *Atheism*. Another is, *Scandal* of *Priests*, when it is come to that which *St. Bernard* saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos.* A third is, *Custom* of *Prophane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters*, which doth by little and little deface the *Reverence* of *Religion*. And lastly, *Learned Times*, especially with *Peace* and *Prosperity*; for *Troubles* and *Adversities* do more bow *Mens* minds to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy *Man's Nobility*: for certainly *Man* is of kin to the *Beasts* by his *Body*; and if he be not of kin to *God* by his *Spirit*, he is a base and ignoble *Creature*. It destroys likewise *Magnanimity*, and the railing *Human Nature*: For take an example of a *Dog*, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on, when he finds himself maintain'd by a *Man*, who to him is instead of a *God*, or *Melior natura*: Which cou-
rage

rage is manifestly such, as that Creature without the confidence of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human Nature in it self could not obtain. Therefore as *Atheism* is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human Nature of the means to exalt it self above human Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations. Never was there such a State for Magnanimity, as *Rome*. Of this State hear what *Cicero* saith, *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec caliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos; nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis & Terre domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac una Sapientia, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.*

XVII.

Of Superstition.

IT were better to have no Opinion of *God* at all, than such an Opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbelief, the other is Contumely; and certainly *Superstition* is the reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather a great deal Men should say, there was no such Man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his Children as soon as they were born; as the Poets speak of Saturn.* And as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheism* leaves a Man to Sense, to Philosophy, to Natural Piety, to Laws, to Reputation; all which may be guides to an outward Moral Virtue, tho' *Religion* were not: But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth

erecteth an absolute Monarchy in the minds of Men. Therefore *Atheism* did never perturb *States*; for it makes Men weary of themselves, as looking no further: And we see the times inclin'd to *Atheism* (as the time of *Augustus Caesar*) were civil times. But *Superstition* hath been the Confusion of many States, and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheres of Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; and in all *Superstition*, Wise Men follow Fools, and Arguments are fitted to Practice in a revers'd order. It was gravely said by some of the Prelates in the *Council of Trent*, where the Doctrine of the School-men bare great sway, *That the School-men were like Astronomers which did feign Eccentricks, and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to salve the Phenomena; tho' they knew there were no such things.* And in like manner, that the School-men had fram'd a number of subtil and intricate *Axioms* and *Theorems*, to save the practice of the Church. The *Causes* of *Superstition* are, pleasing and sensual Rites and Ceremonies: Excess of Outward and Pharisaical Holiness: Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church: The Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre: The favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties: The taking an aim at Divine Matters by Humane, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations: And lastly, Barbarous Times, especially joyn'd with Calamities and Disasters. *Superstition* without a Veil is a deform'd thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an Ape to be so like a Man; so the similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion* makes it the more deform'd. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Worms; so good Forms and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a *Superstition* in avoiding *Superstition*, when Men think to do best, if they go furthest from the *Superstition* formerly receiv'd. Therefore Care would be had, that (as it saith in ill Purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad,

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which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

XVIII.

Of Travel.

TR A V E L, in the younger Sort, is a part of Education ; in the elder, a part of Experience. He that *Travelleth* into a Country before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *School*, and not to *Travel*. That young Men *Travel* under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before, whereby he may be able to tell them, what things are worthy to be seen in the Country where they go, what Acquaintances they are to seek, what Exercises or Discipline the Place yieldeth. For else young Men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in Sea-Voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Travel*, wherein so much is to be observ'd, for the most part they omit it; as if Chance were fitter to be registred than Observation. Let Diaries therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observ'd are the Courts of Princes, especially when they give Audience to Ambassadors: The Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear Causes; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastick: The Churches and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: The Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Towns; and so the Havens and Harbors: Antiquities and Ruins: Libraries, Colleges, Disputations and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Natives: Houses and Gardens of State and Pleasure near great Cities: Armories, Arsenals, Magazines, Exchanges, Burses, Ware-houses: Exercises

exercifes of Horfmanfhip, Fencing, Trailing of Soldiers, and the like: Comedies, fuch whereunto the better fort of Perfons do refort. Treafures of Jewels and Robes: Cabinets and Rarities. And to conclude, whatfoever is memorable in the Places where they go. After all which the Tutors or Servants ought to make diligent Enquiry. As for Triumphs, Masques, Feafts, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and fuch Shews; Men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young Man to put his *Travel* into a little room, and in fhort time to gather much, this you muft do. Firft, as we faid, he muft have fome entrance into the Language before he goeth. Then he muft have fuch a Servant or Tutor as knoweth the Country, as was likewise faid. Let him carry with him alfo fome Chart or Book, defcribing the Country where he *Travelleth*, which will be a good key to his Enquiry. Let him keep alfo a Diary. Let him not ftay long in one City or Town, more or lefs, as the Place deferveth, but not long: Nay, when he ftayeth in one City or Town, let him change his Lodging from one end and part of the Town to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him fequefter himfelf from the Company of his Country-men, and diet in fuch places where there is good Company of the Nation where he *Travelleth*. Let him upon his Removes from one Place to another, procure recommendation to fome Perfon of Quality, refiding in the Place whither he removeth, that he may ufe his Favour in thofe things he defireth to fee or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travels* with much profit. As for the Acquaintance which is to be fought in *Travel*, that which is moft of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and employ'd Men of Ambaffadors; for fo in *Travelling* in one Country, he fhall fuck the Experience of many. Let him alfo fee and vifit eminent Perfons, in all kinds, which are of great Name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the Life agreeth with the Fame.

For Quarrels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided : They are commonly for Mistresses, Healths, Place, and Words. And let a Man beware how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarrelsome Persons, for they will engage him into their own Quarrels. When a *Traveller* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries where he hath *Travell'd*, altogether behind him, but maintain a Correspondency by Letters with those of his Acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his *Travel* appear rather in his Discourse than in his Apparel or Gesture; and in his Discourse let him be rather advis'd in his Answers, than forward to tell Stories: And let it appear, that he doth not change his Country-Manners for those of Foreign Parts; but only prick in some Flowers of that he hath learned abroad, into the Customs of his own Country.

XIX.

Of Empire.

IT is a miserable State of Mind, to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings*, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing, and have many Representations of Perils and Shadows, which makes their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the King's heart is inscrutable*. For, multitude of Jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any Man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes* many times make themselves desire, and set their Hearts upon Toys: Sometimes upon a Building, sometimes upon erecting of an Order, sometimes upon the advancing

of a Person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some Art or Feat of the Hand; as *Nero* for playing on the Harp, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the Principal; *That the mind of Man is more cheared and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that the *Kings* that have been fortunate Conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their Fortunes, turn in their latter years to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did *Alexander* the Great, *Dioclesian*; and in our Memory, *Charles* the Fifth, and others: For he that is us'd to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true Temper of *Empire*; It is a thing rare, and hard to keep; for both Temper and Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to interchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian* is full of excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* ask'd him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answer'd, *Nero could touch and tune the Harp well, but in Government sometimes he us'd to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth Authority so much, as the unequal and untimely interchange of Power *Pressed* too far, and *Relaxed* too much.

This is true, that the Wisdom of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affairs, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded Courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: and let Men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of Trouble to be prepared: for no Man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Business are many and great; but the great-

est difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with *Princes* (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories: *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contraria.* For it is the Solecism of Power, to think to Command the end, and yet not endure the means.

Kings have to deal with their *Neighbours*, their *Wives*, their *Children*, their *Prelates* or *Clergy*, their *Nobles*, their *Second Nobles* or *Gentlemen*, their *Merchants*, their *Commons*, and their *Men of War*. And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First, For their *Neighbours*: There can no general Rule be given (the occasions are so variable) save one, which ever holdeth, which is, that *Princes* do keep due Centinel, that none of their *Neighbours* do over-grow so, by increasing of Territory, (by imbracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, than they were. This is generally the work of standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry the 8th of England*, *Francis the 1st, King of France*, and *Charles the 5th Emperour*, there was such a Watch kept, that none of the Three could win a Palm of Ground, but the other Two would strait-ways balance it, either by Confederation, or if need were, by a War, and would not in any wise take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League, (which *Guicciardine* saith, was the Security of *Italy*) made between *Ferdinando King of Naples*, *Lorenzins Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, Potentate, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Milain*. Neither is the Opinion of some of the School-men to be received; That a War cannot justly be made but upon a precedent Injury or Provocation. For there is no question, but a just Fear of an imminent Danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawful Cause of a War.

For their *Wives*: There are cruel examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poysoning of her Husband: *Roxalana*, *Solyman's Wife*, was the destruction of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*, and otherwise troubled

bled his House and Succession: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen had the principal hand in the depofing and murder of her Husband. This kind of danger is then to be fear'd, chiefly when the *Wives* have Plots for the raising of their own Children, or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their *Children*: The Tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally the entring of Fathers into fufpicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha* (that we nam'd before) was fo fatal to *Solyman's* Line, as the *Succession* of the *Turks* from *Solyman* until this day, is fufpected to be untrue, and of ftrange Blood; for that *Selymus* the fecond was thought to be fupposititious. The destruction of *Criſpus*, a young Prince of rare towardnefs, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his Houfe; for both *Constantinus* and *Conſtance* his Son died violent Deaths; and *Conſtantius* his other Son did little better, who died indeed of Sicknefs, but after that *Julianus* had taken Arms againſt him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Son to *Philp* the Second of *Macedon*, turn'd upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are, but few or none where the Fathers had good by fuch diſtruſt, except it were where the Sons were up in open Arms againſt them; as was *Selymus* the Firſt againſt *Bajazet*, and the three Sons of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates*: When they are proud and great, there is alfo danger from them; as it was in the times of *Anſelmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbifhops of *Canterbury*, who with their Croſiers did almoſt try it with the King's Sword; and yet they had to deal with ſtout and haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the firſt, and *Henry* the Second. The danger is not from the *State*, but where it hath a dependence of Foreign Authority; or where the Church-men come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles*: To keep them at a distance it is not amiss, but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King *Henry the Seventh*, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility*; whereupon it came to pass, that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; for the *Nobility*, though they continu'd loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his Business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their *Second Nobles*: There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispers'd. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt. Besides they are a counterpoize to the higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority with the Common People, they do best temper popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants*: They are *Vena porta*; and if they flourish not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nourish little. Taxes and Imposts upon them, do seldom good to the King's Revenue; for that he wins in the Hundred, he loseth in the Shire; the particular Rates being increas'd, but the total bulk of Trading rather decreas'd.

For their *Commons*: There is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent Heads, or where you meddle with the point of Religion, or their Customs, or means of Life.

For their *Men of War*: It is a dangerous State, where they live and remain in a Body, and are us'd to Donatives, whereof we see examples in the *Fanizaries* and *Pretorian Bands of Rome*: But Trainings of Men, and Arming them in several places, and under several Commanders, and without Donatives, are things of Defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evil times; and which have much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All Precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended

prehended in those two Remembrances, *Memento quod es Homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*; the one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

XX.

Of Counsel.

THE greatest Trust between Man and Man is the Trust of *Giving Counsel*: For in other confidences Men commit the parts of Life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, to some particular Affair: but to such as they make their *Counsellors*, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are oblig'd to all faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes* need not think it any diminution to their Greatness, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counsel*. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great Names of his blessed Son, the *Counsellor*; *Solomon* hath pronounced, *That in Counsel is Stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation; if they be not tossed upon the Arguments of *Counsel*, they will be tossed upon the Waves of *Fortune*, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken Man, *Solomon's* Son found the force of *Counsel*, as his Father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved Kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill *Counsel*; upon which *Counsel* there are set for instruction the two marks, whereby *Bad Counsel* is for ever best discerned, that it was *young Counsel* for the Persons, and *violent Counsel* for the Matter.

The ancient Times to set forth in figure, both the incorporation, and inseparable conjunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*, and the wise and politick use of *Counsel* by *Kings*; the one in that they say, *Jupiter* did Marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsel*, whereby they intend that

Sovereignty is married to *Counsel*; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceived by him, and was with Child: but *Jupiter* suffer'd her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with Child, and was deliver'd of *Pallas Armed* out of his Head; which monstrous Fable containeth a secret of *Empire*, how *Kings* are to make use of their *Council of State*. That first they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the Womb of their *Council*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their *Council* to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the World, that the Decrees and final Directions (which, because they come forth with *Prudence* and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not only from their *Authority*, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their *Head* and *Device*.

Let us now speak of the *Inconveniencies* of *Counsel*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniencies* that have been noted in calling and using *Counsel*, are three: First, the revealing of Affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully *Counselled*, and more for the good of them that *Counsel*, than of him that is *Counselled*. For which *Inconveniencies*, the Doctrin of *Italy*, and practice of *France* in some Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Councils*; a Remedy worse than the Disease.

As to *Secrecy*: *Princes* are not bound to communicate all matters with all *Counsellors*, but extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let
Princes

Princes beware, that the *unsecrating* of their Affairs comes not from themselves. And as for *Cabinet Councils*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenus rimarum sum*: One futile Person, that maketh it his Glory to tell, will do more hurt, than many that know it their Duty to conceal. It is true, there be some Affairs which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two Persons beside the *King*: Neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous; for besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly go on constantly in one Spirit of Direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent *King*, such as is able to grind with a *Hand-mill*; and those *Inward Counsellors* had need also be wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the *King's* ends; as it was with *King Henry the Seventh*, of *England*, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *weakening of Authority*: The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay, the Majesty of *Kings* is rather exalted than diminished, when they are in the Chair of *Counsel*. Neither was there ever *Prince* bereaved of his dependencies by his *Council*, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one *Counsellor*, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counsel with an Eye to themselves*: Certainly, *Non inveniet fidem super terram*, is meant of the nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons. There be, that are in nature, faithful and sincere, and plain, and direct, not crafty and involv'd: Let *Princes* above all draw to themselves such natures. Besides *Councillors* are not commonly so united, but that one *Councillor* keepeth Centinel over another; so that if any do *Counsel*, out of Faction, or private ends, it commonly comes to the *King's* Ear. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellors* as well as their *Counsellors* know them;

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, *Counsellors* should not be too speculative into their Sovereign's Person. The true composition of a *Counsellor*, is rather to be skill'd in their Master's Business, than in his Nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Counsel*, both separately and together. For private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, Men are more obnoxious to others humours: Therefore it is good to take both. And of the inferior sort, rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is vain for *Princes* to take *Counsel*, concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsel* likewise concerning *Persons*: for all *Matters* are as dead Images; and the life of the execution of Affairs resteth in the good choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *secundum genera*, as in an *Idea* or *Mathematical Description*, what the kind and character of the *Person* should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most Judgment is shewn in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said. *Optimi Consiliarii mortui*; *Books* will speak plain when *Counsellors* blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, especially the *Books* of such as themselves have been *Actors* upon the Stage.

The *Councils* at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsel*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken till the next day; *In nocte Consilium*. So was it done in the Commission of *Union* between *England* and *Scotland*, which was a grave and orderly Assembly. I commend

commend set days for Petitions : for it gives both the Suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere*. In choice of Committees for ripening Business for the Council, it is better to chuse indifferent Persons, than to make an Indifferency, by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing *Commissions*; as for Trade, for Treasure, for War, for Suits, for some Provinces: For where there be divers particular *Councils*, and but one *Council of State*, (as it is in *Spain*) they are in effect no more than standing *Commissions*; save that they have greater Authority: Let such as are to inform *Councils* out of their particular Professions (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard before *Committees*, and then, as occasion serves, before the *Council*. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a Tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour *Councils*, not to inform them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seem things of Form, but are things of Substance; for at a long Table, a few at the upper end in effect sway all the business; but in the other Form, there is more use of the *Counsellors* Opinions that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Council*, let him beware how he opens his own Inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else *Counsellors* will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving *Free Counsel*, sing him a Song of *Placebo*.

XXI.

Of Delays.

FORTUNE is like the *Market*, where many times if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like *Sybilla's Offer*, which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and

and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common Verse) *turneth a bald Noddle, after she hath presented her Locks in Front, and no hold taken*; or at least turneth the handle of the Bottle first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater Wisdom, than well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more Dangers have deceiv'd Men, than forc'd them. Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approaches; for if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceiv'd with too long shadows, as some have been, when the Moon was low, and shone on their Enemies back, and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach Dangers to come on, by over-early Buckling towards them, is another extrem. The Ripeness or Unripeness of the Occasion, (as we said) must ever be well weigh'd; and generally it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to *Argus* with his hundred Eyes, and the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred Hands; first to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet of Pluto*, which maketh the Politick Man go invisible, is *Secrecy* in the Counsel, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; like the motion of a Bullet in the Air, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

XXII.

Of Cunning.

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisdom. And certainly there is great difference between a *Cunning* Man and a *Wise* Man, not only in point

point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well: so there are some that are good in Canvasses and Factions, that are otherwise Weak Men. Again, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; for many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of Business, which is the Constitution of one that hath studied Men more than Books, Such Men are fitter for Practice than for Counsel: and they are good but in their own Alley, turn them to new Men, and they have lost their Aim: So as the old Rule to know a Fool from a Wise Man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis*, doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men* are like Haberdashers of small Wares, it is not amiss to set forth their Shop.

It is a point of *Cunning* to wait upon him, with whom you speak, with your Eye, as the Jesuits give it in Precept: For there may be many wise Men that have secret Hearts and transparent Countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the Party with whom you deal, with some other Discourse, that he be not too much awake to make Objections. I knew a *Councillor* and *Secretary*, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with Bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some Discourse of Estate, that she might the less mind the Bills.

The like surprize may be made by moving things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

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

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

And because it works better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, than if you offer it of your self; you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the Party to ask, what the matter is of the Change, as *Nehemiah* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the Ice by some whose Words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be ask'd the Question upon the other's Speech; as *Narcissus* did in relating to *Claudius* the Marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius*.

In things that a Man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of *Cunning* to borrow the name of the World, as to say, *The World says*, or, *There is a Speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most material in the *Post-script*, as if it had been a By-matter.

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

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

It is a point of *Cunning*, to let fall those words in a Man's own Name, which he would have another Man learn

learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were Competitors for the Secretary's Place, in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and yet kept good Quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the Business; and one of them said, That to be a Secretary in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: The other strait caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, That he had no reason to desire to be a Secretary in the *Declining of a Monarchy*. The first Man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen, Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in England call, *The turning of the Cat in Pan*; which is, when that which a Man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and to say truth, it is not easie, when such a matter pass'd between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some Men have to glance and dart at others, by justifying themselves by Negatives; as to say, *This I did not*: As *Tigellinus* did towards *Burrhus*; *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readines so many Tales and Stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale, which serveth both to keep themselves more in Guard, and carry it with more Pleasure.

It is a good point of *Cunning*, for a Man to shape the Answer he would have in his own Words and Propositions; for it makes the other Party stick the less.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say, and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it; it is a thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprize a Man and lay him open : Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walk'd in *Pauls*, another suddenly came behind him, and call'd him by his true Name, whereat he streight-ways look'd back.

But these small Wares, and petty points of *Cunning* are infinite ; and it were a good deed to make a List of them : For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, than that *Cunning Men* pass for *Wise*.

But certainly some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Business, that cannot sink into the Main of it : Like a House that hath convenient Stairs and Entries, but never a fair Room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate Matters : and yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) *Putting Tricks upon them* ; than upon the soundness of their own Proceedings. But *Solomon* saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos, Stultus divertit ad dolos*.

XXIII.

Of Wisdom for a Man's self.

AN *Ant* is a *wise creature* for it self, but it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly Men that are great *Lovers* of *Themselves*, waste the Publick. Divide with reason between *Self-love* and *Society*, and be so true to thy *Self*, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy King and Country. It is a poor Center of a Man's Actions, *Himself*. It is right Earth ; for that only stands fast upon its own Center ; whereas all things that have affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another which they benefit. The refer-
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ring of all to a *Man's Self*, is more tolerable in a Sovereign Prince; because *Themselves*, are not only *Themselves*, but their Good and Evil is at the Peril of the publick Fortune. But it is a desperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatsoever Affairs pass such a Man's Hands, he crooketh them to his own Ends, which must needs be often Eccentrick to the ends of his Master or State: Therefore let Princes or States chuse such Servants as have not this Mark; except they mean their Service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious, is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the Servant's good, to be preferred before the Masters; but yet it is a greater Extream, when a little good of the Servant shall carry Things against the great good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of bad *Officers*, Treasurers, Ambassadors, Generals, and other false and corrupt Servants, which set a Byass upon their Bowl, of their own petty Ends and Envy, to the overthrow of their Master's great and important Affairs. And for the most part, the Good which Servants receive, is after the model of their own Fortune; but the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the model of their Master's Fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extream *Self lovers*, as they will set an House on Fire, if it were but to roast their Eggs: And yet these Men many times hold credit with their Masters, because their Study is but to please them, and profit *Themselves*; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their Affairs.

Wisdom for a Man's self is in many Branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the *Wisdom of Rats*, that will be sure to leave the House sometime before it falls. It is the *Wisdom of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged and made room for him. It is the *Wisdom of Crocodiles*, that shed tears when they would devour: But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those which (as *Cicero* says of *Pompey*) are, *Sui amantes sine rivali*,

are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *Themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose Wings they thought by their *Self-Wisdom* to have pinnioned.

XXIV.

Of Innovation.

AS the Births of living Creatures at first are ill shapen, so are all *Innovations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy than most that succeed: So the first Precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For ill to Man's Nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance: But Good as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation*; and he that will not apply new Remedies, must expect new Evils: For Time is the greatest *Innovator*. And if Time of course alter Things to the worse, and Wisdom and Counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by Custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those things which have long gone together are as it were confederate within themselves, whereas new Things piece not so well: But though they help by their utility, yet, they trouble by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *Strangers*, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a forward retention of Custom is as turbulent a thing, as an *Innovation*: and they that reverence too much old Times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations* would follow the Example of Time

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it self; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: For otherwise whatsoever is new, is unlook'd for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; and he that is hurt, for a Wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility be evident; and well to beware, that it be the Reformation that draweth on the Change, and not the desire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect: And as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the streight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

XXV.

Of Dispatch.

A *Affected Dispatch* is one of the most dangerous things to Business that can be. It is like that which the Physicians call *Pre-digestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*, which is sure to fill the Body full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore measure not Dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the Business. And as in Races, it is not the large stride, or high Lift that makes the Speed; so in Business, the keeping close to the Matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false Periods of Business, because they may seem *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and Business so handled at several Sittings or Meetings, goeth commonly

backward or forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a *Wise Man*, that had it for a by-word, when he saw Men hasten to a Conclusion; *Stay a little; that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, *True Dispatch* is a rich thing. For Time is the measure of Business, as Money is of Wares; and Business is bought at a dear hand, where there is small *Dispatch*. The *Spartans* and *Spaniards* have been noted to be of small *Dispatch*, *Mivenga la Muerte de Spagna, Let my Death come from Spain*, for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first Information in Business; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: For he that is put out of his own order, will go forward and backward, and more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, than he could have been, if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen, that the Moderator is more troublesome than the Actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of Time, but there is no such gain of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question*; for it chaseth away many a frivolous Speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious Speeches are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or a Mantle with a long train is for a Race.

Prefaces and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of reference to the Person, are great wasters of time; and though they seem to proceed of Modesty, they are Bravery. Yet beware of being too material, when there is any impediment or obstruction in Men's Wills; for pre-occupation of Mind ever requireth Preface of Speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch*: so as the *Distribution* be not too subtle; for he that doth not divide, will never enter well into Business: And he that divideth

deth too much will never come out of it clearly. To chuse Time, is to save Time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the Air. There be three parts of Business; the *Preparation*, the *Debate* or *Examination*, and the *Perfection*; whereof if you look for *Dispatch* let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch*: For though it should be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of direction, than an *Indefinite*; as Ashes are more generative than Dust.

XXVI.

Of Seeming Wise.

IT hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser than they seem, and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are. But however it be between *Nations*, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godliness*, *having a shew of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof*; so certainly there are in points of Wisdom and Sufficiency, that to do nothing or little very solemnly; *Magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a *Satyr*, to Persons of Judgment, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and what prospectives to make *Superficies* to seem *Body*, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close reserved, 'as they will not shew their Wares, but by a dark Light; and seem always to keep back somewhat: And when they know within themselves, they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others, to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with Countenance and Gesture, and

are wise by Signs; as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Brows up to his Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin: *Respondes, altero qd Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it, by speaking a great Word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent or curious, and so will have their Ignorance seem Judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing Men with a subtilty, blanch the Matter; of whom *A. Gellius* saith, *Hominem delirum qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kind also *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorn, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such Men in all deliberations find ease to be of the Negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretel Difficulties: For when Propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new Work; which false point of Wisdom is the Bane of Business. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their Wealth, as these empty Persons have to maintain the credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming Wise Men* may make shift to get Opinion, but let no Man chuse them for Employment; for certainly you were better take for Business a Man somewhat absurd, than over-formal.

XXVII.

Of Friendship.

IT had been hard for him that spoke it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few Words, than in that Speech, *Whosoever is delighted in Solitude, is either a wild Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred, and averſation towards *Society* in any Man, hath ſomewhat of the Savage Beast; but it is moſt untrue, that it ſhould have any Character at all of the Divine Nature, except it proceed not out of a pleaſure in *Solitude*, but out of a love and deſire to ſequeſter a Man's ſelf for a higher Converſation; ſuch as is found to have been falſly and feignedly in ſome of the Heathen, as *Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana*; and truly and really in divers of the ancient Hermits and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little do Men perceive what *Solitude* is, and how far it extendeth: For a Crown is not Company, and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures, and Talk but a *Tinkling Cymbal*, where there is no *Love*. The Latine Adage meeteth with a little, *Magna Civitas, magna ſolitudo*; becauſe in a great Town *Friends* are ſcattered, ſo that there is not that fellowſhip, for the moſt part, which is in leſs *Neighbourhoods*. But we may go farther, and affirm moſt truly, that is a meer and miſerable *Solitude* to want *Friends*, without which the World is but a *Wilderneſs*: And even in this Senſe alſo of *Solitude*, whoſoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for *Friendſhip*, he taketh it of the *Beaſt*, and not from *Humanity*.

A Principal *Fruit of Friendſhip* is, the Eaſe and Diſcharge of the Fulneſs and Swellings of the Heart, which Paſſions of all kinds do cauſe and induce. We know

Diseases of Stoppings and Suffocations are the most dangerous in the Body, and it is not much otherwise in Mind: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver, *Steel* to open the Spleen, *Flower of Sulphur* for the Lungs, *Castoreum* for the Brain; but no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart Grievs, Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suspensions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart to oppress it, in a kind of Civil Shrift or Confession.

It is a strange Thing to observe, how high a Rate great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this *Fruit of Friendship* whereof we speak; so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own Safety and Greatness. For Princes, in regard of the Distance of their Fortune from that of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this Fruit, except (to make themselves, capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be, as it were, Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times forteth to Inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto such Persons the Name of *Favourites* or *Privadoes*, as if it were matter of Grace or Conversation. But the *Roman* Name attaineth the true Use and Cause thereof, naming them *Participes Curarum*; for it is that which tieth the Knot, and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate Princes only, but by the Wisest, and most Politick that ever reigned: Who have oftentimes joyned to themselves some of their Servants, whom both themselves have called *Friends*, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the Word which is received between Private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Height, that *Pompey* vaunted himself for *Sylla's* Over-match: For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Friend of his against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, *Pompey* turned upon him again, and in effect had him be quiet; For that

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more Men adored the Sun-rising than the Sun-setting. With Julius, Decius Brutus had obtained that Interest, as he set him down in his Testament, for Heir in Remainder after his Nephew. And this was the Man that had Power with him, to draw him forth to his Death. For when Caesar would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Presages, and especially a Dream of Calpurnia; This Man lifted him gently by the Arm out of his Chair, telling him, he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate, till his Wife had dreamed a better Dream. And it seemeth his Favour was so great, as Antonius in a Letter which is recited *Verbatim* in one of Cicero's *Philippiques*, called him *Venefica, Witch*; as if he had enchanted Caesar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean Birth) to that Heighth, as when he consulted with Mæcenas about the Marriage of his Daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the Liberty to tell him, *That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his Life; there was no third way, he had made him so great*. With Tiberius Caesar, Sejanus had ascended to that Heighth, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of *Friends*. Tiberius in a Letter to him, saith, *Hæc pro Amicitia nostra non occultavi*; and the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to *Friendship*, as to a *Goddeſs*, in respect of the great Dearness of *Friendship* between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plantianus; for he forced his eldest Son to marry the Daughter of Plantianus, and would maintain Plantianus in doing Affronts to his Son, and did write also in a Letter to the Senate these words; *I love the Man so well, as I wish he may over-love me*. Now if these Princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of Nature; but being Men so wise, of such strength and severity of Mind, and so extream Lovers of themselves, as all these were; it proveth more plainly, that they found their own Felicity (though as great as ever happened to Mortal Man) but as an half Piece, except they might have

a Friend

a *Friend* to make it Entire; and yet, which is more, they were *Princes* that had Wives, Sons, Nephews, and yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commines* observeth of his Master, *Duke Charles the Hardy*; namely, That he would communicate his Secrets with none; and least of all those Secrets which troubled him most: Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time; *That closeness did impair, and a little perish his Understanding*. Surely, *Commines* might have made the same Judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second Master, *Lewis the Eleventh*, whose Closeness was indeed his Tormentor. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but true. *Cor ne edito, Eat not the Heart*. Certainly if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, those that want *Friends* to open themselves unto, are Cannibals of their own *Heart*. But one thing is most admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *Friendship*;) which is, That this Communicating of a Man's Self to a *Friend*, works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth *Joys*, and cutteth *Griefs* in Halfs; for there is no Man that imparteth his *Joys* to his *Friend*, but he *Joyeth* the more; and no Man that imparteth his *Griefs* to his *Friend*, but he *grieveth* the less. So that it is in truth an Operation upon a Man's Mind of like Vertue, as the *Alchymists* use to attribute to their Stone for Man's Body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the Good and Benefit of Nature; but yet without bringing in the Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this in the ordinary course of Nature: For in Bodies *Union* strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural Action; and on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression; and even so it is of Minds.

The second *Fruit* of *Friendship* is Healthful and Sovereign for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*: For *Friendship* maketh indeed a *fair Day* in the *Affections* from Storm and Tempests; but it maketh *Daylight*

light in the *Understanding* out of *Darkness* and *Confusion* of *Thoughts*. Neither is this to be understood only of *Faithful Counsel* which a Man receiveth from his *Friend*: But before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his *Mind* fraught with many *Thoughts*, his *Wits* and *Understanding* do *Clarifie* and *break up* in the *Communicating* and *Discoursing* with another; he tosseth his *Thoughts* more easily, he marshalleth them more orderly, he seeth how they look when they are turned into *Words*. Finally, he waxeth wiser than Himself; and that more by an hours *Discourse*, than by a days *Meditation*. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia*, *That Speech was like Cloth of Arras opened and put abroad, whereby the Imagery doth appear in Figure; whereas in Thoughts they lie but as in Packs*. Neither is this second *Fruit* of *Friendship*, in opening the *Understanding*, restrained only to such *Friends* as are able to give a Man *Counsel*; (they indeed are best) but even without that a Man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own *Thoughts* to *Light*, and whetteth his *Wits* as against a *Stone*, which its self cuts not. In a *Word*, a Man were better relate himself to a *Statue* or *Picture*, than to suffer his *Thoughts* to pass in smother.

And now to make this second *Fruit* of *Friendship* compleat, that other *Point* which lieth open, and falleth within *Vulgar Observation*, which is *Faithful Counsel* from a *Friend*. *Heraclitus* saith well in one of his *Ænigma's*; *Dry Light is ever the best*. And certain it is, that the *Light* that a Man receiveth by *Counsel* from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own *Understanding* and *Judgment*, which is ever infused and drenched in his *Affections* and *Customs*, so as there is as much difference between the *Counsel* that a *Friend* giveth, and that a Man giveth himself, as there is between the *Counsel* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*; for there is no such *Flatterer* as is a Man's *Self*; and there is no such remedy against *Flattery* of a Man's *Self*, as the liberty of a *Friend*. *Counsel* is of two sorts; the

one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Business*. For the first; the best preservative to keep the Mind in Health, is the faithful Admonition of a *Friend*. The calling of a Man's self to a strict account is a Medicine sometime too piercing and corrosive. Reading good Books of Morality, is a little Flat and Dead. Observing our Faults in others, is sometimes unproper for our case. But the best Receipt (best, I say) to work, and best to take, is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what gross Errors, and extreme Absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a *Friend* to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their Fame and Fortune: for, as St. James saith, they were as Men that look sometimes into a Glass, and presently forget their own Shape and Favour. As for *Business*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more than one, or that a Gamester seeth always more than a Looker on; or that a Man in Anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty Letters; or that a Musket may be shot off as well upon the Arm, as upon a Rest; and such other fond and high Imaginations, to think himself All in All. But when all is done, the help of good *Counsel* is that which setteth *Business* streight; and if any Man think that he will take *Counsel*, but it shall be by pieces; asking *Counsel* in one *Business* of one Man, and in another *Business* of another Man; it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he ask'd none at all) but he runneth two Dangers; one, that he shall not faithfully be Counsell'd; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Friend*, to have *Counsel* given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have *Counsel* given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning) and mixt; partly of mischief, and partly of remedy: even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good for the cure of the Disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your Body; and therefore may put you
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in a way for present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kind, and so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. . But a *Friend* that is wholly acquainted with a Man's Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Business*, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience; and therefore rests not upon *scattered Counsels*, for they will rather distract and mis-lead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble *Fruits* of *Friendship*, (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgment*) followeth the last *Fruit* which is like the *Pomegranate*, full of many *Kernels*; I mean *Aid*, and *Bearing a part* in all *Actions* and *Occasions*. Here the best way to represent to the Life the manifold use of *Friendship*, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot do himself; and then it will appear, that it was a sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Friend is another himself*; for that a *Friend* is far more than himself. Men have their Time, and die many times in desire of some Things; which they principally take to *Heart*; The bestowing of a Child, the finishing of a Work, or the like. If a Man have a true *Friend*, he may rest almost secure, that the care of those Things will continue after him: So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his Desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; but where *Friendship* is, all Offices of Life are as it were granted to him and his Deputy; for he may exercise them by his *Friend*. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A Man can scarce alledge his own Merits with Modesty, much less extol them: A Man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these Things are graceful in a *Friend's* Mouth, which are blushing in a Man's own. So again, a Man's Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speak to his Son, but as a Father; to his Wife but as a Husband; to his Enemy, but upon terms. Whereas a

Friend

Friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person: But to enumerate these Things were endless: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his own part: If he have not a *Friend*, he may quit the Stage.

XXVIII.

Of Expence.

RICHES are for spending, and spending for Honour and good Actions: Therefor *Extraordinary Expence* must be limited by the worth of the occasion. For *Voluntary Undoing* may be as well for a Man's Country, as for the Kingdom of Heaven; but *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limited by a Man's Estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass, and not subject to deceit and abuse of Servants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bills may be less than the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of even hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be but to the half his Receipts: And if he thinks to wax Rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own *Estate*. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken; but Wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own Estate at all, had need both chuse well those whom he employeth, and change them oftner; for new are more timerous, and less subtle. He that can look into his Estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainty. A Man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of *Expence*, to be as saving again in some other: As if he be plentiful in Diet, to be saving in Apparel: If he be plentiful in the Hall, to be saving in the Stable, and the like. For he that is plentiful in *Expences* of all kinds, will

will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a Man's Estate, he may as well hurt himself, in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as disadvantageous as Interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of streights, he will revert to his Customs: But he that cleareth by degrees, induceth a habit of Frugality, and gaineth as well upon his Mind as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repair, may not despise small Things: And commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty Charges, than to stoop to petty Gettings. A Man ought warily to begin Charges, which once begun will continue; but in Matters that return not, he may be more Magnificent.

XXIX.

Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.

THE Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to him-self, had been a grave and wise Observation and Censure, applyed at large to others: Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said, *He could not Fiddle, but yet he could make a small Town a great City.* These Words, (holpen a little with a Metaphor) may express two differing Abilities in those that deal in Business of State. For if a true Survey be taken of Counsellors and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a *small State great*, and yet cannot *Fiddle*: As on the other side, there will be found a great many that can *Fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a *small State great*, as their Gift lieth
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the other way, to bring a great and flourishing Estate to ruin and decay. And certainly those degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellors and Governors gain both Favour with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better name than *Fidling*, being Things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement to the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellors and Governours which may be held sufficient (*Negotiis pares*) able to manage Affairs, and to keep them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconveniencies, which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an Estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the Workmen what they may be, let us speak of the Work; That is, the *true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*, and the *Means* thereof. An Argument fit for Great and Mighty Princes to have in their Hand, to the end, that neither by overmeasuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vain Enterprises, nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous *Counsellors*.

The *Greatness* of an Estate in Bulk and Territory, doth fall under measure; and the *Greatness* of Finances and Revenue, doth fall under Computation. The Population may appear by Musters, and the Number and Greatness of Cities and Towns by Carts and Maps. But yet there is not any thing among Civil Affairs, more subject to Error, than the right Valuation, and true Judgment, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate.

The *Kingdom of Heaven* is compared not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a *Grain of Mustard-seed*, which is one of the least Grains, but hath in it a Property and Spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are their States great in Territory, and yet not apt to Enlarge or Command; and some that have but a small dimension of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

Walled Towns, Stored Arsenals and Armories. Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lyon's Skin, except the breed and disposition of the People be stout and warlike. Nay, Number (it self) in Armies importeth not much, where the People is of weak Courage: For, (as *Virgil* saith) *It never troubles a Wolf, how many the Sheep be.* The Army of the *Persians*, in the Plains of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexander's* Army; who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by Night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory:* And the Defeat way easie.

When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being encamped upon a Hill with 400000 Men, discovered the Army of the *Romans*, being not above 14000 marching towards him, he made himself Merry with it, and said, *Yonder Men are too many for an Ambassage, and too few for a Fight:* But before the Sun set, he found them enough to give him the Chase with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples of great odds between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Judgment, That the principal point of *Greatness* in any *State*, is, to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinews of War, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinews of Men's Arms in Base and Effeminate People are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Cræsus*, (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold) *Sir, if any other come, that hath better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therefore let any Prince or State think soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natives be of good and valiant Soldiers. And let Princes on the other side, that have Subjects of Martial Disposition, know their own Strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Help in this Case) all Examples shew, that whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them; *He may spread*

his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The *Blessing of Judas and Issachar* will never meet, *That the same People or Nation should be both the Lions Whelp, and Ass between Burthens*: Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with *Taxes*, should ever become Valiant and Martial. It is true, That *Taxes* levied by Consent of the State, do abate Men's Courage less, as it hath been seen notably in the *Exercises* of the *Low Countries*; and in some degree in the *Subsidies* of *England*: For you must note, that we speak now of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it works diversly upon the Courage: So that you may conclude, *That no People over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aim at *Greatness*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen* do multiply too fast: For that maketh the Common Subject grow to be a Peasant and a base Swain, driven out of Heart, and in effect but a *Gentleman's* Labourer: Even as you may see in Coppice Woods. *If you leave your Stadles too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.* So in *Countries*, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base: And you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth Poll will be fit for an Helmet; especially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerve of an Army; and so there will be great Population and little Strength. This which I speak of, hath been no where better seen, than by comparing of *England* and *France*: Whereof *England*, though far less in Territory and Population hath been nevertheless an Over-match; in regard the *Middle People* of *England* make good Soldiers, which the Peasants of *France* do not. And herein the device of *K. Henry the Seventh* (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was profound and Admirable in making Farms and Houses of Husbandry, of a Standard: That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subject to
live

live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition: and to keep the Plough in the hands of the Owners, and not meer Hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to *Virgil's* Character which he gives to Ancient *Italy*.

————— *Terra potens armisque atque ubere Gleba.*

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I mean the State of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, which are no ways inferiour to the *Yeomanry* for Arms: And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendor and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* received into Custom, doth much conduce unto *Martial Greatness*: Whereas contrariwise, the close and reserved Living of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all means it is to be procured, That the *Trunk* of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough to bear the Branches, and the Boughs; that is, That the *Natural Subjects* of the Crown or State, bear a sufficient Proportion to the *Stranger Subjects* that they govern: Therefore all States that are liberal of Naturalization towards Strangers are fit for *Empire*. For to think that an Handful of People can with the greatest Courage and Policy in the World, embrace too large extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The *Spartans* were a nice People in point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their Boughs were become too great for their Stem, they became a Wind-fall upon the sudden. Never any State was in this Point so open to receive *Strangers* into their Body, as were the *Romans*, therefore it sorted with them accordingly: For they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the

highest Degree; that is, not only *Jus Commercii*, *Jus Connubii*, *Jus Hereditatis*, but also *Jus Suffragii*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea, to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Add to this their Custom of *Plantation of Colonies*, whereby the *Roman Plant* was removed into the Soil of other Nations; and putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spread upon the *World*; but it was the *World* that spread upon the *Romans*; and that was the sure Way of *Greatness*. I have marvelled sometimes at *Spain*, how they clasp and contain so large Dominions with so few natural *Spaniards*: But sure the whole Compass of *Spain* is a very great Body of a Tree, far above *Rome* and *Sparta* at the first: And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*; yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives, as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that *Sedentary* and *Within-door Arts*, and delicate Manufactures, (that require rather the Finger, than the Arm) have in their Nature a Contrariety to a Military Disposition. And generally all Warlike People are a little Idle, and love Danger better than Travel: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in Vigour. Therefore it was great Advantage in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the use of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures; but that is abolished in greatest part by the *Christian Law*. That which cometh nearest to it, is to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to contain the principal Bulk of the vulgar Natives within those three kinds; *Tillers of the Ground*, *Free Servants*, and *Handicrafts Men* of strong
and

and manly Arts ; as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed Soldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatness* it importeth most, that a Nation do profess Arms as their principal Honour, Study and Occupation: For the things which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Arms; and what is *Habilitation*, without *Intention* and *Act*? *Romulus* after his death (as they report or feign) sent a Present to the *Romans*, that above all they should intend Arms, and then they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the *State* of *Sparta* was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that Scope and End. The *Persians* and *Macedonians* had it for a Flash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others had it for a time. The *Turks* have it at this day, though in great Declination. Of *Christian-Europe*; they that have it, are in effect only the *Spaniards*. But it is so plain, *That every Man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it, that no Nation which doth not directly profess Arms, may look to have *Greatness* fall into their Mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain Oracle of Time, that those States that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do Wonders; and those that have professed Arms but for an Age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that *Greatness* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Arms are grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is, for a State to have those Laws or Customs which may reach forth unto them just Occasions (as may be pretended) of War: For there is that Justice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities do ensue) but upon some, or at least specious Grounds and Quarrels. The *Turk* hath at hand, for cause of War, the Propagation of his Law or Sect, a

Quarrel that he may always Command. The *Romans* though they esteemed the extending the Limits of their Empire to be great Honour to their Generals, when it was done; yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a War. First therefore, let Nations that pretend to *Greatness*, have this; that they be sensible of Wrongs, either upon Borders, Merchants, or Politick Ministers, and that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates; as it ever was with the *Romans*: Inſomuch as if the Confederate had Leagues defensive with divers other States, and upon Invaſion offered, did implore their Aids ſeverally; yet the *Romans* would ever be the foremoſt, and leave it to none other to have the Honour. As for the Wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of Party, or tacit Conformity of Eſtate, I do not well ſay, how they may be well juſtified: As when the *Romans* made a War for the Liberty of *Grecia*; or when the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians* made Wars to ſet up or pull down *Democracies* and *Oligarchies*; or when Wars were made by Foreigners, under the pretence of Juſtice or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others from Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and the like. Let it ſuffice, That no Eſtate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any juſt Occaſion of Arming.

No Body can be Healthful without *Exercife*, neither Natural Body, nor Politick; and certainly to a *Kingdom* or *Eſtate*, a Juſt and Honourable War is the true *Exercife*. A Civil War indeed is like the Heat of a Fever; but a Foreign War is like the Heat of *Exercife*, and ſerveth to keep the Body in Health: For in a ſlothful Peace both Courages will effeminate, and Manners corrupt. But howſoever it be for Happineſs without all Queſtion; for *Greatneſs*, it maketh to be ſtill, for the moſt part in Arms; and the ſtrength of a Veterane Army (though it be a chargeable Buſineſs) always on Foot, is that which commonly giveth the

Law, or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbouring States; as may well be seen in *Spain*, which hath had in one part or other a Veterane Army, almost continually, now by the space of sixscore Years.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgment of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his Preparation against *Cesar*, saith, *Conflium Pompeii planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.* And without doubt *Pompey* had tired out *Cesar*, if upon vain Confidence he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battles by *Sea*. The Battle of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battle of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatness of the *Turk*. There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* have been Final to the War: But this is when Princes or States have set up their Rest upon the Battles. But thus much is certain, that he that Commands the *Sea*, is at great Liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the War, as he will; whereas those that be strongest by Land, are many times nevertheless in great Streights. Surely at this day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of strength at *Sea* (which is one of the principal Dowries of this Kingdom of *Great Britain*) is great: Both because most of the Kingdoms of *Europe* are not meerly In-land, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compass; and because the Wealth of both *Indies* seem in great part but an Accessary to the Command of the *Sea*.

The *Wars* of *Latter Ages* seem to be made in the Dark, in respect of the Glory and Honour which reflected upon Men from the *Wars* in *Ancient Time*. There be now for Martial Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon Soldiers, and no Soldiers; and some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutcheon; and some Hospitals for maimed Soldiers, and such like Things. But in *Ancient Times*, the *Trophies* erected upon the Place of the Victory; the Funeral Laudatives and Monuments

numents for those that died in the Wars; the Crowns and Garlands personal; the Style of Emperor, which the great King of the World after borrowed; the Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return; the great Donatives and Largesses upon the disbanding of the Armies, were Things able to enflame all Men's Courages. But above all, that of the Triumph amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageant or Gawdry, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions that ever was: For it contained three Things; Honour to the General; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoil; and Donatives to the Army. But that Honour perhaps were not fit for *Monarchies*, except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himself, or his Sons; as it came to pass in the Times of the *Roman Emperors*, who did impropriate the Actual Triumphs to themselves, and their Sons, for such Wars as they did atchieve in Person; and left only for Wars atchieved by Subjects, some Triumphal Garments and Ensigns to the General.

To conclude, No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *add a Cubit to his Stature*, in this little Model of a *Man's Body*; but in the great Frame of *Kingdoms* and *Common-Wealths*, it is in the Power of Princes or Estates to add Amplitude and *Greatness* to their *Kingdoms*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions and Customs, as we have now touched, they may sow *Greatness* to their Posterity and Succession. But these Things are commonly not observed, but left to take their Chance.

XXX.

Of Regiment of Health.

THERE is a Wisdom in this beyond the Rules of *Physick*: A Man's own Observation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best *Physick* to

to preserve Health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*, than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For strength of Nature in Youth passeth over many Excesses which are owing by a Man till his Age. Discern of the coming on of Years, and think not to do the same Things still; for Age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of Diet; and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it: For it is a Secret both in Nature and State, that it is safer to change many Things than one. Examine thy Customs of Diet, Sleep, Exercise, Apparel, and the like: And try in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: For it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for a Man's own Body. To be free minded, and chearfully disposed at hours of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts for long Life. As for the Passions and Studies of the Mind; avoid Envy, anxious Fears, Anger fretting inwards, subtil and knotty Inquisitions, Joys, and Exhilarations in Excess, Sadness not communicated; entertain Hopes, Mirth rather than Joy, variety of Delights, rather than surfeit of them, Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties, Studies that fill the Mind with splendid and illustrious Objects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you fly Physick in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary Effect when Sicknes cometh. I commend rather some Diet for certain Seasons, than frequent use of *Physick*, except it be grown into a Custom: For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new Accident in your Body, but ask Opinion of it. In *Sickness* respect *Health* principally, and in *Health*, *Action*: For those that put their Bodies

to endure in *Healths* may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharp, be cured only with Diet and tending. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a wise Man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great Precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man do vary, and interchange Contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign Extream. Use Fasting and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting and Exercise, but rather Exercise, and the like; So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the Humour of the Patient, as they press not the true Cure of the Disease; and some other are so regular, in proceeding according to Art for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle Temper, or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

XXXI.

Of Suspicion.

SU**S**PICIONS amongst Thoughts are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at least well guarded; for they cloud the Mind, they leese Friends, that they check with Business, whereby Business cannot go on currant and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are defects, not in the Heart, but in the Brain; for they take place in the stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, there was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout; And

And in such a Composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination whether they be likely or no; but in fearful Natures they gain Ground too fast. There is nothing makes a Man *suspect* much, more than to know little; and therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspicious* in smother. What would Men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are Saints? Do they not think they will have their own Ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate *Suspicious*, than to account upon such *Suspicious* as true, and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a Man ought to make use of *Suspicious*, as to provide, as if that should be true that he *suspects*, yet it may do him no hurt. *Suspicious* that the Mind of it self gathers are but Buzzes, but *Suspicious* that are artificially nourished, and put into *Men's Heads* by the *Tales*, and whispering of others, have Stings. Certainly the best means to clear the way in this same Wood of *Suspicious*, is frankly to communicate them with the Party that he *suspects*; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the Truth of them than he did before; and withal, shall make that Party more circumspect, not to give further Cause of *Suspicion*: But this would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they find themselves once *suspected*, will never be true. The *Italians* say, *Sospetto licentia fede*; as if *Suspicion* did give a Passport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it self.

XXXII.

Of Discourse.

SOME in their *Discourse* desire rather commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgment in discerning what is true: As if it were

were a Praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain Common Places, and Themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of Poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of Talk, is to give the occasion, again, to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a Man leads the Dance. It is good in *Discourse* and Speech of Conversation, to vary and intermingle Speech of the present occasion with Arguments, Tales with Reasons, asking of Questions with telling of Opinions, and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and as we say now, to Jade any thing too far. As for Jest, there be certain Things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, any Man's present Business of Importance, and any Case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their Wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick: That is a Vein which should be bridled.

Parce, Puer, stimulis, & fortius utere loris.

And generally Men ought to find the difference between Saltness and Bitterness. Certainly he that hath a Satyrical Vein, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his Questions to the Skill of the Persons whom he asketh: For he shall give them occasion to please themselves in Speaking, and himself shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a Poser: And let him be sure to leave other Men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign, and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as Musicians use to do with those that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes
your

your Knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a Man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speaks so much of himself*: And there is but one Case, wherein a Man may commend himself with good Grace, and that is, in commending Vertue in another; especially if it be such a Vertue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen* of the West part of *England*, whereof the one was given to Scoff, but kept ever Royal Cheer in his House: The other would ask of those that had been at the others Table, *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry Blow given?* To which the Guest would answer, *Such and such a Thing passed*: The Lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good Dinner.* *Discretion of Speech* is more than *Eloquence*; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good Words and in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slowness; and a good Reply, or second Speech without a good settled Speech, sheweth Shallowness and Weakness; as we see in Beasts, that those that are weakest in the Course, are yet nimblest in the Turn; as it is betwixt the Greyhound and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances e're one come to the Matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII.

Of Plantations.

PLANTATIONS are amongst Ancient, Primitive; and Heroical Works. When the World was young; it begat more Children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may justly account new *Plantations* to be the Children of former Kingdoms. I like a *Plantation* in a pure Soil, that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* others; for else it is rather an *Ex-tirpation*, than a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries is like *Planting* of Woods; for you must make account to lose almost Twenty Years Profit, and expect your Re-compence in the end. For the principal Thing that hath been the destruction of most *Plantations*, hath been the base and hasty drawing of Profit in the first Years. It is true, speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a shameful and unblest Thing, to take the Scum of People, and wicked condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant*: And not only so, but it spoileth the *Plantation*; for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to Work, but be Lazy, and do Mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary; and then certifie over to their Country to the discredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gard'ners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joiners, Fishermen, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first look about what kind of Victual the Country yields of it self to hand; as Chesnuts, Walnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plumbs, Cherries, Wild-Honey, and the like, and make use of them: Then consider what Victual, or Esculent Things there are; which grow speedily, and within the Year; as Parsnips, Carrots,

Carrots, Turnips, Onions, Raddish, Artichoaks of *Jerusalem*, *Maiz*, and the like. For Wheat, Barley, and Oats, they ask too much Labour: But with Pease and Beans you may begin, both because they ask less Labour, and because they serve for Meat as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise cometh a great Encrease, and it is a kind of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of Bisket, Oat-meal Flour, Meal, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts and Birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to Diseases, and multiply fastest; as Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House-Doves, and the like. The Victual in *Plantations* ought to be expended, almost as in a besieged Town; that is, with a certain Allowance; and let the main part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn, be to a common Stock and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in Proportion, besides some Spots of Ground that any particular Person will Manure for his own private Use. Consider likewise what Commodities the Soil, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the Charge of the *Plantation*: So it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice of the main Business; as it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ore, and Streams whereupon to set the Mills, Iron is a brave Commodity where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay-Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silk likewise if any be, is a likely Commodity. Pitch and Tar, where store of Firs and Pines are will not fail. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great Profit. Soap-Ashes likewise, and other Things that may be thought of. But Moil not too much under Ground; for the hope of Mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the *Planters* Lazy in other Things. For Government, let it be in the Hands of one assisted with some Counsel;

and

and let them have Commission to Exercise Martial Law^s with some Limitation. And above all, Let Men make that Profit of being in the Wilderⁿess, as they have God always, and his Service before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation* depend upon too many Counsellors and Undertakers in the Country that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen, than Merchants; for they look ever to the present Gain. Let there be Freedoms for Custom, till the *Plantation* be of Strength; and not only Freedom from Custom, but Freedom to carry their Commodities, where they may make the best of them, except there be some special cause of Caution. Cram not in People, by sending too fast, Company after Company, but rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; but so, as the number may live well in the *Plantation*, and not by surcharge be in Penury. It hath been a great endangering to the Health of some *Plantations*, that they have built along the Sea and Rivers in Marshy and Unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the Streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the Health of the *Plantation*, that they have good store of Salt with them, that they may use it in their Victuals, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant* where Savages are, do not only entertain them with Trifles and Gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient Guard nevertheless; and do not win their Favour by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss. And send oft of them over to the Country that *Plant*, that they may see a better Condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the *Plantation* grows to Strength, then it is time to *Plant* with Women as well as with Men, that the *Plantation* may spread into Generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfulness^t Thing in the World to forsake or destitute a

Plantation once in forwardness; for besides the dishonour, it is guiltiness of Blood of many commiserable Persons.

XXXIV.

Of Riches.

I Cannot call *Riches* better than the baggage of Virtue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*; for as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behind, but it hindreth the March: Yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the Victory. Of great *Riches* there is no real use, except it be in the Distribution, the rest is but conceit: So saith *Solomon*, *Where much is there are many to consume it; and what hath the Owner, but the sight of it with his Eyes?* The personal Fruition in any Man cannot reach to feel great *Riches*: There is a Custody of them, or a Power of Dole and Donative of them, or a Fame of them, but no solid use to the Owner. Do you not see what feigned Prices are set upon little Stones and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great *Riches*? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles: As *Solomon* saith, *Riches are a strong Hold in the Imagination of the Rich Man.* But this is excellently expressed, That it is in *Imagination*, and not always in *Fact*: For certainly great *Riches* have sold more Men than they have bought out. Seek not proud *Riches*, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute chearfully, and leave contentedly: Yet have no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt of them, but distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificande apparebat, non Avaritie preadam, sed instrumentum Bonitatis, queri.* Hear-

ken also to *Solomon*, and beware of hasty gathering of *Riches*: *Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons*. The Poets feign, that when *Plutus* (which is *Riches*) is sent from *Jupiter*, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is swift of Foot; meaning, that *Riches* gotten by good Means, and just Labour, pace slowly: But when they come by the Death of others, (as by the course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it might be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devil; for when *Riches* come from the Devil (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and unjust Means) they come upon Speed. *The ways to enrich* are many, and most of them foul; *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth Men from Works of Liberality and Charity. *The Improvement of the Ground* is the most natural obtaining of *Riches*; for it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths, but it is slow; and yet where the Men of great Wealth do stoop to Husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman of *England*, that had the greatest Audits of any Man in my Time: A great Grasser, a great Sheep-Master, a great Timber-man, a great Collier, a great Corn-Master, a great Lead-man, and so of Iron, and a number of the like Points of Husbandry; so as the Earth seemed a Sea to him in respect of the perpetual Importation. It was truly observed by One, that himself came very hardly to a little *Riches*, and very easily to great *Riches*; for when a Man's Stock is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargains, which for their greatness are few Men's Money, and be Partner in the Industries of younger Men, he cannot but increase mainly. *The Gains of ordinary Trades and Vocations* are Honest, and furthered by two Things, chiefly, by Diligence, and by a good Name, for good and fair Dealing. But the *Gains of Bargains* are of a more doubtful Nature, when Men shall wait upon others Necessity, broke by Servants and Instru-

ments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practices which are Crafty and Naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargains*, when a Man buys, not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the Seller and upon the Buyer. *Sharings* do greatly *enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen that are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest means of Gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a Man doth eat his Bread, *In sudore vultus alieni*: And besides, doth Plow upon Sundays. But yet, certain though it be, it hath Flaws; for that the *Scriveners* and *Brokers* do value unsound Men to serve their own turn. The *Fortune*, in being the first in an *Invention*, or in a *Privilege*, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in *Riches*; as it was with the first Sugar-Man in the *Canaries*: Therefore if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Judgment as *Invention*, he may do great Matters, especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gains Certain*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches*; and he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth oftentimes Break, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore to guard *Adventures* with *Certainities* that may uphold Losses. *Monopolies* and *Coemption* of Wares for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great means to *Enrich*, especially if the Party have Intelligence what Things are like to come into Request, and to store himself beforehand. *Riches* gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, feeding Humours, and other servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships*, (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca*, *Testamenta & Orbos tanquam Indagine capi*) it is yet worse, by how much Men submit themselves to meaner Persons, than in *Service*. Believe not much them that seem to despise *Riches*; for they despise them that despair of them, and none worse when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; *Riches* have Wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves; sometimes

they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches* either to their Kindred, or to the Publick; and moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heir, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in Years and Judgment. Likewise glorious Gifts and Foundations are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, and but the *Painted Sepulchres of Alms*, which soon will putrifie and corrupt inwardly: Therefore measure not thine Advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure; and defer not Charities till Death: For certainly if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another Mans, than of his own.

XXXV.

Of Prophecies.

I MEAN not to speak of *Divine Prophecies*, nor of Heathen Oracles, nor of Natural Predictions, but only of *Prophecies* that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*, *To morrow thou and thy Son shall be with me.* *Homer* hath these Verses.

*At domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris.
Et nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.*

A *Prophecie*, as it seems, of the *Roman Empire*. *Seneca*, the *Tragedian*, hath these Verses.

— — — *Venient Annis
Secula feris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sic terris
Ultima Thule:*

A Propheſie of the *Discovery of America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* anointed him; and it came to paſs that he was Crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain waſhed it. *Philip of Macedon* dreamed he ſealed up his Wife's Belly; whereby he did Expound it that his Wife ſhould be Barren: But *Ariſtander* the Sooth-Sayer told him his Wife was with Child, becauſe Men do not uſe to ſeal Veſſels that are empty. A Phantaſm that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, ſaid to him, *Philippis terum me videbis*. *Tiberius* ſaid to *Galba*, *Tu quoque, Galba, deguſtabis Imperium*. In *Veſpaſian's* Time there went a Prophecy in the Eaſt, that thoſe that ſhould come forth of *Judea* ſhould Reign over the World: Which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet *Tacitus* Expounds it of *Veſpaſian*. *Domitian* dreamed the Night before he was Slain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Neck: And indeed the Succeſſion that followed him for many Years made Golden Times. *Henry the Sixth of England*, ſaid of *Henry the Seventh*, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water, *This is the Lad that ſhall enjoy the Crown for which we ſtrive*. When I was in *France*, I heard from one Doctor *Pena*, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious Arts, cauſed the King her Huſband's Nativity to be Calculated under a falſe Name: And the Aſtrologer gave a Judgment, that he ſhould be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her Huſband to be above Challenges and Duels: But he was Slain upon a Courſe at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staff of *Montgomery* going in at his Bever. The trivial Prophecy that I heard when I was a Child, and Queen *Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Years, was;

*When Hemp is spun,
England's done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the principal Letters of that Word *Hemp*, (which were *Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth,*) *England* should come to utter Confusion; which thanks be to God is verified in the Change of the Name; for that the King's Style is no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was also another *Prophecy*, before the Year of 88: which I do not well understand:

*There shall be seen upon a Day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The Black Feet of Norway.
When that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone,
For after Wars shall you have none.*

It was generally conceived to be meant of the *Spanish Fleet* that came in 88. For that the King of *Spain's* Surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis Annus,

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, tho' not in Number, that ever swam upon the Sea. As for *Cleon's Dream*, I think it was a Jest; It was, That he was devoured of a long Dragon; and it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include *Dreams and Predictions of Astrology*. But I have set down these few only of certain Credit for Example. My Judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought

ought to serve but for Winter-Talk by the Fire-side: Though, when I say *Despised*, I mean it as for Belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be *Despised*; for they have done much Mischief. And I see many severe Laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things: First, That Men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of *Dreams*. The second is, That probable Conjectures, or obscure Traditions, many times turn themselves into *Prophecies*, while the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinks it no Peril to foretel that which indeed they do but Collect: As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth had great Parts beyond the *Atlantick*; which might be probably conceived not to be all Sea: and adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timæus*, and his *Atlantickus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a *Prediction*. The third and last (which is the Great one) is, That almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been *Impositions*, and by idle and crafty Brains meerly contrived and feigned after the Event past.

XXXVI.

Of Ambition.

AMBITION is like *Choler*, which is an Humour that maketh Men Active, Earnest, full of Alacrity, and Stirring, if it be not stopped, but if it be stopped and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby Malign and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they find the way open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busie than Dangerous; but if they be checkt in their desires, they become secretly discontent,

and look upon Men and Matters with an Evil Eye, and are best pleased when Things go backward, which is the worst property in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and not Retrograde; which, because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what Cases they are of necessity. Good Commanders in the Wars must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious*; for the use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurs. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreens to Princes in Matters of Danger and Envy; for no Man will take that part, except he be like a seel'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of *Ambitious Men*, in pulling down the greatness of any Subject that over-tops; as *Tiberius* used *Macro* in pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they must be used in such Cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less *Dangerous*. There is less *Danger* of them, if they be of mean Birth, than if they be Noble; and if they be rather harsh of Nature, than Gracious and Popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning, and fortified in their Greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in Princes to have *Favourites*; but it is of all others the best remedy against *Ambitious Great Ones*. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasing lieth by the *Favourite*, it is impossible any other should be *Over-great*. Another means to Curb them, is to balance them by others as Proud as they. But then there must be some middle Councillors to keep Things steady; for without that Ballast the Ship will roul too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some meaner Persons,

to be as it were Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful Natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their Designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the Affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the enterchange continually of Favours and Disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is less harmful the *Ambition* to prevail in great Things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds Confusion, and mars Business. But yet it is less Danger, to have an *Ambitious Man* stirring in Business, than great in Dependences. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst able Men, hath a great Task; but that is ever good for the Publick; but he that Plots to be the only Figure amongst Cyphers, is the decay of an whole *Age*. *Honour* hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to do good; the approach to Kings and Principal Persons; and the raising of a Man's own Fortune. He that hath the best of these Intentions when he aspireth, is an honest Man; and that Prince that can discern of those Intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States chuse such Ministers as are more sensible of Duty, than of Rising; and such as love Business rather upon Conscience, than upon Bravery; and let them discern a busie Nature from a willing Mind.

XXXVII.

Of Masks and Triumphs.

THESE Things are but Toys, to come amongst such serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better they should be graced with

with Elegancy, than daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Choire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick, and the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extream good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (for that is a mean and vulgar Thing) and the *Voices* of the *Dialogue* would be strong and manly, (a Base, and a Tenor, no Treble,) and the *Ditty* High and Tragical, not Nice or Dainty. *Several Choires* placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Anthems*-wise, give great Pleasure. *Turning Dances into Figure* is a childish Curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those Things which I here set down, are such as do naturally take the Sense, and not respect petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without noise, are Things of great Beauty and Pleasure, for they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied*; and let the *Masks*, or any other that are to come down from the *Scene*, have some motions upon the *Scene* it self, before their coming down; for it draws the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the *Songs* be *Loud* and *Cheerful*, and not *Chirpings* or *Pulings*. Let the *Musick* likewise be *Sharp* and *Loud*, and *well placed*. The *Colours* that shew best by Candle-light, are *White*, *Carnation*, and a kind of *Sea-water Green*; and *Oes* or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not discerned. Let the *Suits of Maskers* be graceful, and such as become the Person when the *Vizards* are off, not after Examples of known Attires; *Turks*, *Soldiers*, *Mariners*, and the like. Let *Anti-masks* not be long, they have been commonly of *Fools*, *Satyrs*, *Baboons*, *Wild-men*, *Antiques*, *Beasts*, *Spirits*, *Witches*, *Ethiops*, *Pigmies*, *Turquets*, *Nymphs*, *Rusticks*, *Cupids*, *Statua's moving*, and the like.

like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comical enough to put them in *Anti-masks*; and any thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Musick* of them be Recreative, and with some strange Changes, Some *sweet Odours* suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in such a Company, as there is Steam and Heat, Things of great Pleasure and Refreshment. *Double Masks*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety. But all is nothing, except the *Room* be kept clear and neat.

For *Justs*, and *Turneys*, and *Barriers*, the Glories of them are chiefly in the Chariots wherein the Challenggers make their Entry, specially if they be drawn with strange Beasts, as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like; or in the Devices of their Entrance, or in the Bravery of their Liveries, or in the goodly Furniture of their Horses and Armour. But enough of these Toys.

XXXVIII.

Of Nature in Men.

NATURE is often Hidden, sometimes Overcome, seldom Extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Return; Doctrin and Discourse maketh *Nature* less importune: But Custom only doth alter and subdue *Nature*. He that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set himself too great, nor too small Tasks, for the first will make him dejected, by often Failings; and the second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers do with Bladders or Rushes; but after a time let him practise with Disadvantages, as Dancers do with thick Shooes: For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder than the Use. Where *Nature* is mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be, First, to stay

stay and arrest *Nature* in Time, like to him that would say over the Four and Twenty Letters when he was Angry, than to go less in quantity: As if one should in forbearing Wine, come from drinking Healths to a Draught at a Meal, and lastly to discontinue altogether: But if a Man have the Fortitude and Resolution to Enfranchise himself at once, that is the best;

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

Neither is the Ancient Rule amiss to bend *Nature*, as a Wand to a contrary Extream, whereby to set it right, understanding it where the contrary Extream is no Vice. Let not a Man force a Habit upon himself with a perpetual Continuance, but with some Intermission; for both the Pause re-inforceth the new Onset: And if a Man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his Errors, as his Abilities, and induce one Habit of both; and there is no means to help this, but by seasonable Intermission. But let not a Man trust his Victory over his *Nature* too far; for *Nature* will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the Occasion of Temptation. Like as it was with *Aesop's* Damsel, turned from a Cat to a Woman, who sat very demurely at the Boards end, till a Mouse run before her. Therefore let a Man either avoid the Occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A Man's *Nature* is best perceived in privateness, for there is no Affection in Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; and in a new Case of Experiment, for there Custom leaveth him. They are happy Men whose *Natures* sort with their Vocations, otherwise they may say, *Multum Incola fuit Anima mea*; when they converse in those they do not affect. In Studies whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himself, let him set Hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no care for any set Times, for his

his Thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other Business or Studies will suffice. A Man's *Nature* runs either to Herbs or Weeds; therefore let him seasonably Water the one, and Destroy the other.

XXXIX.

Of Custom and Education.

MENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination, their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning and infused Opinions; but their Deeds are after as they have been *accustomed*: And therefore as *Machiavel* well noted, (though in an ill-favoured Instance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature nor to the bravery of Words, except it be corroborated by *Custom*. His Instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate Conspiracy; a Man should not rest upon the fierceness of any Man's Nature, or his resolute Undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his Hands formerly in Blood. But *Machiavel* knew not of a *Frier Clement*, not a *Ravaillac*, nor a *Fauregy*; nor a *Baltazar Gerrard*; yet this Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagements of Words are not so forcible as *Custom*. Only Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Blood are as firm as Butchers by Occupation, and Votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custom*, even in matter of Blood. In other Things the predominancy of *Custom* is every where visible, insomuch as a Man would wonder to hear Men Profess, Protest, Engage, give great Words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead Images, and Engines moved only by the Wheels of *Custom*. We see also the Reign or Tyranny of *Custom*, what it is. The *Indians* (I mean the Sect of their Wise Men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves

selves by Fire. Nay, the Wives strive to be burned with the Corps of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta* of ancient Time, were wont to be scourged upon the Altar of *Diana* without so much as Squeaking. I remember in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, of *England*, an *Irish Rebel* condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputy*, that he might be hanged in a Wyth, and not in an Halter, because it had been so used with former *Rebels*. There be *Monks* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night in a Vessel of Water, till they be engaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put down of the force of *Custom*, both upon Mind and Body. Therefore since *Custom* is the Principal Magistrate of Man's Life, let Men by all means endeavour to obtain good *Customs*. Certainly *Custom* is most perfect when it beginneth in young Years: This we call *Education*, which is in effect but an *early Custom*. So we see in Languages, the Tongue is more plain to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joynts are more supple to all Feats of Activity and Motions of Youth than afterwards. For it is true, the late Learners cannot so well take the Ply, except it be in some Minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual Amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of *Custom*, Simple and Separate, be great, the force of *Custom* Copulate, and Conjoynd, and Collegiate, is far greater. For their Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickneth, Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the force of *Custom* is in his Exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of Virtues upon humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well ordained and disciplined: For Common-wealths and good Governments do nourish Virtue Grown, but do not much mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most effectual Means are now applied to the Ends least to be desired.

XL.

Of Fortune.

IT cannot be denied, but outward Accidents conduce much to *Fortune*: Favour, Opportunity, Death of others, Occasion, fitting Virtue. But chiefly the Mould of a *Man's Fortune* is in his own Hands. *Faber quisque Fortuna sua*, saith the Poet. And the most frequent of External Causes is, that the Folly of one Man is the *Fortune* of another. For no Man Prospers so suddenly, as by others Errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco*. Overt and Apparent Virtues bring forth Praise; but there be Secret and Hidden Virtues that bring forth *Fortune*. Certain Deliveries of a *Man's self*; which have no Name. The *Spanish Name*, *Desemboltura*; partly expresseth them, when there be not Stands nor Restiveness in a *Man's Nature*, but that the Wheels of his *Mind* keep way with the Wheels of his *Fortune*. For so *Livy* (after he had described *Cato Major*, in these Words, *in illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur*) falleth upon that, that he had *Versatile Ingenium*. Therefore if a *Man* look sharply and attentively, he shall see *Fortune*: For though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of *Fortune* is like the *Milky Way* in the Sky, which is a Meeting or Knot of a number of small Stars; not seen asunder, but giving Light together; So are there a number of little, and scarce discerned Virtues, or rather Faculties and Customs that make Men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a *Man* would little think: When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other Conditions that he hath, *Poco di Malto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties than to have a little of the *Fool*, and not too much of the *Honest*. Therefore extream-Lovers of their Country, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a *Man*

placeth

placeth his Thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way, and hasty *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser and Remover; (the *French* hath it better. *Enterprenant* or *Remuant*) but the exercised *Fortune* maketh the able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured and Respected, if it be but for her Daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation*: For those two *Felicity* breedeth; the first, within a Man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise Men to decline the Envy of their own Virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune*; for so they may the better assure them: And besides, it is Greatness in a Man to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So *Cesar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cesarem portas, & Fortunam ejus*. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their own Wisdom and Policy, end *Unfortunate*. It is written, That *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the account he gave to the State of his Government, often interlaced his Speech, *And in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in any Thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homer's Verses*, that have a Slide and easiness more than the Verses of other Poets, as *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleon's Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agefilaus*, or *Epaminondas*: And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a Man's self.

XLI.

Of Usury.

MANY have made witty Investives against *Usury*: They say, That it is pity the Devil should have God's Part, which is the *Tube*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his Plough goeth every *Sunday*. That the *Usurer* is the *Drone* that *Virgil* speaketh of:

Ignavum

Ignavum fucus pecus à præsepibus arcent.

That the *Usurer* breaketh the first Law that was made for Mankind after the Fall; which was, *In sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*, not, *In sudore vultus alieni*. That *Usurers* should have *Orange-tawny Bonnets*, because they do *Judaize*. That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money*, and the like. I say this only, that *Usury* is a *Concessum propter duritiem cordis*: For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some others have made Suspicious and Cunning Propositions of Banks, discovery of Men's Estates, and other Inventions, but few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to set before us the *Incommodities* and *Commodities* of *Usury*, that the good may be either Weighed out, or Culled out; and warily to Provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are, First, that it makes fewer Merchants: For were it not for this lazy Trade of *Usury*, *Money* would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon Merchandizing, which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The second, That it makes poor Merchants; for as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent: so the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Usury*. The third is incident to the other two; and that is, The decay of Customs, of Kings, or States, which Ebb or Flow with Merchandizing. The fourth, That it bringeth the Treasure of a Realm or State into a few Hands; for the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game most of the Money will be in the Box; and ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, That it beats down the Price of Land; for the employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Pur-

chasing; and *Usury* way-lays both. The sixth, That it doth dull and damp all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be stirring, if it were not for this Slug. The last, That it is the Canker and Ruin of many Men's Estates, which in process of Time breeds a publick Poverty.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury* are: First, That howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindreth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain, that the greatest part of Trade is driven by young Merchants, upon borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer* either call in, or keep back his Money, there will ensue presently a great stand of Trade. The second is, That were it not for this easie borrowing upon *Interest*, Men's Necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their Means (be it Lands or Goods) far under foot; and so whereas *Usury* doth but gnaw upon them, bad Markets would swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging or Pawning, it will little mend the Matter; for either Men will not take Pawns without *Use*, or if they do, they will look precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a cruel Monied Man in the Country, that would say, the Devil take this *Usury*, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages and Bonds. The third and last is, That it is a vanity to conceive, that there would be ordinary borrowing without Profit; and it is impossible to conceive, the number of Inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be Cramped: Therefore to speak of the abolishing of *Usury* is idle. All States have ever had it in one kind, or rate or other: So as that Opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

To speak now of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Usury* how the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appears by the Balance of *Commodities* and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, two Things are to be reconciled: The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usury* be guided, that it bite not too much: The other, that there

there be left open a means to invite Monied Men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of *Usury*, a *less* and a *greater*. For if you reduce *Usury* to one low rate, it will ease the *Common Borrower*, but the *Merchant* will be to seek for Money. And it is to be noted, That the Trade of Merchandize, being the most *Lucrative*, may bear *Usury* at a good rate; other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions the way would be chiefly thus: That there be *two Rates of Usury*, the one Free and General for all, the other under *Licence* only to *certain Persons*, and in *certain Places of Merchandizing*. First therefore, let *Usury in general be reduced to Five in the Hundred*, and let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; and let the State shut it self out to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any general Stop or Dryness. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Country. This will in good part raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteen Years Purchase, will yield Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest yields but Five. This by reason will encourage and edge Industrious and Profitable Improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take Five in the Hundred, especially having been used to greater Profit. Secondly, Let there be *certain Persons Licensed to lend to known Merchants*, upon *Usury*, at a *Hgh-Rate*; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himself, somewhat more easie than that he used formerly to Pay: For by that means all Borrowers shall have some Ease by this Reformation, be he Merchant or whosoever. Let it be no Bank or Common Stock, but every Man be Master of his own Money. Not that I altogether mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain Suspensions. Let the State be answered some small matter for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender; for if the abatement be

but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, than give over his Trade of *Usury*, and go from certain Gains to Gains of Hazard. Let these Licensed Lenders be in Number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal Cities and Towns of Merchandizing, for then they will be hardly able to colour other Men's Monies in the Country, so as the *License of Nine* will not suck away the current *Rate of Five*; for no Man will Lend his Monies far off, nor put them into unknown Hands.

If it be objected, That this doth in a sort Authorize *Usury*, which before was in some Places but permissive: The Answer is, that it is better to mitigate *Usury* by *Declaration*, than to suffer it to rage by *Connivence*.

XLII.

Of Youth and Age.

A Man that is *Young* in *Years*, may be *Old* in *Hours*, if he have lost no *Time*; but that happeneth rarely. Generally *Youth* is like the first *Cogitations*, not so wise as the second; for there is a *Youth* in *Thoughts* as well as in *Ages*: And yet the *Invention* of *Young Men* is more lively than that of *Old*, and *Imaginations* stream into their *Minds* better, and, as it were, more *Divinely*. *Natures* that have much *Heat*, and great and violent *Desires* and *Perturbations*, are not ripe for *Action* till they have passed the *Meridian* of their *Years*; as it was with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*, of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit Erroribus, imo Furoribus plenam*; and yet he was the ablest *Emperor* almost of all the *List*. But *reposed Natures* may do well in *Youth*, as it is seen in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus Duke of Florence*, *Gaston de Foix*, and others. On the other side, *Heat* and *Vivacity* in *Age*, is an excellent *Com-*

position

position for Business. *Young Men* are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for Execution than for Counsel, and fitter for new Projects than for settled Business, for the Experience of *Age* in Things that fall within the compass of it directeth them, but in new Things abuseth them. The Errors of *Young Men* are the ruin of Business; but the Errors of *Aged Men* amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner. *Young Men* in the conduct and manage of Actions embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet, fly to the end without consideration of the means and degrees, pursue some few Principles which they have chanced upon absurdly, care not to innovate, which draws unknown Inconveniences: Use extream Remedies at first, and that which doubleth all Errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop nor Turn. *Men of Age* object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive Business home to the full Period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of Success. Certainly it is good to compound *Employments* of both; for that will be good for the present, because the Vertues of either *Age* may correct the Defects of both, and good for Succession, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men in Age* are Actors. And lastly, good for *Extern Accidents*, because Authority followeth *Old Men*, and Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the Moral part, perhaps *Youth* will have the Preheminence, as *Age* hath for the Politick. A certain *Rabbin* upon the Text, *Your young Men shall see Visions, and your old Men shall dream Dreams*, inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God than *Old*, because *Vision* is a clearer Revelation than a *Dream*. And certainly the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; and *Age* doth profit rather in the powers of Understanding, than in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an over early Ripeness in their Years, which fadeth betimes. These are first such as have brittle Wits, the edge whereof is

soon turned; such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding subtil, who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural Dispositions which have better Grace in *Youth* than in *Age*; such as is a fluent and luxuriant Speech, which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age*: So *Tully* saith of *Hortensius*, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*. The third is, of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than Tract of Years can uphold: As was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*.

XLIII.

Of Beauty.

VERTUE is like a rich Stone, best plain set; and surely, Vertue is best in a Body that is comely, though not of delicate Features, and that hath rather Dignity of Presence, than *Beauty* of Aspect. Neither is it almost seen that very *Beautiful Persons* are otherwise of great Vertue, as if Nature were rather busie not to Err, than in Labour to produce Excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not out of great Spirit, and study rather Behaviour than Vertue. But this holds out always, for *Augustus Caesar*, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip de Belle* of France, *Edward the Fourth* of England, *Alcibiades* of Athens, *Ismael the Sophy* of Persia, were all high and great Spirits, and yet the most *Beautiful Men* of their Times. In *Beauty*, that of *Favour* is more than that of *Colour*; and that of *decent* and *gracious Motion*, more than that of *Favour*. That is the best part of *Beauty* which a Picture cannot express, no nor the first sight of the Life. There is no excellent *Beauty* that hath not some strangeness in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles* or *Albert Durer* were the more trifter; whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometrical

Geometrical Proportions, the other by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces to make one Excellent. Such Personages I think would please no Body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I think a Painter may make a better Face than ever was, but he must do it by a kind of *Felicity*, (as a Musician that maketh an excellent Air in Musick) and not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you Examine them part by part, you shall find never a good, and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal Part of *Beauty* is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvel, though *Persons* in *Years* seem many times more amiable, *Pulchrorum Autumnus puber*; for no *Youth* can be comely, but by pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make up the comeliness. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last, and for the most part it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age*, a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.

XLIV.

Of Deformity.

DEFORMED *Persons* are commonly even with Nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, so do they by Nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of Natural Affection*, and so they have Revenge of Nature. Certainly, there is a consent between the Body and the Mind, and where Nature errerh in the one, she ventureth in the other; *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because there is in Man an Election touching the Frame of his Mind, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Stars of natural Inclination are sometimes obscured by the Sun of Discipline and Vertue: Therefore it is good to consider of

Deformity, not as a Sign which is more deceivable, but as a Cause which seldom faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person that doth induce Contempt, hath also a perpetual Spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from Scorn. Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extream bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn, but in process of Time, by a general Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the Weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their Superiors, it quencheth Jealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at Pleasure Despise; and it layeth their Competitors and Emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of Advancement, till they see them in Possession; so that upon the Matter in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an advantage to Rising. Kings in ancient Times (and at this present in some Countries) were wont to put great Trust in *Eunuchs*; because they that are Envious to all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their Trust towards them hath rather been as to good Spials, and good Whisperers, than good Magistrates and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the Ground is, they will if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorn, which must be either by Virtue or Malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent Persons; as was *Agésilais*, *Zanger* the Son of *Solyman*, *Aesop*, *Gasca* President of *Peru*, and *Socrates* may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV.

Of Building.

HOUSES are Built to Live in, and not to look on : Therefore let Use be preferred before Uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly Fabricks of *Houses*, for Beauty only, to the *Enchanted Palaces* of the *Poets*, who build them with small Cost. He that builds a fair *House* upon an *ill Seat*, committeth himself to Prison. Neither do I reckon it an *ill Seat* only where the Air is unwholsom, but likewise where the Air is unequal ; as you shall see many fine *Seats* set upon a knap of Ground, environed with higher Hills round about it, whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughs ; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversity of Heat and Cold, as if you dwelt in several Places. Neither is it *ill Air* only that maketh an *ill Seat*, but ill Ways, ill Markets ; and if you will consult with *Momus*, ill Neighbours. I speak not of any more. Want of Water, want of Wood, Shade and Shelter, want of Fruitfulness, and mixture of Grounds of several Natures, want of Prospect, want of level Grounds, want of Places at some near Distance for Sports of Hunting, Hawking, and Races ; Too near the Sea or too remote, having the Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the Discommodity of their Overflowing : Too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Business, or too near them which lurcheth all Provisions, and maketh every Thing dear : Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scanted. All which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a Man may take as many as he can ; And if he have several Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. *Lu-*

Lucullus answered *Pompey* well, who when he saw his stately Galleries and Rooms so large and lightsome in one of his Houses, said, Surely an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you in Winter? *Lucullus* answered, Why do you not think me as wise as some Fowl are, that ever change their Abode towards the Winter?

To pass from the *Seat* to the *House* it self, we will do as *Cicero* doth in the Orator's Art, who writes Books *De Oratore*, and a Book he Entitles *Orator*; whereof the former delivers the Precepts of the Art, and the latter the Perfection. We will therefore describe a Princely Palace, making a brief Model thereof. For it is strange to see now in *Europe* some huge Buildings, as the *Vatican*, and *Escorial*, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair Room in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect Palace, except you have two several Sides; a Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Book of *Hester*, and a Side for the Household; the one for Feasts and Triumphs, and the other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be not only Returns, but Parts of the Front, and to be uniform without, though severally Partitioned within, and to be on both sides of a great and stately Tower in the midst of the Front, that as it were joyneth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the Banquet in Front one only goodly Room above Stairs, of some forty Foot high, and under it a Room for a Dressing or Preparing Place at times of Triumphs. On the other side, which is the Household side, I wish it divided at the first into a Hall and a Chappel, (with a Partition between) both of good state and bigness, and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a Winter and Summer Parlor, both fair; and under these Rooms, a fair and large Cellar sunk under Ground; and likewise some Privy Kitchens, with Buteries and Pantries, and the like. As for the Tower, I would have it two Stories, of eighteen Foot high apiece above the two Wings, and goodly Leads upon the Top, railed

railed with *Statua's* interposed, and the same *Tower* to be divided into *Rooms* as shall be thought fit; the *Stairs* likewise to the upper *Rooms*, let them be upon a fair open *Newel*, and finely railed in with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a *Brass* Colour, and a very fair *Landing Place* at the *Top*. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower *Rooms* for a *Dining Place* of *Servants*, for otherwise you shall have the *Servants Dinner* after your own; for the *Steam* of it will come up as in a *Tunnel*. And so much for the *Front*, only I understand the *Height* of the first *Stairs* to be sixteen *Foot*, which is the *Height* of the lower *Rooms*.

Beyond this *Front* is there to be a fair *Court*, but three sides of it of a far lower *Building* than the *Front*. And in all the four *Corners* of that *Court* fair *Stair Cases*, cast into *Turrets* on the out side, and not within the *Row* of *Buildings* themselves. But those *Towers* are not to be of the *height* of the *Front*, but rather proportionable to the lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be *Paved*, for that striketh up a great *Heat* in *Summer*, and much *Cold* in *Winter*; but only some *Side-Alleys*, with a *Cross*, and the *Quarters* to *Graze* being kept *Shorn*, but not too near *Shorn*. The *Row* of *Return* on the *Banquet Side*, let it be all *Stately Galleries*, in which *Galleries* let there be three or five fine *Cupola's* in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine *Coloured Windows* of several *Works*. On the *Household side*, *Chambers* of *Presence* and ordinary *Entertainment*, with some *Bed-Chambers*, and let all three *Sides* be a double *House*, without *thorow Lights* on the *Sides*, that you may have *Rooms* from the *Sun*, both for *Fore-noon* and *Afternoon*. Cast it also, that you may have *Rooms* both for *Summer* and *Winter*, *Shady* for *Summer*, and *Warm* for *Winter*. You shall have sometimes fair *Houses* so full of *Glass*, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the *Sun*, or *Cold*; for *Inbowed Windows* I hold them of good use; (in *Cities* indeed *Upright* do better, in respect of the *Uniformity* towards the *Street*) for they be pretty *Retiring Places* for

for Conference; and besides, they keep both the Wind and the Sun off: For that which would strike almost through the Room, doth scarce pass the *Window*. But let them be but few, four in the *Court* on the Sides only.

Beyond this *Court* let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square and Heighth, which is to be environed with the *Garden* on all sides; and in the inside Cloistered upon all sides; upon decent and beautiful Arches, as high as the first Story. On the *Under Story* towards the *Garden*, let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or place of Shade or Estivation; and only have opening *Windows* towards the *Garden*, and be level with the Floor, no whit sunk under Ground, to avoid all Dampishness: And let there be a *Fountain*, or some fair *Work of Statua's* in the midst of this *Court*, and to be Paved as the other *Court* was. These *Buildings* to be for *Privy Lodgings* on both Sides, and the end for *Privy Galleries*: Whereof you must fore-see that one of them be for an *Infirmary*. If the Prince or any special Person should be Sick, with *Chambers*, *Bed Chambers*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, joyning to it: This upon the second Story. Upon the *Ground Story* a fair *Gallery*, open upon *Pillars*; and upon the *third Story* likewise, an open *Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect and Freshness of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the furthest Side, by way of Return, let there be two delicate or rich *Cabinets*, daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glazed with *Crystalline Glass*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the midst, and all other Elegancy that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too I wish that there may be, if the Place will yield it, some *Fountains* running in divers Places from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances. And thus much for the Model of the *Palace*; save that you must have, before you come to the *Front*, three *Courts*: And a *Green Court Plain*, with a Wall about it; a *Second Court* of the same, but more Garnished with little *Turrets*, or rather Embellishments upon the Wall; and a *third Court*, to make a Square within the *Front*, but not to be Built, nor yet Enclosed with

with a Naked Wall, but Enclosed with *Terrasses* leaded aloft, and fairly Garnished on the three sides; and Cloystered on the in side with Pillars, and not with Arches below. As for *Offices*, let them stand at distance with som *Low-Galleries*, to pass from them to the *Palace* it self.

XLVI.

Of Gardens.

GOD Almighty first Planted a *Garden*; and indeed it is the purest of Humane Pleasures. It is the greatest Refreshment to the *Spirits* of Man; without which, *Buildings* and *Palaces* are but gross Handy-works. And a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancy, Men come to *Build Stately*, sooner than to *Garden Finely*: As if *Gardening* were the greater Perfection. I do hold it in the Royal Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens* for all the Months in the Year, in which, severally, Things of Beauty may be then in Season. For *December* and *January*, and the latter part of *November*, you must take such Things as are Green all Winter; Holly, Ivy, Bays, Juniper, Cypress Trees, Yews, Pine-Apple Trees, Fir Trees, Rosemary, Lavender, Periwinkle the White, the Purple, and the Blue, Germander Flags, Orange-Trees, Limon-Trees, and Myrtle, if they be stoved, and sweet Marjoram warm sets. There followeth for the latter part of *January* and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then Blossoms, Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and the Grey Prim-Roses, Anemones, the Early Tulippa, Hyacinthus Orientalis, Chamairis, Frettellaria. For *March* there comes Violets, specially the Single Blue, which are Earliest, the Yellow Daffadil, the Daizy, the Almond-Tree in Blossom, the Peach-Tree in Blossom, the Cornelian-Tree in Blossom, Sweet Briar. In *April* follow the double White Violet, the Wall Flower, the Stock Gilly-Flower,

the

the Cowslip, Flower-de Lices, and Lilies of all Natures, Rosemary-Flower, the Tulippa, the Double Piony, the Pale Daffadill, the French Honey-Suckle, the Cherry-Tree in Blossom, the Damascen and Plumb-Trees in Blossom, the White Thorn in Leaf, the Lelack-Tree. In *May* and *June* come Pinks of all Sorts, specially the Blush Pink, Roses of all kinds, except the Musk, which comes later, Honey Suckles, Strawberries, Bugloss, Columbine, the French Marygold, Flos Africanus, Cherry-Tree in Fruit, Ribes, Figs in Fruit, Rasps, Vine-Flowers, Lavender in Flowers, the Sweet Satyrion with the White Flower, Herba Muscaria, Liliū Convallium, the Apple-Tree in Blossom. In *July* come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties, Musk-Roses, and the Lime Tree in Blossom. Early Pears and Plumbs in Fruit, Gennittings, Quodlings. In *August* come Plumbs of all sorts in Fruit, Pears, Apricocks, Barberries, Filbeards, Musk-Melons, Monks-hoods of all Colours. In *September* come, Grapes, Apples, Poppies of all Colours, Peaches, Melo-Cotones, Nectarines, Cornelians, Wardens, Quinces. In *October* and the beginning of *November*, come Servises, Medlars, Bullaces; Roses Cut or Removed to come late, Holly-oaks, and such like. These Particulars are for the Climate of London: But my Meaning is perceived, that you may have *Ver Perpetuum*, as the Place affords.

And because the *Breath* of Flowers is far Sweeter in the Air, (where it comes and goes, like the Warbling of Musick) than in the Hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that Delight, than to know what be the *Flowers* and *Plants* that do best perfume the Air. Roses Damask and Red are Flowers tenacious of their Smells, so that you may walk by a whole Row of them, and find nothing of their Sweetness; yea, though it be in a Morning Dew. Bays likewise yield no Smell as they grow, Rosemary little, nor Sweet-Marjoram. That which above all others yields the *Sweetest Smell* in the Air, is the Violet, specially the White double Violet, which comes twice a Year, about the middle of *April*, and about

about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is the Musk Rose, then the Strawberry Leaves dying with a most excellent Cordial Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; it is a little Dust, like the Dust of a Bent, which grows upon the Cluster in the first coming forth. Then Sweet-Briar, then Wall Flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a Parlour, or lower Chamber Window. Then Pinks and Gilly Flowers, especially the matted Pink, and Clove Gilly-Flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime-Tree. Then the Honey-Suckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of Bean-Flowers I speak not, because they are Field-Flowers. But those which perfume the Air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being Trodden upon and Crushed, are three, that is, Burnet, Wild-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore you are to set whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleasure when you Walk or Tread.

For Gardens, (speaking of those which are indeed *Princelike*, as we have done of *Buildings*) The Contents ought not well to be under *Thirty Acres of Ground*, and to be divided into three Parts; a *Green* in the entrance, a *Heath* or *Desart* in the going forth, and the *Main Garden* in the midst, besides *Alleys* on both sides. And I like well, that four Acres of Ground be Assigned to the *Green*, six to the *Heath*, four and four to either *Side*, and twelve to the *Main Garden*. The *Green* hath two Pleasures; the one because nothing is more pleasant to the Eye than *Green Grass* kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair *Alley* in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a *Starely Hedge*, which is to enclose the *Garden*. But because the *Alley* will be long, and in great Heat of the Year or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by going in the Sun through the *Green*; therefore you are of either side the *Green* to plant a *Covert Alley* upon *Carpenters Work* about twelve foot in Heighth, by which you may go in shade into the *Garden*. As for the making of *Knobs of Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earbs*, that they may lie under the Win-

dows of the House, on that Side which the *Garden* stands; they be but Toys, you may see as good Sights many times in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be Square, encompassed on all the four Sides with a *stately Arched Hedge*: The *Arches* to be upon *Pillars* of Carpenters Work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the *spaces* between of the same Dimension with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Over the *Arches* let there be an entire *Hedge*, of some four foot high, framed also upon Carpenters Work; and upon the *Upper Hedge*, over every *Arch* a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receive a *Cage* of *Birds*; and over every *Space* between the *Arches* some other little *Figure*, with broad *Plates* of *Round Coloured Glass* gilt, for the *Sun* to play upon. But this *Hedge*, I intend to be raised upon a *Bank*, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I understand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole breadth of the *Ground*, but to leave on either side *Ground* enough for diversity of *Side Alleys* unto which the two *Covert Alleys* of the *Green* may deliver you, but there must be no *Alleys* with *Hedges* at either end of this great *Inclosure*: Not at the *Higher End*, for letting your *Prospect* upon this fair *Hedge* from the *Green*; not at the *further End*, for letting your *Prospect* from the *Hedge* through the *Arches* upon the *Heath*. For the ordering of the *Ground* within the *Great Hedge*, I leave it to *Variety* of *Device*. Advising nevertheless, that whatsoever *Form* you cast it into; first it be not too busie, or full of *Work*; wherein I, for my part, do not like *Images cut out in Juniper*, or other *Garden stuff*, they are for *Children*. *Little low Hedges* Round like *Welts*, with some pretty *Pyramids*, I like well: And in some *Places* *Fair Columns* upon *Frames* of Carpenters Work. I would also have the *Alleys* spacious and fair. You may have *closer Alleys* upon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Main Garden*. I wish also in the very middle a *fair Mount*, with three *Ascents* and *Alleys*, enough for four to walk a *Breast*, which I would have to be perfect *Circles*, without any *Bulwarks* or *Imbossments*,

ments, and the *whole Mount* to be thirty foot high, and some fine *Banqueting House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glass*.

For *Fountains*, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment, but *Pools* marr all, and make the *Garden* unwholesome, and full of Flies and Frogs. *Fountains* I intend to be of two Natures, the one that *sprinkleth* or *spouteth Water*, the other a *fair Receipt of Water*, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments of Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in use, do well, but the main matter is, so to convey the Water, as it never stay, either in the Bowls, or in the Cistern, that the Water be never by rest *Discoloured, Green or Red*, or the like; or gather any *Mossiness* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand; also some steps up to it, and some *Fine Pavement* about it doth well. As for the other kind of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing-Pool*, it may admit much Curiosity and Beauty, wherewith we will not trouble our selves, as that the bottom be finely paved, and with Images, the sides likewise; and withal Embellished with coloured Glass, and such things of Lustre: Encompassed also with fine Rails of low Statues. But the main point is the same, which we mentioned in the former kind of *Fountain*, which is, that the *Water* be in *perpetual motion*, fed by a Water higher than the *Pool*, and delivered into it by fair *Spouts*, and then discharged away under Ground by some equality of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices of Arching Water without spilling and making it rise in several forms (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to Health and Sweetness.

For the *Heath*, which was the third part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Natural Wildness*. *Trees* I would have none in it, but some *Thickets*, made only of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honey-Suckle* and

some *Wild-Vine* amongst, and the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries* and *Primroses* : for these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-Hills*, (such as are in *Wild-Heaths*) to be set, some with Wild-Thyme, some with Pinks, some with Germander, that gives a good flower to the eye ; some with Periwinkle, some with Violets, some with Strawberries, some with Cowslips, some with Daizies, some with Red-Roses, some with Liliun Convallium, some with Sweet-Williams Red, some with Bears-Foot, and the like Low Flowers, being withall Sweet and Sightly. Part of which *Heaps*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, prickt upon their top, and part without ; the *Standards* to be Roses, Juniper, Holly, Bear-berries, (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom) Red Currans, Gooseberries, Rosemary, Bays, Sweet-Briar, and such like. But these *Standards* to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fit them with variety of *Alleys*, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them, likewise for shelter, that when the Wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a Gallery. And those *Alleys* must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the Wind, and *these closer Alleys* must be ever finely Gravelled, and no Grass, because of going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit Trees* of all sorts ; as well upon the Walls, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the *Borders* wherein you plant your *Fruit Trees*, be fair and large and low, and not steep, and set with *fine Flowers*, but, thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the *Trees*. At the end of both the *side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of some pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the Fields.

For the *Main Garden*, I do not deny, but there should be some fair *Alleys* ranged on both sides with *Fruit-Trees*, and some pretty Tufts of *Fruit-Trees* and *Arbors* with *Sears*, set in some decent Order; but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the *Main-Garden* so, as it be not close, but the Air open and free; for as for *Shade* I would have you rest upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the Heat of the Year or Day: but to make account, that the *Main Garden* is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning and the Evening, or Over-cast Days.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that largeness, as they may be *turfed*, and have *Living Plants* and *Bushes* set in them, that the *Birds* may have more scope, and natural Nesting, and that no *gouiness* appear in the *floor* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Plat-form of a *Princely Garden*, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing, not a Model, but some general Lines of it, and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the moit part taking advice with Work-men, with no less Cost, set their things together, and sometimes add *Statua's* and such things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a *Garden*.

XLVII.

Of Negotiating.

IT is generally better to *deal* by Speech, than by Letter; and by the mediation of a Third, than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter back again; or when it may serve for a Man's Justification afterwards to produce his own Letter, or where it may be danger to be in-

interrupted or heard by pieces. To *deal in Person* is good, when a Man's face breedeth Regard, as commonly with Inferiors; or in tender Cases, where a Man's Eye upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction how far to go: And generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to *Disavow*, or to *Expound*. In choice of *Instruments*, it is better to chuse men of a plainer sort that are like to do that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other Mens Business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in Report for satisfaction sake. Use all such Persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickneth much; and such as are fit for the matter: as bold Men for Expostulation, fair spoken Men for Perswasion, crafty Men for Enquiry and Observation, froward and absurd Men for business that doth not well bear out it self. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them, for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their Prescription. It is better to sound a Person with whom one *Deals* afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprize him by some short Question. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a Man *Deal* with another upon Conditions, the start of the first Performance is all, which a Man cannot reasonably Demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; or else a Man can perswade the other Party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest Man. All Practice is to *Discover*, or to *Work*: Men *Discover* themselves in Trust, in Passion at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would *Work* any Man, you must either know his nature and
fashions,

fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so govern him. In *Dealing* with cunning Persons we must ever consider their ends to interpret their Speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all *Negotiations* of difficulty a Man may not look to sow and reap at once, but; must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII.

Of Followers and Friends.

COSTLY *Followers* are not to beliked, lest while a Man maketh his Train longer, he makes his Wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the Purse, but which are wearisom and importunate in Suits. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no higher Conditions than Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which follow not upon Affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon Discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great Personages. Likewise glorious *Followers* who make themselves as Trumpets of Commendation of those that follow, are full of Inconvenience; for they taint business through want of Secrecy, and they export Honour from a Man, and make him a return in Envy. There is a kind of *Followers* likewise which are dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the secrets of the House, and bear Tales of them to other; yet such Men, many times, are in great favour; for

they are officious, and commonly exchange Tales, the *Following* by certain *Estates* of Men, answerable to that which a great Person himself professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been employed in the Wars, and the like) hath ever been a thing Civil, and well taken even in Monarchies ; so it be without too much pomp of popularity. But the most honourable kind of *Following*, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance Vertue and Desert in all sorts of Persons: And yet where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able. And besides, to speake truth, in base times Active Men are of more use than Vertuous. It is true, that in Government it is good to use Men of one Rank equally ; for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But contrariwise, in favour to use Men with much difference and election is good ; for it maketh the Persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any Man at the first ; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe ; for it shews Softness, and gives a freedom to Scandal and Disreputation ; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a Man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour, yet to be distracted with many is worse ; for it makes Men to be of the last Impression, and full of Change. To take advise of some few *Friends* is ever honourable ; for *Lookers on, many times, see more than Gamesters, and the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is little Friendship in the World, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between Superior and Inferior, whose Fortunes, may comprehend one the other.

XLIX.

Of Suitors.

MANY ill Matters and Projects are undertaken, and private *Suits* do putrifie the Publick Good. Many good Matters are undertaken with bad Minds, I mean not only corrupt Minds, but crafty Minds that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Suits* which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other means, they will be content to win a Thank, or take a second Reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the *Suitor's* Hopes. Some take hold of *Suits* only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext, without Care what become of the *Suit* when that turn is serv'd; or generally, to make other Men's Business a kind of Entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake *Suits* with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end, to gratifie the adverse Party or Competitor. Surely there is in some sort a Right in every *Suit*; either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Suit* of Controversie, or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Suit* of Petition. If Affection lead a Man to favour the wrong side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance to compound the Matter, than to carry it. If Affection lead a Man to favour the less worthy in Desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better Deserver. In *Suits* which a Man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some Friend of Trust and Judgment, that may report, whether he may deal in them with Honour; but let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Suitors* are so distast'd with Delays and Abuses, that plain dealing in denyng to deal in

Suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Suits* of Favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth Consideration may be had of his Trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had, but by him, advantage be not taken of the Note, but the Party left to his other mean, and in some sort recompenced for his Discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a *Suit* is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the Right thereof is want of Conscience. Secrecy in *Suits* is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness, may discourage some kind of *Suitors*; but doth quicken and awaken others; but Timing of the *Suit* is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the Person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a Man in the choice of his mean, rather chuse the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain Things, than those that are General. The Reparation of a Denial, is sometimes equal to the first Grant; if a Man shew himself, neither dejected, nor discontented: *Iniquum petas, ut Equum feras*; is a good rule, where a Man hath strength of Favour: But otherwise a Man were better rise in his *Suit*; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the *Suitor*, will not in the Conclusion lose both the *Suitor*, and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great Person as his Letter; and yet, if it be not in a good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments than these general Contrivers of *Suits*, for they are but a kind of Poison and Infection to publick Proceedings.

L

Of Studies.

STUDIES serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their chief use for Delight is in Privateneſs and Retiring; for Ornament is in Diſcourſe; and for Ability, is in the Judgment and Diſpoſition of Buſineſs. For expert Men can execute, and perhaps judge of Particulars one by one; but the general Counſels and the Plots, and Marſhalling of Affairs, come beſt from thoſe that are *Learned*. To ſpend too much time in *Studies* is ſloth; to uſe them too much for Ornament is affectation; to make Judgment wholly by their Rules is the humour of a Scholar. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience: For Natural Abilities are like Natural Plants, that need Pruyning by *Study*, and *Studies* themſelves do give forth Directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by Experience. Crafty Men contemn *Studies*, Simple Men admire them, and Wiſe Men uſe them: For they teach not their own uſe, but that is a Wiſdom without them, and above them, won by Obſervation. Read not to Contradiſt and Confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find Talk and Diſcourſe, but to weigh and conſider. Some *Books* are to be taſted, others to be ſwallowed, and ſome few to be chewed and digeſted; that is, ſome *Books* are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiouſly; and ſome few to be read, wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some *Books* alſo may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by others: But that would be only in the leſs important Arguments, and the meaner ſort of *Books*, elſe diſtilled *Books* are like common diſtilled Waters, ſaſhy things. Reading maketh a full Man; Conference a
ready

ready Man; and Writing an exact Man. And therefore if a Man Write little, he had need have a great Memory; if he Confer little, he had need have a present Wit; and if he Read little, he had need have much Cunning to seem to know that he doth not. *Histories* make Men Wise, *Poets* Witty, the *Mathematicks* Subtil, *Natural Philosophy* Deep, *Moral* Grave, *Logick* and *Rhetorick* able to Contend. *Abeunt Studia in Moribus*; Nay, there is no Stand or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by fit *Studies*: Like as *Diseases* of the Body may have appropriate *Exercises*. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins, Shooting for the Lungs and Breast, gentle Walking for the Stomach, Riding for the Head, and the like. So if a Man's Wit be wandering, let him Study the *Mathematicks*; for in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him Study the *School-Men*; for they are *Cumini sectores*. If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him Study the *Lawyers Cases*; so every Defect of the Mind may have a special Receipt.

LI.

Of Faction.

MANY have an Opinion not Wise; that for a Prince to govern his Estate, or for a great Person to govern his Proceedings, according to the respect of *Factions*, is a principal part of Policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest Wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are General, and wherein Men of several *Factions* do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular Persons one by one. But

But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions* is to be neglected. Mean Men in their rising must adhere, but great Men that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and Neutral: Yet even in beginners to adhere so moderately, as he be a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker *Faction* is the firmer in Conjunction: and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a great number that are more moderate. When one of the *Factions* is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth: As the *Faction* between *Lucullus*, and the rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, but when the Senates Authority was pulled down, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soon after brake. The *Faction* or Party of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius*, were overthrown, then soon after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and subdivided. These examples are of Wars, but the same holdeth in private *Factions*: And therefore those that are Seconds in *Factions*, do many times, when the *Faction* subdivideth, prove Principals; but many times also they prove Cyphers and cashier'd. For many a Man's strength is in opposition, and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that Men once placed, take in with the contrary *Faction* to that by which they enter, thinking belike that they have their first sure, and now are ready for a new Purchase. The Traitor in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in Balancing, the winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two *Factions*, proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a Man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their

mouth

mouth *padre commune*, and take it to be a Sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own House. Kings had need beware, how they sidethemselves, and make themselves as of a *Faction* or Party; for Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Sovereignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis*; as was to be seen in the *League of France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in Princes, and much to the prejudice both of their Authority and Business. The motions of *Factions* under Kings, ought to be like the motions (as the *Astronomers* speak) of the Inferior Orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *Primum Mobile*.

LII.

Of Ceremonies and Respects.

HE that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of Virtue, as the Stone had need to be rich, that is set without foil. But if a Man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of Men, as it is in gettings and gains: For the Proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses*; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that small matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in use, and in note; whereas the occasion of any great Virtue cometh but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a Man's Reputation, and is, (as Queen *Isabella* saith) *Like perpetual Letters Commendatory*, to have good forms. To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a Man observe them in others: And let him trust himself

himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their Grace, which is to be Natural and Unaffected. Some Mens behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is measured. How can a Man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminish *respect* to himself; especially, they are not to be omitted to strangers, and formal Natures: But the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the Moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting Passions amongst Complements, which is of singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Man's Peers, a Man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep State. Amongst a Man's Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of Satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply ones self to others is good, so it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon regard, and not facility. It is a good Precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of ones own; as if you would grant his Opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his Motion, let it be with Condition; if you allow his Counsel, let it be with alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too perfect in Complements: For be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is loss also in business, to be too full of *respects*, or to be too curious in observing Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* saith, *He that considereth the Wind shall not Sow, and he that looketh to rise Clouds shall not Reap.* A wise Man will make more opportunities than he finds. Mens Behaviour should be
like

like their Apparel, not too Strait, or point device, but free for Exercise or Motion.

LIII.

Of Praise.

PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue, but it is as the Glafs or Body which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the common People, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain Persons than vertuous. For the common People understand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues draw *praise* from them, the middle vertues work in them Astonishment or Admiration, but of the highest Vertues they have no sense or perceiving at all, but shews and *Species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly Fame is like a River, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid: But if Persons of Quality and Judgment concur, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away: For the Odours of Oyntments are more durable than those of Flowers. There be so many false Points of *Praise* that a Man may justly hold it a suspect. Some *Praises* proceed meerly of Flattery, and if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certain common Attributes, which may serve every Man: If he be a cunning Flatterer he will follow the Arch Flatterer, which is a Man's self: And wherein a Man thinketh best of himself, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most; but if he be an impudent Flatterer, look wherein a Man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of Countenance in himself, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to by force, *Spreta Conscientia*. Some *Praises*
come

come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in Civility to Kings and great Persons, *Laudando precipere*, when by telling Men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some Men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy toward them, *Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*, insomuch as it was a Proverb amongst the *Grecians*; that he that was praised to his hurt should have a push rise upon his Nose; as we say, *That a blister will rise upon ones Tongue that tells a Lye*. Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. *Solomon* saith, *He that praiseth his Friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a Curse*. Too much magnifying of a Man or matter, doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a Man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a Man's Office or profession, he may do it with good Grace, and with a kind of Magnanimity. The *Cardinals* of *Rome*, which are Theologues, and Fryars, and Schoolmen, have a Phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business: For they call all Temporal business of Wars, Embassages, Judicature and other employments, *Shirrerri*, which is under *Sheriffries*, as if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffs and Catchpoles; though many times those *Under-Sheriffries* do more good than their high speculations. *Saint Paul*, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace *I speak like a Fool*; but speaking of his Calling, he saith, *Magnifico Apostolatum meum*.

LIV.

Of Vain-Glory.

IT was prettily devised of *Aesop*, *The Fly sate upon the Axletree of the Chariot-Wheel*, and said, *What a Dust do I raise?* So are there some *vain Persons*, that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *factions*; for all Bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own Vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the *French Proverb*, *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit; Much Bruit, little Fruit*. Yet certainly there is use of this Quality in Civil Affairs. Where there is an Opinion and Fame to be created, either of Virtue or Greatness, these Men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth in the case of *Antiochus*, and the *Aetolians*, *There are sometimes great effects of cross Lyes*: As if a Man that Negotiates between two Princes, to draw them to join in a War against the third, doth extol the Forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: And sometimes he that deals between Man and Man, raiseth his own Credit with both, by pretending greater Interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds, it often falls out, that *somewhat* is produced of *nothing*: For Lyes are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Military Commanders and Soldiers, *Vain Glory* is an essential Point: For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth another. In cases of great Enterprize, upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures doth put Life into Business; and those that are of solid and sober Natures have more
or

of the Ballast than of the Sail. In Fame of Learning the Flight will slow, without some Feathers of *Ostentation*. *Qui de contemnenda Gloria Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were Men full of *Ostentation*. Certainly *Vain-Glory* helpeth to perpetuate a Man's Memory; and Vertue was never so beholden to humane Nature, as it received his due at the second Hand: Neither had the Fame, of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, born her Age so well, if it had not been joined with some *Vanity* in themselves; like unto *Varnish*, that maketh Cielings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of *Vain-Glory*, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator*: For that proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of Natural Magnanimity and Discretion: And in some Persons, is not only Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it self well governed, are but Arts of *Ostentation*. And amongst those Arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of Praise and Commendation to others, in that wherein a Man's self hath any Perfection. For, saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another, you do your self right: For he that you commend, is either Superior to you, in that you commend, or Inferior. If he be Inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: If he be Superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less Glorious.* Men are the scorn of wise Men, the admiration of Fools, the Idols of Parasites, and the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

LV.

Of Honour and Reputation.

THE Winning of *Honour*, is but the revealing of Man's Virtue and Worth without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions do wooe and affect *Honour* and *Reputation*; which sort of Men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Virtue in the shew of it, so as they be undervalued in Opinion. If a Man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been atchieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more *Honour*, than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them he doth content every Faction or Combination of People, the Musick will be the fuller. A Man is an ill Husband of his *Honour* that entreth into any Action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can *Honour* him. *Honour* that is gained and broken upon another, hath the quickest reflection, like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore let a Man contend to excel any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in out-shooting them, if he can in their own Bow. Discreet Followers and Servants help much to *Reputation*: *Omnis fama a Domesticis emanat*. Envy, which is the Canker of *Honour*, is best extinguished by declaring a Man's self in his ends, rather to seek Merit than Fame; and by attributing a Man's successes, rather to Divine Providence and Felicity than to his own Virtue or Policy. The true marshalling of the Degrees of *Sovereign Honour*, are these. In the first place are, *Conditores Imperiorum*, *Founders of States* and *Common-wealths*; such as were *Romulus*,

Romulus, Cyrus, Caesar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are, *Legislatores, Law-givers*; which are also called *Second Founders, or Perpetui Principes*, because they govern by their Ordinances after they are gone; such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonfus of Castile* the wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*. In the third place are, *Liberatores or Salvatores*; such as compound the long miseries of Civil Wars, or deliver their Countreys from Servitude of Strangers or Tyrants; as *Augustus Caesar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus*; King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*. In the fourth place are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperii*; such as in Honourable Wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Invaders. And in the last place are *Patres Patria*, which Reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no Examples, they are in such number. Degrees of *Honour* in Subjects are: First, *Participes Curarum*, those upon whom Princes do discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs, their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The next are, *Duces Belli, Great Leaders*, such as are Princes Lieutenants, and do them notable services in the Wars. The third are *Gratiosi, Favourites*, such as need not this scantling, to be Solace to the Sovereign, and harmless to the People. And the fourth *Negotiis Pares*, such as have great places under Princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which hapneth rarely, that is, of such as Sacrifice themselves to Death or Danger for the Good of their Countrey; as was *M. Regulus*, and the two *Decii*.

LVI.

Of Judicature.

JUDGES ought to remember, that their Office is, *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare*: To interpret Law, and not to make Law, or give Law: Else will it be like the Authority claimed by the Church of Rome, which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by shew of Antiquity to introduce Novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than Witty, more Reverend than Plausible, and more advised than Confident. Above all things Integrity is their Portion and proper Virtue: *Cursed* (saith, the Law) *is he that removeth the Land-Mark*. The mislayer of a Meer-Stone is to blame; but it is the unjust Judge that is the Capital Remover of Land-Marks, when he defineth amiss of Lands and Property. One foul Sentence doth more hurt than many foul Examples; for these do but corrupt the Stream, the other corrupteth the Fountain. So saith Solomon, *Fons turbatus; & Venacorrupta, est Justus cadens in causa sua coram Adversario*. The Office of Judges may have reference unto the Parties that sue, unto the Advocates that plead, unto the Clerks and Ministers of Justice underneath them, and to the Sovereign or State above them.

First, For the Causes or Parties that sue. There be (saith the Scripture) *that turn Judgment into Wormwood*; and suerly there be also that turn it into Vinegar; for Injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal Duty of a Judge is to suppress force and fraud, whercof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out as the Surfeit of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare his way

to a Just Sentence, as God useth to prepare his way by *raising Valleys*, and *taking down Hills*: So when there appeareth on either side an High Hand, violent Prosecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsel, then is the Virtue of a *Judge* seen to make Inequality Equal, that he may plant his *Judgment* as upon an even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*; and where the Wine-Press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh Wine that tastes of the Grape-Stone. *Judges* must beware of hard Constructions, and strained Inferences; for there is no worse Torture than the Torture of Laws, especially, in case of Laws penal; they ought to have care, that that which was meant for Terror, be not turned into Rigor, and that they bring not upon the People that Shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos Laqueos*; for penal Laws pressed are a Shower of Snares upon the People. Therefore let *Penal Laws*, if they have been Sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present Time, be by wise *Judges* confined in the Execution, *Judicis Officium est, ut Res ita Tempora Rerum, &c.* In *Causes of Life and Death*, *Judges* ought, (as far as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy; and to cast a severe Eye upon the Example but a merciful Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Advocates* and *Council* that plead; Patience and Gravity of hearing is an essential part of Justice, and an over-speaking *Judge* is no *well-tuned Cymbal*. It is no Grace to a *Judge*, first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the Bar, or to shew quickness of conceit in cutting off Evidence or Counsel too short, or to prevent Informations by Questions though pertinent. The parts of a *Judge* in hearing are four; To direct the Evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of Speech. To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate the material Points of that which hath been said; And to give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too

much; and proceedeth either of Glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of Memory, or of want of a stayed and equal Attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldness of *Advocates* should prevail with *Judges*; whereas they should imitate God in whose seat they sit, who *represseth the Presumptuous, and giveth Grace to the Modest*: But it is more strange, that *Judges* should have noted; Favourites; which cannot but cause multiplication of Fees, and suspicion of By-ways. There is due from the *Judge* to the *Advocate* some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well handled, and fair pleaded; especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the *Client* the Reputation of his *Counsel*, and beats down in him the conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publick* a civil Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth cunning Counsel, gross Neglect, slight information, indiscreet Pressing, or an overbold Defence. And let not the *Counsel* at the Bar chop with the *Judge*, nor wind himself into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Judge* hath declared his Sentence: But on the other side, let not the *Judge* meet the *Cause* half way, nor give occasion to the Party to say, *His Counsel or Proofs were not heard*.

Thirdly, For that that concerns *Clerks* and *Ministers*. The Place of *Justice* is an hallowed Place; and therefore not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof ought to be preserved without Scandal and Corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles*; neither can *Justice* yield her Fruit with sweetness amongst the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling *Clerks* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subject to four bad Instruments: First, Certain Persons that are sowers of Suits which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The second sort is, Of those that engage Courts in Quarrels of Jurisdiction,

on, and are not truly *Amici Curie*, but *Parasiti Curie*, in puffing a Court up beyond her bounds, for their own Scraps and Advantage. The third sort is, Of those that may be accounted the Left hands of Courts; Persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring Justice into oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the fourth is, the Poller and Exacter of Fees, which justifies the common resemblance of the *Courts of Justice* to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheep flies for Defence in Weather, he is sure to lose part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerk*, skilful in Precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the *Business* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*, and doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himself.

Fourthly, For that which may concern the *Sovereign* and *Estate*. *Judges* ought above all to remember the conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*; and to know, that *Laws*, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspir'd. Therefore it is an happy thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* do often consult with *Judges*; and again, when *Judges* do often consult with the *King* and *State*: The one, when there is a matter of *Law* intervenient in business of *State*; The other, when there is some consideration of *State* intervenient in matter of *Law*: For many times the things deduced to *Judgment* may be *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may Trench to point of *Estate*. I call matter of *Estate* not only the parts of *Sovereignty*, but whatsoever introduceth any great Alteration, or dangerous Precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of *People*. And let no Man weakly conceive, that Just *Laws* and true *Policy* have any *Antipathy*: For they are like *Spirits*, and *Sinews*, that one moves with the other. Let *Judges* also remember, That *Solomon's Throne* was supported by

Lions on both sides : Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the *Throne* ; being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of *Sovereignty*. Let not *Judges* also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a Principal part of their Office, a wise Use and Application of Laws ; for they may remember what the *Apostle* saith of a greater *Law* than theirs, *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*

LVII.

Of Anger.

TO seek to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a bravery of the Stoicks. We have better Oracles : *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the Sun go down upon your anger.* *Anger* must be limited and confined, both in Race and Time. We will first speak, how the Natural Inclination and Habit *to be angry*, may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, How the particular motions of *anger* may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, How to raise *anger*, or appease *anger* in another.

For the first : There is no other way but to Meditate and Ruminare well upon the effects of *Anger* how it troubles Man's Life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon *Anger*, when the fit is thoroughly over. *Seneca* saith well ; *That Anger is like Ruin, which breaks it self upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us, *To possess our Souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of *patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soul*. Men must not turn Bees ;

Animaſque in vulnere ponunt.

Anger is certainly a kind of Baseness ; as it appears well in the Weakness of those Subjects in whom it reigns, Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Only Men must beware, that they carry their *Anger* rather with Scorn, than with Fear : So that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it, which is a thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himself in it.

For the second Point. The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Anger* are chiefly three : First, to be too *sensible* of hurt : For no Man is *Angry* that feels not himself hurt ; and therefore tender and delicate Persons must needs be often *Angry* : They have so many things to trouble them, which more robust Natures have little sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction of the Injury offered, to be in the circumstances thereof, full of *contempt*. For *contempt* is that which putteth an edge upon *Anger*, as much or more than the *hurt* it self : And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of *contempt*, they do kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the touch of a Man's *Reputation* doth multiply and sharpen *Anger* : Wherein the remedy is, that a Man should have as *Gonsalvo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiozem*. But in all refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best remedy to win Time, and to make a man's self believe that the Opportunity of his revenge is not yet come ; but that he foresees a time for it ; and so to still himself in the meantime, and reserve it.

To contain *Anger* from *Mischief*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two things, whereof you must have special Caution : The one, of extream *bitterness* of *Words*, especially if they be Aculeate and Proper ; for *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much. And again, That in *Anger* a Man reveal no Secrets ; for that makes him not fit for Society. The other, That you do not *peremptorily break off* in any business in a fit of *Anger* ;

Anger; but howsoever you *show* bitterness, do not *act* any thing that is not revocable.

For *raising* and *appeasing Anger* in another: It is done chiefly by *chusing* of *Times*; when Men are forwardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the *contempt*; and the two *remedies* are by the *contraries*: The former, to take good *Times*, when first to relate to a Man an *angry* business: For the first *Impression* is much; and the other is to sever as much as may be the *Construction* of the *Injury* from the *Point* of *contempt*; imputing it to *Misunderstanding*, *Fear*, *Passion*, or what you will.

LVIII.

Of Vicissitude of Things.

SOLOMON saith, *There is no new thing upon the Earth*: So that as *Plato* had an *imagination*, *That all knowledge was but a remembrance*: So *Solomon* giveth his sentence, *That all Novelty is but Oblivion*: Whereby you may see, that the *River of Lethe* runneth as well above ground as below. There is an *abstruse Astrologer* that saith, *If it were not for two things that are constant, (The one is, That the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, That the Diurnal Motion perpetually keepeth Time) no Individual would last one moment.* Certain it is, That the *matter* is in a perpetual *Flux*, and never at a *stay*. The great *Winding-Sheets* that bury all things in *Oblivion* are two; *Deluges* and *Earthquakes*. As for *Conflagrations* and great *Droughts*, they do not merely *dispeople*, but *destroy*. *Phaeton's Car* went but a *Day*: And the *Three years Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but *particular*, and left

left People alive. As for the great *burnings* by *Lightnings*, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge* and *Earthquake*, it is further to be noted, That the remnant of People which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous People, that can give no account of the time past; so that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you consider well of the People of the *West-Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a newer or younger People, than the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earthquakes*, (as the *Egyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*, That it was swallowed by an *Earthquake*) but rather, it was Desolated by a particular *Deluge*: For *Earthquakes* are seldom in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such *pouring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Asia*, and *Africk*, and *Europe*, are but Brooks to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or Mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the Remnants of Generations of Men were in such a particular *Deluge* saved. As for the observation that *Machiavel* hath, That the *Jealousie* of *Sects* doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing *Gregory* the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities. I do not find that those Zeals do any great Effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations* in the *Superior Globe*, are not fit matter for this present Argument. It may be *Plato's* Great year, if the World should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the State of like Individuals, (for that in the Fume of those, that conceive the *Cœlestial Bodies* have more accurate Influences upon these things below, than indeed they have) but in *Gross*. *Comets* out of question have likewise

wife Power and Effect over the Gross and Mass of things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, than wisely observed in their Effects, especially in their respective Effects; that is, What kind of *Comet* for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beams, placing in the Region of Heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a Toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the *Low-Countries*, (I know not in what part) That every five and thirty Years, the same kind and suit of Years and Weathers come about again, as great Frosts, great Wet, great Droughts, warm Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime*. It is a thing I do rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of *Nature*, and come to *men*: The greatest *Vicissitude* of things amongst *men*, is, The *Vicissitude* of *Seets* and *Religions*: For those Orbs rule in mens minds most. The *true Religion* is built upon the *Rock*, the rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speak therefore of the *Causes* of new *Seets*, and to give some Counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of Humane Judgment can give stay to so great *Revolutions*.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by *Discords*; and when the Holiness of the Professors of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandal, and withal the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a *new Seet*, if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange Spirit to make himself Author thereof: All which points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law*. If a *new Seet* have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is, The Supplanting or the Opposing of Authority established. For nothing is more popular than that. The other is, The giving Licence

to pleasures and Voluptuous Life, For as for *Speculative Heresies*, (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they work mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great alteration in States, except it be by the help of Civil Occasions. There be three manner of Plantations of *new Sects*, by the Power of *Signs* and *Miracles*, by the *Eloquence* and *Wisdom* of *Speech* and *Perswasion*, and by the *Sword*; for *Martyrdoms*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles*, because they seem to exceed the strength of Humane Nature: And I may do the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holiness* of *Life*. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of *new Sects* and *Schisms*, than to reform abuses, to compound the smaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Wars* are many, but chiefly in three things: In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *War*; in the *Weapons*, and in the *manner* of the *Conduct*. *Wars* in Ancient Time, seem'd more to move from *East* to *West*; For the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars* (which are the Invaders) were all Eastern People. It is true, the *Gauls* were Western, but we read but of two IncurSIONS of theirs, the one to *Gallio-Gracia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* have no certain Points of Heaven, and no more have the *Wars* either from the *East* or the *West* any certainty of Observation. But *North* and *South* are fix'd, and it hath seldom or never been seen, that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the Northern *Tract* of the World is in Nature the more Martial Religion; be it in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere, or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is known, is almost all

Sea.

Sea ; or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Upon the *Breaking and Shivering* of a great *State and Empire*, you may be sure to have *Wars*. For great Empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own Protecting Forces ; and then when they fail also, all goes to Ruin, and they become a Prey. So was it in the decay of the *Roman Empire* ; and likewise in the *Empire of Almain*, after *Charles the Great*, every Bird taking a Feather, and were not unlike to befall to *Spain*, if it should break. The great *Accessions and Unions of Kingdoms* do likewise stir up *Wars*. For when a State grows to an Overpower, it is like a great Flood that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the States of *Rome, Turkey, Spain*, and others. Look when the World hath fewest *Barbarous People*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live ; (as it is almost every where at this Day, except *Tartary*) there is no danger of Inundations of People ; but when there be *great Shoals of People*, which go on to populate without foreseeing means of Life and Sustainment, it is of necessity that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations, which the ancient *Northern People* were wont to do by Lot, casting Lot what Part should stay at home, and what should seek their Fortunes. When a *Warlike State* grows *soft and effeminate*, they may be sure of a *War* ; for commonly such States are grown rich in the time of their Degenerating, and so the Prey inviteth, and their decay in Valour encourageth a War.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation ; yet we see even they have *Returns and Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known
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in the City of the *Oxydrakes* in *India*; and was that which the *Macedonians* call'd Thunder and Lightning, and Magick. And it was well known, that the use of *Ordnance* hath been in *China* above 2000 Years. The Conditions of *Weapons*, and their Improvements are; First, The fetching afar off; for that out-runs the Danger, as it is seen in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, The Strength of the Percussion, wherein likewise *Ordnance* do exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The Third is, The commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all Weathers, that the Carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the *War*; at the first Men rested extremly upon *Number*; they did put the *Wars* likewise upon *main Force* and *Valour*, pointing Days for pitch'd Fields, and so trying it out upon an even Match, and they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battles*. After they grew to rest upon *Number*, rather Competent than Vast, they grew to *advantages* of *Place*, *Cunning Diversions*, and the like: and they grew more skilful in the *ordering* of their *Battles*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Arms* do flourish; in the *middle Age* of a *State*, *Learning*; and then both of them together for a time: In the *declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanical Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning*, hath his *Infancy*, when it is but beginning, and almost *Childish*; then his *Youth* when it is *Luxuriant* and *Juvenile*; then his strength of *Years*, when it is *solid* and *reduc'd*; and lastly, his *Old Age*; when it waxeth *dry* and *exhaust*: But it is not good to look too long upon these turning *Wheels* of *Vicissitude*, lest we become *giddy*. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a *Circle* of *Tales*, and therefore not fit for this *Writing*.

LIX.

A Fragment of an Essay of Fame.

THE *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monster*: They describe her in Part finely and elegantly; and in Part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many *Feathers* she hath, so many *Eyes* she hath underneath: so many *Tongues*; so many *Voices*; she pricks up so many *Ears*.

This is a *Flourish*: There follow excellent *Parables*; as that she gathereth Strength in going; that she goeth upon the Ground, and yet hideth her Head in the Clouds. That in the Day-time she sitteth in a *Watch-Tower*, and flieth most by Night: That she mingleth things done with things not done: And that she is a Terror to great *Cities*: But that which passeth all the rest is: they do recount that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made *War* against *Jupiter*, and were by him destroy'd, thereupon, in anger, brought forth *Fame*: For certain it is, that *Rebels* figur'd by the *Gyants* and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers* and *Sisters*; *Masculine* and *Feminine*. But now if a Man can tame this *Monster*, and bring her to feed at the Hand, and govern her, and with her slay other ravening Fowl, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the Style of the *Poets*. To speak now in a sad and serious manner: There is not in all the *Politicks*, a *Place* less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of *Fame*. We will therefore speak of these *Points*. What are false *Fames*; and what are true *Fames*: and how they may be best discerned; how *Fames* may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied, and how they may be check'd and laid dead: And other things concerning the *Nature* of *Fame*. *Fame* is of that Force, as there is scarcely

scarcely any great Action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the War. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame* that he scatter'd; that *Vitellius* had in purpose to remove the *Legions* of *Syria* into *Germany*: and the *Legions* of *Germany* into *Syria*: whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflam'd. *Julius Caesar* took *Pompey* unprovided, and laid asleep his Industry and Preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out, how *Cesar's* own Soldiers lov'd him not; and being weary'd with the Wars, and laden with the Spoils of *Gaul*, would forsake him as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia* settled all things for the Succession of her Son *Tiberius*, by continual giving out, that her Husband *Augustus* was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with *Bashaws*, to conceal the Death of the great *Turk* from the *Fanizaries* and Men of War, to save the Sacking of *Constantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their manner is. *Themistocles* made *Xerxes* King of *Persia* post apace out of *Gracia*, by giving out that the *Gracians* had a purpose to break his *Bridge* of Ships, which he had made athwart *Hellepont*. There be a thousand such like *Examples*; and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a Man meeteth with them every where: Therefore, let all wise *Governours* have as great a Watch and Care over *Fame*, as they have of the *Actions* and *Designs* themselves.

The rest was not finish'd.

LX.

A Civil Character of Julius Cæsar.

JULIUS CÆSAR was Partaker at first of an exercis'd Fortune; which turn'd to his Benefit: For it abated the haughtiness of his Spirit, and whetted his Industry. He had a Mind, *turbulent* in his Desires and Affections; but in his Judgment and Understanding very *serene* and *placid*: And this appears by his easie Deliverances of himself, both in his Transactions and in his Speech. For no Man ever resolv'd more swiftly, or spake more perspicuously and plainly. There was nothing forc'd or difficult in his Expressions. But in his Will and Appetite, he was of that Condition, that he never rested in those things he had gotten; but still thirsted and pursu'd after new; yet so, that he would not rush into new Affairs rashly, but settle and make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh Actions. So that he would put a seasonable Period to all his Undertakings. And therefore, though he won many Battles in *Spain*, and weaned their *Forces* by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despise the Relicks of the *Civil War* there, till he had seen all things compos'd: But then as soon as that was done, and the State setl'd, instantly he advanc'd in his Expedition against the *Parthians*.

He was, no doubt, of a very noble Mind; but yet such as aim'd more at his *particular Advancement*, than at many *Merits* for the *Common Good*. For he referr'd all things to *Himself*; and was the true and perfect *Centre* of all his Actions. By which means, being so fast tied to his Ends, he was still prosperous, and prevail'd in his Purposes; Insomuch, that neither *Country*, nor *Religion*, nor good *Turns* done him, nor
Kindred,

Kindred, nor Friendship diverted his Appetite, nor bridled him from pursuing his own Ends. Neither was he much inclin'd to *works of Perpetuity*: For he establish'd nothing for the future; He founded no sumptuous *Buildings*; He procur'd to be enacted no wholesome *Laws*, but still minded himself: And so his Thoughts were confin'd within the Circle of his own Life. He sought indeed after *Fame* and *Reputation*, because he thought they might be profitable to his Designs: Otherwise, in his inward Thoughts he propounded to himself rather *Absoluteness of Power*, than *Honour* and *Fame*. For as for *Honour* and *Fame*, he pursu'd not after them for themselves; but because they were the Instruments of *Power* and *Greatness*. And therefore he was carried on through a Natural Inclination, not by any Rules that he had learn'd, to effect the sole *Regiment*; and rather to *enjoy* the same than to *seem worthy* of it. And by this means he won much Reputation amongst the *People*, who are no valuers of true Worth: But amongst the *Nobility* and great Men, who were tender of their own Honours, it procur'd him no more than this, that he incurr'd the Brand of an *Ambitious* and *Daring Man*.

Neither did they much err from the Truth who thought him so; for he was by Nature exceeding *bold*; and never did put on any shew of *Modesty*, except it were for some Purposes. Yet notwithstanding, he so attemper'd his *Boldness*, that it neither impeach'd him of *Rashness*; nor was burthensome to Men; nor rendred his Nature suspected, but was conceiv'd to flow out of an Innate Sincerity and freeness of Behaviour, and the *Nobility* of his *Birth*: And in all other things he pass'd, not for a *Crafty* and *Deceitful* Person, but for an *open-hearted* and *plain-dealing* Man. And whereas he was indeed an *Arch-Politician*, that could counterfeit and dissemble sufficiently well; and was wholly compounded of *Frauds* and *Deceits*, so that there was nothing *sincere* in him, but all *artificial*; yet he

cover'd and disguis'd himself so, that no such Vices, appear'd to the Eyes of the World; but he was generally reputed to proceed plainly and uprightly with all Men. Howbeit, he did not stoop to any petty and mean *Artifices*, as they do, which are ignorant in State Employments; and depend not so much upon the strength of their own Wits, as upon the Counsels and Brains of others, to support their Authority; for he was skill'd in the Turnings of all Humane Affairs; and transacted all Matters, especially those of high Consequence by himself, and not by others.

He was singularly skilful to avoid *Envy*; and found it not impertinent to his Ends, to decline that, though it were with some diminution of his *Dignity*. For aiming at a *Real Power*, he was content to pass by all vain Pomp and outward shews of Power throughout his whole Life; Till at the last, whether high-flown with the continual *Exercise of Power*, or corrupted with *Flatteries*, he affected the *Ensigns of Power*, (the *Stile and Diadem of a King*,) which was the Bait that wrought his Overthrow.

This is true, that he harbour'd the Thoughts of a *Kingdom* from his very youth: And hereunto the *Example of Sylla*, and the *Kindred of Marius*, and his *Emulation of Pompey*, and the *Corruption and Ambition of the Times*, did prick him forward: But then he pay'd his way to a *Kingdom*, after a wonderful and strange manner. As first, by a *Popular and Seditious Power*; afterwards by a *Military Power*, and that of a *General in War*. For there was requir'd to effect his Ends; First, That he should break the *Power and Authority of the Senate*; which, as long as it stood firm, was adverse, and an hindrance, that no Man could climb to *Sovercignty and Imperial Command*. Then the *Power of Crassus and Pompey* was to be subdu'd and quell'd, which could not be done otherwise, than by *Arms*. And therefore (as the most *Cunning Contriver* of his own *Fortune*) he laid his first *Foundation by Bribes*;
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By corrupting the *Courts* of Justice, by renewing the memory of *Caius Marius*, and his Party; for most of the *Senators* and *Nobility* were of *Sylla's Faction*: by the *Law* of distributing the *Fields* amongst the *Common People*: by the *Sedition* of the *Tribunes*, where he was the *Author*: by the *madness* and *fury* of *Cataline*, and the *Conspirators*, unto which *Action* he secretly blew the *Coals*! By the *Banishment* of *Cicero*, which was the greatest *Blow*, to the *Authority* of the *Senate*, as might be; and several other the like *Arts*: But most of all by the *Conjunction* of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, both betwixt themselves, and with him; which was the thing that finish'd the *Work*.

Having accomplish'd this Part, he betook himself to the other; which was to *make use* of, and to *enjoy* his *Power*. For being made *Proconsul* of *France* for five *Years*; and afterwards continuing it for five *Years* more, he furnish'd himself with *Arms* and *Legions*, and the *Power* of a *Warlike* and *Opulent Province*, as was formidable to *Italy*.

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had strengthened himself with *Arms* and a *Military Power*, neither *Crassus* nor *Pompey* could ever be able to bear up against him; whereof the one trusted to his great *Riches*, the other to his *Fame* and *Reputation*; the one decay'd through *Age*, the other in *Power* and *Authority*: And neither of them were grounded upon true and lasting *Foundations*. And the rather, for that he had oblig'd all the *Senators* and *Magistrates*: And in a word, all those that had any *Power* in the *Common-wealth*, so firmly to himself, with private *Benefits*, that he was fearless of any *Combination* or *Opposition* against his *Designs*, till he had openly invaded the *Imperial Power*.

Which things, though he always bare in his *Mind*, and at the last acted it, yet he did not lay down his former *Person*; but colour'd things so, that what with the reasonableness of his *Demands*, what with

his Pretences of Peace, and what with the moderate use of his Successes, he turn'd all the *Envy* of the *Adverse Party*, and seem'd to take up *Arms* upon necessity for his own Preservation and Safety. But the Falseness of this Pretence manifestly appear'd; inasmuch as soon after having obtain'd the *Regal Power*, all *Civil War* being appeas'd, and all his *Rivals* and *Opposites*, which might put him to any Fear, being remov'd out of the way by the stroke of *Death*; notwithstanding he never thought of *resigning* the *Republick*; no, nor ever made any shew or offer of *resigning* the same. Which shew'd plainly, that his *Ambition* of being a *King* was settled in him, and remain'd with him unto his last *Breath*. For he did not lay hold upon occasions, as they happen'd, but moulded and form'd the occasions, as himself pleas'd.

His chief *Abilities* consisted in *Martial Knowledge*; in which he so excell'd, that he could not only *lead* an *Army*, but *mould* an *Army* to his own liking. For he was not more skilful in managing *Affairs*, than in *winning* of *Hearts*. Neither did he effect this by any ordinary *Discipline*, as by inuring them to fulfil all his *Commands*; or by striking a *Shame* into them to disobey, or by carrying a severe *Hand* over them: But by such a way as did wonderfully stir up an *Alacrity* and *Chearfulness* in them; and did in a sort assure him of the *Victory* aforehand, and which did oblige the *Soldier* to him, more than was fit for a *Free Estate*. Now whereas he was vers'd in all kinds of *Martial Knowledge*, and joyn'd *Civil Arts* with the *Arts of War*; nothing came so suddenly, or so unlookt for upon him, for which he had not a *Remedy* at hand: And nothing was so averse, but that he could pick something for his *Turn* and *Benefit* out of it.

He stood sufficiently upon his *State* and *Greatness*. For in great *Battles*, he would sit at home in the *Head Quarter*, and manage all things by *Messages*, which wrought him a double *Benefit*. First, that it secur'd his

his *Person* more, and expos'd him the less to *Danger*. Secondly, that if at any time his *Army* was worsted, he could put new Spirit into them with his own Presence, and the *Addition* of *fresh Forces*, and turn the *Fortune* of the *Day*. In the conducting of his *Wars*, he would not only follow former *Precedents*, but he was able to devise and pursue new *Stratagems*, according as the *Accidents* and *Occasions* requir'd.

He was constant, and singularly kind, and indulgent in his *Friendships* contracted. Notwithstanding, he made choice of such Friends, as a Man might easily see, that he chose them rather to be *Instruments* to his *Ends*, than for any *Good Will* towards them. And whereas, by Nature, and out of a firm Resolution, he adher'd to this Principle; not to be eminent amongst *Great* and *deserving* Men, but to be chief amongst *Inferiours* and *Vassals*: He chose only mean and active Men, and such as to whom himself might be all in all. And hereupon grew that Saying; *So let Cæsar live, though I die*: And other Speeches of that kind. As for the *Nobility*, and those that were his *Peers*, he contracted Friendship, with such of them as might be useful to him; and admitted none to his *Cabinet Council*, but those that had their Fortunes wholly depending upon him.

He was moderately furnish'd with good *Literature*, and the *Arts*; But in such sort as he apply'd his Skill therein to *Civil Policy*. For he was well read in *History*: and was expert in *Rhetorick*, and the *Art of speaking*. And because he attributed much to his good *Stars*, he would pretend more than an ordinary Knowledge in *Astronomy*. As for *Eloquence*, and a prompt *Elocution*, that was *Natural* to him, and *pure*.

He was dissolute, and propense to *Voluptuousness* and *Pleasures*; which serv'd well at first for a Cover to his *Ambition*. For no Man would imagine, that a Man so loosely given, could harbour any *Ambitious* and *Vast Thoughts* in his Heart. Notwithstanding, he so go-

vern'd his *Pleasures*, that they were no hindrance, either to his Profit, or to his Business: And they did rather whet, than dull the vigour of his Mind. He was *Temperate* at his *Meals*; free from *Niceness* and *Curiosity* in his *Lusts*; pleasant and *Magnificent* at publick *Interludes*.

Thus being accomplish'd, the same thing was the Means of his *down-fall* at last, which in his Beginnings was a step to his *Rise*, I mean his *Affectation* of *Popularity*: For nothing is more popular, than to *forgive our Enemies*. Through which, either *Virtue* or *Cunning*, he lost his Life.

LXI.

A Civil Character of Augustus Cæsar.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, (if ever any *Mortal Man*) was endu'd with a *greatness* of *Mind*, undisturb'd with *Passions*, clear and well order'd; which is evidenc'd by the high *Atchievements* which he performed in his early *Youth*. For those Persons which are of a turbulent Nature or Appetite, do commonly pass their *Youth* in many *Errors*; and about their middle, and then, and not before, they shew forth their *Perfections*; but those that are of a sedate and calm Nature, may be ripe for great and glorious *Actions* in their *Youth*. And whereas the *Faculties* of the *Mind*, no less than the *Parts* and *Members* of the *Body*, do consist and flourish in a good temper of *Health*, and *Beauty*, and *Strength*; So he was in the *strength* of the *Mind*, inferior to his *Uncle Julius*; but in the *Health* and *Beauty* of the *Mind*, superior. For *Julius* being of an unquiet and uncompos'd Spirit, (as those, who are troubl'd with the *Falling-sickness* for the most part are,) notwithstanding he carry'd on his own *Ends* with much *Moderation* and *Discretion*; but he did not order

der his Ends well, propounding to himself, vast and high Designs, above the Reach of a *Mortal Man*. But *Augustus*, as a Man sober, and mindful of his *Mortality*, seem'd to propound no other Ends to himself, than such as were orderly and well weigh'd, and govern'd by *Reason*. For first he was desirous indeed to have the *Rule* and *Principality* in his Hands; then he sought to appear worthy of that *Power* which he should acquire: Next, to enjoy an *High Place*, he accounted but a *Transitory Thing*: Lastly, He endeavour'd to do such *Actions*, as might continue his *Memory*, and leave an *Impression* of his good *Government* to *After Ages*. And therefore, in the *beginning* of his *Age*, he affected *Power*; in the *middle* of his *Age*, *Honour*, and *Dignity*; in the *Decline* of his *Years*, *Ease* and *Pleasure*; and in the *end* of his *Life*, he was wholly bent to *Memory* and *Posterity*.

F I N I S.

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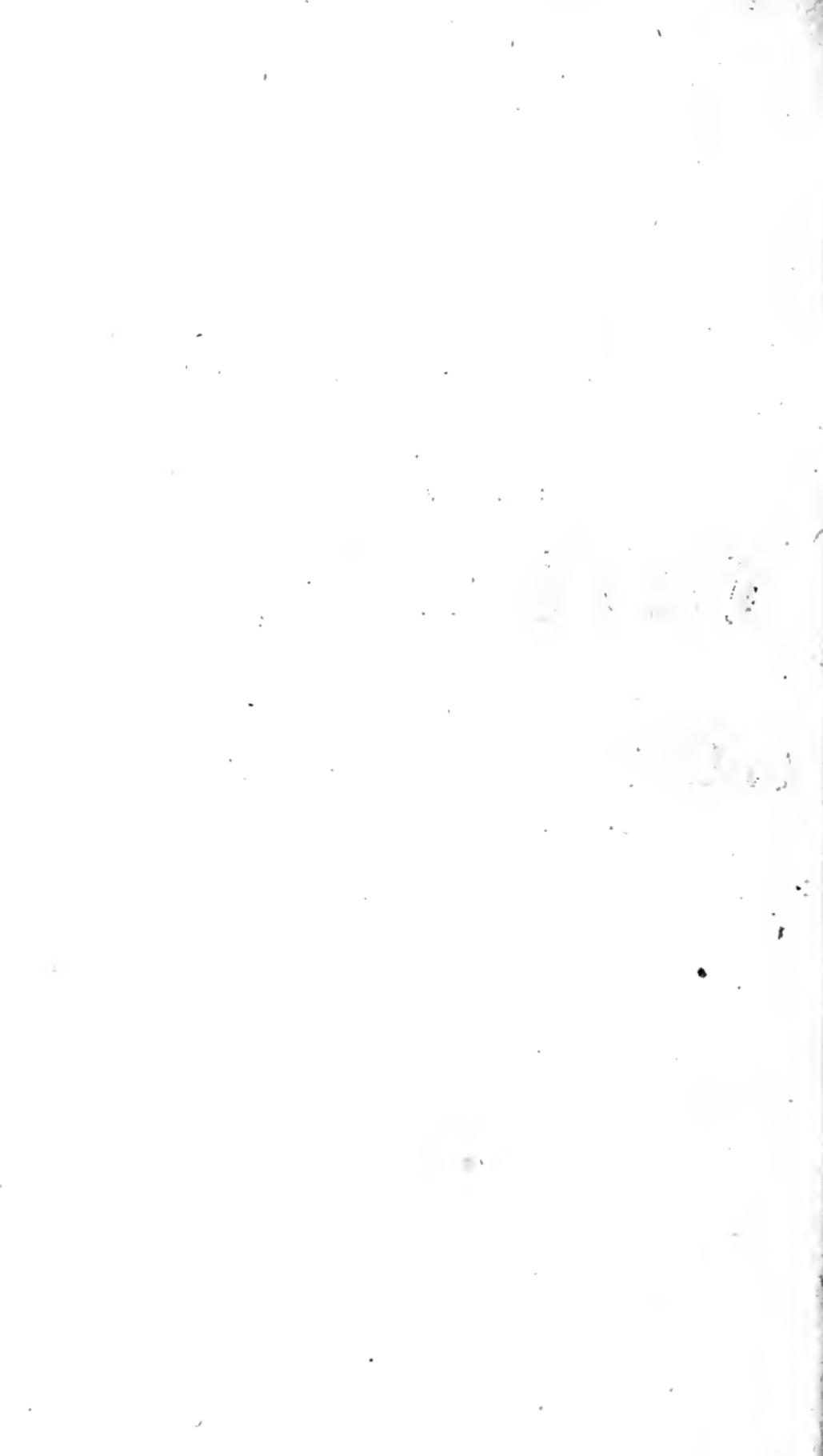
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OF THE
COLOURS
OF
GOOD and EVIL;

A Fragment.



IN Deliberatives, the Point is, what is Good and what is Evil ; and of Good what is greater ; and of Evil what is less.

So that the Perswader's Labour, is to make things appear Good or Evil, and that in a higher or lower Degree ; which as it may be preformed by true and solid Reasons, so it may be represented also by Colours, Popularities, and Circumstances, which are of such force, as they sway the ordinary Judgment either of a weak Man, or of a wise Man, not fully and considerately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the Subject in appearance, and so to lead to Error they are of no less use to quicken and Strengthen the Opinions and Perswasions which are true; for Reasons plainly delivered, and always after one manner, especially with Fine and Fastidious Minds, enter but heavily and dully; whereas if they be varied, and have more Life and Vigour put into them by these Forms and Insinuations, they cause a stronger Apprehension, and many times suddenly win the mind to a Resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe Judgment, nothing can be of greater Use and Defence to the Mind, than the Discovery and Reprehension of these Colours, shewing in what Cases they hold, and in what they deceive; which, as it cannot be done, but out of a very universal knowledge of the Nature of things; so being performed, it so cleareth Man's Judgment and Election, as it is the less apt to slide into any Error.

Capita Sectionum, quæ in *Boni Malique*
Colorum Tabula continentur.

1. **C**ui ceteræ Partes, vel Sectæ, secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vendicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quaque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.

2. Cujus excellentia, vel exuperantia Melior; id toto genere Melius.

3. Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus est, quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc est: Quod quis, si clam putaret forte, facturus non esset.

4. Quod rem integram servat, Bonum: Quod sine receptu est, Malum; Nam se recipere non posse, impotentia genus est; potentia autem Bonum.

5. Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilibus, est Majus quam quod ex paucioribus, & Magis Unum: Nam omnia, per partes considerata, majora videntur; quare & pluralitas partium Magnitudinem præ se fert. Fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium, si Ordo absit: Nam inducit similitudinem Infiniti, & impedit comprehensionem.

6. Cujus privatio bona, Malum: Cujus privatio mala, Bonum.

7. Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: Quod à Bono remotum, Malum.

8. Quod

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, Majus Malum: Quod ab externis imponitur, Minus Malum.*

9. *Quod opera & virtute nostra partum est, Majus Bonum: Quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortune, delatum est, Minus Bonum.*

10. *Gradus Privationis major videtur, quam gradus Diminutionis; & rursus gradus Inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus Incrementi.*

11. *Quod laudant homines & celebrant, bonum; quod vituperant & reprehendunt, malum.*

12. *Quod etiam ab inimicis laudatur, magnum Bonum; quod verò ab amicis reprehenditur, magnum Malum.*

The Heads of the Sections of the Table of the Colours of Good and Evil, rendred into English, are as follow.

1. **S***ince all Parties, or Sects, challenge the preheminance of the First Place to themselves; that, to which all the rest with one Consent give the Second Place, seems to be better than the others. For every one seems to take the First Place out of Zeal to it self; but to give the Second where it is really due.*

2. *That kind is altogether best, whose Excellence, or Preheminance is best.*

3. *That, which hath a relation to Truth, is Greater than that which refers to Opinion. But the Measure, and Tryal of that, which belongs to Opinion, is this: It is that which a Man would not do, if he thought it would not be known.*

4. *That, which keeps a matter safe and entire, is Good, but what is destitute and unprovided of Retreat is Bad. For whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones self, is a kind of Impotency.*

5. *That which consists of more Parts, and those Divisible, is Greater, and more one, than what is made up of Fewer: For all things when they are looked upon piece meal, seem Greater; when also a Plurality of Parts make a shew of a Bulk considerable: Which a Plurality of Parts effects more strongly, if they be in*

no certain Order ; for it then resembles an Infinity, and hinders the comprehending of them.

6. That, whose Privation (or, the Want of which) is Good, is in it self Evil : That, whose Privation (or, the Want whereof) is an Evil, is in it self Good.

7. What is near to Good, is Good ; what is at distance from Good, is Evil.

8. That which a Man hath procured by his own Default, is a Greater Mischief (or Evil :) That, which is laid on him by others, is a Lesser Evil.

9. That, which is gotten by our own Pains and Industry, is a greater Good : That, which comes by another Man's Courtesie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a lesser Good.

10. The Degree of Privation seems Greater than the Degree of Diminution. And again, the Degree of Inception (or Beginning) seems greater than the Degree of Increase.

11. That, which Men commend and celebrate, is Good : That, which they dispraise and reprehend, is Evil.

12. That, which draws Commendation even from Enemies, is a great Good ; but that, which is reprehended even by Friends, is a great Evil.

*A Table of the Colours (or Appearances)
of Good and Evil; and their Degrees,
as Places of Persuasion and Dissuasion,
and their several Fallaxes, and the E-
lents of them.*

CUI cæteræ Partes, vel Sectæ; secundas unan-
imiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi
vendicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæ-
que ex zelo videtur sumere; secundas autem ex vero &
merito tribuere. *That is,*

*Since all Parties, or Sects, challenge the Preheminence of the
first Place to themselves; that, to which all the rest with
one Consent give the second Place, seems to be better than
the others. For every one seems to take the first Place out of
Zeal to it self, but to give the second where it is really due.*

SO Cicero went about to prove the Sect of *Acade-
micks*, which suspended all *Asseveration*, for to
be the best. For, saith he, ask a Stoick, which
Philosophy is true, he will prefer his own: then ask
him, which approacheth (next) the Truth, he will confess
the Academicks. So deal with the Epicure, that will
scant endure the Stoick to be in sight of him; so soon as he
hath plac'd himself, he will place the Academicks next him.

So if a Prince took divers Competitors to a Place,
and examin'd them severally, whom next themselves
they would chiefly commend; it were like the ablest
Man should have the most second Voices.

The *Fallax* of this Colour happeneth oft in respect of
Envy; for Men are accusom'd, after themselves, and
their own *Fashion*, to incline unto them which are soft-

est, and are *least in their way*, in despite and derogation of them, that hold them *hardest* to it. So that this Colour of *Meliority* and *Preheminence* is a sign of *Enervation* and *Weakness*.

2. *Cujus excellentia, vel exuperantia Melior; id toto genere Melius.* That is,

That kind is altogether *best*, whose *Excellence*, or *Preheminence* is *best*.

Appertaining to this are the Forms: *Let us not wander in Generalities. Let us compare Particular with Particular, &c.* This *Appearance*, though it seem of *Strength* rather *Logical* than *Rhetorical*, yet is very oft a *Fallax*.

Sometimes; because some things are in kind very *casual*; which if they escape, prove *Excellent*: so that the kind is *inferior*, because it is so subject to *Peril*; but that which is *Excellent*, being prov'd, is *superior*. As the Blossom of *March*, and the Blossom of *May*, whereof the *French Verse* goeth:

*Burgeon de Mars, enfans de Paris,
Si un eschape, bien vaut dix.*

So that the Blossom of *May* is generally better than the Blossom of *March*; and yet the best Blossom of *March* is better than the best Blossom of *May*.

Sometimes, because the Nature of some *kinds* is to be more *equal*, and more *indifferent*, and not to have very distant Degrees; as hath been noted in the *warmer Climates*, the People are generally more wise, but in the *Northern Climate*, the Wits of *chief* are greater. So in many Armies, if the Matter should be try'd by *Duel* between *two Champions*, the *Victory* should go on the *one side*; and yet, if it were try'd by the *gross*, it would go on the *other side*. For *Excellencies* go as it were

were by *Chance*, but *kinds* go by a *more certain Nature* as by *Discipline* in War.

Lastly, many *kinds* have much *refuse*, which countervail that which they have *excellent*; and therefore generally *Metal* is more precious than *Stone*, and yet a *Diamond* is more precious than *Gold*.

3. *Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus est quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc est: Quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturum non esset. That is,*

That which hath relation to *Truth*, is *greater* than that which refers to *Opinion*. But the *Measure*, and *Tryal* of that, which belongs to *Opinion*, is this: *It is that which a Man would not do, if he thought it would not be known.*

SO the *Epicures* say to the *Stoicks*, *Felicity* plac'd in *Virtue*; that it is like the *Felicity* of a *Player*, who, if he were left of his *Auditors*, and their *Applause*, would streight be out of *Heart* and *Countenance*; and therefore they call *Virtue*, *bonum theatrale*; that is, a *Stage good*. But of *Riches* the *Poet* saith,

*Populus me sibilat,
At mihi plaudo: i. e.*

*Me People hiss abroad,
But I my self applaud.*

And of *Pleasure*,

———— *Grata sub imo
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulato Pudorem: i. e.*

“ Your welcome Joys *within* let stifled lie,
“ But counterfeit *abroad* a *Modesty*.

The *Fallax* of this *Colour* is somewhat subtil, though the Answer to the Example be ready: For *Virtue* is not chosen *propter auram popularem*, for the Applause of People; but contrariwise, *Maxime omnium teipsum revere*, a Man ought to stand most in awe of himself; so as a *Virtuous* Man will be *Virtuous* *in solitudine*, in a *Desart*, and not only *in theatro*, upon the *Stage*: though percase it will be more strong by *Glory* and *Fame*, as an *Heat*, which is doubled by *Reflection*. But that denieth the *Supposition*, it doth reprehend the *Fallax*, whereof the *Reprehension* is a Law, that *Virtue* (such as is joyn'd with Labour and Conflict) would not be chosen, but for *Fame* and *Opinion*; yet it followeth not, that the chief *Motive* of the Election should not be real, and for it self; for *Fame* may be only *causa impulsiva*, the *impelling* or *urging* Cause, and not *causa constituens*, or *efficiens*, the *constituting*, or *efficient* Cause. As if there were two *Horses*, and the one would do better without the *Spur* than the other: but again, the other with the *Spur* would far exceed the doing of the former, giving him the *Spur* also; yet the latter will be judged to be the better *Horse*: and the *Form*, as to say, *Tust*, the *Life* of this *Horse* is but in the *Spur*, will not serve as to a wise judgment: for, since the ordinary *Instrument* of *Horsemanship* is the *Spur*, and that it is no matter of *Impediment* or *Burthen*, the *Horse* is not to be accounted the less of, which will not do well without the *Spur*, but the other is to be reckon'd rather a *Delicacy*, than a *Virtue*. So *Glory* and *Honour* are the *Spurs* to *Virtue*: and, although *Virtue* would languish without them, yet since they be always at hand to attend *Virtue*, *Virtue* is not said to be the less chosen for it self, because it needed the *Spur* of *Fame* and *Reputation*. And therefore that Position, *Nona ejus rei, quod propter Opinionem, & non propter veritatem eligitur, hoc est; Quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset;* (That is, That the Mark of a Thing chosen for Opinion, and not for Truth-sake; is this, That one would

not do it if he thought it would not be known,) is reprehended.

4. *Quod rem integram servat, Bonum: quod sine recepto est, Malum. Nam se recipere non posse, impotentia genus est potentia autem Bonum: That is,*

That, which keeps a matter safe and entire, is Good: but what is destitute, and unprovided of a retreat, is *Bdd.* For, whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones self; is a kind of Impotency.

Hereof *Æosp* fram'd the *Fable* of the two Frogs, that consulted together in the time of Drought, (when many *Plashes* that they had repair'd to were dry,) what was to be done: and the one propounded to go down into a deep *Well*, because it was like the *Water* would not fail there; but the other answered, *Yea, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again?* And the Reason is, that *Humane Actions* are so uncertain, and subject to *Perils*, as that seemeth the best Course, which had most *Passages* out of it. Appertaining to this Persuasion, the *Forms* are, *You shall engage your self:* on the other side, *Tantum, quantum voles, sumes ex fortuna, i. e. Take what Lot you will; or, you shall keep the matter in your own Hand.* The *Reprehension* of it is, that *preceeding and resolving in all Actions is necessary.* For as he saith well, *Not to resolve, is to resolve;* and many times it breeds as many *Necessities*, and engageth as far in some other sort, as to resolve. So it is but the *covetous Man's Disease* translated in *Power*; for the *covetous Man* will enjoy nothing, because he will have his *full store*, and possibility to enjoy the more; so, by this Reason, a Man should execute nothing, because he should be still *indifferent*, and at liberty to execute any thing. Besides *Necessity* and this same *Facta est alea*, or, once having cast the *Dice*, hath many times an Advantage; because

because it awaketh the powers of the Mind, and strengtheneth Endeavour, (*Ceteris pares, necessitate certè superiores istis:*) which are able to deal with any others, but master these upon necessity.

5. *Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilibus, est majus quam quod ex paucioribus, & magis Unum: nam omnia, per partes considerata, majora videntur; quare & pluralitas partium Magnitudinem præ se fert. Fortius autem operatur Pluralitas partium, si Ordo absit: nam inducit similitudinem Infiniti, & impedit comprehensionem:* That is,

That, which consists of more Parts, and those *Divisible*, is greater, and more *One*, than what is made up of fewer; for all things, when they are look'd upon piece-meal, seem greater; whence also a plurality of Parts make shew of a Bulk considerable, which a Plurality of Parts effects more strongly, if they be in no certain *Order*, for it then resembles an *Infinity*, and hinders the comprehending of them.

THIS Colour seemeth palpable, for it is not *Plurality of Parts*, without *Majority of Parts*, that maketh the total greater; yet nevertheless, it often carries the mind away; yea, it deceiveth the sense; as it seemeth to the Eye a shorter distance of way, if it be all dead and continu'd, than if it have *Trees*, or *Buildings*, or any other marks, whereby the Eye may divide it. So when a great-money'd Man hath divided his *Chests*, and *Coyns*, and *Bags*, he seemeth to himself richer than he was. And therefore the way to amplify any thing is to break it, and to make *Anatomy* of it in several parts, and to examine it according to several *Circumstances*. And this maketh the greater shew, if it be done without *Order*, for *Confusion* maketh things muster more. And besides, what is set down by *Order* and *Division*, doth demonstrate, that nothing is left out or omitted; but all is there: whereas,

if it be *without Order*, both the Mind comprehendeth less that which is set down, and besides it leaveth a Suspicion, as if *more* might be said than is express'd.

This Colour deceiveth, if the Mind of him that is to be perswaded, do of it self *overconceive* or *prejudge* of the *Greatness* of any thing; for then the *breaking* of it will make it seem *less*, because it makes it to appear more according to the *Truth*. And therefore if a Man be in *Sickness* or *Pain*, the time will seem longer *without a Clock*, or *Hourglass*, than *with* it; for the Mind doth *value every moment*; and then the *Hour* doth rather *sum up* the *moments* than *divide* the *Day*. So in a *dead Plain* the way seemeth the longer, because the *Eye* hath *pre-conceiv'd* it *shorter*, than the truth: and the *frustrating* of that maketh it seem longer than the truth. Therefore, if any Man have an *over-great Opinion* of any thing, then if another think, by *breaking* it into *several Considerations*, he shall make it seem *greater* to him, he will be *deceiv'd*. And therefore in such *Cases*, it is not safe to *divide*, but to *extol* the *Entire* still in *general*.

Another *Case*, wherein this Colour deceiveth, is, when the *Matter broken*, or *divided*, is not *comprehended* by the *Sense*, or *made at once* in respect of the *distracting* or *scattering* of it: and being *entire*, and not *divided*, is *comprehended*. As an *Hundred Pounds* in *Heaps* of *five Pounds* will shew *more* than in one *gross Heap*: so as the *Heaps* be all upon *one Table* to be seen at once, otherwise not. As *Flowers*, growing *scatter'd* in *divers Beds*, will shew *more*, than if they did grow in *one Bed*. so as all those *Bees* be within a *Plot*, that they be object to view *at once*; otherwise not. And therefore *Men*, whose *Living lyeth together in one Shire*, are commonly counted *greater landed*, than those, whose *Livings* are *dispers'd*, though it be *more*; because of the *Notice* and *Comprehension*.

A third *Case*, wherein this Colour deceiveth, which is not so properly a *Case* or *Reprehension*, as it is a *counter Colour*, being in effect as *large* as the *Colour* it self is,

Omnis compositio indigentia cuiusdam videtur esse particeps.
 That every Composition seems to partake of a certain want; because, if one thing would serve the turn, it were ever best; but it is the Defect and Imperfection of things that hath brought in that help to piece them up:

as it is said; **Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit: that is,* Martha, Martha, thou art troubled about many things; one thing is sufficient. So likewise hereupon *Aesop* fram'd the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Cat*; wherein the *Fox* bragg'd, what a number of shifts and devices he had, to get from the *Hounds*; and the *Cat* said, He had but one, which was to climb a *Tree*; which in proof was better worth than all the rest; whereof the *Proverb* grew,

Multa novit Vulpes, sed Felis unum magnum.

Reynard the *Hounds* to scape had shifts not small,
Grimalkin only one, as good as all.

And in the *Moral* of this *Fable*, it comes likewise to pass, That a good sure Friend is a better help at a pinch, than all the *Stratagems* and *Policies* of *Man's* own *Wit*. So it falleth out to be a common Error in *Negotiating*; whereas *Men* have many *Reasons* to induce or persuade, they strive commonly to utter, and use them all at once, which weaketh them. For it argueth, as was said, a neediness in every of the *Reasons* by it self, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself only with that,

Et quæ non profunt singula, multa juvant.

And what help'd not alone before,
 Doth help full well, when joyn'd with more.

Indeed,

Indeed, in a *set Speech* in an *Assembly*, it is expected, a Man should use *all his Reasons* in the *Case* he hand-
leth: but in *private Persuasions* it is always a *great Error*.

A fourth *Case*, wherein this *Colour* may be reprehended is in respect of that same *vis unita fortior*, the acknow-
ledg'd *strength* of an *united Power*; according to the *Tale* of the *FRENCH King*, who, when the *Empe-
ror's Embassador* had recited his *Master's Style* at large,
which consisteth of *many Countries*, and *Dominions*, the
FRENCH KING willed his *Chancellor*, or other *Mi-
nisters*, to repeat over *FRANCE* as many times as the
other had recited the several *Dominions*; intending, it
was *equivalent* with them *all*, and more *compact* and
united.

There is also appertaining to this *Colour* another *Point*,
why *breaking* of a thing doth help it; not by way of
adding a shew of *Magnitude* unto it, but a note of *Ex-
cellency* and *Rarity*: whereof the *Forms* are, *Where you
shall find such a Concurrence*; *Great, but not compleat*: for
it seems a less work of *Nature* or *Fortune*, to make any
thing in his kind *greater than ordinary*, than to make a
strange Composition. Yet, if it be *narrowly consider'd*,
this *Colour* will be reprehended, or encounter'd, by impu-
ting to *all Excellencies* in *Compositions* a kind of *Poverty*,
or (at least) a *Casualty*, or *Jeopardy*: for from that,
which is excellent in *Greatness*, somewhat may be *taken*,
or there may be a *Decay*, and yet *sufficient* left; but
from that which hath his price in *Composition*, if you
take away any thing, or any Part do *fail*, all is *Dis-
grace*.

6. *Cujus Privatio bona, Malum: cujus Privatio mala, Bonum.* This is,

That, whose Privation (*or*; the want of which) is Good, is in it self *Evil*: that whose Privation (*or*, the want thereof) is an Evil, is in it self *Good*.

THE *Forms* to make it conceiv'd, that that was *Evil*, which is chang'd for the better, are, *He that is in Hell thinks there is no Heaven. Satis quercus; Acorns were good, till Bread was found, &c.* And on the other side, the *Forms* to make it conceiv'd, that that was good, which was chang'd for the worse, are; *Bona magis carendo quam fruendo sentimus: That is, we understand the Goodness of things more by wanting, than enjoying them. Bona à tergo formosissima: i. e. Good things never appear in their full Beauty, till they turn their back, and be going away, &c.*

The *Reprehension* of this Colour is, That the Good or Evil which is remov'd, may be esteem'd Good or Evil comparatively: and not positively or simply. So that if the Privation be Good; it follows not, that the former Condition was Evil, but less Good: For the Flower or Blossom is a positive Good; although the remove of it, to give place to the Fruit, be a comparative Good. So in the *Table* of *Æsop*, when the old fainting Man in the heat of the Day cast down his Burthen, and call'd for Death; and when Death came to know his will with him, said, *It was for nothing, but to help him up with his Burthen again;* It doth not follow, that because Death, which was the privation of the Burthen, was ill, therefore the Burthen was good. And in this part the ordinary Form of *malum necessarium*, a necessary Evil, aptly reprehended this Colour: For *privatio mali necessarii est mala*, the privation of a necessary Evil is Evil; and yet that doth not convert the Nature of the necessary Evil, but it is Evil.

Again it cometh sometimes to pass, that there is an equality in the change of privation, and (as it were) a

Dilemma

Dilemma boni, of the good; or, *Dilemma mali*, of the Evil; so that the * *Corruptio* of one Good is a Generation of the other. * *Corruptio unus est generatio alterius.*

Sorti pater æquus utrique est:

Both Chances the same equal Parent have:

And contrarily, the remedy of the one Evil, is the occasion and commencement of another; as in Scylla and Charybdis.

7. *Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: quod à Bono remotum; Malum.* That is,

What is near to Good, is Good: What is at distance from Good, is Evil.

SUCH is the Nature of things, that things contrary, and distant in Nature and Quality; and also severed and disjoyned in Place; and things like, and consenting in quality, are placed, and (as it were) quarter'd together: For partly, in regard of the Nature, to spread, multiply, and infect in similitude; and partly, in regard of the Nature, to break, expel, and alter that which is disagreeable and contrary, most things do either associate, and draw near to themselves the like, or (at least) assimilate to themselves that which approacheth near them, and do also drive away, chase, and exterminate their contraries. And that is the reason commonly yielded, why the middle Region of the Air should be coldest; because the Sun and Stars are either hot by Direct Beams or by reflection. The direct Beams heat the upper Region; the reflected Beams from the Earth and Seas, heat the lower Region. That which is in the midst, being farther distant in place from these two Regions of heat, is most distant in Nature, that is coldest, which is that they term cold, or hot,

* *Antiperistasis* is a Philosophical Term, signifying a repulsion on every part, whereby either Heat or Cold is made more strong in it self, by the restraining of the contrary.

hot, per* *Antiperistasin*, that is, environing by contraries: which was pleasantly taken hold of by him, who said, that an honest Man in these Days must needs be more honest than in Ages heretofore, proper *Antiperistasin*, because the shutting of him in the midst of Contraries must needs make the honest stronger, and more compact in it self.

The *Reprehension* of this Colour is:

First, many things of *Amplitude* in their kind do (as it were) engross to themselves all, and leave that which is next them most destitute. As the *Shoots*, or *Under-Wood*, that grow near a great and spread *Tree*, is the most pined and shrubby Wood of the Field; because the great *Tree* doth deprive and deceive them of the *Sap* and *nourishment*; so be faith well, *Divitis servi maxime servi*, That rich Mens Servants are the greatest Slaves: And the *Comparison* was Pleasant to him, that compar'd *Courtiers* attendant in the Courts of Princes, without great *Place* or *Office*, to *Fasting-days*; which were next the *Holy-days*; but otherwise were the leanest Days in all the Week.

Another *Reprehension* is, that things of *Greatness* and *Predominancy*, though they do not extenuate the things adjoining in substances, yet they drown them, and obscure them in shew and appearance. And therefore the *Astronomers* say; that, whereas in all other Planets *Conjunction* is the perfectest *Amity*, the *Sun* contrariwise is good by *Aspect*, but evil by *Conjunction*.

A third *Reprehension* is, because *Evil* approacheth to *Good*, sometimes for *Concealment*, sometimes for *Protection*: And *Good* to *Evil* for *Conversion* and *Reformation*. So *Hypocrisie* draweth near to *Religion* for covert and hiding it self.

Sape latet vitium proximitate boni.

Of it, under neighb'ring Good, Vice shrowded lies.

And

And *Sanctuary-men*, which were commonly *inordinate Men*, and *Malefactors*, were wont to be nearest to *Priests*, and *Prelates*, and *Holy-men*: For the *Majesty* of good things is such, as the *Confines* of them are *reverend*. On the other side, our *Saviour* charged with nearness of *Publicans* and *Rioters*, said *Matt. 9. 11.* *The Physician approacheth the sick rather than the whole.*

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, majus malum: quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum.* That is,

That which a Man hath procur'd by his own *Default*, is a *greater mischief* (or *Evil*;) that, which is laid on by others, is a *lesser Evil*.

THE *Reason* is, because the *sting* and *reverse* of the *Mind*, *accusing* it self, *doubleth* all *Adversity*: *Contrarywise*, the *considering* and *recording* inwardly, that a *Man* is *clear* and *free* from *Fault*, and *just Imputation*, doth *attempt* outward *Calamities*. For if the *Will* be in the *Sense*, and in the *Conscience* both, there is a *Gemination* of it: But if *Evil* be in the *one*, and *Comfort* in the *other*, it is a kind of *Composition*: So the *Poets* in *Tragedies*, do make the most *passionate Lamentation*, and those that fore-run *final Despair*, to be *accusing*, *questioning*, and *torturing* of a *Man's self*.

Seque unum clamat causamque caputque malorum.

*She railing doth confess her self to be
The cause and source of her own misery.*

And *contrariwise*, the *extremities* of *worthy Persons* have been *annihilated* in the *consideration* of *their own good deserving*. Besides, when the *Evil* cometh from *without*, there is left a kind of *evaporation* of *Grief*, if it come by *human Injury*; either by *indignation*, and *meditating* of *revenge* from our selves, or by *expecting*, or *fore-concerning* that

that *Nemesis* and *Retribution* will take hold of the *Authors* of our *hurt*; or, if it be by *Fortune* or *Accident*; yet there is left a kind of *Expostulation* against the *Divine Powers*.

A.que Deos atque Astra vocat crudelia Mater:

The Gods and cruel Stars the Mother doth charge.

But, where the *Evil* is deriv'd from a Man's *own Fault*, there all strikes *deadly inwards*, and *suffocates* it.

The *Reprehension* of this Colour is:

First in respect of *Hope*: For *Reformation* of our *Fault* is in *nostra potestate*, our *own Power*; but amendment of our *Fortune* simply is not: Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his *Oration*s saith thus to the *People* of *Athens*; That which having regard to the *time past*, is the *worse Point* and *Circumstance* of all the *rest*; That as to the *time to come*, is the *best*. What is that? Even this, that by your *Sloth*, *Irresolution*, and *Misgovernment*, your *affairs* are grown to this *Declination* and *Decay*: For, had you us'd and order'd your *Means* and *Forces* to the *best*, and done your *Parts* every way to the *full*; and notwithstanding your *Matters* should have gone backward in this manner as they do; there had been no *hope* left of *Recovery* or *Reputation*. But since it hath been only by your *own Error*, &c. So *Epictetus* in his *Degrees* saith, The *worst state* of *Man* is to *accuse* *extern Things*, better than that to *accuse* any *Man's self*, and *best* of all to *accuse* *neither*.

Another *Reprehension* of this Colour, is in respect of the *well bearing* of *Evils*, wherewith a *Man* can charge no body but *himself*, which maketh them the *less*.

— *Leve fit, quod bene fertur onus:*

The Burthen's light, that's on discreetly laid.

And therefore many *Natures*, that are either *extreamly proud*, and will take no *Fault* to *themselves*; or else *very true*

true, and cleaving to themselves, (when they see the blame of any thing that falls out ill, must light upon themselves) have no other shift, but to bear it out well, and to make the least of it; For, as we see, when sometimes a Fault is committed, and before it be known who is to blame, much ado is made of it; but after, if it appear to be done by a Son, or by a Wife, or by a near Friend; then it is light made of: So much more, when a Man must take it upon himself. And therefore it is commonly seen, that Women which marry Husbands of their own chusing, against their Friends Consent, if they be never so ill-us'd, yet you shall seldom see them complain, but set a good Face on it.

9. *Quod opera & virtute nostra partum est, Majus Bonum: Quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortuna, delatum est; Minus Bonum.* That is,

That which is gotten by our own Pains and Industry, is a greater Good; that which comes by another Man's Courtesie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a lesser Good.

THE Reasons are,

First, The future Hope: Because in the Favour of others, or the good Winds of Fortune, we have no State, or Certainty; In our Endeavours, or Abilities, we have. So as when they have purchas'd us one good Fortune, we have them as ready, and better edged and environ'd to procure another.

The Forms be: You have won this by Play. You have not only the Water, but you have the Receipt: You can make it again, if it be lost, &c.

Next, because these Properties, which we enjoy by the benefit of others, carry with them an Obligation, which seemeth a kind of burthen: Whereas the other, which we derive from our selves, are like the freest Patents, Absque aliquo inde reddendo, without making any Restitution. And if they proceed from Fortune, or Providence, yet they

seem to touch us secretly with the *Reverence* of the *Divine Power*, whose *Favours* we taste, and therefore work a kind of *Religious Fear* and *Restraint*: Whereas, in the *other* kind, that comes to pass, which the *Prophet* speaketh, *Ezek. Latantur, exaltant, immolant plagis suis & sacrificant reti suo*: Men are glad, they rejoyce, they offer to their *Toils*, and sacrifice to their *Nets*.

Thirdly, Because that, which cometh unto us without our own *Virtue*, yieldeth not that *Commendation* and *Reputation*: For *Actions* of great *Felicity* may draw wonder, but praise less; as *Cicero* said to *Cesar*, *Qua miremur, habemus; qua laudemus, expectamus*: That is, They had what they might wonder at; but expected what they might praise.

Fourthly, Because the *Purchases* of our own *Industry* are joyn'd commonly with *Labour* and *Strife*; which gives an *Edge* and *Appetite*, and makes the *Fruition* of our *Desires* more pleasant. *Suavis cibus a venatu*: Venison is sweet of ones own killing.

On the other side, there be four *Counter-Colours* to this *Colour*, rather than *Reprehensions*; because they be as large as the *Colour* it self.

First, Because *Felicity* seemeth to be a *Character* of the *Favour* and *Love* of the *Divine Powers*; and accordingly works both of *Confidence* in our selves, and *Respect* and *Authority* from others. And this *Felicity* extendeth to many casual things; whereunto the *Care* and *Virtue* of Man cannot extend; and therefore seemeth to be a large Good. As when *Cesar* said to the *Sailer*; *Cesarem portas, & fortunam ejus*; That he carry'd *Cesar* and his *Fortune*: If he had said, *Et virtutem ejus*, and his *Valour*; it had been small *Comfort* against a *Tempest*; otherwise than if it might seem upon *Merit*, to induce *Fortune*.

Next, whatsoever is done by *Virtue* and *Industry*, seems to be done by a kind of *Habit* and *Art*; and thereupon open to be imitated and follow'd: Whereas *Felicity* is imitable. So we generally see, that things of *Nature* seem more excellent than things of *Art*, because they

they be imitable; for, *Quod Imitabile est, potentia quadam vulgatum est*: What is imitable, is by a certain Power made known abroad.

Thirdly, *Felicity* commendeth those Things which come without our own Labour: For they seem Gifts; and the others seem Penny-worths. Whereupon *Plutarch* saith elegantly of the Acts of *Timoleon*, who was so fortunate, compared with the Acts of *Agefilaus* and *Epaminondas*, That they were like *Homer's Verses*; they ran so easily, and so well. And therefore it is the Word we give unto *Poesie*, terming it a happy *Vein*; because *Facility* seemeth ever to come from *Happiness*.

Fourthly, This same *præter spem, vel expectatum*, when Things happen besides *Hope* or *Expectation*, it doth increase the *Price* and *Pleasure* of many Things; and this cannot be incident to those Things that proceed from our own Care, and *Compassing*.

10. *Gradus Privationis major videtur, quam gradus Diminutionis: Et rursus, Gradus inceptions major videtur, quam Gradus Incrementi*: That is,

The Degree of *Privation* seems greater than the Degree of *Diminution*: And again, the Degree of *Inception*, (or *Beginning*,) seems greater than the Degree of *Increase*.

IT is a *Position* in the *Mathematicks*, that there is no *Proportion* between somewhat and nothing: Therefore the Degree of *Nullity* and *Quiddity*, (or *Act*) seemeth larger than the Degrees of *Increase* and *Decrease*. As to a *Monoculus*, it is more to lose one Eye, than to a Man that hath two Eyes. So, if one have lost *Divers Children*, it is more *Grief* to him to lose the last, than all the rest; because he is *Spes Gregis*, the *Hope* of his *Stock*. And therefore *Sibylla*, when she brought her *Three Books* and had burned Two, did double the whole *Price* of both the other; because the burning of that had been *gradus privationis*, a

Degree of *Privation*, and not *Diminutionis*, of *Diminution*.

This Colour is reprehended.

First, in those Things, the Use and Service whereof resteth in *sufficiency*, *competency*, or *determinate quantity*: As if a Man be to pay *one hundred Pounds* upon *Penalty*, it is more to him to want *twelve Pence*, than after that *twelve Pence*, supposed to be wanting, to want *ten Shillings* more. So the decay of a *Man's Estate* seems to be *most touched* in the Degree, when he *first grows behind*, more than afterwards, when he proves *nothing worth*. And hereof the common *Forms* are; *Sera in fundo parsimonia*; or, *It is too late to pinch when the Purse is at the bottom*; and, *as good never a whit as never the better*.

It is reprehended also in respect of that Notion, *Corruptio unius, generatio alterius*: That the Corruption of one thing is the Generation of another. So that *Gradus Privationis*, the *Privative Degree* is many times less *Matter*, because it gives the *Cause* and *Motive* to some *new Course*. As when *Demosthenes* reprehended the People for *hearkning* to the *Conditions* offered by *K. Philip*, being not *honourable*, nor *equal*, he saith, *They were but Elements of their Sloth and Weakness*; which if they were taken away, *Necessity would teach them stronger Resolutions*. So *Doctor Hector* was wont to say to the *Dames of London*, when they complained, they were they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any *Medicine*, he would tell them, *their way was only to be Sick*; for then they would be glad to take any *Medicine*.

Thirdly, this Colour may be reprehended in respect that the degree of *Decrease* is more *sensitive* than the Degree of *Privation*; for in the Mind of Men, *Gradus Diminutionis*, the Degree of *Decrease* may work a *wavering* between *Hope* and *Fear*, and keep the Mind in *suspence*, from settling, and accommodating in *Patience*, and *Resolution*. Hereof the common *Forms* are; *Better cry out, than always ask*; *make or mar*, &c.

For the second *Branch* of this *Colour*, it depends upon the same *General Reason*: Hence grew the *Common Place* of extolling the *beginning* of every thing;

Dimidium facti, qui bene cœpit, habet.

*He hath his Work half done,
Whoe're hath well begun.*

This made the *Astrologer* so idle, as to judge of *Man's Nature*, and *Destiny* by the *Constellation* of the Moment of his *Nativity*, or *Conception*.

This *Colour* is reprehended, because many *Inceptions* are but (as *Epicurus* termeth them) *Tentamenta*, that is, *imperfect Offers*, and *Essays*, which *vanish*, and come to no *substance*, without any *iteration*; so as, in such *Cases*, the *second Degree* seems the *worthiest*; as the *Body-Horse* in the *Cart*, that draweth more than the *Fore-Horse*. Hereof the common *Forms*; *The second Blow makes the Fray. The second Word makes the Bargain. Alter principium dedit, alter modum abstulit, &c.* The one began, the other kept no mean.

Another *Reprehension* of this *Colour*, is in respect of *Defatigation*, which makes *Perseverance* of greater *Dignity* than *Inception*: For *Chance* or *Instinct* of *Nature* may cause *Inception*: But *settled Affection*, or *Judgment*, maketh the *Continuance*.

Thirdly, This *Colour* is reprehended in such *Things*, which have a *Natural Course* and *Inclination* contrary to an *Inception*: So that the *Inception* is continually *evacuated* and gets no *start*; but there behoveth *perpetua Inceptio*, that there be always a *beginning*; as in the common *Forms*: *Non progredi, est regredi. Not to go forward, is to go backward. Qui non proficit, deficit. He who makes no Progress, decays. Running against an Hill; Rowing against the Stream, or with the Hill, then the Degree of Inception is more than all the rest.*

Fourthly, This Colour is to be understood of *Gradus Inceptionis à potentia ad actum comparati, non gradus ab actu ad Incrementum*; Of the Degree of Inception, in comparison of the Power with the Act, not of the Degree from the Act to the Increase. For otherwise, *Major videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quam à potentia ad actum*, The Degree from Impotency to Potency, seems greater, than from the Power to the Act.

II. *Quod laudant homines & celebrant, bonum; quod vituperant, & reprehendunt, malum.*

II. That which Men praise and celebrate, is good; that which they disgrace, and reprehend, is bad.

THIS Colour deceives four ways, *viz.* either through Ignorance, or through want of Integrity; or through particular Respect and Faction, or through the natural inclination of those that praise, or dispraise. First, Through *Ignorance*; for what signifies the Judgment of the Rabble in distinguishing and determining Good and Evil? *Phocion* knew well enough, who, when the People applauded him more than ordinary, asked, *Whether he had done any Thing amiss?* Secondly, Through *want of Integrity*; for those that praise and dispraise commonly carry on their own Designs and don't speak what they think.

Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.

Every Man praises the Wares he would put off.

It is naught, it is naught, says the Buyer; but when he is gone, he vaunteth. Thirdly, Out of *Partiality*; for every one knows, that Men use to Extol with immoderate Praise those that are on their own side, and to depress those of the adverse Party below their Desert. Lastly, Through a natural *Inclination*; for some Men are by

by Nature framed and moulded for servile Fawning and Flattery, whilst others on the contrary are stiff, captious and morose; and when these commend or inveigh, they do but comply with their own Humours, not troubling their Heads overmuch about the Truth of the Business.

12. *Quod etiam ab inimicis laudatur, magnum bonum; quod vero etiam ab amicis reprehenditur, magnum malum.*

12. That which draws Commendation even from Enemies, is a great Good; but that which is reprehended even by Friends, is a great Evil.

THIS Colour seems to stand upon this Foundation, That it may well be believed, that the force of Truth extorts from us whatsoever we affirm to be against our Wills, and contrary to the bent and inclination of our Minds.

This Colour deceives through the subtilty, as well of Enemies as Friends: For the praises of Enemies are not always against their Wills, nor as forc'd by Truth, but they chuse to bestow them in such Cases where they may create Envy or Danger to their Adversaries. Therefore the *Grecians* had a superstitious Fancy, that if a Man were commended by another out of Spight, and with a mischievous Design, he would have a Push rise upon his Nose: Besides, sometimes Enemies bestow Praises, like Preambles as 'twere, that they may the more freely and maliciously calumniate. On the other side, this Colour deceives, from the craft of Friends; for they'll sometimes take notice of the Faults of their Friends, and speak freely of them; but they chuse such as may do them little hurt, as if for all the rest they were the best Men in the World. Again, it deceives, because Friends use their Reprehensions (as we said Enemies do their Commendations) as certain little Prefaces, after which they may expatiate more freely in their Praises.

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THE
WISDOM
OF THE
ANCIENTS.

Written in *Latin* by the Right Honourable Sir *FRANCIS BACON*, Knight, Baron of *Verulam*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Done into *English* by Sir *ARTHUR GORGES*, Knight.

Scutum invincibile fides.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year, 1705.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE Antiquities of the first Age (except those we find in Sacred Writ) were buried in Oblivion and Silence: Silence was succeeded by Poetical Fables; and Fables again were followed by the Records we now enjoy. So that the Mysteries and Secrets of Antiquity were distinguished and separated from the Records and Evidences of succeeding Times by the Veil of Fiction, which interposed it self, and came between those Things which Perished, and those which are Extant. I suppose some are of Opinion, that my Purpose is to write Toys and Trifles, and to usurp the same Liberty in applying, that the Poets assumed in feigning, which I might do (I confess) if I listed, and with more serious Contemplation intermix these Things, to delight either my self in Meditation, or others in Reading. Neither am I ignorant how Fickle and Inconstant a Thing Fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great the commodity of Wit and Discourse is, that is able to apply Things well, yet so as never meant by the first Authors. But I remember that this Liberty hath been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the Reverence of Antiquity to their own Inventions and Fancies, have for the same Intent laboured to wrest many Poetical Fables: Neither hath this old and common Vanity been used only of late, or now and then: For even Chrysippus long ago did (as an
Interpreter

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Interpreter of Dreams) ascribe the Opinions of the *Sticks* to the *Ancient Poets*; and more sottishly do the *Chymists* appropriate the *Fancies and Delights* of *Poets* in the *Transformation of Bodies*, to the *Experiments* of their *Furnace*. All these Things, I say, I have sufficiently considered and weighed, and in them have seen and noted the general *Levity and Indulgence* of *Men's Wits* above *Allegories*; and yet for all this I *relinquish not my Opinion*.

For first it may not be, that the *Folly and Loosness* of a few should altogether detract from the respect due to the *Parables*: For that were a *Concept* which might savour of *Profaneness and Presumption*: For *Religion* it self doth sometimes delight in such *Veils and Shadows*: So that who so *Exempts* them, seems in a manner to *interdict* all *Commerce* between *Things Divine and Humane*. But concerning *Humane Wisdom*, I do indeed *ingenuously and freely confess*, that I am inclined to *imagine*, that under some of the *Ancient Fictions* lay *coached* certain *Mysteries and Allegories*, even from their first *Invention*. And I am persuaded (whether *ravished* with the *Reverence of Antiquity*, or because in some *Fables* I find such *singular Proportion* between the *Similitude* and the *Thing signified*; and such *apt and clear coherence* in the very *Structure* of them, and *propriety of Names* wherewith the *Persons or Actors* in them are *inscribed and intituled*) that no *Man* can constantly deny, but this *Sense* was in the *Authors Intent and Meaning*, when they first *invented* them, and that they *purposely shadowed* it in this sort: For who can be so *Stupid and Blind* in the open *Light*, as (when he hears how *Fame*, after the *Giants* were *destroyed*, *sprung up* as their *youngest Sister*)
not

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not to refer it to the Murmurs and Seditious Reports of both sides, which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the suppressing of Insurrections? Or when he hears how the Giant Typhon, having cut out and brought away Jupiter's Nerves, which Mercury stole from him, and restored again to Jupiter; doth not presently perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerful Rebellions, which take from Princes their Sinews of Money and Authority; but so that by affability of Speech, and wise Edicts (the Minds of their Subjects being in time privily, and as it were by stealth reconciled) they recover their Strength again? Or when he hears how (in that memorable Expedition of the God's against the Giants) the braying of Silenus his Ass, conduced much to the profligation of the Giants, doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to shew how the greatest Enterprizes of Rebels are oftentimes dispersed with vain Rumors and Fears.

Moreover, to what Judgment can the Conformity and Signification of Names seem obscure? Seeing Metis, the Wife of Jupiter, doth plainly signifie Counsel: Typhon, Insurrection: Pan, Universality: Nemesis, Revenge, and the like: Neither let it trouble any Man, if sometimes he meet with Historical Narrations, or Additions for Ornament's sake, or confusion of Times, or something transferred from one Fable to another, to bring in a new Allegory: For it could be no otherwise, seeing they were the Inventions of Men, which lived in diverse Ages, and had also diverse Ends: Some being ancient, others neoterical; some have an Eye to Things Natural, others to Moral.

There is another Argument, and that no small one neither, to prove that these Fables contain certain bid-

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den, and involv'd Meanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd, and foolish in the very relation that they shew, and as it were proclaim a Parable afar of: For such Tales as are probable, they may seem to be invented for delight, and in imitation of History. And as for such as no Man would so much as imagine or relate, they seem to be sought out for other Ends: For what kind of Fiction is that, wherein Jupiter is said to have taken Metis to Wife; and, perceiving that she was with Child, to have devoured her; whence himself conceiving, brought forth Pallas armed, out of his Head? Truly, I think there was never Dream (so different to the course of Cogitation, and so full of Monstrosity,) ever hatch'd in the Brain of Man. Above all Things, this prevails most with me and is of singular Moment; many of these Fables seem not to be invented of those by whom they are related, and celebrated, as by Homer, Hesiod and others. For if it were so, that they took beginning in that Age, and from those Authors by whom they are delivered, and brought to our Hands: My Mind gives me, there could be no great or high Matter expected, or supposed to proceed from them in respect of these Originals. But if with attention we consider the Matter, it will appear, that they were deliver'd, and related as Things formerly believed, and received, and not as newly invented, and offer'd unto us. Besides, seeing they are diversly related by Writers that lived near about one and the self-same time, we may easily perceive that they were common Things, derived from precedent Memorials; and that they became various, by reason of the divers Ornaments bestowed on them by particular Relations: And the consideration of this must needs increase

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crease in us a great Opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects of the Time, or inventions of the Poets, but as sacred Relicks, or abstracted Airs of better Times, which by Tradition from more Ancient Nations, fell into the Trumpets and Flutes of the Græcians. But if any do obstinately contend, That Allegories are always adventitiously, and as it were by Constraint, never naturally, and properly included in Fables, we will not be much troublesome, but suffer them to enjoy that gravity of Judgment, which I am sure they affect, although indeed it be but Lumpish, and almost Leaden. And (if they be worthy to be taken notice of,) we will begin afresh with them in some other Fashion.

There is found among Men, (and it goes for current,) a twofold use of Parables, and those, (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary Ends; conducing as well to the folding up, and keeping of Things under a Veil, as to the enlightning and laying open of Obscurities. But omitting the former, (rather than to undergo wrangling, and assuming ancient Fables as Things vagrant, and composed only for Delight,) the latter must questionless still remain as not to be wrested from us by any violence of Wit, neither can any (that is but meanly Learned) hinder; but it must absolutely be received, as a Thing grave, and sober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable, and necessary to all Sciences. This is it, I say, that leads the Understanding of Man by an easie and gentle Passage through all novel and abstruse Inventions, which any way differ from common received Opinions. Therefore in the first Ages (when many humane Inventions and Conclusions which are now common, and vulgar, were new, and not generally known,) all Things were full of Fables, Enigmas, Parables,

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rables, and Similies of all sorts: By which they sought to teach, and lay open, not to hide and conceal Knowledge; especially seeing the Understandings of Men were in those Times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any Subtilties; such Things only excepted, as were the Object of Sense, for as Hieroglyphicks preceeded Letters, so Parables were more ancient than Arguments. And in those Days also, he that would illuminate Men's Minds anew in any old Matter, and that not with disprofit, and harshness, must absolutely take the same Course, and use the help of Similies. Wherefore after all that hath been said, we must thus conclude: The Wisdom of the Ancients, it was either much, or happy: Much, if these Figures and Tropes were invented by Study and Premeditation; Happy, if they (intending nothing less) gave Matter, and Occasion to so many worthy Meditations. As concerning my Labours, (if there be any Thing in them which may do good,) I will on neither part count them ill bestowed, my purpose being to illustrate either Antiquity, or Things themselves. Neither am I ignorant that this very Subject hath been attempted by others: But to speak as I think, and that freely without Ostentation, the Dignity and Efficacy of the Thing, is almost lost by these Men's Writings, though voluminous, and full of Pains, whilst not diving into the depth of Matters, but skilful only in certain common Places, have applied the Sense of these Parables to certain vulgar, and general Things, not so much as glancing at their true Vertue, genuine Propriety, and full Depth. I (if I be not deceived,) shall be new in common Things. Wherefore leaving such as are plain and open, I will aim at farther and richer Matters.

T O T H E
B O O K.

R *Ich Mine of Art, Minion of Mercury,
True Truch-Man of the Mind of Mystery;
Invention's Store-House, Nymph of Helicon;
Deep Moralist of Time, Tradition.
Unto this Paragon of Brutus Race,
Present thy Service, and with chearful Grace,
Say, (if Pythagoras believ'd may be,)
The Soul of Ancient Wisdom lives in Thee.*

T H E

W I S D O M

O F T H E

A N C I E N T S .

CASSANDRA; Or, Divination.

THE Poets Fable, that *Apollo* being enamour'd of *Cassandra*, was by her many Shifts and cunning Sights, still deluded in his Desire; but yet fed on with hope, until such time as she had drawn from him the Gift of Prophesying; and having by such her Dissimulation, in the end, attained to that which from the beginning she sought after; at last, flatly rejected his Suit. Who finding himself so far engaged in his Promise, as that he could not by any means revoke again his rash Gift, and yet enflamed with an earnest desire of Revenge, highly disdaining to be made the scorn of a crafty Wench, annexed a Penalty to his Promise, viz. that she should ever foretel the Truth, but never be believed: So were her Divinations always faithful, but at no time regarded; whereof she still found the Experience, yea, even in the

ruin of her own Country, which she had often forewarned them of; but they neither gave Credit nor Ear to her Words. This Fable seems to intimate the unprofitable Liberty of untimely Admonitions and Counsels: For they that are so over-weened with the sharpness and dexterity of their own Wit and Capacity, as that they disdain to submit themselves to the Documents of *Apollo*, the God of Harmony, whereby to learn, and observe the Method and Measure of Affairs, the Grace and Gravity of Discourse, the differences between the more judicious and more vulgar Ears, and the due times when to speak, and when to be silent; be they never so sensible and pregnant, and their Judgments never so profound, and profitable; yet in all their Endeavours either of perswasion, or perforce, they avail nothing, neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage Matters; but do rather hasten on the Ruin of all those that they adhere, or devote themselves unto. And then at last, when Calamity doth make Men feel the event of Neglect, then shall they too late be revered as deep, foreseeing, and faithful Prophets. Whereof a notable Instance is eminently set forth in *Marcus Cato Uticensis*, who, as from a Watchtower, discovered afar off, and, as an Oracle, long foretold the approaching Ruin of his Country, and the plotted Tyranny hovering over the State, both in the first Conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the Civil Contention between *Cesar* and *Pompey*, and did no good the while, but rather harmed the Common-wealth, and hastned on his Country's Bane; which *M. Cicero* wisely observed, and writing to a familiar Friend, doth in these Terms excellently describe, *Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum Reipublica: Loquitur enim tanquam in Reipublica Platonis, non tanquam in face Romuli.* Cato (saith he,) judgeth profoundly, but in the mean time damni-
fies the State; for he speaks in the Common-wealth of *Plato*, and not as in the Dregs of *Romulus*.

TYPHON, or a Rebel.

JUNO being vex'd (say the Poets) that *Jupiter* had begotten *Pallas* by himself without her, earnestly pressed all the other Gods and Goddesses that she might also bring forth of her self alone without him; and having by violence, and importunity obtained a Grant thereof, she smote the Earth, and forthwith sprang up *Typhon*, a huge, and horrid Monster: This strange Birth she commits to a Serpent, (as a Foster-Father,) to nourish it; who no sooner came to ripeness of Years, but he provokes *Jupiter* to Battle: In the Conflict the Gyant getting the upper hand, takes *Jupiter* upon his Shoulders, carries him into a remote, and obscure Country, and (cutting out the Sinews of his Hands and Feet) brought them away, and so left him miserably mangled and maimed. But *Mercury* recovering these Nerves from *Typhon* by stealth, restored them again to *Jupiter*. *Jupiter* being again by this means corroborated, assaults the Monster afresh, and at the first strikes him with a Thunder-bolt, from whose Blood Serpents were ingendred. This Monster at length fainting, and flying, *Jupiter* casts on him the Mount *Aetna*, and with the Weight thereof crush'd him.

This Fable seems to point at the variable Fortune of Princes, and the rebellious insurrection of Traytors in a State: For Princes may well be said to be married to their Dominions, as *Jupiter* was to *Juno*; but it happens now and then, that being deboshed by the long custom of Empiring, and bending towards Tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themselves, and (contemning the Counsel of their Nobles and Senators) hatch Laws in their own Brain; that is, dispose of Things by their own Fancy, and absolute Power. The People (repining at this) study how to create, and set up a Chief of their own Choice. This Project by the secret instigation of the Peers, and Nobles, doth for

seeking Countenance, and creeping into Favour, do sometimes take occasion from the secret Beckonings, and ambiguous Commands of their Prince, to perform some hateful Execution. But Princes (abhorring the Fact, and knowing well, that they shall never want such kind of Instruments,) do utterly forsake them, turning them over to the Friends and Allies of the wronged, to their Accusations and Revenge, and to the general Hatred of the People; so that with great Applause, and prosperous Wishes and Acclamations towards the Prince, they are brought, rather too late, than undeservedly, to a miserable End.

N A R C I S S U S; Or, Self-Love.

THEY say, That *Narcissus* was exceeding Fair and Beautiful, but wonderful Proud and Disdainful; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary Life in the Woods and Chases, with a few Followers, to whom he alone was all in all; amongst the rest, there follows him the Nymph *Echo*. During his Course of Life, it fatally so chanced, that he came to a clear Fountain, upon the Bank whereof he lay down to repose himself in the Heat of the Day. And having espied the shadow of his own Face in the Water, was so befotted, and ravished with the Contemplation and Admiration thereof, that he by no means possible could be drawn from beholding his Image in this Glass; insomuch, that by continual gazing thereupon, he pinned away to nothing, and was at last turned into a Flower of his own Name, which appears in the beginning of the Spring and is sacred to the infernal Powers, *Pluto*, *Proserpina*, and the *Euries*.

This Fable seems to shew the Dispositions, and Fortunes of those, who in respect either of their Beauty, or other Gift wherewith they are adorned, and graced by Nature,

Nature, without the help of Industry, are so far besotted in themselves, as that they prove the Cause of their own Destruction. For it is the property of Men infected with this Humour, not to come much abroad, or to be Conversant in Civil Affairs, especially seeing those that are in publick Place, must of necessity encounter with many Contempts, and Scorns, which may much deject, and trouble their Minds; and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure Life, attended on with a few Followers, and those, such as will adore, and admire them, like an *Echo* flatter them in all their Sayings, and applaud them in all their Words. So that being by this Custom seduced, and puffed up, and as it were, stupified with the Admiration of themselves, they are possessed with so strange a Sloth and Idleness, that they grow in a manner benumb'd, and defective of all Vigour and Alacrity. Elegantly doth this Flower, appearing in the beginning of the Spring, represent the likeness of these Men's Dispositions, who, in their Youth do flourish, and wax famous; but being come to ripeness of Years, they deceive and frustrate the good Hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent that this Flower is said to be consecrated to the infernal Deities, because Men of this Disposition become unprofitable to all Humane Things: For whatsoever produceth no Fruit of it self, but passeth, and vanisheth as if it had never been, (like the way of a Ship in the Sea,) that the Ancients were wont to dedicate to the Ghosts, and Powers below.

S T Y X, or Leagues.

THE Oath by which the Gods were wont to oblige themselves, (when they meant to ratifie any Thing so firmly as never to revoke it,) is a Thing well known to the Vulgar, as being mentioned almost in every Fable,

ble, which was when they did not invoke or call to witness any Celestial Majesty, or Divine Power, but only the River *Styx*, that with crooked and *Meandry* Turnings incircleth the Palace of the infernal *Dis*. This was held as the only manner of their Sacrament; and besides it, not any other Vow to be accounted firm, and inviolable; and therefore the Punishment to be inflicted, (if any did Perjure themselves,) was, that for certain Years they should be put out of Commons, and not to be admitted to the Table of the Gods.

This Fable seems to point at the Leagues and Pacts of Princes, of which, more truly, than opportunely, may be said, That be they never so strongly confirmed with the Solemnity and Religion of an Oath, yet are for the most part, of no validity; insomuch that they are made rather with an Eye to Reputation, and Report, and Ceremony; than to Faith, Security, and Effect. Moreover, add to these the Bond of Affinity, as the Sacraments of Nature, and mutual Deserts of each Part, and you shall observe, that with a great many, all these Things are placed a degree under Ambition and Profit, and the licentious desire of Domination; and so much the rather, because it is an easie Thing for Princes to defend and cover their unlawful Desires and unfaithful Vows, with many outwardly seeming fair Pretexts, especially seeing there is no Umpire or Moderator of Matters concluded upon to whom a Reason should be tendred. Therefore there is no true and proper Thing made choice of, for the confirmation of Faith, and that no celestial Power neither, but is indeed *Necessity*, (a great God to great Potentates,) the Peril also of State, and the Communication of Profit. As for *Necessity*, it is elegantly represented by *Styx*, that fatal and irremeable River; and this Godhead did *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, call to the Confirmation of a League; who because he alone is found to speak plainly that which many hide covertly in their Breasts, it would not be amiss to relate his Words. He observing how the *Lacedaemonians* had

had thought upon, and propounded divers Cautions, Sanctions, Confirmations and Bonds, pertaining to Leagues, interposed thus: *Unum Lacedemonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum & securitatis ratio esse possit; si plane demonstratis, vos ea nobis concessisse, & inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas ledendi nos, si maxime velletis, minime suppetere possit.* There is one Thing (O Lacedemonians) that would link us unto you in the Bond of Amity, and be the occasion of Peace and Security; which is, if you would plainly demonstrate, that you have yielded up, and put into our Hands, such Things as that, would you Hurt us never so fain, you should yet be disfurnished of Means to do it. If therefore the Power of Hurting be taken away, or if by breach of League there follow the danger of the Ruin or Diminution of the State or Tribute; then indeed the Leagues may seem to be ratified and established, and as it were confirmed by the Sacrament of the *Stygian Lake*; seeing that it includes the fear of Prohibition and Suspension from the Table of the Gods, under which Name the Laws and Prerogatives, the Plenty and Felicity of a Kingdom were signified by the *Ancients*.

P A N, or Nature.

THE *Ancients* have exquisitely described *Nature* under the Person of *Pan*, whose original they leave doubtful; for some say that he was the Son of *Mercury*, others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common Off-spring of *Penelope's* Suitors, upon a Suspicion, that every one of them had to do with her; which latter Relation doubtless gave occasion to some after Writers to Entitle this ancient Fable with the Name of *Penelope*, a Thing very frequent amongst them, when they apply old Fictions to young Persons and Names, and that many times absurdly

absurdly and indiscreetly, as may be seen here: For *Pan* being one of the Ancient Gods, was long before the time of *Ulysses* and *Penelope*. Besides (for her Matronal Chastity) she was held venerable by Antiquity. Neither may we pretermitt the third Conceit of his Birth: For some say, That he was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Hybris*, which signifies contumely or disdain. But howsoever begotten, the *Parca* (they say) were his Sisters. He is pourtrayed by the *Ancients* in this Guise; on his Head a pair of Horns to reach to Heaven, his Body Rough and Hairy, his Beard long and shaggy, his Shape biformed, above like a Man, below like a Beast, his Feet like Goat's-hoofs, bearing these Ensigns of his Jurisdiction, to wit, in his Left-hand a Pipe of seven Reeds, and in his Right a Sheep-hook, or a Staff crooked at the upper end, and his Mantle made of a *Leopard's* Skin. His Dignities and Offices were these: He was the God of Hunters, of Shepherds, and of all Rural Inhabitants: Chief President also of Hills and Mountains, and next to *Mercury*, the Ambassador of the Gods. Moreover, He was accounted the Leader and Commander of the *Nymphs*, which were always wont to Dance the Rounds, and Frisk about him; he was accosted by the *Satyrs* and the old *Sileni*. He had Power also to strike Men with Terrors, and those especially Vain and Superstitious, which are termed *Panick Fears*. His Acts were not many, for ought that can be found in Records, the chiefest was, that he challenged *Cupid* at Wrestling, in which Conflict he had the Foil. The Tale goes too, how that he caught the Gyant *Typhon* in a Net, and held him fast. Moreover, where *Ceres* (grumbling and chafing that *Proserpina* was ravished) had hid her self away, and that all the Gods took Pains (by dispersing themselves into every Corner) to find her out, it was only his good Hap (as he was Hunting) to light on her, and acquaint the rest where she was. He presumed also to put it to the Tryal who was the best Musician, he or

Apollo, and by the Judgment of *Midas* was indeed preferred: But the wise Judge had a pair of Asses Ears privately chopt to his Noddle for his Sentence. Of his Love-tricks, there is nothing reported, or at least not much, a Thing to be wondered at, especially being among a Troop of Gods so profusely amorous. This only is said of him, that he loved the Nymph *Echo* (whom he took to Wife) and one pretty Wench more called *Sirynx*, towards whom *Cupid* (in an angry and revengeful Humour, because so audaciously he had challenged him at a Wrestling) inflamed his Desire. Moreover, he had no Issue (which is a Marvel also, seeing the Gods, especially those of the Male kind, were very Generative) only he was the reputed Father of a little Girl called *Jambe*, that with many pretty Tales was wont to make Strangers Merry; but some think that he did indeed beget her by his Wife *Jambe*. This (if any be) is a noble Tale, as being laid out and big-bellied with the Secrets and Mysteries of Nature.

Pan (as his Name imports) represents and lays open the All of Things or Nature. Concerning his Original there are two only Opinions that go for Currant; for either he came of *Mercury*, that is, the Word of God, which the Holy Scriptures without all Controversie affirm, and such of the Philosophers as had any smack of Divinity assented unto; or else from the confused Seeds of Things. For they that would have one simple Beginning, refer it unto God; or if a material Beginning, they would have it various in Power. So that we may end the Controversie with this Distribution, That the World took Beginning, either from *Mercury*, or from the Seeds of all Things.

Virg. Eclog. 6.

*Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta.
Semina terrarumque, animaeque, marisque fuissent,*

*Et liquidi simul ignis: Et his exordia primis
Omnia, & ipse tener mundi concreverit Orbis.*

For rich-vein'd *Orpheus* sweetly did rehearse
How that the Seeds of Fire, Air, Water, Earth,
Were all pact in the vast void Universe:
And how from these as Firstlings, all had Birth,
And how the Body of this Orbick frame,
From tender Infancy so big became.

But, as touching the third Conceit of *Pan's* Original, it seems that the *Grecians* (either by intercourse with the *Egyptians*, or one way or other) had heard something of the *Hebrew* Mysteries; for it points to the State of the World, not considered in immediate Creation, but after the Fall of *Adam*, expos'd and made subject to Death and Corruption: For in that State it was (and remains to this Day) the Off-spring of God and Sin. And therefore all these Three Narrations concerning the manner of *Pan's* Birth may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between Things and Times. For this *Pan* or Nature (which we suspect, Contemplate, and Reverence more than is fit) took beginning from the Word of God by the means of confused Matter, and the entrance of Prevarication and Corruption. The Destinies may well be thought the Sisters of *Pan* or *Nature*, because the Beginnings and Continuances and Corruptions and Depressions, and Dissolutions, and Eminencies, and Labours, and Felicities of Things, and all the Chances which can happen unto any thing, are linkt with the Chain of Causes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him, because *Horns* are broad at the Root and sharp at the Ends, the Nature of all Things being like a *Pyramis*, sharp at the Top. For individual or singular Things being infinite, are first collected into *Species*, which are many also; then from *Species* into *Generals*, and from *Generals* (by ascending) are contracted into Things or Notions more general; so
that

that at length *Nature* may seem to be contracted into an Unity. Neither is it to be wondred at, that *Pan* toucheth Heaven with his Horns, seeing the height of *Nature* or Universal *Ideas* do, in some sort, pertain to Things Divine, and there is a ready and short Passage from *Metaphysicks* to natural *Theology*.

The Body of *Nature* is elegantly and with deep Judgment depainted Hairy, representing the Beams or Operations of Creatures; for Beams are as it were the Hairs and Bristles of *Nature*, and every Creature is either more or less Beamy, which is most apparent in the faculty of Seeing, and no less in every Vertue and Operation that effectuates upon a distant Object, for whatsoever works upon any Thing afar off, that may rightly be said to dart forth Rays or Beams.

Moreover, *Pan's* Beard is said to be exceeding long, because the Beams or Influences of Cœlestial Bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all; and the Sun, when (his higher half is shadowed with a Cloud) his Beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were Beard-ed.

Nature is also excellently set forth with a biformed Body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior Creatures. For one part by reason of their Pulcritude, and Equability of Motion, and Constancy and Dominion over the Earth and Earthly Things, is worthily set out by the shape of Man: And the other part in respect of their Perturbations and unconstant Motions, (and therefore needing to be moderated by the Celestial) may be well fitted with the Figure of a Brute Beast. This Description of his Body pertains also to the Participation of *Species*, for no natural Being seems to be simple, but as it were participated and compounded of two. As for Example, Man hath something of a Beast, a Beast something of a Plant, a Plant something of inanimate Body, of that all natural Things are in very Deed biformed, that is to say, compounded of a superior and inferior *Species*.

It is a very witty Allegory, that some of the Feet of the Goat, by reason of the upward tending Motion of Terrestrial Bodies towards the Air and Heaven, for the Goat is a climbing Creature, that loves to be hanging about the Rocks and steep Mountains; and this is done also in a wonderful manner, even by those Things which are destinated to this inferior Globe, as may manifestly appear in Clouds and Meteors.

The two Ensigns which *Pan* bears in his Hands, do point, the one at Harmony, the other at Empire: For the Pipe consisting of seven Reeds, doth evidently demonstrate the Consent, and Harmony, and discordant Concord of all inferior Creatures, which is caused by the Motion of the Seven Planets: And that of the Sheep-hook may be excellently apply'd to the Order of Nature, which is partly right, partly crooked: This Staff therefore or Rod is specially crooked in the upper end, because all the Works of Divine Providence in the World are done in a far fetcht and circular manner, so that one Thing may seem to be affected, and yet indeed a clean contrary brought to pass; as the selling of *Joseph* into *Agypt*, and the like. Besides in all wise Humane Government, they that sit at the Helm do more happily bring their Purposes about, and insinuate more easily into the Minds of the People, by pretexts and oblique Courses, than by direct Methods: So that all Scepters and Masses of Authority ought in very Deed to be crooked in the upper end.

Pan's Cloak or Mantle is ingeniously feigned to be a Skin of a Leopard, because it is full of Spots: So the Heavens are spotted with Stars, the Sea with Rocks and Islands, the Land with Flowers, and every particular Creature also is for the most part garnished with divers Colours about the Superficies, which is as it were a Mantle unto it.

The Office of *Pan* can be by nothing so lively conceived and exprest, as by feigning him to be the God of Hunters, for every natural Action, and so by consequence,

quence, Motion and Progression, is nothing else but a Hunting. Arts and Sciences have their Works, and Humane Counsels their Ends which they earnestly hunt after. All natural Things have either their Food as a Prey, or their Pleasure as a Recreation which they seek for, and that in most expert and sagacious manner.

*Torva Leana Lupam sequitur, Lupus ipse Capellam.
Florentem Citysum sequitur lasciva Capella.*

The hungry Lionsess, (with sharp desire)
Pursues the Wolf, the Wolf the wanton Goat:
The Goat again doth greedily aspire
To have the Trifoil Juyce pass down her Throat.

Pan is also said to be the God of the Country-Clowns, because Men of this Condition lead lives more agreeable unto Nature, than those that live in the Cities and Courts of Princes, where Nature by too much Art is corrupted: So as the saying of the Poet (though in the sense of Love) might be here verified.

— *Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

The Maid so trickt her self with Art,
That of her self she is least part.

He was held to be Lord President of the Mountains, because in the high Mountains and Hills, *Nature* lays her self most open, and Men most apt to View and Contemplation.

Whereas *Pan* is said to be (next unto *Mercury*) the Messenger of the Gods, there is in that a Divine Mystery contained, for next to the Word of God, the Image of the World proclaims the Power and Wisdom Divine, as sings the Sacred Poet, *Psal. xix. 1. Celi enarrant Gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat Firmamentum.*

The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament sheweth the Works of his Hands.

The *Nymphs*, that is, the Souls of Living Things take great delight in *Pan*. For these Souls are the Delights or Minions of *Nature*, and the Direction or Conduct of these *Nymphs* is with great Reason attributed unto *Pan*, because the Souls of all Things Living, do follow their natural Dispositions as their Guides, and with infinite variety every one of them after his own Fashion doth leap, and frisk and dance with incessant Motions about her. The *Satyrs* and *Sileni* also, to wit, Youth and Old Age, are some of *Pan's* Followers: For of all natural Things, there is a lively, jocund, and (as I may say) a dancing Age, and an Age again that is dull, bibling, and reeling. The Carriages and Dispositions of both which Ages, to some such as *Democritus* was, (that would observe them duly,) might peradventure seem as ridiculous and deformed, as the gambols of the *Satyrs*, or the gestures of the *Sileni*.

Of those Fears and Terrors which *Pan* is said to be the Author, there may be this wise Construction made: Namely, that Nature hath bred in every Living Thing a kind of Care and Fear, tending to the Preservation of its own Life and Being, and to the repelling and shunning of all Things hurtful. And yet *Nature* knows not how to keep a Mean, but always intermixes vain and empty Fears with such as are discreet and profitable: So that all Things (if their insides might be seen) would appear full of *Panick* Frights: But Men especially in hard, fearful, and diverse Times, are wonderfully infatuated with Superstition, which indeed is nothing else but a *Panick* Terror.

Concerning the Audacity of *Pan* in challenging *Cupid* at Wrestling: The meaning of it is, that Matter wants not Inclination and Desire to the relapsing and dissolution of the World into the old *Chaos*, if her Malice and Violence were not restrained and kept in order, by the prepotent Unity and Agreement of Things signified by

by *Cupid*, or the God of Love; and therefore it was a happy turn for Men, and all Things else, that in their Conflict *Pan* was found too weak, and overcome.

To the same Effect may be interpreted his catching of *Typhon* in a Net: For howsoever there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted Tumours (as the Name of *Typhon* imports) either in the Sea or in the Air, or in the Earth, or elsewhere; yet *Nature* doth intangle it in an intricate Toil, and curb and restrain in, as it were with a Chain of Adamant, the Excesses and Insolencies of these kind of Bodies.

But forasmuch as it was *Pan's* good Fortune to find out *Ceres* as he was Hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other Gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously; it gives us this true and grave Admonition, That we expect not to receive Things necessary for Life and Manners from Philosophical Abstractions, as from the greater Gods; albeit they applyed themselves to no other Study; but from *Pan*, that is, from the discreet Observation and Experience, and the universal Knowledge of the Things of this World; whereby (oftentimes even by Chance, and as it were going a Hunting) such Inventions are lighted upon.

The Quarrel he made with *Apollo* about *Musick*, and the Event thereof contains a wholesome Instruction, which may serve to restrain Men's Reasons and Judgments with Reins of Sobriety, from Boasting and Glorifying in their Gifts. For there seems to be a twofold Harmony, or Musick; the one of Divine Providence, and the other of Humane Judgment; the Administration of the World and Creatures therein, and the more secret Judgments of God, sound very hard and harsh; which Folly, albeit it be well set out with Asses Ears; yet notwithstanding these Ears are secret, and do not openly appear, neither is it perceived or noted as a Deformity by the Vulgar.

Lastly, It is not to be wondred at, that there is nothing attributed unto *Pan* concerning Loves, but only of his Marriage with *Echo*: For the World or Nature doth enjoy it self, and in it self all Things else. Now he that Loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough, there is no Place left to desire. Therefore there can be no wanting Love in *Pan*, or the World, nor desire to obtain any thing (seeing he is contented with himself) but only Speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the Nymph *Echo*; or if more quaint by *Syrinx*. It is an excellent Invention that *Pan*, or the World is said to make choice of *Echo* only (above all other Speeches or Voices) for his Wife: For that alone is true Philosophy, which doth faithfully render the very Words of the World; and it is written no otherwise than the World doth Dictate, it being nothing else but the Image or Reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and re-founds. It belongs also to the Sufficiency or Perfection of the World, that he begets no Issue: For the World doth generate in respect of its Parts, but in respect of the whole, how can it generate, seeing without it there is no Body? Notwithstanding all this, the Tale of that tatling Girl fathered upon *Pan*, may in very Deed, with great Reason, be added to this Fable: For by her are represented those vain and idle Paradoxes concerning the Nature of Things which have been frequent in all Ages, and have filled the World with Novelties; Frivolefs, if you respect the Matter; Changlings if you respect the Kind; sometimes creating Pleasure, sometimes Tedioufness with their overmuch Prating.

P E R S E U S, or War.

PERSEUS is said to have been employed by *Pallas*, for the destroying of *Medusa*, who was very infestuous to the Western Parts of the World, and especially about the utmost Coasts of *Hiberia*. A Monster so dire and horrid, that by her only Aspect she turned Men into Stones. This *Medusa* alone of all the *Gorgons* was Mortal, the rest not subject to Death. *Perseus* therefore preparing himself for this noble Enterprise, had Arms and Gifts bestowed on him by three of the Gods: *Mercury* gave him Wings annexed to his Heels, *Pluto* a Helmet, *Pallas* a Shield and a Looking-Glass. Notwithstanding (although he were thus furnished) he went not directly to *Medusa*, but first to the *Grea*, which by the Mothers side were Sisters to the *Gorgons*. These *Grea* from their Birth were Hoar-headed, resembling old Women. They had but one only Eye, and one Tooth among them all; both which, she that had occasion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This Eye and Tooth they lent to *Perseus*; and so finding himself throughly furnished for the effecting of his Design, hastens towards *Medusa*. Her he found Sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his Face towards her, lest she should awake; but turning his Head aside, beheld her in *Pallas's* Glass, and (by this means directing his Blow) cut off her Head; from whose Blood gushing out, instantly came *Pegasus*, the Flying-Horse. Her Head thus smote off, *Perseus* bestows on *Pallas* her Shield, which yet retained this Vertue, that whosoever looked upon it, should become as stupid as a Stone, or like one Planet-strucken.

This Fable seems to direct the Preparation and Order, that is to be used in making of War; for the more apt and considerate Undertaking whereof, three grave and

wholesome Precepts (favouring of the Wisdom of *Pallas*) are to be observed.

First, That Men do not much trouble themselves about the Conquest of Neighbour Nations, seeing that private Possessions and Empires are enlarged by different Means: For in the Augmentation of private Revenues, the vicinity of Men's Territories is to be considered; but in the Propagation of Publick Dominions, the occasion and facility of making War, and the Fruit to be expected ought to be instead of Vicinity. Certainly the *Romans*, what time their Conquests towards the West, scarce reacht beyond *Liguria*, did yet in the East bring all the Provinces as far as the Mountain *Taurus* within the compass of their Arms and Command; and therefore *Persens*, although he were Bred and Born in the East, did not yet refuse to undertake an Expedition even to the uttermost Bounds of the West.

Secondly, There must be a care had that the Motives of War be just and honourable; for that begets an Alacrity, as well in the Soldiers that Fight, as in the People that Pay; it draws on and procures Aids, and brings many other Commodities besides. But there is no Pretence to take up Arms more Pious, than the suppressing of Tyranny; under which Yoke, the People lose their Courage, and are cast down without Heart and Vigour, as in the sight of *Medusa*.

Thirdly, It is wisely added, that seeing there were three *Gorgons* (by which Wars are represented) *Persens* undertook her only that was Mortal; that is, he made choice of such a kind of War as was likely to be effected and brought to a Period, not pursuing vast and endless Hopes.

The furnishing of *Persens* with Necessaries was that which only advanced his Attempt, and drew *Fortune* to be of his side; for he had speed from *Mercury*, concealing of his Counsels from *Orcus*, and *Providence* from *Pallas*.

Neither is it without an Allegory, and that full of Matter too, that those Wings of Celerity were fastned to *Persus's* Heels, and not to his Ankles; to his Feet, and not to his Shoulders; because Speed and Celerity is required, not so much in the first Preparations for War, as in those Things which second and yield Aid to the first; for there is no Error in War more frequent, than that Prosecutions and Subsidiary forces do fail to answer the Alacrity of the first Onsets.

Now for that Helmet which *Pluto* gave him, powerful to make Men invisible, the Moral is plain; but that twofold Gift of Providence, (to wit, the Shield and Looking-Glass) is full of Morality; for that kind of Providence, which like a Shield avoids the force of Blows, is not alone needful, but that also by which the Strength and Motions, and Counsels of the Enemy are descry'd, as in the Looking-Glass of *Pallas*.

But *Persus*, albeit he were sufficiently furnished with Aid and Courage, yet was he to do one Thing of special Importance before he entred the Lists with this Monster, and that was to have some Intelligence with the *Gree*. These *Gree* are Treasons which may be termed the Sisters of War not descended of the same Stock, but far unlike in Nobility of Birth; for Wars are generous and heroical, but Treasons are base and ignoble. Their Description is elegant, for they are said to be Gray-headed, and like old Women from their Birth; by reason that Traytors are continually vext with Cares and Trepidations. But all their Strength (before they break out into open Rebellions) consists either in an Eye or in a Tooth; for every Faction alienated from any State, contemplates and bites. Besides, this Eye and Tooth is as it were common; for whatsoever they can learn and know, is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of Faction. And as concerning the Tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same Song; so that hear one, and you hear all. *Persus* therefore was to deal with these *Gree* for the love of their

Eye and Tooth. Their Eye to discover, their Tooth to sow Rumours and stir up Envy, and to molest and trouble the Minds of Men. These Things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the Action of War, and sets upon *Medusa* as she slept; for a wise Captain will ever assault his Enemy, when he is unprepared and most secure; and then is there good use of *Pallas* her Glass: For most Men, before it come to the Push, can acutely pry into and discern their Enemies Estate; but the best use of this Glass is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered, as that the Terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this Glass with the Face turned from *Medusa*.

The Monster's Head being cut off, there follow two Effects. The first was, the procreation and raising of *Pegasus*, by which may be evidently understood *Fame*, that (flying through the World) proclaims Victory. The second is the bearing of *Medusa's* Head in his Shield; to which there is no kind of defence for Excellency comparable; for the one famous and memorable Act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the Motions and Insolencies of Enemies, and makes Envy her self silent and amazed.

E N D Y M I O N, or a Favourite.

IT is said, That *Luna* was in Love with the Shepherd *Endymion*, and in a strange and unwonted manner bewrayed her Affection: For he lying in a Cave framed by Nature under the Mountain *Latmus*, she oftentimes descended from her Sphere to enjoy his Company as he slept; and after she had kissed him, ascended up again. Yet notwithstanding this his Idleness, and sleepy Security, did not any way impair his Estate or Fortune; for *Luna* brought it so to pass, that he
alone

alone (of all the rest of the Shepherds) had his Flock in best Plight, and most Fruitful.

This Fable may have reference to the Nature and Dispositions of Princes; for they being full of Doubts, and prone to Jealousie, do not easily acquaint Men of prying and curious Eyes; and as it were of vigilant and wakeful Dispositions, with the secret Humours and Manners of their Life; but such rather as are of quiet and observant Natures, suffering them to do what they list without further Scanting, making as if they were Ignorant, and perceiving nothing but of a stupid Disposition, and possess'd with Sleep, yielding unto them simple Obedience, rather than flie Complements; For it pleaseth Princes now and then to descend from their Thrones or Majesty (like *Luna* from the superior Orb) and laying aside their Robes of Dignity (which always to be cumbred with, would seem a kind of Burthen) familiarly to converse with Men of this Condition, which they think may be done without Danger; a Quality chiefly noted in *Tiberius Cesar*, who (of all others) was a Prince most severe; yet such only were gracious in his Favour, as being well acquainted with his Disposition, did yet constantly Dissemble, as if they knew nothing. This was the Custom also of *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, a cautious and wily Prince.

Neither is it without Elegancy, that the cause of *Endymion* is mentioned in the Fable, because that it is a Thing usual with such as are the Favourites of Princes, to have certain pleasant retiring Places, whither to invite them for Recreation both of Body and Mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to their Fortunes also. And indeed these kind of Favourites are Men commonly well to pass; for Princes, although peradventure they promote them not ever to Places of Honour, yet do they advance them sufficiently by their Favour and Countenance: Neither do they affect them thus, only to serve their own turn; but are wont to
inrich

enrich them now and then with great Dignities, and Bounties.

The Sister of the GIANTS, or Fame.

IT is a Poetical Relation, that the Giants begotten of the Earth, made War upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods; and by the force of Lightning, they were resisted and overthrown. Whereat the Earth being excited to Wrath, in Revenge of her Children brought forth Fame, the youngest Sister of the Giants.

*Illam terra parens ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut prohibent) Caeo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit———*

Provok'd by wrathful Gods, the Mother Earth
Gives *Fame*, the Giants youngest Sister, Birth.

The meaning of the Fable seems to be thus: By the Earth, is signified the Nature of the Vulgar, always swollen and malignant, and still broaching new Scandals against Superiors, and having gotten fit Opportunity, stirs up Rebels and Seditious Persons, that with impious Outrage do molest Princes, and endeavour to subvert their Estates; but being suppress'd, the same natural Disposition of the People still leaning to the viler sort, (being impatient of Peace and Tranquility,) spread Rumours, raise malicious Slanders, repining Whisperings, infamous Libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in Authority: So as Rebellious Actions, and Seditious Reports, differ nothing in Kind and Blood, but as it were in Sex only; the one sort being Masculine, and the other Feminine.

ACTÆON and PENTHEUS, or a Curious Man.

THE Curiosity of Men; in prying into Secrets, and coveting with an undiscrēt Desire to attain the knowledge of Things forbidden, is set forth by the Ancients in two other Examples: The one of *Actæon*, the other of *Pentheus*.

Actæon having unawares, and as it were by chance beheld *Diana* naked, was turned into a Stag, and devoured by his own Dogs.

And *Pentheus* climbing up into a Tree, with a desire to be a spectator of the hidden Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, was stricken with such a kind of Frensie, as that whatsoever he lookt upon, he thought it always double, supposing (among other Things) he saw two *Suns*, and two *Thebes*; insomuch that running towards *Thebes*, spying another *Thebes*, instantly turned back again, and so kept still running forward and backward with perpetual Unrest.

*Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus,
Et Solem geminum, duplices se ostendere Thebas.*

Pentheus amaz'd, doth troops of Furies spie;
And *Sun*, and *Thebes* seem double to his Eye.

The first of the Fables pertains to the secrets of Princes, the second to Divine Mysteries. For those that are near about Princes, and come to the knowledge of more Secrets than they would have them, do certainly incur great Hatred. And therefore, (suspecting that they are Shot at, and Opportunities watcht for their Overthrow,) do lead their Lives like Stags, fearful and full of suspicion. And it happens oftentimes that their Servants, and those of their Household, (to insinuate into

into the Prince's Favour) do accuse them to their Destruction; for against whomsoever the *Prince's* Displeasure is known, look how many Servants that Man hath, and you shall find them for the most part so many Traytors unto him, that his End may prove to be like *Acteon's*.

The other is the Misery of *Pentheus*: For that by the height of Knowledge and Nature in Philosophy, having climbed, as it were into a Tree, do with rash Attempts (unmindful of their Frailty) pry into the Secrets of Divine Mysteries, and are justly plagued with perpetual Inconstancy, and with wavering and perplexed Conceits: For seeing the light of Nature is one thing, and of Grace another; it happens so to them as if they saw two *Suns*. And seeing the Actions of Life, and degrees of the Will to depend on the Understanding, it follows that they doubt, are inconstant no less in Will than in Opinion; and so in like manner they may be said to see two *Thebes*: For by *Thebes* (seeing there was the Habitation and Refuge of *Pentheus*) is meant the end of Actions. Hence it comes to pass that they know not whither they go, but as distracted and unresolved in the Scope of their Intentions, are in all Things carried about with sudden Passions of the Mind.

O R P H E U S, or *Philosophy*.

THE Tale of *Orpheus*, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every Point. It may seem to represent the Image of Philosophy: For the Person of *Orpheus* (a Man Admirable and Divine, and so excellently skilled in all kind of Harmony, that with his sweet ravishing Musick he did as it were charm and allure all Things to follow him) may carry a singular Description of Philosophy: For the Labour

hours of *Orpheus* do so far exceed the Labours of *Hercules* in Dignity and Efficacy, as the Works of Wisdom, excel the Works of Fortitude.

Orpheus for the Love he bare to his Wife, snatcht, as it were, from him by untimely Death, resolv'd to go down to Hell with his Harp, to try if he might obtain her of the Infernal Powers. Neither were his hopes frustrated: For having appeas'd them with the melodious sound of his Voice and Touch, prevail'd at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this Condition, that she should follow him, and he not to look back upon her, till he came to the Light of the upper World; which he (impatient of, out of Love and Care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all Danger) nevertheless violated, insomuch that the Covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into Hell. *Orpheus* falling into a deep Melancholy, became a Contemner of Women-kind, and bequeath'd himself, to a solitary Life in the Desarts; where, by the same Melody of his Voice and Harp, he first drew all manner of wild Beasts unto him, (who forgetful of their Savage fierceness, and casting off the precipitate Provocations of Lust and Fury, not caring to satiate their Voracity by hunting after Prey) as at a Theatre in fawning and reconcil'd Amity one towards another, standing all at the Gaze about him, and attentively lend their Ears to his Musick. Neither is this all; for so great was the Power and alluring Force of this Harmony, that he drew the Woods, and mov'd the very Stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent Fashion about him. These Things succeeding happily, and with great Admiration for a time; at length certain *Thracian* Women (possess'd with the Spirit of *Bacchus*,) made such a horrid and strange Noise with their Cornets, that the sound of *Orpheus's* Harp could no more be heard, insomuch as that Harmony which was the Bond of that Order and Society being dissolved,

dissolved, all Disorder began again; and the Beasts (returning to their wonted Nature) pursued one another unto Death as before: Neither did the Trees or Stones remain any longer in their Places: And *Orpheus* himself was by these Female Furies torn in Pieces, and scattered all over the Desert. For whose cruel Death the River *Helicon* (sacred to the Muses) in horrible Indignation, hid his Head under Ground, and raised it again in another Place.

The meaning of this Fable seems to be thus: *Orpheus's* Musick is of two sorts, the one appeasing the Infernal Powers, the other attracting Beasts and Trees; the first may be fitly applied to Natural Philosophy, the second to Moral or Civil Discipline.

The most noble Work of Natural Philosophy, is the Restitution and Renovation of Things corruptible; the other (as a lesser degree of it) the Preservation of Bodies in their Estates, detaining them from Dissolution and Putrefaction; and if this Gift may be in Mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite Temper of Nature, as by the melody and delicate Touch of an Instrument. But seeing it is of all Things most difficult, it is seldom or never attained unto; and in all likelihood for no other Reason, more than through curious Diligence and untimely Impatience. And therefore Philosophy hardly able to produce so excellent an Effect in a pensive Humour, (and that without cause) busies her self about Humane Objects, and by Persuasion and Eloquence, insinuating the love of Vertue, Equity, and Concord in the Minds of Men; draws Multitudes of People to a Society, makes them subject to Laws, obedient to Government, and forgetful of their unbridled Affections, whilst they give Ear to Precepts, and submit themselves to Discipline; whence follows the building of Houses, erecting of Towns, planting of Fields and Orchards, with Trees and the like, insomuch that it would not be amiss to say, That even thereby Stones and Woods
were

were called together and settled in Order. And after serious Trial made and frustrated about the restoring of a Body Mortal, this care of Civil Affairs follows in his due Place: Because by a plain Demonstration of the un-avoidable necessity of Death, Mens Minds are moved to seek Eternity by the fame and glory of their Merits. It is also wisely said in the Fable, that *Orpheus* was averse from the love of Women and Marriage, because the delights of Wedlock and the love of Children do for the most part hinder Men from enterprising great and noble Designs for the publick Good, holding Posterity a sufficient step to Immortality without Action.

Besides, even the very Works of Wisdom (although amongst all Humane Things they do most excel) do nevertheless meet with their Periods. For it happens that (after Kingdoms and Common-wealths have flourished for a time) even Tumults, and Seditions, and Wars arise; in the midst of which Hurly-burlies, first Laws are silent, Men return to the pravity of their Natures; Fields and Towns are wasted and depopulated; and then (if their Fury continue Learning and Philosophy must needs be dis-membred; so that a few Fragments only, and in some Places will be found like the scattered Boards of Shipwrack, so as a barbarous Age must follow; and the Streams of *Helicon* being hid under the Earth, (until the Vicissitude of Things passing,) they break out again, and appear in some other remote Nation, though not perhaps in the same Climate.

C O E L U M, or *Beginnings.*

WE have it from the Poets by Tradition, that *Cæ-lum* was the Ancientest of the Gods, and that his Members of Generation were cut off by his Son *Saturn*. *Saturn* had many Children, but devoured them as soon as they were Born; *Jupiter* only escap'd who being
come

come to Man's Estate, thrust *Saturn* his Father into Hell, and so usurped the Kingdom. Moreover he pared off his Father's Genitals with the same Faulchion that *Saturn* dismembred *Cælum*, and cast them into the Sea; from whence came *Venus*. Not long after this, (*Jupiter* being scarce settled and confirmed in this Kingdom) was invaded by two memorable Wars. The first of the *Titans*, in the suppressing of which *Sol* (who alone of all the *Titans*, favouring *Jupiter's* side) took exceeding great Pains. The second was of the Giants, whom *Jupiter* himself destroyed with Thunder-bolts: And so all Wars being ended, he Reigned secure.

This Fable seems enigmatically to shew from whence all Things took their Beginning, not much differing from that Opinion of Philosophers, which *Democritus* afterwards laboured to maintain, attributing Eternity to the first Matter, and not to the World. In which he comes somewhat near the truth of Divine Writ, telling us of a huge deformed Mass, before the beginning of the six days Work.

The meaning of the Fable is this: By *Cælum* may be understood that vast Concavity, or vaulted Compass that comprehends all Matter: And by *Saturn* may be meant the Matter it self, which takes from his Parent all power of Generating; for the universality or whole Bulk of Matter always remains the same, neither increasing or diminishing in respect of the quality of its Nature: But by the divers Agitations and Motions of it, were first produced imperfect, and ill agreeing Compositions of Things, making as it were certain Worlds for Proofs or Essays, and so in process of Time a perfect Fabrick or Structure was framed, which should still retain and keep his Form. And therefore the Government of the first Age was shadowed by the Kingdom of *Saturn*, who for the frequent Dissolutions and short Continuances of Things was aptly feigned to devour his Children. The succeeding Government was decyphered by the Reign of *Jupiter*, who confirmed those

those continual Mutations unto *Tartarus*, a Place signifying Perturbation. This Place seems to be all that middle Place between the lower Superficies of Heaven, and the Center of the Earth: In which all Perturbations, and Fragility, and Mortality or Corruption are frequent. During the former Generation of things in the time of *Saturn's* Reign, *Venus* was not Born: For so long as in the universality of Matter, Discord was better and more prevalent than Concord, it was necessary that there should be total Dissolution or Mutation, and that in the whole Fabrick. And by this kind of Generation were Creatures produced before *Saturn* was deprived of his Genitals. When this ceased, that other which wrought by *Venus*, immediately came in, consisting in settled and prevalent Concord of Things, so that Mutation should be only in respect of the Parts, the universal Fabrick remaining whole and inviolate.

Saturn, they say, was deposed and cast down into Hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguish'd, because there was an Opinion that the World should relapse into the old *Chaos* and *interregnum* again, which *Lucretius* prayed might not happen in his Time:

*Quod procul à nobis flectat fortuna gubernans :
Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa.*

Of guiding Providence be gracious,
That this Dooms-day be far remov'd from us ;
And grant, that by us it may be expected,
Rather than on us, in our Times effected.

For afterwards the World should subsist by its own quantity and power. Yet from the beginning there was no rest: For in the Cœlestial Regions there first followed notable Mutations, which by the Power of the *Sun* (predominating over superior Bodies) were so quieted, that the state of the World should be conserved: And afterwards (in inferior Bodies) by the sup-

pressing and dissipating of Inundations, Tempests, Winds, and general Earthquakes, a more peaceable durable Agreement and Tranquility of Things followed. But of this Fable it may convertibly be said, That the Fable contains Philosophy, and Philosophy again the Fable: For we know by Faith, that all these Things are nothing else but the long since ceasing and failing Oracles of Sense, seeing that both the Matter and Fabrick of the World are most truly referred to a Creator.

P R O T E U S, *or Matter.*

THE Poets say that *Proteus* was *Neptune's* Herds-man, a grave Sire, and so excellent a Prophet, that he might well be termed thrice excellent: For he knew not only Things to come, but even Things past as well as present; so that besides his Skill in Divination, he was the Messenger and Interpreter of all Antiquities and hidden Mysteries. The Place of his Abode was a huge vast Cave, where his Custom was every Day at Noon to count his Flock of Sea-calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover he that desired his Advice in any thing, could by no other means obtain it, but by catching him in Manacles, and holding him fast therewith; who nevertheless to be at liberty, would turn himself into all manner of Forms and Wonders of Nature; sometimes into Fire, sometimes into Water, sometimes into the shape of Beasts, and the like; till at length he were restored to his own Form again.

This Fable may seem to unfold the secrets of Nature, and the properties of *Matter*. For under the Person of *Proteus*, the first Matter (which next to God) is the ancientest Thing may be represented: For Matter dwells in the concavity of Heaven, as in a Cave.

He is *Neptune's* Bond-man, because the Operations and Dispensations of Matter are chiefly exercised in liquid Bodies.

His

His Flock or Herd seems to be nothing but the ordinary *Species* of sensible Creatures, Plants and Metals, in which Matter seems to diffuse and as it were spend it self; - so that after the forming and perfecting of these Kinds, (having ended as it were her Task,) she seems to Sleep, and take her Rest, not attempting the Composition of any more *Species*. And this may be the Moral of *Proteus* his counting of his Flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the Morning, nor in the Evening, but at Noon; to wit, at such time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of *Species* out of Matter, duly prepared and predisposed, and in the middle, as it were between their Beginning and Declinations, which we know sufficiently (out of the Holy History) to be done about the time of the Creation: For then by the power of that Divine Word (*Producat,*) Matter at the Creator's Command did congregate it self (not by Ambages or Turnings, but instantly) to the Production of its Work into an Act and Constitution of *Species*. And thus far have we the Narration of *Proteus* (free and unrestrained, together with his Flock compleat :) For the universality of Things, with their ordinary Structures and Compositions of *Species*, bears the Face of Matter, not limited and constrained, and of the Flock also of Material Beings. Nevertheless if any expert Minister of Nature, shall encounter Matter by main force, vexing and urging her with Intent and Purpose to reduce her to nothing; she contrariwise (seeing Annihilation and absolute Destruction cannot be effected by the Omnipotency of God) being thus caught in the straits of Necessity, doth change and turn her self into divers strange Forms and Shapes of Things, so that at length (by fetching a Circuit as it were) she comes to a Period, and (if the force continue) betakes her self to her former Being. The reason of which Constraint or Binding, will be more fa-

cile and expedite, if Matter be laid hold on by Manacles, that is, Extremities.

Now whereas it is feigned that *Proteus* was a Prophet, well skill'd in three differences of Times, it hath an excellent Agreement with the Nature of Matter: for it is necessary that he that will know the Properties and Proceedings of Matter, should comprehend in his Understanding the sum of all things, which have been, which are, or which shall be, although no Knowledge can extend so far as to singular, and individual Beings.

MEMNON, or a Youth too forward.

THE Poets say, that *Memnon* was the Son of *Aurora*, who (adorn'd with beautiful Armour, and animated with popular Applause,) came to the *Trojan War*; where (in rash Boldness; halting unto, and thirsting after Glory,) he enters into single Combat with *Achilles*, the valiantest of all the *Gracians*, by whose powerful Hand he was there slain. But *Jupiter*, pitying his Destruction, sent Birds to modulate certain lamentable and doleful Notes at the Solemnization of his Funeral Obsequies. Whose Statue also (the Sun reflecting on it with his Morning Beams) did usually, as is reported, send forth a mournful Sound.

This Fable may be apply'd to the unfortunate Destinies of hopeful young Men, who like the Sons of *Aurora*, (puffed up with the glittering shew of Vanity, and Ostentation,) attempt Actions above their Strength, and provoke, and press the most valiant *Heroes* to combat with them; so that (meeting with their overmatch) they are vanquish'd, and destroy'd: whose untimely Death is oft accompanied with much Pity and Commiseration. For among all the Disasters that can happen to Mortals, there is none so lamentable,
and

and so powerful to move Compassion, as the flower of Virtue cropt with too sudden a Mischance. Neither hath it been often known that Men in their green Years become so loathsome, and odious, as that at their Deaths either Sorrow is stinted, or Commiseration moderated; but that Lamentation and Mourning do not only flutter about their Obsequies, like those Funeral Birds; but this pitiful Commiseration doth continue for a long space, and especially by Occasions, and new Motions, and beginning of great Matters, as it were by the Morning-Rays of the *Sun*, their Passions and Desires are renew'd.

TITHONUS, or Satiety.

IT is elegantly feigned, that *Titonus* was the Paramour of *Aurora*, who (desirous to enjoy his Company) petition'd *Jupiter* that he might never die; but (through Womanish oversight) forgetting to insert this Clause in her Petition, that he might not withal grow old, and feeble; it follow'd that he was only freed from the condition of Mortality; but for old Age, that came upon him in a marvelous, and miserable fashion, agreeable to the state of those who cannot die, yet every Day grow weaker and weaker with Age: Infomuch that *Jupiter* (in commiseration of that his Misery,) did at length metamorphose him into a Grass-hopper.

This Fable seems to be an ingenious Character, or Description of Pleasure, which in the beginning, and as it were, in the Morning, seems to be pleasant and delightful, that Men desire they might enjoy, and monopolize it for ever unto themselves, unmindful of that Satiety, and Loathing, which (like old Age,) will come upon them before they be aware. And so at last, (when the use of Pleasure leaves Men, the Desire

and Affection not yet yielding unto Death,) it comes to pass that Men please themselves only by talking, and commemorating those things which brought Pleasure unto them in the flower of their Age, which may be observ'd in libidinous Persons, and also in Men of Military Professions; the one delighting in beastly Talk, the other boasting of their valorous Deeds, like Grass-hoppers, whose Vigour consists only in their Voice.

JUNO'S SUITOR, or *Baseness.*

THE Poets say, that *Jupiter*, to enjoy his lustful Delights, took upon him the shape of sundry Creatures, as of a Bull, of an Eagle, of a Swan, and of a Golden Shower; but being a Suitor to *Juno*, he came in a Form most ignoble and base, an Object full of Contempt and Scorn, resembling indeed a miserable *Cuckow* weather-beaten with Rain and Tempest, numb'd, quaking, and half dead with Cold.

This Fable is wise, and seems to be taken out of the Bowels of Morality; the Sense of it being this, That Men boast not too much of themselves, thinking by Ostentation of their own Worth, to insinuate themselves into Estimation and Favour with Men. The Success of such Intentions being for the most part measur'd by the Nature and Disposition of those to whom Men sue for Grace; who, if of themselves they be endow'd with no Gifts and Ornaments of Nature, but are only of haughty and malignant Spirits, (intimated by the Person of *Juno*,) then are Suitors to know that it is good Policy to omit all kind of Appearance that may any way shew their own least Praise or Worth, and that they much deceive themselves in taking any other Course. Neither is it enough to shew Deformity
in

in Obsequiousness, unless they also appear even abject and base in their very Persons.

CUPID, or an Atom.

THAT which the Poets say of *Cupid*, or *Love*, cannot properly be attributed to one and the self same Person; and yet the Difference is such, that (by rejecting the Confusion of Persons,) the Similitude may be receiv'd.

They say, that *Love* is the ancientest of all the Gods, and of all things else, except *Chaos*, which they hold to be a Contemporary with it. Now as touching *Chaos*, that by the Ancients was never dignified with Divine Honour, or with the Title of the God. And as for *Love*, they absolutely bring him in without a Father; only some are of opinion, that he came of an Egg that was laid by *Nox*, and that on *Chaos* he begat the God, and all things else. There are four things attributed to him, perpetual Infancy, Blindness, Nakedness, and Archery. There was also another *Love*, which was the youngest of the Gods, and he, they say, was the Son of *Venus*. On this also they bestow the Attributes of the elder *Love*, as in some sort we'll apply unto him.

This Fable tends, and looks to the Cradle of *Nature*, *Love* seeming to be the Appetite or Desire of the first Matter, or (to speak more plain) the natural motion of the *Atom*, which is that Ancient and only Power that Forms and Fashions all things out of Matter, of which there is no Parent, that is to say, no Cause, seeing every Cause is as a Parent to its Effect. Of this Power or Virtue there can be no Cause in Nature (as for *God*, we always except him,) for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient Cause of it. Neither was there any thing better known to Nature, and therefore nei-

ther *Genus* nor *Form*. Wherefore whatsoever it is, positive it is, and but inexpressible. Moreover, if the manner and proceeding of it were to be conceiv'd, yet could it not be by any Cause, seeing that (next unto God,) it is the Cause of Causes, it self only without any Cause. And perchance there is no likelihood that the manner of it may be contain'd or comprehended within the narrow compass of humane Search. Not without reason therefore it is feign'd to come of an Egg which was laid by *Nox*. Certainly the Divine Philosopher grants so much.

Eccl. 3. 11. *Cuncta fecit tempestatibus suis pulchra, & mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniatur homo opus, quod operatus est Deus à principio ad finem.* That is, he hath made every thing beautiful in their Seasons; also he hath set the World in their Meditations; yet Man cannot find the Work that God hath wrought, from the Beginning even to the End: For the principal Law of Nature, or Power of this Desire, created (by God,) in these parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together, (from whose Repetitions and Multiplications all Variety of Creatures proceeded, and were compos'd,) may dazzle the Eyes of Men's Understandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The *Greek* Philosophers are observ'd to be very acute and diligent in searching out the material Principles of things; but in the beginnings of Motion (wherein consists all the efficacy of Operation,) they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they seem to be altogether blind, and stammering; for the Opinion of the *Peripateticks* concerning the appetite of Matter, caus'd by Privation, is in a manner nothing else but Words, which rather sound, than signify any Reality. And those that refer it unto God, do very well; but then they leap up, they ascend not by degrees; for doubtless there is one chief Law subordinate to God, in which all natural things concur and meet, the same that in the fore-cited Scripture is demonstrated in these
Words,

Words, *Opus quod operatus est Deus à principio usque ad finem*; the Work that God hath wrought from the Beginning even to the End. But *Democritus*, which entered more deeply into the Consideration of this Point, after he had conceiv'd an *Atom*, with some small Dimension and Form, he attributed unto it one only Desire, or first Motion, simply, or absolutely, and another comparatively, or in respect; for he thought that all things did properly tend to the Center of the World, whereof those Bodies which were more material, descend with swifter Motion, and those that had less Matter, did, on the contrary, tend upward. But this Meditation was very shallow, containing less than was expedient; for neither the turning of the Celestial Bodies in a round, nor shutting and opening of things, may seem to be reduc'd or apply'd to this Beginning. And as for that opinion of *Epicurus*, concerning the casual Declination and Agitation of the *Atom*, it is but a mere Toy, and a plain Evidence, that he was ignorant of that Point. It is therefore more apparent (than we could wish,) that this *Cupid*, or Love, remains as yet clouded under the shades of *Night*. Now as concerning his Attributes, He is elegantly describ'd with perpetual Infancy, or Childhood; because compound Bodies they seem greater, and more stricken in Years: Whereas the first Seeds of things, or *Atoms*, they are little, and diminute, and also in their Infancy.

He is also well feign'd to be naked, because all compound Bodies, to a Man rightly judging, seem to be apparell'd and cloath'd, and nothing to be properly naked but the first Particles of things.

Concerning his Blindness, the Allegory is full of Wisdom; for this *Love*, or Desire (whatsoever it be) seems to have but little Providence, as directing his Pace and Motion by that which it perceives nearest; not unlike blind Men that go by feeling: More admirable then, must that chief divine Providence be, which (from things empty and destitute of Providence, and

as it were blind,) by a constant and fatal Law, produceth so excellent an Order and Beauty of Things.

The last thing which is attributed to *Love*, is *Archery*; by which is meant, that his Virtue is such, as that it works upon a distant Object; because that whatsoever operates afar off, seems to shoot, as it were, an Arrow. Wherefore whosoever holds the Being both of *Atoms* and *Vacuity*, must needs infer, that the Virtue of the *Atom* reacheth to a distant Object: for if it were not so, there could be no Motion at all, by reason of the interposition of *Vacuity*; but all things would stand stone still, and remain immoveable.

Now as touching that other *Cupid* or *Love*, he may well be term'd the youngest of the Gods, because he could have no Being before the Constitution of *Species*. And in his Description the Allegory may be apply'd and traduc'd to Manners: Nevertheless he holds some kind of Conformity with the Elder; for *Venus* doth generally stir up a desire of Conjunction and Procreation, and *Cupid* her Son doth apply this Desire to some individual Nature; so that the general Disposition comes from *Venus*, the more exact Sympathy from *Cupid*: the one deriv'd from Causes more near, the other from Beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder *Cupid*, of whom every exquisite Sympathy doth depend.

DIOMEDES, or Zeal.

DIOMEDES flourishing with great Fame and Glory in the *Trojan Wars*, and in high Favour with *Pallas*, was by her instigated (being indeed forwarder than he should have been) not to forbear *Venus* a jot, if he encountred with her in Fight; which very boldly he perform'd, wounding her in the right Arm. This presumptuous Fact he carry'd clear for a while;

while, and being honour'd and renown'd for his many heroick Deeds, at last return'd into his own Country, where finding himself hard bestead with domestick Troubles, fled into *Italy*, betaking himself to the Protection of Foreigners, where in the beginning he was fortunate and royally entertain'd by King *Dannus* with sumptuous Gifts, raising many Statues in honour of him throughout his Dominions. But upon the very first Calamity that hapned unto this Nation, whereunto he was fled for Succour, King *Dannus* enters into a conceit with himself that he had entertain'd a wicked Guest into his Family, and a Man odious to the Goddesses, and an Impugner of their Divinity, that had dared, with his Sword, to assault and wound that Goddesses, who in their Religion, they held it Sacrilege so much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his Country's Guilt, (nothing respecting the Duties of Hospitality, when the Bonds of Religion tied him with a more reverend regard) suddenly slew *Diomedes*, commanding withal that his Trophies and Statues should be abolish'd and destroy'd. Neither was it safe to lament this miserable Destiny; but even his Companions in Arms, whilst they mourned at the Funeral of their Captain, and fill'd all the Places with Complaints and Lamentations, were suddenly metamorphos'd into Birds like unto Swans, who, when their Death approacheth, sing melodious and mournful Hymns.

This Fable hath a most rare and singular Subject: For in any of the Poetical Records, wherein the *Heroes* are mention'd, we find not that any one of them, besides *Diomedes*, did ever with his Sword offer Violence to any of the *Deities*. And indeed, the Fable seems in him to represent the Nature and Fortune of Man, who of himself doth propound, and make this as the end of all his Actions, to worship some Divine Power, or to follow some Sect of Religion, though never so vain and superstitious, and with Force and Arms to defend the

the same: For although those bloody Quarrels for Religion were unknown to the Ancients, (the Heathen Gods not having so much as a touch of that Jealousie, which is an Attribute of the true God,) yet the Wisdom of the Antient Times seems to be so copious and full, as that, what was not known by Experience, was yet comprehended by Meditations and Fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any Sect of Religion, (though vain, corrupt, and infamous, shadowed by the Person of *Venus*,) not by the force of Argument and Doctrin, and Holiness of Life, and by the weight of Examples and Authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by Fire and Sword, and Tortures, are encourag'd, it may be, thereunto by *Pallas*; that is, by the Acrity of *Prudence*, and Severity of Judgment, by whose Vigour and Efficacy, they see into the Falsity and Vanity of these Errors: And by this their hatred of Pravity, and good zeal to Religion, they purchase to themselves great Glory, and by the Vulgar (to whom nothing moderate can be grateful) are esteem'd and honour'd as the only Supporters of Truth and Religion, when others seem to be luke-warm and full of Fear. Yet this Glory and Happiness doth seldom endure to the end, seeing every violent Prosperity, if it prevent not alteration by an untimely Death grows to be unprosperous at last: For if it happen that by a change of Government, this banish'd and depress'd Sect get Strength, and so bear up again, then these zealous Men, so fierce in opposition before, are condemn'd, their very Names are hateful, and all their Glory ends in Obloquy.

In that *Diomedes* is said to be murther'd by his Host, it gives us to understand that the difference of Religion breeds Deceit and Treachery, even among nearest Acquaintance.

Now in that Lamentation and Mourning was not tolerable but punish'd; it puts us in miud, that let there be never so nefarious an Act done, yet there is some

some place left for Commiseration and Pity, that even those that hate Offences, should yet in Humanity commiserate Offenders, and pity their Distress, it being the Extremity of Evil when Mercy is not suffer'd to have Commerce with Misery. Yea, even in the Cause as well of Religion as Impiety, many Men may be noted and observ'd to have been compassionate. But on the contrary the Complaints and Moans of *Diomedes's* Followers, that is, of Men of the same Sect and Opinion, are wont to be shrill and loud, like Swans or the Birds of *Diomedes*. In whom also that part of the Allegory is excellent to signify that the last Words of those that suffer Death for Religion, like the Songs of dying Swans, do wonderfully work upon the Minds of Men, and strike and remain a long time in their Senses and Memories.

DÆDALUS, or Mechanick.

Mechanical Wisdom and Industry, and in it unlawful Science perverted to wrong ends is shadowed by the Ancients under the Person of *Dædalus*, a Man ingenious, but execrable. This *Dædalus* (for murdering his Fellow-servant that emulated him) being banish'd, was kindly entertain'd (during his Exile) in many Cities and Princes Courts: For indeed he was the Raifer and Builder of many goodly Structures, as well in Honour of the Gods, as the Beauty and Magnificence of Cities, and other publick Places, but for his Works of Mischief he is most notorious. It is he that fram'd the Engine which *Pasiphae* us'd to satisfy her Lust in company with a Bull; so that by his wretched Industry, and pernicious Device, that Monster *Minotaur* (the Destruction of so many hopeful Youths) took his accursed and infamous Beginning, and studying to cover and increase one Mischief

chief with another; for the Security and Preservation of this Monster he invented and built a Labyrinth, a Work for intent and use most nefarious and wicked, for Skill and Workmanship famous and excellent. Afterwards, that he might not be noted only for Works of Mischief, but be sought after as well for Remedies, as for Instruments of Destruction, he was the Author of that ingenious Device concerning the Clew of Thread, by which the Labyrinth was made passable without any let. This *Dadalus* was persecuted by *Minos* with great Severity, Diligence, and Inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and escape his Tyranny. Lastly, he taught his Son *Icarus* to fly; but the Novice, in Ostentation of this Art, soaring too high, fell into the Sea and was drowned.

The Parable seems to be thus: In the beginning of it may be noted that kind of Envy or Emulation that lodgeth, and wonderfully sways and domineers amongst excellent Artificers, there being no kind of People more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly Hatred than they.

The Banishment also of *Dadalus* (a Punishment inflicted on him against the Rules of Policy and Providence) is worth the noting: For Artificers have this Prerogative to find entertainment and welcome in all Countries, so that Exile to an excellent Workman can hardly be term'd a Punishment, whereas other Conditions and States of Life can scarce live out of their own Country. The Admiration of Artificers is propagated and increas'd in foreign and strange Nations, seeing it is a natural and unbred Disposition of Men to value their own Country-men (in respect of Mechanical Works) less than Strangers.

Concerning the use of Mechanical Arts, that which follows is plain. The Life of Man is much beholden to them, seeing many things (conducing to the Ornament of Religion, to the Grace of Civil Discipline, and to the beautifying of all Humane Kind) are extracted

tracted out of their Treasuries: And yet notwithstanding from the same *Magazine* or Store-house are produced Instruments both of Lust and Death; for to omit the Wiles of Bands, we will know how far exquisite Poysons, Warlike Engines, and such like Mischiefs (the effects of Mechanical Inventions) do exceed the *Minotaur* himself in Malignity and savage Cruelty.

Moreover that of the *Labyrinth* is an excellent Allegory, whereby is shadow'd the Nature of Mechanical Sciences; for all such handycraft Works as are more ingenious and accurate, may be compar'd to a Labyrinth in respect of Subtilty and divers intricate Passages, and in other plain Resemblances, which by the Eye of Judgment can hardly be guided and discerned, but only by the Line of Experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which invented the intricate Nooks of the Labyrinth, did also shew the Commodity of the Clew: For Mechanical Arts are of ambiguous use, serving as well for hurt as for Remedy, and they have in a manner Power both to loose and bind themselves.

Unlawful Trades, and so by consequence, Arts themselves are often persecuted by *Minos*, that is, by Laws, which do condemn them, and prohibit Men to use them. Nevertheless they are hid and retain'd every where, finding lurking Holes and places of Receipt, which was well observ'd by *Tacitus* of the Mathematicians and Figure-fingers of his time, in a thing not so much unlike; *Genus Hominum quod in Civitate nostras semper & retinebitur & vetabitur*. There is a kind of Men that will always abide in our City, though always forbidden. And yet notwithstanding unlawful and curious Arts of what kind soever, in tract of time, when they cannot perform what they promise, do fall from the good Opinion that was held of them, (no otherwise than *Icarus* fell down from the Skies,) they grow to be contemned and scorned, and so perish by too much Ostentation. And to say the Truth, they

they are not so happily restrain'd by the Reins of Law,
as bewray'd by their own Vanity.

ERICTHONIUS, or Imposture.

THE Poets fable that *Vulcan* solicited *Minerva* for her Virginity, and impatient of denial, with an intam'd Desire offer'd her Violence, but in struggling his Seed fell upon the Ground, whereof came *Eriethonius*, whose Body from the middle upward, was of a comely and apt Proportion, but his Thighs and Legs like the Tail of an Eel, small and deform'd. To which Monstrosity he being conscious, became the first Inventor of the use of Chariots, whereby that part of his Body which was well proportioned might be seen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This strange and prodigious Fiction may seem to shew that Art which (for the great use it hath of Fire) is shadow'd by *Vulcan*, although it labour by much striving with corporeal Substances to force Nature, and to make her subject to it, (she being for her industrious Works rightly represented by *Minerva*;) yet seldom or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great Pains (wrestling as it were with her) comes short of its Purpose, and produceth certain imperfect Births and lame Works, fair to the Eye, but weak and defective in use, which many Impostors (with much Subtilty and Deceit) set to view, and carry about, as it were in Triumph, as may for the most part be noted in Chymical Productions, and other Mechanical Subtilties and Novelties, especially when (rather Persecuting their Intent, than reclining their Errors) they rather strive to overcome Nature by force, than sue for her Embracements by due Obsequiousness and Observance.

DEUCALION,

DEUCALION, or Reftitution.

THE Poets fay, that (the People of the Old World being destroy'd by a general Deluge) *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* were only left alive; who praying with fervent and zealous Devotion, that they might know by what means to repair Mankind, had answer from an Oracle that they should obtain what they desir'd, if taking the Bones of their Mother they cast them behind their Backs; which at first struck them with great Amazement and Despair, seeing (all things being defac'd by the Flood) it would be an endless work to find their Mother's Sepulchre, but at length they understood that by Bones the Stones of the Earth (seeing the Earth was the Mother of all things) were signified by the Oracle.

This Fable seems to reveal a secret of Nature, and to correct an Error familiar to Men's Conceits: For through want of Knowledge Men think that things may take Renovation and Restauration from their Putrefaction and Dregs, no otherwise than the *Phoenix* from the Ashes, which in no case can be admitted, seeing such kind of Materials, when they have fulfill'd, their Periods, are unapt for the beginnings of such things: We must therefore look back to more common Principles.

NEMESIS, or the Vicissitude of things.

N*EMESIS* is said to be a Goddess Venerable unto all, but to be fear'd of none but Potentates and Fortune's Favourites. She is thought to be the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Nax*. She is pourtraicted with Wings on her Shoulders, and on her Head a Coronet; bear-

ing in her Right Hand a Javelin of *Ash*, and in her Left a Pitcher with the Similitudes of *Aethiopians* engraven on it; and lastly, she is describ'd sitting on an Hart.

The Parable may be thus unfolded. Her Name *Nemesis* doth plainly signifie Revenge or Retribution, her Office and Administration being (like a Tribune of the People) to hinder the constant and perpetual Felicity of happy Men, and to interpose her Word, *veto*, I forbid the Continuance of it; that is, not only to chastise Insolency, but to intermix Prosperity (though harmless and in a mean) with the Vicissitudes of Adversity, as if it were a Custom, that no mortal Man should be admitted to the Table of the Gods but for Sport. Truly when I read that Chapter, wherein *Caius Plinius* hath collected his Misfortunes and Miseries of *Augustus Caesar*, whom of all Men I thought the most Happy, who had also a kind of Art to use and enjoy his Fortune, and in whose Mind might be noted neither Pride, nor Lightness, nor Niceness, nor Disorder, nor Melancholy, (as that he had appointed a time to die of his own accord,) I then deem'd this Goddess to be great and powerful, to whose Altar so worthy a Sacrifice as this was drawn.

The Parents of this Goddess were *Oceanus* and *Nox*, that is, the Vicissitude of things and Divine Judgment obscure and secret: For the Alteration of things are aptly represented by the Sea, in respect of the continual Ebbing and flowing of it, and hidden Providence is well set forth by the Night: For even the Nocturnal *Nemesis* (seeing Humane Judgment differs much from Divine) was seriously observ'd by the Heathen.

Virgil *Æneid.* lib. 2.

—*Cadit & Ripheus justissimus unus,*
Qui fuit ex Teucriis, & servantissimus equi.
Dis aliter visum——

. That

That Day, by *Greekish* Force, was *Ripheus* slain
So just and strict Observer of the Law,
As *Troy* within her Walls, did not contain
A better Man: Yet God then good it saw.

She is describ'd with Wings, because the Changes of things are so sudden, as that they are seen before foreseen: For in the Records of all Ages, who find it for the most part true, that great Potentates, and wise Men, have perish'd by those Misfortunes which they most contemn'd; as may be observ'd in *Marcus Cicero*, who being admonish'd by *Decius Brutus* of *Octavius Caesar's* hypocritical Friendship and Hollow-heartedness towards him, returns him this Answer, *Te autem, mi Brute, sicut debeo, amo, quod istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluisti*: I must ever acknowledge my self (Dear *Brutus*) beholden to thee, in Love, for that thou hast been so careful to acquaint me with that which I esteem but as a needless Trifle to be doubted.

Nemesis is also adorn'd with a Coronet, to shew the envious and malignant Disposition of the Vulgar, for when Fortune's Favourites and great Potentates come to ruin, then do the common People rejoyce, setting, as it were, a Crown upon the Head of Revenge.

The Javelin in her right Hand points at those whom she actually strikes and pierceth through.

And before those, whom she destroys not in their Calamity and Misfortune, she ever presents that black and dismal Spectacle in her left Hand: For questionless to Men sitting as it were upon the Pinnacle of Prosperity, the thoughts of Death and painfulness of Sickness and Misfortunes, perfidiousness of Friends, treachery of Foes, change of Estate, and such like, seem as ugly to the Eye of their Meditations, as those *Aethiopians* pictur'd in *Nemesis* her Pitcher. *Virgil* in describing the Battle of *Actium*, speaks thus elegantly of *Cleopatra*.

*Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina fistro,
Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues.*

The Queen amid't this hurly-burly stands,
And with her Countrey-Timbrel calls her Bands ;
Not spying yet, where crawl'd behind her Back,
Two deadly Snakes with Venom speckled black.

But not long after, which way soever she turned,
Troops of *Aethiopians* were still before her Eyes.

Lastly, It is wisely added, That *Nemesis* rides upon
an Hart, because a Hart is a most lively Creature.
And albeit, it may be, that such as are cut off by
Death in their Youth, prevent and shun the Power of
Nemesis; yet doubtless such, whose Prosperity and Pow-
er continue long, are made subject unto her, and lie as
it were trodden under her Feet.

ACHELOUS, or, Battle.

IT is a Fable of Antiquity, that when *Hercules* and
Achelous as Rivals contended for the Marriage of
Deianira, the matter drew them to Combate, wherein
Achelous took upon him many divers shapes, for so was
it in his Power to do, and amongst others, transfor-
ming himself into the likeness of a furious wild Bull,
assaults *Hercules* and provokes him to fight. But *Hercu-
les*, for all this, sticking to his old Humane Form, cou-
rageously encounters him, and so the Combât goes
roundly on. But this was the event, That *Hercules*
tore away one of the Bull's Horns, wherewith he be-
ing mightily daunted and grieved, to ransom his Horn
again, was contented to give *Hercules*, in exchange
thereof, the *Amalthean-Horn*, or *Cornu-Copia*.

This

This Fable hath relation unto the Expeditions of War, for the Preparations thereof on the defensive part (which exprest in the Person of *Achelous*) is very diverse and uncertain. But the invading Party is most commonly of one sort, and that very single, consisting of an Army by Land, or perhaps of a Navy by Sea. But for a King that in his own Territory expects an Enemy, his occasions are infinite. He fortifies Towns, he assembles Men out of the Countries and Villages, he raiseth Citadels, he builds and breaks down Bridges, he disposeth Garrisons, and placeth Troops of Soldiers on Passages of Rivers, on Ports, on Mountains, and Ambushes in Woods, and is busied with a multitude of other Directions, insomuch, that every day he prescribeth new Forms and Orders; and then at last having accommodated all things compleat for Defence, he then rightly represents the form and manner of a fierce fighting Bull. On the other side, the Invader his greatest care is, the fear to be distressed for Victuals in an Enemy-Country; and therefore affects chiefly to hasten on Battle: For if it should happen, that after a Field-fight, he prove the Victor, and as it were, break the Horn of the Enemy, then certainly this follows, that his Enemy being stricken with Terror, and abased in his Reputation, presently bewrays his weakness, and seeking to repair his loss, retires himself to some strong hold, abandoning to the Conqueror the spoil and sack of his Country and Cities: Which may well be termed a Type of the *Amalthean* Horn.

DIONYSUS, or Passions.

THEY say that *Semele*, *Jupiter's* Sweet-heart, (having bound her Paramour, by an irrevocable Oath, to grant her one Request which she would require) desired that he would accompany her in the

same form wherein he accompanied *Juno*: Which he granting (as not able to deny) it came to pass, that the miserable Wench was burnt with Lightning. But the Infant which she bare in her Womb, *Jupiter*, the Father, took out, and kept it in a Gash which he cut in his Thigh, till the Months were compleat that it should be born. This burthen made *Jupiter* somewhat to limp, whereupon the Child (because it was heavy and troublesome to its Father while it lay in his Thigh) was called *Dionysus*. Being born, it was committed to *Proserpina* for some Years to be Nurst, and being grown up, it had such a maiden Face, as that a Man could hardly judge whether it were a Boy or Girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterward revived: Being but a Youth, he invented and taught the planting and dressing of Vines, the making also, and use of Wine; for, which becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the World, even to the uttermost bounds of *India*. He rode in a Chariot drawn with Tygers. There danced about him certain deformed Hobgoblins called *Cobali*. *Acratus* and others, yea, even the Muses also were some of his Followers. He took to Wife *Ariadne*, forsaken and left by *Theseus*. The Tree sacred unto him was the *Ivy*. He was held the Inventor and Institutor of Sacrifices and Ceremonies, and full of Corruption and Cruelty. He had power to strike Men with Fury and Madness; for it is reported, That at the celebration of his Orgies, two famous Worthies, *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, were torn in Pieces by certain frantick Women, the one because he got upon a Tree to behold their Ceremonies in these Sacrifices; the other for making melody with his Harp: And for his Gods, they are in a manner the same with *Jupiter's*.

There is such excellent morality coucht in this Fable, as that moral Philosophy affords not better; for under the Person of *Bacchus* is described the nature of Affection, Passion or Perturbation, the Mother of which (though never so hurtful) is nothing else but the Ob-

ject of apparent good in the Eyes of Appetite. And it is always conceived in an unlawful desire, rashly pronounced and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when it begins to grow, the Mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth. Nevertheless (whilst yet it is an imperfect *Embrio*) it is nourished and preserved in the Humane Soul (which is as it were a Father unto it, and represented by *Jupiter*) but especially in the inferior part thereof, as in a Thigh; where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindred and lamed thereby; and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks out as it were into act, it remains yet a while with *Proserpina*, as with a Nurse, that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and as it were, Caves under Ground, until (the Reins of Shame and Fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousness) it either takes the pretext of some Vertue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement Passion is of a doubtful Sex, as being Masculine in the first Motion, but Feminine in Prosecution.

It is an excellent Fiction that of *Bacchus's* reviving; for Passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead Sleep, and as it were utterly extinct, but we should not think them to be so indeed; no, though they lay, as it were, in their Grave; for let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of Wine is wittily ascribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings Nourishment unto it; and indeed, of all things known to Men, Wine is most powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle Passions of what kind soever, as being in a manner common Nurse to them all.

Again, his conquering of Nations, and undertaking infinite Expeditions is an elegant device; for Desire never rests content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unsatiabable Appetite still covets and gapes after more.

His Chariot also is well said to be drawn by Tygers; for as soon as any affection shall from going a-foot, be advanced to ride in a Chariot, and shall captivate Reason, and lead her in a Triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that those ridiculous Hobgoblins are brought in dancing about his Chariot; for every Passion doth cause in the Eyes, Face and Gesture, certain undecent, and ill-seeming, apish, and deformed Motions; so that they who in any kind of Passion, as in anger, arrogancy, or love, seem glorious and brave in their own Eyes, do yet appear to others mishapen and ridiculous.

In that the Muses are said to be of his company, it shews that there is no affection almost which is not soothed by some Art, wherein the indulgence of Wits doth derogate from the glory of the Muses, who (when they ought to be the Mistress of Life) are made the Waiting-maids of Affections.

Again, where *Bacchus* is said to have loved *Ariadne*, that was rejected by *Theseus*; it is an Allegory of special observation; for it is most certain, that Passions, always covet and desire that which Experience forsakes; and they all know (who have paid dear for serving and obeying their Lust) that whether it be Honour, or Riches, or Delight, or Glory, or Knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers Men, in all ages after experience had utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a Mystery, that the *Ivy* was sacred to *Bacchus*; for the Application holds, First, In that the *Ivy* remains green in Winter. Secondly, In that

that it sticks to, embraceth and overtoppeth so many divers Bodies, as Trees, Walls and Edifices. Touching the first, every Passion doth by resistance and reluctance, and as it were by *Antiperistasis* (like the *Ivy* of the cold Winter) grow fresh and lusty. And as for the other, every predominate Affection doth again (like the *Ivy*) embrace and limit all Humane Actions and Determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that superstitious Rites and Ceremonies were attributed unto *Bacchus*, seeing every giddy-headed humour keeps in a manner Revel-rout in false Religions; or that the cause of Madnes should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection is by Nature a short fury, which (if it grows vehement, and become habitual) concludes in Madnes.

Concerning the rending and dismembing of *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, the Parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and severe, and against curious inquiry, and wholsome and free admonition.

Lastly, That by confusion of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, their Persons may be well transferred to a Parable, seeing noble and famous Acts, and remarkable and glorious Merits, do sometimes proceed from Vertue, and well ordered Reason and Magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret Affection, and hidden Passion, which are so dignified with the celebrity of Fame and Glory, that a Man can hardly distinguish between the Acts of *Bacchus*, and the Gests of *Jupiter*.

ATALANTA, or Gain.

A *TALANTA*, who was reputed to excel in swiftness, would needs challenge *Hippomenes* at a match in Running. The Conditions of the Prize were these:

these: That if *Hippomenes* won the Race, he should espouse *Atalanta*; if he were out-run, that then he should forfeit his Life. And in the Opinion of all, the victory was thought assured of *Atalanta's* side, being famous, as she was, for her matchless and unconquerable speed, whereby she had been the bane of many. *Hippomenes* therefore bethinks him how to deceive her by a Trick, and in that regard provides three Golden Apples or Balls, which he purposely carried about him. The Race is begun, and *Atalanta* gets a good start before him. He seeing himself thus cast behind, being mindful of his device, throws one of his Golden Balls before her, and yet not outright, but somewhat of the one side, both to make her linger and also to draw her out of the right course: She, out of a Womanish desire, (being thus enticed with the Beauty of the Golden Apple) leaving her direct Race runs aside, and stoops to catch the Ball, *Hippomenes* the while holds on his course, getting thereby a great start, and leaves her behind him: But she by her own natural swiftness, recovers her lost time, and gets before him again. But *Hippomenes* still continues his flight, and both the second and third times cast out his Balls, those enticing delays; and so by craft, and not by his activity, wins the Race and Victory.

This Fable seems Allegorically to demonstrate a notable conflict between Art and Nature; for Art (signified by *Atalanta*) in its work (if it be not letted and hindred) is far more swift than Nature, more speedy in pace, and sooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifest almost in every effect: As you may see it in Fruit-trees, whereof those that grow of a Kernel are long ere they bear, but such as are grafted on a Stock a great deal sooner. You may see it in Clay, which in the generation of Stones, is long ere it become hard; but in the burning of Bricks, is very quickly effected. Also in Moral Passages you may observe, that it is a long time ere (by the benefit of
Nature)

Nature) sorrow can be asswaged, and comfort attained; whereas Philosophy (which is, as it were, Art of Living) carries not the leisure of time, but doth it instantly, and out of hand; and yet this Prerogative and singular agility of Art is hindered by certain Golden Apples to the infinite prejudice of Humane proceedings: For there is not any one *Art* or *Science* which constantly perseveres in a true and lawful course, till it comes to the proposed End or Mark; but ever and anon makes stops after good beginnings, leaves the Race, and turns aside to Profit and Commodity, like *Atalanta*.

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Who doth her course forsake,
The Rolling Gold to take.

And therefore it is no wonder that Art hath not the Power to conquer Nature, and by Pact or Law of Conquest, to kill and destroy her; but on the contrary it falls out, that Art becomes subject to Nature, and yields the Obedience, as a Wife the Husband.

PROMETHEUS, or the Statue of Man.

THE Ancients deliver, that *Prometheus* made a Man of Clay, mixt with certain parcels taken from divers Animals, who studying to maintain this his Work by Art, (that he might not be accounted a founder only, but Propagator of Humane kind) stole up to Heaven with a bundle of Twigs, which he kindled at the Chariot of the Sun, came down again, and communicated it with Men: And yet they say, (That notwithstanding this excellent work of his,) he was requited with Ingratitude, in a treacherous Conspiracy:

cy: For they accused both him and his Invention to *Jupiter*, which was not so taken as was meet it should, for the Information was pleasing to *Jupiter* and all the Gods. And therefore in a merry Mood, granted unto Men, not only the use of Fire, but perpetual youth also, a Boon most acceptable and desirable. They being, as it were, over-joyed, did foolishly lay this Gift of the Gods upon the back of an *Afs*, who being wonderfully oppress'd with Thirst, and near a Fountain, was told by a Serpent (which had the custody thereof) that he should not drink, unless he would promise to give him the Burthen that was on his Back. The silly *Afs* accepted the condition, and so the restauration of Youth (sold for a draught of Water) pass'd from Men to Serpents. But *Prometheus* full of Malice, being reconciled unto Men, after they were frustrated of their Gift, but in a Chafe yet with *Jupiter*, feared not to use deceit in Sacrifice: For having killed two Bulls, and in one of their Hides wrapp'd up the Flesh and Fat of them both, and in the other only the Bones, with a great shew of Religious Devotion, gave *Jupiter* his choice, who (detesting his Fraud and Hypocrisie, but taking an occasion of Revenge) chose that which was stopp'd with Bones, and so turning to Revenge (when he saw that the Insolency of *Prometheus* would not be represented, but by laying some grievous Affliction upon Mankind, in the forming of which he so much bragged and boasted) commanded *Vulcan* to frame a goodly beautiful Woman, which being done, every one of the Gods bestowed a Gift on her; whereupon she was called *Pandora*. To this Woman they gave, in her hand, a goodly Box full of all Miseries and Calamities, only in the bottom of it they put *Hope*; with this Box she comes first to *Prometheus*, thinking to catch him, if peradventure he should accept it at her hands, and so open it: which he nevertheless, with good Providence and Foresight refused. Whereupon she goes to *Epimetheus* (who
though

though Brother to *Prometheus*, yet was of a much differing Disposition) and offers this Box unto him, who without delay took it, and rashly opened it; but when he saw that all kind of Miseries came fluttering about his Ears, being wise too late, with great speed and earnest endeavour clapt on the Cover, and so with much ado retained *Hope* sitting alone in the bottom; at last *Jupiter* laying many and grievous Crimes to *Prometheus's* charge (as that he had stoln Fire from Heaven, that in contempt of his Majesty, he sacrificed a Bull's Hide stuff'd with Bones, that he scornfully rejected his Gift, and besides all this that he offered violence to *Pallas*) cast him into Chains, and doom'd him to perpetual Torment: And by *Jupiter's* Command, was brought to the Mountain *Caucasus*, and there bound fast to a Pillar that he could not stir; there came an Eagle also, that every day sat tyring upon his Liver and wasted it, but as much as was eaten in the day, grew again in the Night, that Matter for Torment to work upon might never decay. But yet they say there was an end of this Punishment. For *Hercules* crossing the Ocean in a Cup, which the Sun gave him, came to *Caucasus*, and set *Prometheus* at liberty, by shooting the Eagle with an Arrow. Moreover in some Nations there were instituted in the honours of *Prometheus*, certain Games of Lamp-bearers, in which they that strived for the Prize, were wont to carry Torches lighted; which who so suffered to go out, yielded the Place and Victory to those that followed, and so cast back themselves; so that whosoever came first to the Mark with his Torch burning, got the Prize.

This Fable demonstrates and presseth many true and grave Speculations, wherein some things have been heretofore well noted, others not so much as touch'd.

Prometheus doth clearly and elegantly signifie *Providence*: For in the Universality of Nature, the Fabrick and Constitution of Man only was by the Ancients
pick'd

pick'd out and chosen, and attributed unto *Providence*; as a peculiar Work. The reason of it seems to be, not only in that the Nature of Man is capable of a mind and understanding, which is the Seat of *Providence*; and therefore it would seem strange and incredible, that the reason and mind should so proceed and flow from dumb and deaf Principles, as that it should necessarily be concluded, the Soul of Man to be endued with *Providence*, not without the example, intention, and stamp of a greater *Providence*. But this also is chiefly propounded, that Man is as it were the Centre of the World, in respect of final Causes, so that if Man were not in Nature, all things would seem to stray and wander without purpose, and like scattered Branches (as they say) without inclinations to their end: For all things attend on Man, and he makes use of, and gathers Fruit from all Creatures: For the revolutions and periods of Stars make both for the distinctions of Times, and the distribution of the World's light. *Meteors* also are referred to presages of Tempests; and Winds are ordained, as well for Navigation, as for turning of Mills, and other Engines: And Plants, and Animals of what kind soever, are useful either for Men's Houses, and Places of shelter, or for Rayment, or for Food, or Medicine, or for ease of Labour, or in a word, for delight and solace; so that all things seem to work, not for themselves, but for Man.

Neither is it added without consideration that certain Particles were taken from divers living Creatures, and mix'd and tempered with that clayey Mass, because it is most true that of all things comprehended within the compass of the Universe, Man is a thing most mix'd and compounded, insomuch that he was well termed by the Ancients, a little World; for although the *Chymicks* do, with too much Curiosity, take and wrest the elegance of this Word (*Microcosm*) to the Letter, contending to find in Man all Minerals, all Vegetables and the rest, or any thing that holds propor-

tion with them ; yet this proposition remains sound and whole, that the Body of Man, of all material Beings is found to be most compounded, and most organical, whereby it is endued and furnished with most admirable Vertues and Faculties. And as for simple Bodies, their Powers are not many, tho' certain and violent, as existing without being weakned, diminished or stinted by mixture ; for the multiplicity and excellency of Operation have their residence in mixture and composition, and yet nevertheless, Man in his Originals seems to be a thing unarmed and naked, and unable to help it self; as needing the aid of many things ; therefore *Promethens* made haste to find out Fire, which suppeditates and yields comfort and help in a manner, to all humane Wants and Necessities : so that if the Soul be the Form of forms, and if the Hand be the Instrument of Instruments ; Fire deserves well to be called the Succour of Succours, or the Help of Helps, which infinite ways affords aid and assistance to all Labours and Mechanical Arts, and to the Sciences themselves.

The manner of stealing this fire is aptly described, even from the nature of things: It was, they say, by a bundle of Twigs held to touch the Chariot of the Sun: For Twigs are used in giving Blows or Stripes, to signify clearly, that fire is engendred by the violent percussio and mutual collision of Bodies, by which their material Substances are attenuated and set in Motion, and prepared to receive the heat or influence of the Heavenly Bodies ; and so in a clandestine manner, and as it were by stealth, may be said to take and snatch Fire from the Chariot of the Sun.

There follows next a remarkable part of the Parable, that Men instead of Gratulation and Thanksgiving, were angry, and expostulated the Matter with *Promethens*, insomuch that they accused both him and his Invention unto *Jupiter*, which was so acceptable to him, that he augmented their former Commodities with a new Bounty. Seems it not strange, that Ingratitude towards

towards the Author of a Benefit (a Vice that in a manner contains all other Vices) should find such Approbation and Reward? No, it seems to be otherwise: For the meaning of the Allegory is this, that Men's out-cries upon the defects of Nature and Art, proceed from an excellent disposition of the Mind, and turn to their good, whereas the silencing of them is hateful to the Gods, and redounds not so much to their Profit: For they that infinitely extol Humane Nature, or the knowledge they possess, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring also those Sciences they profess, would have them be accounted perfect; they do first of all shew little Reverence to the divine Nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own Defects with God's Perfection: Again, they are wonderfully injurious to Men, by imagining they have attained the highest step of knowledge, (resting themselves contented) seek no further. On the contrary, such as bring Nature and Art to the Bar with Accusations, and Bills of Complaint against them, are indeed of more true and moderate Judgments: For they are ever in Action, seeking always to find out new Inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the foolish and inconsiderate Dispositions of some Men, who (making themselves Bond-slaves to the Arrogancy of a few) have the Philosophy of the Peripateticks (containing only a Portion of *Gracian* Wisdom, and that but a small one neither) in so great esteem, that they hold it, not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious, and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of Imperfection upon it. I approve rather of *Empedocles* his Opinion (who like a Mad-man, and of *Democritus* his Judgment, who with great moderation complained how that all things were involved in a Mist) that we knew nothing, that we discerned nothing, that Truth was drowned in the depths of Obscurity, and that false things were wonderfully joined and intermix'd with true (as for the new Academy that exceeded all measure) than of the confident

fidient and pronounciative School of *Aristotle*. Let Men therefore be admonish'd, that by acknowledging the Imperfection of Nature and Art, they are grateful to the Gods, and shall thereby obtain new Benefits and greater Favours at their bountiful Hands, and the Accusation of *Prometheus* their Author and Master (tho' bitter and vehement) will conduce more to their Profit, than to the effuse in the Congratulation of his Invention: For in a Word the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest Causes of having too little.

Now as touching the kind of Gift which Men are said to have receiv'd in reward of their Accusation (to wit, an ever-fading Flower of Youth) it is to shew, that the Ancients seem'd not to despair of attaining the Skill by Means and Medicines, to put off Old Age, and to prolong Life, but this to be numbred rather among such things (having been once happily attain'd unto) are now through Men's Negligence and Carelesness, utterly perish'd and lost; than among such as have been always deny'd and never granted: For they signifie and shew, that by affording the true use of Fire, and by a good and stern Accusation and Conviction of the Errors of Art, the Divine Bounty is not wanting unto Men in the obtaining of such Gifts, but Men are wanting to themselves in laying this Gift of the Gods upon the back of a silly slow-pac'd Ass, which may seem to be Experience, a stupid thing, and full of Delay: From whose leisurely and Snail-like-pace, proceeds that Complaint of Life's Brevity, and Art's Length. And to say the Truth, I am of this opinion, that those two Faculties, *Dogmatical* and *Empirical*, are not as yet well joyn'd and coupled together, but as new Gifts of the Gods impos'd either upon Philosophical Abstractions, as upon a flying Bird, or upon slow and dull Experience, as upon an Ass. And yet methinks, I would not entertain an ill Conceit of this Ass, if it meet not for the accidents of

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Travel

Travel and Thirst: For I am perswaded, that who so constantly goes on, by the Conduct of Experience as by a certain Rule and Method, and not covets to meet with such Experiments by the way, as conduce either to Gain or Ostentation, (to obtain which, he must be fain to lay down, and sell this Burthen) may prove no unfit Porter to bear his new addition of divine Munificence.

Now, in that this Gift is said to pass from Men to Serpents, it may seem to be added to the Fable for Ornament sake in a manner, unless it were inserted to shame Men, that having the use of that Cœlestial Fire, and of so many Arts, are not able to get unto themselves such things as Nature it self bestows upon many other Creatures.

But that sudden Reconciliation of Men to *Prometheus*, after they were frustrated of their Hopes, contains a profitable and wise Note, shewing the Levity and Temerity of Men in new Experiments; for if they have not present Success, answerable to their Expectation, with too sudden hast desist from that they began, and with Precipitancy returning to their former Experiments, are reconcil'd to them again.

The State of Man, in respect of Arts, and such things as concern the Intellect, being now describ'd, the Parable passeth to Religion: For after the planting of Arts, follows the setting of Divine Principles, which Hypocrisie hath over-spread and polluted. By that two-fold Sacrifice therefore is elegantly shadow'd out the Persons of a true Religious Man, and an Hypocrite. In the one is contain'd Fatness, (which by reason of the Inflammation and Fumes thereof,) is call'd, *The Portion of God*; by which his Affection and Zeal, (tending to God's Glory, and ascending towards Heaven) is signify'd. In him also are contain'd the Bowels of Charity, and in him is found that good and wholesome Flesh. Whereas in the other, there is nothing but dry and naked Bones; which nevertheless, do
stuff

stuff up the Hide; and make it appear like a fair and goodly Sacrifice: By this may be well meant those external and vain Rites, and empty Ceremonies by which Men do oppress and fill up the sincere Worship of God, things compos'd rather for Ostentation, than any way conducing to true Piety. Neither do they hold it sufficient to offer such mock-Sacrifices unto God, except they also lay them before him, as if he had chosen and bespoke them. Certainly the Prophet in the Person of God, doth thus expostulate concerning this Choice, *Isa. 58. 5. Num tandem hoc est illud Jejunium quod ELEGI, ut homo animam suam in diem unum affligat, & caput instar junceti demittat?* Is it such a Fast, that I have chosen, that a Man should afflict his Soul for a Day, and to bow down his Head like a Bulrush?

Having now touch'd the State of Religion, the Parable converts it self to the Manners and Conditions of Human Life. And it is a common, but apt Interpretation, by *Pandora* to be meant Pleasure and Voluptuousness; which (when the civil Life is pamper'd with too much Art, and Culture, and Superfluity,) is ingendred, as it were, by the efficacy of Fire, and therefore the work of Voluptuousness is attributed unto *Vulcan*, who also himself doth represent Fire. From this do infinite Miseries, together with too late Repentance, proceed, and overflow the Minds, and Bodies, and Fortunes of Men, and that not only in respect of particular Estates, but even over Kingdoms and Commonwealths; for from this Fountain have Wars, Tumults, and Tyrannies deriv'd their Original.

But it would be worth the Labour to consider how elegantly and proportionably this Fable doth delineate two Conditions; or (as I may say) two Tables or Examples of Human Life, under the Persons of *Promethæus*, or *Epimethæus*; for they that are of *Epimethæus* his Sect, are improvident, not foreseeing what may come to pass hereafter; esteeming that best which

seems most sweet for the present ; whence it happens, that they are overtaken with many Miseries, Difficulties, and Calamities, and so lead their Lives almost in perpetual Affliction ; but yet notwithstanding they please their Fancy, and out of Ignorance of the Passages of things, do entertain many vain hopes in their Mind, whereby they sometimes (as with sweet Dreams) solace themselves, and sweeten the Miseries of their Life. But they that are *Prometheus* his Scholars, are Men endu'd with Prudence, foreseeing things to come, warily shunning, and avoiding many Evils and Misfortunes. But to these their good Properties, they have also annexed, that they deprive themselves, and defraud their *Genius* of many lawful Pleasures, and divers Recreations, and (which is worse,) they vex, and torment themselves with Cares and Troubles, and intestine Fears ; for being chain'd to the Pillar of Necessity, they are afflicted with innumerable Cogitations, (which, because they are very swift, may be fitly compar'd to an Eagle,) and those griping, and as it were, gnawing and devouring the Liver, unless sometimes, as it were, by Night, it may be they get a little Recreation, and ease of Mind ; but so, as that they are again suddenly assaulted with fresh Anxieties and Fears.

Therefore this Benefit happens to but a very few of either Condition, that they should retain the Commodities of Providence, and free themselves from the Miseries of Care and Perturbation ; neither indeed can any attain unto it, but by the assistance of *Hercules*, that is, Fortitude, and Constancy of Mind, which is prepar'd for every Event and arm'd in all Fortunes, foreseeing without Fear, enjoying without loathing, and suffering without Impatience. It is worth the noting also, that this Virtue was not natural to *Prometheus*, but adventitious, and from the Indulgence of another ; for no in-bred and natural Fortitude is able to encounter with these Miseries. Moreover, this Virtue was receiv'd and brought unto him from the remotest

remotest part of the *Ocean*, and from the *Sun*, that is, from *Wisdom*, as from the *Sun*; and from the Meditation of *Inconstancy*, or of the *Waters of Human Life*, as from the sailing upon the *Ocean*; which two *Virgil* hath well conjoyn'd in these Verses;

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas :
Quique metus omnes; & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumq; Acherontis avari.

Happy is he that knows the causes of things :
And that which dauntless courage treads upon
All Fear and Fates, relentless Threatnings,
And greedy Throat of roaring *Acheron*.

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the Consolation and Confirmation of Mens Minds, that this noble *Hero* cross'd the *Ocean* in a Cup or Pan, lest peradventure, they might too much fear that the straits and frailty of their Nature will not be capable of this Fortitude and Constancy. Of which very thing *Seneca* well conceiv'd, when he said, *Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis, & securitatem Dei.* It is a great matter for Human Frailty and Divine Security to be at one and the self-same time, in one and the self-same Subject.

But now we are to step back a little again to that, which by Premeditation we past over, lest a Breach should be made in those things that were so link'd together. That therefore which I could touch here, is that last Crime imputed to *Prometheus*, about seeking to bereave *Minerva* of her Virginity: For questionless, it was this hainous Offence that brought that Punishment of devouring his Liver upon him; which is nothing else but to shew, that when we are past up with too much Learning and Science, they go about oftentimes to make even Divine Oracles subject to Sense and Reason; whence most certainly follows a continual Distraction,

straction, and restless griping of the Mind; we must therefore with a sober, and humble Judgment, distinguish between Humanity and Divinity, and between the Oracles of Sense, and the Mysteries of Faith, unless an Heretical Religion, and a commentitious Philosophy be pleasing unto us.

Lastly, It remains that we say something of the Games of *Prometheus*, perform'd with burning Torches, which again hath reference to Arts and Sciences, as that Fire, in whose Memory, and Celebration, these Games were instituted, and it contains in it a most wise Admonition, that the perfection of Sciences to be expected from Succession, not from the Nimbleness and Promptness of one only Author; for they that are nimblest in Course, and strongest in Contention, yet haply have not the luck to keep Fire still in their Torch; seeing it may be as well extinguish'd by running too fast, as by going too slow. And this running and contending with Lamps, seems long since to be intermitted, seeing all Sciences seem even now to flourish most in their first Authors, *Aristotle*, *Galen*, *Euclid* and *Ptolomy*; Succession having neither effected, nor almost attempted any great Matter. It were therefore to be wish'd, that these Games, in honour of *Prometheus*, or Human Nature, were again restor'd, and that Matters should receive Success by Combate and Emulation, and not hang upon any one Man's sparkling and shaking Torch. Men therefore are to be admonish'd to rouse up their Spirits, and try their Strengths and Turns, and not to refer all to the Opinions and Brains of a few.

And thus have I deliver'd that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known, and common Fable; and yet I will not deny, but that there may be some things in it, which have an admirable Consent with the Mysteries of Christian Religion, and especially that sailing of *Hercules* in a Cup, (to set *Prometheus* at liberty,) seems to represent an Image of the Divine Word, coming in Flesh, as in a frail Vessel, to redeem

redeem Man from the Slavery of Hell. But I have interdicted my Pen all Liberty in this kind, lest I should use strange Fire at the Altar of the Lord.

SCYLLA and ICARUS, or the
Middle-way.

MEDIOCRITY, or the *Middle-way*, is most commended in Moral Actions; in Contemplative Sciences, not so celebrated, though no less profitable and commodious; but in Political Employments, to be used with great heed and Judgment. The Ancients by the way, prescrib'd by *Icarus*, noted the *Mediocrity* of Manners; and by the Way between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* (so famous for Difficulty and Danger,) the *Mediocrity* of intellectual Operations.

Icarus being to cross the Sea by flight, was commanded by his Father, that he should fly neither too high nor too low; for his Wings being joyn'd with Wax, if he should mount too high, it was to be fear'd lest the Wax should melt by the heat of the Sun; and if too low, lest misty Vapours of the Sea would make it less tenacious; but he in a youthful Jollity soaring too high, fell down headlong, and perish'd in the Water.

The Parable is easie and vulgar; for the way of Virtue lies in a direct Path between Excess and Defect. Neither is it a wonder that *Icarus* perish'd by Excess, seeing that Excess for the most part, is the peculiar Fault of Youth, as Defect is of Age, and yet of two evil and hurtful ways, Youth commonly makes choice of the better, Defect being always accounted worst; for whereas Excess contains some Sparks of Magnanimity, and, like a Bird, claims Kindred of the Heavens, Defect, only like a base Worm, crawls upon the Earth. Excellently therefore said *Heraclitus*, *Lumen siccum, optima Anima*; a dry Light is the best Soul; for if the

Soul contract moisture from the Earth is become degenerate altogether. Again, on the other side, there must be Moderation us'd, that this Light be subtiliz'd by this laudable Siccity, and not destroy'd by too much Fervency. And thus much every Man for the most part knows.

Now they that would sail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* must be furnish'd, as well with the Skill, as prosperous Success in Navigation: For if their Ships fall into *Scylla* they are split on the Rocks: If into *Charybdis* they are swallowed up of a Gulph:

The Moral of this Parable (which we will but briefly touch, although it contain Matter of infinite Contemplation) seems to be this: That in every Art and Science, and so in their Rules and Axioms, there be a mean observ'd between the Rocks of Distinctions, and the Gulphs of Universalities; which two are famous for the Wrack both of Wits and Arts.

S P H Y N X, or Science.

THEY say that *Sphinx* was a Monster of diverse Forms, as having the Face and Voice of a Virgin, the Wings of a Bird, and the Talons of a Gryphin. His Abode was in a Mountain near the City of *Thebes*, he kept also the High-ways, and us'd to lie in Ambush for Travellers, and so to surprize them: To whom (being in his Power) he propounded certain dark and intricate Riddles, which were thought to have been given and receiv'd of the Muses. Now if these miserable Captives were not able instantly to resolve and interpret them in the midst of their Difficulties and Doubts, she would rend and tear them in pieces. The Country groaning a long time under this Calamity, the *Thebans* at last propounded the Kingdom as a Reward unto him that could interpret the Riddles of *Sphinx*, there

there being no other way to destroy her: Whereupon *Oedipus* (a Man of piercing, and deep Judgment, but Maim'd and Lame, by reason of Holes bor'd in his Feet,) mov'd with the hope of so great a Reward, accepted the Condition, and determin'd to put it to the hazard; and so with an undaunted and bold Spirit, presented himself before the Monster; who ask'd him what Creature that was, which after his Birth, went first upon four Feet, next, upon two, than upon three, and lastly, upon four Feet again, answer'd forthwith, that it was Man; which in his Infancy, immediately after Birth, crawls upon all four, scarce venturing to creep, and not long after, stands upright upon two Feet; then growing old, he leans upon a Staff where-with he supports himself, so that he may seem to have three Feet; and at last, in decrepid Years, his Strength failing him, he falls groveling again upon four, and lies bed-rid. Having therefore by this true Answer gotten the Victory, he instantly slew this *Sphinx*, (and laying her Body upon an Ass,) leads it, as it were, in Triumph; and so according to the Condition,) was created King of the *Thebans*.

This Fable contains in it no less Wisdom than Elegancy, and it seems to point at Science, especially that which is joyn'd with Practice, for Science may not absurdly be term'd a Monster, as being by the ignorant and rude Multitude always held in Admiration. It is diverse in Shape and Figure, by reason of the infinite variety of Subjects, wherein it is conversant. A Maiden Face and Voice is attributed unto it for its gracious countenance and volubility of Tongue. Wings are added, because Sciences and their Inventions do pass and fly from one to another, as it were, in a moment, seeing that the Communication of Science is as the kindling of one Light at another. Elegantly also it is feign'd to have sharp and hooked Talons, because the Axioms and Arguments of Science do so fasten upon the Mind, and so strongly apprehend and hold it, as that it stir

not or evade, which is noted also by the Divine Philosopher, *Eccles. 12. 12. Verba sapientum* (saith he) *sunt tanquam aculei & veluti clavi in altum defixi.* The words of the Wise are like Goads, and Nails driven far in.

Moreover, all Science seems to be placed in steep and high Mountains; as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon Ignorance with a scornful Eye. It may be observ'd and seen also a great way, and far in compass, as things set on the tops of Mountains.

Furthermore, Science may well be feign'd to beset the High-way, because which way soever we turn in this Progress and Pilgrimage of Human Life, we meet with some matter or occasion offered for Contemplation.

Sphynx is said to have receiv'd from the Muses divers difficult Questions and Riddles, and to propound them unto Men, which remaining with the Muses, are free (it may be) from savage Cruelty; for so long as there is no other end of Study and Meditation, than to know, the Understanding is not rack'd and imprison'd, but enjoys Freedom and Liberty, and even Doubts and Variety find a kind of Pleasure and Delectation: But when once these *Anigma's* are deliver'd by the Muses to *Sphynx*, that is, to Practice, so that if it be solicited and urg'd by Action and Election, and Determination; then they begin to be troublesome and raging; and unless they be resolv'd and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the Minds of Men, distracting, and in a manner rending them into sundry Parts.

Moreover, there is always a twofold Condition propounded with *Sphynx* her *Anigma's*: To him that doth not expound them, distraction of Mind; and to him that doth, a Kingdom; for he that knows that which he sought to know, hath attain'd the end he aim'd at, and every Artificer also commands over his Work.

Of *Sphinx* her Riddles, they are generally two kinds; some concerning the Nature of things, others touching the Nature of Men. So also there are two kinds of Empires, as Rewards to those that resolve them. The one over Nature, the other over Men; for the proper and chief end of true Natural Philosophy is to command and sway over Natural Beings; as Bodies, Medicines, Mechanical Works, and infinite other things; although the School (being content with such things as are offer'd, and priding it self with Speeches) doth neglect Realities and Works, treading them as it were under foot. But that *Enigma* propounded to *Oedipus* (by means of which he obtain'd the *Theban* Empire) belong'd to the Nature of Man: For whosoever doth thoroughly consider the Nature of Man, may be in a manner the Contriver of his own Fortune, and is born to command, which is well spoken of the *Romans* Arts:

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
Ha tibi erunt Artes*————

Roman remember, that with Scepters awe
Thy Realms thou Rule. These Arts let be thy Law.

It was therefore very apposite, that *Augustus Caesar* (whether by Premeditation, or by a Chance) bare a *Sphinx* in his Signet: For he (if ever any) was famous not only in Political Government, but in all the course of his Life; he happily discover'd many new *Enigma's* concerning the Nature of Man, which if he had not done with Dexterity and Promptness, he had often-times falln into imminent Danger and Destruction.

Moreover, it is added in the Fable, that the Body of *Sphinx*, when she was overcome, was laid upon an *Ass*; which indeed is an elegant Fiction, seeing there is nothing so acute and abstruse, but (being well understood,

stood, and divulged,) may be well apprehended by a slow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that *Sphynx* was overcome by a Man lame in his Feet; for when Men are too swift of Foot, and too speedy of Pace, in hastening to *Sphynx* her *Enigma's*, it comes to pass, that (she getting the upper hand) their Wits and minds are rather distracted by Disputations, than that ever they come to command by Works and Effects.

PROSERPINA, or Spirit.

PLUTO, they say, being made King of the Infernal Dominions, (by that memorable Division,) was in despair of ever attaining any one of the Superior Goddesses in Marriage, especially if he should venture to court them, either with Words, or with any amorous Behaviour; so that of necessity he was to lay some Plot to get one of them by Rapine: Taking therefore the Benefit of Opportunity, he caught up *Proserpina* (the Daughter of *Ceres*, a beautiful Virgin,) as she was gathering *Narcissus-Flowers* in the Meadows of *Sicily*, and carried her away with him in his Coach to the Subterranean Dominions; where she was welcomed with such Respect, as that she was stiled the Lady of *Dis*. But *Ceres*, her Mother, when, in no place she could find this her only beloved Daughter, in a sorrowful Humour, and distracted beyond measure, went compassing the whole Earth, with a burning Torch in her hand, to seek, and recover this her lost Child. But when she saw that all was in vain, supposing peradventure, that she was carried to Hell, she importuned *Jupiter* with many Tears and Lamentations, that she might be restored unto her again; and at length, prevailed thus far, That if she had tasted of nothing in Hell, she should have leave to bring her
from

from thence. Which Condition was as good as a Denial to her Petition, *Proserpina* having already eaten three Grains of a *Pomegranate*: And yet for all this, *Ceres* gave not over her Suit, but fell to Prayers and Moans afresh: Wherefore, it was at last granted; that (the Year being divided) *Proserpina* should by alternate Courses, remain one six Months with her Husband, and the other six Months with her Mother. Not long after this, *Theseus*, and *Perithous*, in an over-hardy Adventure, attempted to fetch her from *Pluto's* Bed; who, being weary with Travel, and sitting down upon a stone in Hell, to rest themselves, had not the power to rise again; but sat there for ever. *Proserpina* therefore remained Queen of Hell, in whose Honour there was this great privilege granted, That although it were enacted, that none that went down to Hell, should have the power ever to return from thence; yet was this singular exception annexed to this Law, That if any presented *Proserpina* with a Golden Bough, it should be lawful for him to go and come at his Pleasure. Now there was but one only such a Bough in a spacious and shady Grove, which was not a Plant neither of it self, but budded from a Tree of another kind, like a Rope of Gum, which being pluckt off, another would instantly spring out.

This Fable seems to pertain to Nature, and to dive into that rich and plentiful efficacy and variety of sub-
alternal Creatures, from whom whatsoever we have is deriv'd, and to them doth again return.

By *Proserpina*, the Ancients meant that Ætherial Spirit, (which being separated from the upper Globe) is shut up and detain'd under the Earth (represented by *Pluto*) which the Poet well exprest thus:

*Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cæli.*

Whether the Youngling *Tellus* (that of late
Was from the high-rear'd *Æther* separate)
Did yet contain her Teeming Womb within
The living Seeds of Heaven her nearest kin.

This Spirit is feign'd to be rapted by the Earth, because nothing can with-hold it, when it hath time and leisure to escape. It is therefore caught and staid by a sudden Contraction, no otherwise than if a Man should go about to mix Air with Water, which can be done by no means, but by a speedy and rapid Agitation, as may be seen in Froth, wherein the Air is rapted by the Water.

Neither is it elegantly added, that *Proserpina* was rapt as she was gathering *Narcissus's* Flowers in the Valleys, because *Narcissus* hath his Name from Slowness or Stupidity: For then indeed is this Spirit most prepar'd and fitted to be snatcht by Terrestrial Matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and become as it were flown.

Rightly is *Proserpina* honour'd more than any of the other God's Bedfellows, in being styl'd the Lady of *Dis*, because this Spirit doth rule and sway all things in those lower Regions, *Pluto* abiding stupid and ignorant.

This Spirit the Power Cœlestial (shadowed by *Ceres*) strives, with infinite Sedulity, to recover and get again: For that Brand or burning Torch of *Æther* (which *Ceres* carry'd in her Hand) doth doubtless signify the Sun, which enlightneth the whole Circuit of the Earth, and would be of greatest moment to recover *Proserpina*, if possible it might be.

But *Proserpina* abides still; the Reason of which is accurately, and excellently propounded in the Conditions between *Jupiter* and *Ceres*: For, first, it is most certain there are two ways to keep Spirit in solid and terrestrial Matter; the one by Constipation, and Ob-

struction, which is meer Imprisonment and Constraint; the other, by Administration, or proportionable Nourishment, which it receives willingly, and of its own accord: For after that the included Spirit begins to feed and nourish it self, it makes no haste to be gone; but is as it were, link'd to its Earth: And this is pointed at by *Proserpina* her eating of *Pomegranate*; which if she had not done, she had long since been recover'd by *Ceres* with her Torch, compassing the Earth. Now as concerning that Spirit which is in Metals and Minerals, it is chiefly perchance restrain'd by the solidity of Mass: But that which is in Plants and Animals, inhabits a porous Body, and hath open Passage to be gone, in a manner, as it lists, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reason of the Relish it finds in its Entertainment. The second Condition concerning the six Months Custom, it is no other than an elegant Description of the Division of the Year; seeing this Spirit mix'd with Earth, appears above ground in Vegetable Bodies during the Summer Months, and in the Winter sinks down again.

Now as concerning *Theseus* and *Perithous*, and their Attempt to bring *Proserpina* quite away, the meaning of it is, that it oftentimes comes to pass that some more subtil Spirit descending with divers Bodies to the Earth, never come to suck of any subaltern Spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and so to bring it away. But on the contrary are coagulated themselves, and never rise more, that *Proserpina* should be by that means augmented with Inhabitants and Dominion.

All that we can say concerning that Sprig of Gold, is hardly able to defend us from the Violence of the *Chymicks*, if in this regard they set upon us, seeing they promise by that their *Elixir* to effect Golden Mountains, and the restoring of Natural Bodies, as it were, from the Portal of Hell. But concerning Chymistry, and those perpetual Suitors for that Philosophical *Elixir*, we know certainly that their *Theory* is without Grounds,
and

and we suspect that their Practice is also without certain Reward. And therefore (omitting these) of this last part of the Parable, this is my Opinion, I am induc'd to believe by many Figures of the Ancients, that the Conservation and Restauration of Natural Bodies, in some sort, was not esteem'd by them as a thing impossible to be attain'd, but as a thing abstruse and full of Difficulties, and so they seem to intimate in this place, when they report that this one only Sprig was found among infinite other Trees in a huge and thick Wood, which they feign'd to be of Gold, because Gold is the Badge of Perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inserted, because this Effect is to be rather hop'd for from Art, than from any Medicine, or simple or natural means.

METIS, or Counsel.

THE Ancient Poets report, that *Jupiter* took *Metis* to Wife, whose Name doth plainly signifie Counsel, and that she by him conceiv'd. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her Deliverance, devours both her and that which she went withall, by which means *Jupiter* himself became with Child, and was deliver'd of a wondrous Birth; for out of his Head or Brain came forth *Pallas* Armed.

The Sense of this Fable (which at first Apprehension may seem monstrous and absurd) contains in it a Secret of State, to wit, with what Policy Kings are wont to carry themselves towards their Counsellors, whereby they may not only preserve their Authority and Majesty free and entire, but also that it may be the more extoll'd and dignify'd of the People: For Kings being as it were ty'd and coupl'd in a Nuptial Bond to their Counsellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the Affairs of greatest Importance do yet detract nothing from their own Majesty. But
when

when any Matter comes to be censured or decreed (which is a Birth) there do they confine and restrain the liberty of their Councillors; lest that which is done should seem to be hatched by their Wisdom and Judgment. So as at last Kings (except it be in such Matters as are distastful and maligned, which they always will be sure to put off from themselves) do assume the Honour and Praise of all Matters that are ruminated in Council, and, as it were, form'd in the Womb, whereby the Resolution and Execution (which because it proceeds from Power, and implies Necessity, is elegantly shadowed under the Figure of *Pallas Armed*) shall seem to proceed wholly from themselves. Neither sufficeth it, that it is done by the Authority of the King, by his meer Will and free Applause, except withal, this be added and appropriated as to issue out of his own Head or Brain, intimating, that out of his own Judgment, Wisdom, and Ordinance, it was only invented and derived.

The S Y R E N S, or Pleasures.

THE Fable of the *Syrens* seems rightly to have been apply'd to the pernicious Allurements of Pleasure, but in a very vulgar and gross manner. And therefore to me it appears, that the Wisdom of the Ancients have with a farther reach or insight strained deeper Matter out of them, not unlike the Grapes ill press'd; from which, though some Liquor were drawn, yet the best was left behind. These *Syrens* are said to be the Daughters of *Achelous*, and *Terpsichore* one of the Muses; who in their first being, were winged, but after rashly entering into Contention with the Muses, were by them vanquished, and deprived of their Wings. Of whose pluck'd out Feathers the Muses made themselves Coronets, so as ever since that time all the Muses have

U

attired

attired themselves with plumed heads, except *Terpsichore* only, that was Mother to the *Syrens*. The Habitation of the *Syrens* was in certain pleasant Islands, from whence as soon as out of their Watch-Tower they discovered any Ships approaching, with their sweet Tunes they would first entice and stay them, and having them in their Power would destroy them. Neither was their Song plain and single, but consisting of such variety of melodious Tunes so fitting and delighting the Ears that heard them, as that it ravished and betrayed all Passengers. And so great were the Mischiefs they did, that these Isles of the *Syrens*, even as far off as Man can ken them, appeared all over white with the Bones of unburied Carcasses. For the remedying of this Misery a double Means was at last found out; the one by *Ulysses*, the other by *Orpheus*. *Ulysses* (to make experiment of his Device) caused all the Ears of his Company to be stop'd with Wax, and made himself to be bound to the Main-Mast, with special Commandment to his Mariners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But *Orpheus* neglected and disdain'd to be so bound, and with a shrill and sweet Voice, singing Praises of the Gods to his Harp, suppress'd the Songs of the *Syrens*, and so freed himself from their Danger.

This Fable hath relation to Men's Manners, and contains in it a manifest and most excellent Parable: For Pleasures do for the most proceed out of the abundance and superfluity of all things, and also out of the Delights and jovial Contentments of the Mind; the which are wont suddenly, as it were, with winged Inticements to ravish and rap Mortal Men: But Learning and Education brings it so to pass, as that it restrains and bridles Man's Mind, making it so to consider the ends and events of Things, as that it clips the Wings of Pleasure. And this was greatly to the Honour and Renown of the Muses; for after that by some Examples, it was made manifest, that by the Power of Philosophy, vain Pleasures might grow Contemptible;

temptible; it presently grew to great esteem, as a thing that could raise, and elevate the Mind aloft, that seem'd to be base, and fixed to the Earth, make the cogitations of the Men (which do ever reside in the Head,) to be æthereal, and as it were winged. But that the Mother of the *Sirens* was left to her Feet, and without Wings; that no doubt is no otherwise meant, than of light and superficial Learning, appropriated and designed only to Pleasures, as were those which *Petronius* devoted himself unto, after he had received his fatal Sentence; and having his Foot, as it were, upon the Threshold of Death, sought to give himself all delightful Contentments; insomuch, as when he had caused Consolatory Letters to be sent him, he would peruse none of them, (as *Tacitus* reports, that should give him Courage and Constancy) but only read fantastical Verses, such as these are;

*Vivamus, Mea Lesbia, atq; amemus,
Rumoresque Senum severiorum,
Omnes unius astimemus Assis.*

My *Lesbia*, let us live and love;
Though wayward Dotards us reprove,
Weigh their Words light for our behove.

And this also:

*Jura Senes norint, & quid sit fasq; nefasque,
Inquirant tristes, Legumq; examina servant.*

Let dotting Grandfire know the Law,
And right and wrong observe with awe;
Let them in that strict Circle draw.

This kind of Doctrine would easily perswade to take these plumed Coronets from the Muses, and to restore the Wings again to the *Sirens*. These *Sirens* are said

to dwell in remote Isles; for that Pleasures love Privacy, and retired Places, shunning always too much Company of People. The *Syren's* Songs are so vulgarly understood, together with the Deceits and Danger of them, as that they need no Exposition. But that of the Bones appearing like white Cliffs, and descryed afar off, hath more Acuteness in it; for thereby is signified, that, albeit the Examples of Afflictions be manifest, and eminent; yet do they not sufficiently deter us from the wicked Enticements of Pleasures.

As for the Remainder of this Parable, though it be not over-mystical, yet it is very grave, and excellent: For in it are set out three Remedies for this violent, enticing Mischiefe; to wit, Two from Philosophy, and one from Religion. The first Means to shun these inordinate Pleasures, is, to withstand, and resist them in their Beginnings, and seriously to shun all Occasions that are offered, to debauch and entice the Mind, which is signified in that stopping of the Ears; and that Remedy is properly used by the meaner and baser sort of People, as it were *Ulysses's* Followers or Mariners; whereas more Heroick and Noble Spirits may boldly Converse even in the midst of these seducing Pleasures, if with a resolved Constancy they stand upon their Guard, and fortifie their Minds; and so take greater Contentment in the trial and experience of this their approved Vertue; learning rather thoroughly to understand the Follies and Vanities of those Pleasures by Contemplation, than by Submission: Which *Solomon* avouched of himself, when he reckoned up the multitude of those Solaces and Pleasures wherein he Swam, doth conclude with this Sentence,

Sapientia quoque perseverabat mecum.

Wisdom also continued with me.

There-

Therefore these *Heroes*, and Spirits of this excellent Temper, even in the midst of these enticing Pleasures, can shew themselves constant and invincible, and are able to support their own vertuous Inclination, against all heady and forcible Perswasions whatsoever; as by the Example of *Ulysses*, that so peremptorily interdicted all pestilent Counsel, and Flatteries of his Companions, as the most dangerous and pernicious Poysons to captivate the Mind. But of all other Remedies in this Case, that of *Orpheus* is most Predominant: For they that chaunt and resound the Praises of the Gods, confound and dissipate the Voices and Incantations of the *Syrens*; for Divine Meditations do not only in Power subdue all sensual Pleasures; but also far exceed them in Swiftnes and Delight.

F I N I S.

1. The first part of the document
describes the general situation
of the country and the
state of the economy.
It also mentions the
main problems that
the government is
facing at the moment.
The second part of the
document discusses the
measures that the
government has taken
to solve these problems.
It also mentions the
results of these
measures and the
prospects for the
future.

T H E
C H A R A C T E R
O F
Queen Elizabeth.

Written by way of Essay.

By the Lord *Verulam*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was one, whom *Nature* and *Fortune* had made the Wonder of her *Sex*, and an Ornament to *Crowned Heads*. For the Truth of this we need not appeal to the Testimony of any *Monk*, or of any such like *Solitary Recluse*: For tho' these Men write acutely, and have extraordinary Judgments; yet being wedded to, and byassed by their own Faction, they can never be faithful in transmitting a Thing of this Nature to Posterity. But this is a Province that more properly belongs to Men of the *first Rank*, to such as have had the Management of the *Government* in their own Hands, and have been acquainted with the secret Springs and Motions of Civil Affairs. Every Age has look'd upon a *Female Government* as a Rarity; if *Prosperous* as a Wonder; but if *Prosperous* and *Long*, almost as a Miracle. Whereas tho' she Reign'd full

four and forty Years, yet she outliv'd not her *Happiness*. Of the *Happiness* of her Reign I design to say something, without running out into high Encomiums. For Praise indeed is the Tribute of *Men*, but Happiness the Gift of *God*.

I take this to be the first Step to her *Happiness*, that from a private Condition she was rais'd to the Administration of the *Regal Power*. Forasmuch as 'tis a standing Rule in the Morality and common Sense of Mankind, that those Things are to be look'd upon as our greatest Happiness, which come beyond our Hope and Expectation. But this is not what I mean. That which I aim at is this, that *Princes*, who are bred up in *Courts* as the undoubted Heirs of a Crown, are so far debauch'd by a soft indulgence and effeminate Education, that they frequently become less capable of managing the State: Whereas those have proved the best and most excellent Princes, who have been under the Discipline of both Fortunes. We need not to go far for Instances, *Henry the Seventh* in *England*, and *Lewis the Twelfth* in *France*, within our own Memory, and almost at the same time, mounted the Throne, not only from a Private, but also from an Adverse and harass'd Fortune; and the one prov'd famous for his *Prudence*, the other for his *Justice*. This was the Case of *Queen Elizabeth*; whose Fortune was as inconstant at the first, as at last when she came to the Crown, it prov'd Constant and Even. For at her *Birth* she was declar'd Heiress to the Throne, afterwards disinherited, and at last despis'd: During her *Brother's* Reign she enjoy'd a more serene and favourable Fortune, but whilst her *Sister* sway'd the Scepter the Clouds and Storms return'd upon her again. Nor was she advanc'd on a sudden from a Prison to a Throne, thereby to render her Haughty after the Provocation of her Sufferings: But being restor'd to her Liberty, and rais'd in her Hopes, she at last quietly and happily mounted the Throne, without any Opposition or Competitor.

These

These Things I have mention'd, to shew how careful *Divine Providence* was of this best of *Princes*, by preparing her for a Crown by such methods of Discipline. Nor ought the Misfortune of her *Mother* to Eclipse the Glory of her *Birth*: Especially since 'tis abundantly evident, that *Henry the Eighth* was engag'd in a new Love before he gave way to his Anger against *Queen Ann*: Nor is Posterity a stranger to the Nature of that *King*, which was so very prone to Love and Jealousie, and prosecuted both even with the Effusion of Blood. To this we may add, that she was cut off by an Accusation grounded on slight Conjectures, and on the improbable Testimony of a wicked Accuser: All which was mutter'd privately at that very time; and *Queen Ann* her self with an undaunted Mind, and noble Presence, protested her Innocence at the time of her Death. For having (as she thought) got a faithful and generous Messenger, she just before her Execution dispatcht him away with this Message to the King; *That the King had very well observ'd, and would still keep his Promise good to her, that was now going to be invested with new Honours: Since from a private Person he rais'd her at first to the Dignity of a Marchioness, and then advanc'd her to be the Partner of his Bed and Throne; and now, when he could raise her no higher on Earth, design'd to promote her an Innocent to the Crown of Martyrdom.* But the Messenger durst not tell this to the King, who was devoted to another Love, tho' *Fame*, the Asserter of Truth, has transmitted it to *Posterity*.

Another part of the Happiness of *Queen Elizabeth* seems to consist in the Period and Course of time wherein she Reign'd: Not only that it was *Long*, but because it was such a Part of her Life, as was most fit for managing the Affairs of State, and governing a Kingdom. For she was five and twenty Years Old when she began her Reign (at which Age she was out of her Guardians Jurisdiction) and she continu'd to Reign to the 70th Year of her Age. So that she neither experienc'd what it was to be a *Minor*, and under a Governor's Power; nor did she

the labour under the Inconveniences of an extreme and miserable *Old Age*. An Age, which even to private Men brings too many Troubles along with it; but to Kings, beside the ordinary Miseries of human Life, it comes attended with the Decay of their States, and is back'd with an *inglorious Exit*. For there has scarce been a King, that has liv'd to an extreme and infirm old Age, but what lost much of that Power and Esteem, which he formerly had. Of this we have a notable Instance in *Philip the Second*, King of *Spain*, a Prince very Potent, and one very well skill'd in the Art of Governing: Who in his latter Days, labouring under the Impotency of old Age, deeply experienc'd the Truth of what we asserted. He quitted all his Conquests in *France*, made a Peace with that Nation, and endeavour'd to do the same with others, that so he might leave all Things in quiet, and compos'd to his Successors. On the other hand, Queen *Elizabeth's* Fortune was so Constant and Vigorous, that no declension of Affairs follow'd her lively, tho' declining Age. Nay more, for a standing and most certain monument of her Happiness, she died not before a Victory in *Ireland* had put an end to the Rebellion there; so shining and uniform was her Glory in all its Parts! Besides, I think it very material to reflect, over what sort of People she bore the sway; for had her Government been over the *Palmyrenians*, or any other soft and unmanly Nation of *Asia*, it had been a less wonder, since a *Female* in the Throne would be suitable enough to an *Effeminate* People; but to have all Things move and be directed by a Woman's Nod in *England*, a Nation so fierce and warlike; this, I say, justly raises our highest Admiration.

But tho' the *Genius* of her Subjects was so desirous of War, and so impatient of Peace, yet this did not hinder her from maintaining it strictly all her Reign. And this natural Inclination of hers, join'd with success, is what I reckon redounds to her highest Commendation. For this conduc'd much to the Happiness of their own Life,

Life, to the Honour of her Sex, and to the Peace and Quiet of her Conscience. About the tenth Year of her Reign, an Insurrection was indeed attempted in the *North*, but it was soon hush'd and suppress'd. All the rest of her time *England* enjoy'd a secure and profound Peace. And I account it a most glorious Peace, upon these two Accounts; which tho' they make nothing to the *Merit*, yet contribute very much to the *Glory* of a Peace. The first is, that it appear'd the more Conspicuous and Shining by the Calamities of its Neighbours; which were all in Flames round it. Another is, that even in the Blessings of Peace, there still remain'd so much martial Glory, as by its famous Actions not only retain'd, but likewise increas'd the Honour of the *English* Nation. For the Supplies sent into the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Scotland*; the Voyages that were made to the *Indies*, and round the whole World; the Fleets that were sent to infest *Portugal* and the Coasts of *Spain*, and the *Irish* Rebels so often conquer'd and cut off, were all sufficient Testimonies, that *England* had remitted and lost nothing of its Ancient Glory in the Field of War.

It was likewise an addition to her *Glory* and *Deserts*, that by her timely Supplies, the Neighbouring Princes were maintain'd in their Thrones; and the Suppliant States, who by a Conduct unbecoming Princes, were expos'd to the Cruelty of their Ministers, to the Fury of the Rabble, and to all manner of Ravage and Slaughter, were at last reliev'd by her, and plac'd in that Posture of Affairs, wherein they now are. Nor were her *Counsels* less beneficial than her *Supplies*: Witness her frequent Admonitions to his *Catholick Majesty*, to moderate the Displeasure he had conceiv'd against his Subjects in the *Netherlands*, and to restore them to that Mildness of Government which they formerly enjoy'd: And witness her earnest Importunities with the Kings of *France*, putting them often in Mind of the *Edicts* wherein they had promis'd to preserve the Peace. It must indeed be acknowledged

knowledg'd that her Advices prov'd ineffectual. For the common Interest of *Europe* oppos'd the *first*, lest the Ambition of *Spain*, freed as it were from its Confinement, should enlarge it self (as Affairs then stood) to the great Prejudice of the Kingdoms and States of the Christian World. And the *Latter* was prevented by the Massacre of so many Innocent Persons, who with their Wives and Children were butcher'd in their own Habitations by the barbarous Rabble, who like so many Beasts of Prey seem'd to be Animated, Armed, and sent out by Publick Authority: So that the Blood which was shed cry'd aloud for *Revenge*, that the Kingdom, stain'd by so notorious a Villany, might be purg'd by mutual Slaughters and Bloodshed. However she perform'd the Office of a *Faithful, Prudent, and Generous Ally*.

There is still another Reason, why we should admire the peaceful Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, namely, because the Peace which she enjoy'd, was not owing to the Inclination which the Age she liv'd in had to it, but wholly to her own Prudence and wise Conduct. She struggled with an *Inbred Faction* at Home, upon the account of Religion; and the strength of the Kingdom, like the common Bulwark of all *Europe*, seem'd to oppose the growing Greatness of the *Spaniard*, and his Ambition so formidable at that time; so that upon these Accounts, there was a sufficient Cause of War: But by her Forces and Policy she surmounted these Difficulties. This was demonstrated by one of the most memorable Events, that ever happened in the whole Course of Affairs of our Age. For when the *Spanish Armada* rode upon our Seas, to the Terror of all *Europe*, with so much Noise, and so much Assurance of Success; it took not the least Fisher-boat, nor burnt the least Cottage, nor so much as touched upon our Coast: But being routed in an Engagement, was dispers'd by a miserable Flight, and with frequent Storms; and so left *England* and her Sea Coasts in an unmov'd and undisturbed Peace. Nor was she less Fortunate in disappointing the secret Plots of her

her private Foes, than in Conquering and Routing the Forces of an open Enemy: For tho' there were many Conspiracies laid against her Life, yet were they most happily discovered and defeated. Nor was she upon that account more fearful or anxious of the Safety of her Person; her Guards were not increas'd, nor did she confine her self in her Palace, without appearing Abroad: But secure of her self, and trusting to her Subjects, she remembered her *Deliverance*, but forgot the *Danger*, and alter'd nothing of her usual Management and Behaviour.

It is likewise worthy our Observation, to consider in what sort of Times she Flourish'd. For some Ages are so Barbarous and Ignorant, that Men have been Govern'd with as much Ease, as a Shepherd drives and manages his Sheep: But this Princess liv'd in a most Learned and Polite Age; wherein it requir'd great Parts, and a high Degree of Vertue to be Excellent. A *Female Government* is likewise very often Eclips'd by *Marriage*, and all the Praises and Conduct is bestow'd upon the *Husband*: Whilst those who live Unmarry'd, have no Sharers or Partners in their Glory. And in this was our Queen the more to be commended, in that her Throne stood upon no other *Basis*, than what she her self had erected. She had no *Brother*, no *Uncle*, nor any other of the *Royal Family*, to partake of her Cares, or share in her Government. But even those whom she did Advance to any Places of Trust, were so manag'd and kept in such Awe, that each of them was solicitous how to Please her; so that she was always *Mistress of her self*. She was indeed *Childless*, and left no Issue of her own Body to succeed her: But this has been the Case of the most fortunate Princes, of *Alexander the Great*, of *Julius Caesar*, of *Trajan*, and several others: Which has been variously Centur'd, and has always been a Matter of Dispute. For some have look'd upon it as a Diminution of *Human Happiness*, as if Men could not be compleatly Happy, unless they were so

both in their own Persons, and in the Propagation of their Species : But others have esteem'd it as the greater Happiness, because then it seems to be compleat, when it is not any longer subjected to the various turns of Fortune : Which 'tis impossible to secure, when a Posterity is left behind.

To all this we may add her *Outward Embellishments* ; she was tall of *Stature*, well shap'd in her Body, and had in her Face the mixture of *Sweetness* and *Majesty* ; and always enjoy'd a very *Sound Health*. Besides all this, she was strong and vigorous to the very last, never experienc'd the Changes of Fortune, nor the Miseries of Old Age, and at last by an easy and gentle Death she obtain'd that *Euthanasia*, which *Augustus Caesar* was us'd so passionately to Desire. This also is Recorded of *Antoninus Pius*, one of the best of Emperors, whose Death seem'd to be nothing else but a Quiet and sweet Slumber. Just so in Queen *Elizabeth's* Distemper, there was nothing that was deadly, or ominous, or unsuitable to humane Nature. She was not desirous of Life, or impatient under Sickness, nor disturb'd with the Tortures of any Pain : No direful, no pestilential Symptom appear'd, but every Thing seem'd rather to Prognosticate the decay of Nature, than either the Corruption or Disparagement of it. For some few Days before her Death, being weakened by the dryness of her Constitution, and the cares of the Government, having not so much as drank any Wine, or taken any moist Diet, she was seiz'd with a *Dead Palsy*, but yet (which is not usual in that Distemper) she retained her Speech, her Sense and her Motion, tho' not so brisk and lively as before. Nor was she long in this Condition, so that it did not seem to be the *last Act* of her Life, but rather the *first Step* to her Death. For tho' 'tis esteem'd a Misery to live a long time in the loss of the use of our Faculties ; yet to be prepar'd for Death, by a gradual decay of our Senses, is certainly a very sweet and pleasant *Dissolution*.

Another remarkable Addition to her *Happiness*, is this, that she was not only very Happy in her own *Person*, but likewise in the Worthiness of her *Ministers of State*. For she made Choice of such Men, as this *Island* perhaps was never so Happy in before. But God that favours *Kings*, raises them up *Ministers* and adorns their Minds.

There remain two *Posthumous Felicities*, which seem to attend the more Noble and August Passages of her Life: The *One* is that of her *Successor*, the *Other*, that of her *Memory*. For she has got such a *Successor*, who, tho' by his *Masculine Virtue*, and *Off-spring*, and late *Accession to the Throne*, he may excel and eclipse her *Glor*y; yet is so far a favourer of her *Name* and *Esteem*, and is so willing to transmit her *Actions* to *Posterity*, that he has made little *Alterations*, either in the *Choice of Ministers*, or in the *Method of Governing*. So that hardly any *Father* has been succeeded by his *Son*, with less *Noise*, *Disturbance* or *Alteration*. As for her *Memory*, 'tis so much in the *Mouths*, and so fresh in the *Minds* of all Men, that *Death* seems to have extinguished *Envy*, and put her *Fame* in a clearer *Light*, and now the *Happiness* of her *Memory* does as it were strive to outvie that of her *Life*. For tho' through Mens love to any *Party*, or upon the account of the difference of *Religion*, any factious *Report* may be spread *Abroad*, yet 'tis such as seems to be fearful of it self, is not sincere, and can never last long. And 'tis upon this account especially that I have made this *Collection* of *Things*, that relate to her *Happiness*, and are marks of the *Divine Favour*: That so no foul-mouthed *Libeller* might dare to stain so great *Blessings* of *God*, by the *Venom* of his scandalous *Tongue*. If any one should now say, as one did to *Cesar*, *quæ miremur, habemus: sed quæ laudemus, expectamus*; we do indeed see cause to *Admire*, but none to *Praise*: To this I answer, that I look upon *Admiration* as the superlative Degree of *Praise*. Nor could that *Happiness* we have been describing,

scribing, be attained by any, but such as are supported and highly indulged by the Divine Favour; and such as in some measure by their *Morals* and *Vertue* are the Establishers of their own *Fortune*. However I thought fit to subjoin some few Hints with respect to those *Morals* of the Queen, which seem to have been most exposed to the lash of malevolent Tongues.

In *Religion*, Queen *Elizabeth* was *Pious* and *Moderate*, *Constant* and *Steady*, and a profest Enemy to *Novelty*. As for her *Piety*, tho' the chief strokes of it appear'd in the *Actions* and *Affairs* of State; yet some signs of it were to be seen in the *Course* of her *Life*; and her ordinary *Conversation*. She was seldom absent from *Divine Service*, either in her *publick* or *private Chapel*. She employed much of her *Time* in reading the *Scriptures* and the *Writings* of the *Fathers*, especially of *S. Augustine*. She compos'd some *Prayers* her self, upon some *Occasions*, and for some extraordinary *Purposes*. Whenever she mentioned the *Name* of *God*, even in ordinary *Discourse*, she generally added the *Title* of *Creator*; and shewed some sort of *Humility* and *Reverence* in her *Looks* and *Countenance*, which I my self have often observed. As for that which some have reported, that she was so far from thinking of her *Mortality*, that she could not endure to be told of *Old Age* or *Death*, it is absolutely false: Since she her self, several *Years* before her *Death*, would frequently with much *Facetiousness* call her self *the Old Woman*: And would often *Discourse* about the *Inscription*, she had a mind should be on her *Tomb*: She gave out, that she was no lover of *Glory* and *pompous Titles*, but only desir'd her *Memory* might be recorded in a *Line* or *two* which should very briefly express her *Name*, her *Virginity*, the *Time* of her *Reign*, the *Reformation* of *Religion*, and her *Preservation* of the *Peace*, 'Tis true, in the *Flower* of her *Age* before she was past *Child-bearing*, when she was importun'd by some to declare her *Successor*, she did make answer, *That she could by no means endure to have a Shroud held before her Eyes while*

while she was Living. However, some few Years before her Death, when she was more thoughtful, and meditated (as 'tis probable) on her *Mortality*, as one of her bosom Friends told her, that many and great Places and Offices of Trust in the Common-wealth, would be too long vacant; she rose up, and with more than ordinary Concern said, *That she was sure Her Place would not long be Vacant.*

As for her *Moderation in Religion*, perhaps in this her *Character* will seem deficient, because of the *Severity of those Laws*, which were made against her Subjects of the *Romish Religion*; but we will produce such Things, as are well known to us, and carefully taken Notice of by us. This is certain, that she was always averse from laying any Constraint on Men's Consciences: But yet she could not allow that the Government should be endanger'd under the pretence of *Conscience and Religion*. Hence it was that she thought nothing but a certain Destruction would ensue, if she should at the first grant a Liberty and Toleration of two Religions by publick Authority to a fierce and headstrong People, who would soon upon their private Animosities fall together by the Ears. Even in the beginning of her Reign, when all Things looked with a suspicious Face, she kept some of the *Prelates*, which were of a more turbulent and factious Spirit, Prisoners at large, tho' she had the Law on her side: And to the rest of both Orders, she used not any sharp Inquisition, but by a generous Connivence kept them under her Protection. This was the Posture of Affairs at first. Nor did she swerve much from this her *Clemency*, tho' provoked by the Bull of *Excommunication* thundered against her by *Pius the Fifth*. This indeed might have raised her Indignation, and have been the occasion of new modelling the State, but still she retained her own generous Temper. For this Prudent and Courageous Woman was not much Moved at the Noise of such Threatnings, being secure of the Fidelity and Affection of her Subjects, and not fearing

any Harm from the *Romish Faction*, which was too weak to attempt any Thing unless seconded by a foreign Enemy.

But about the three and twentieth Year of her Reign, the Face of Affairs was quite chang'd. Nor was this Period of Time, feigned to serve a turn only, but mentioned in the *publick Records*, and engraven as it were in *leaves of Brass*. Nor were her Subjects of the *Romish Religion* punished with any Severity before that Year, tho' several Laws had formerly been Enacted against them. But at this time it was by degrees discovered what vast and ambitious Designs were laid by *Spain*, to Conquer this Kingdom. A great part of this Design was to raise a Faction in the very Heart of the Nation, which being no Friends to the Government, and desirous of Alteration, should join with the Enemy upon his Invasion: This was hoped would be effected upon the difference there was in Religion: Whereupon they resolved to improve that Breach, and Priests were sent over from the young *Seminaries*, to raise and increase Men's Love for the *Romish Religion*, to teach and inforce the Validity of the *Pope's Bull*, which absolved the Queen's Subjects from their Allegiance, and to excite and prepare the Minds of Men for an Alteration in the Government.

Much about that time, *Ireland* was openly invaded, and the *Name and Government* of Queen *Elizabeth* vilified by various and scandalous Libels; and Affairs were in such a strange Ferment, that they prognosticated a greater Commotion. Nor indeed will I say, that every *Priest* knew of the Design, or were conscious of what was to be done, but certainly they were the wicked Instigators and Promoters of the Villany others were to commit. And this is certainly true, (as appears by several Confessions) that almost all the Priests who were sent into *England* from the Year above-mention'd, to the thirtieth Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign (wherein the Design of *Spain* and the *Romanists* was to be put in Execution,

tion, by that memorable Preparation of a Fleet and Land-forces) I say 'tis certain, that all, who were sent over within that time, among other Things had this likewise in their Orders, That they should insinuate, *That Affairs could not last long in the same Posture; that they would put on a new Face within some short time; and that the Pope and the Catholick Princes would take care of the English State, provided the English were not their own hinderance.* Nay, some of the Priests were manifestly engag'd in the Plots and Contrivances which were laid for the Subversion and Ruin of the Government: And which is still more, the whole Train of this Design was discover'd by Letters which were intercepted from all Parts: Wherein it was written, *That the Vigilancy of the Queen and her Council over the Catholicks would be baffled: For she only seem'd concern'd, that the Faction should not be headed by any Nobleman or Person of Quality; whereas the Design they laid was such as was carried on by Private Men of no Note; who never met and conspir'd together in Numbers, but order'd and dispos'd all Things in the private way of Confession.* These were the Artifices which were then us'd, and were so customary and familiar to those Men, as might be seen in a fresh and parallel Case.

In a time of so much Danger, Queen Elizabeth was obliged by a kind of fatal Necessity to Enact severe Laws, thereby to restrain those of her Subjects, who being averse to her Government, and grown past the hopes of being Cur'd, began to grow Rich by the private Life they led, being exempted from the Charge and Burthen of publick Offices. The Original of this spreading Evil was charg'd upon the *Seminary Priests*; who were bred up in foreign Parts, and maintain'd by the Charity and Benevolence of *Foreign Princes* the profest Enemies of the Realm: Who had liv'd in Places, where the best Titles they could bestow on Queen Elizabeth were those of, *Heretick, Excommunicated, and Damnable Fary*; who, tho' they themselves were not

engag'd in treasonable Practices, yet were known to be the intimate Friends of such as were guilty of those Villanies, and who, by their Artifices and poysonous Methods had depraved the very Sacrifice of the *Mass*, which before was a sweet and harmless Thing; and had as it were infected it with a new kind of Ferment and pernicious Malignity. Whereupon the only Expedient to put a stop to this growing Evil was thought to be the prohibiting these Men from coming into the Land upon pain of Death; which was accordingly Enacted in the seven and twentieth Year of her Reign. Nor did the Event it self, when so great a Storm broke out upon, and threatened the Nation, in the least take off from the Envy and Hatred of these Men, but rather increas'd it; so far had they divested themselves of the Love they ow'd their Country. Afterwards when our Fears of *Spain* (the true occasion of this Severity) were over and vanish'd; yet the Memory of the former Times was so deeply fixt in the Minds and Senses of most Men, and to have abrogated the Laws that were once made would have argued so much *Inconstancy*, or to have slighted them would have been a Sign of so much *Indifferency*; that Queen *Elizabeth* as Cases then stood, did not think it safe for her self, that Things should return to the same Posture they were in before the three and twentieth Year of her Reign. To this may be added the *Industry* of some to increase the Revenues of the *Exchequer*, and the *Care* of those *Ministers of Justice*, who are us'd to mind no other Safety of their Country than what is contain'd in the Laws; Both which requir'd and call'd loudly for the Laws to be put in Execution. However, she (to the Glory of her good Nature be it spoken) did so far blunt the edge of the Laws, that but very few Priests suffer'd Death upon that account. Nor do we speak this by way of Defence, for these Matters stand in need of none: Since the whole Saftey of the Nation depended upon this Conduct, and the Method and Measure of all this Severity was far from being Bloody,

and

and is a Thing that no Christian need to be asham'd of ; for it proceeded more from the Arrogance and wicked Practices of others, than from any necessity the Nation lay under, and it stands for a Monument of Disgrace to the *Romanists*. But not to forget what we first asserted, we think we have abundantly demonstrated, that she was *Moderate* in Points of *Religion*, and that the Alteration which did happen, was not owing to her Nature, but to the Iniquity of the Times.

Of her *Constancy* in *Religion* and the *Worship* thereof, the greatest Proof is, That with an undaunted Mind and little Assistance she extirpated and abrogated the *Romish Religion*, as being disagreeable to the *Word of God*, the *Primitive Purity*, and her own *Conscience*: Notwithstanding in her *Sister's Reign* it was established by Publick Authority and a great deal of Care, and had taken deep Root, and was strengthened with the Consent and Approbation of all that were in Authority and Places of Trust. Nor did she do this hastily or in a heat, but cautiously and by degrees. The Truth of which appears, not only in her whole Conduct of Affairs, but also in that Answer which she once made to a *Courtier* upon the like Occasion. For in the beginning of her Reign, when according to the Custom the *Prisoners* were to be releas'd, to Grace, and Honour her first Accession to the Throne ; as she was going to Chapel she was accosted by a certain *Courtier*, who took more than ordinary Freedom, being of a pleasant and facetious Nature. He, either prompted to it by his own private Inclination, or set on by a wiser Head, deliver'd a *Petition* into her Hand, and in a full Concourse of People with a loud Voice expressed himself thus, *That there were still four or five kept Prisoners, and that for no Reason at all: That he came to Petition for their Freedom, as well as for the Rest. That they were the Four Evangelists, and the Apostle S. Paul, who had been long confin'd in an unknown Tongue, as it were in a Prison, and were not suffer'd to appear abroad in the World.* The Queen gave him this very cautious Reply, *That it*

was best to Consult them first, whether they were willing to have their Freedom yet, or no. And thus she kept every Thing within her own Power, by giving such a doubtful Answer to so surprizing a Demand. Nor did she carry on Things fearfully, and by fits and starts, but Gravely, Orderly, and Maturely: A Conference first had between the Parties, and a *Parliament* first call'd; and at last, within the compass of a Year, she so far order'd and establish'd all Things which concern'd Religion, that she did not suffer the least Tittle of them to be alter'd, during all her Reign. And it was always her Publick Admonition in almost every Session of *Parliament*, that no Innovation should be made in the *Discipline* and *Ceremonies* of the Church. Thus far of her Religion.

Now if any of the *graver Sort* should object these *Levities*: " That she was contented and desirous to be " Admired, to be Courted, and upon the Account of " Love to be Prais'd and Extoll'd; and that she continu'd these Levities even to an Age wherein they " were unbecoming her: Yet if you take even these in a milder Sense, they are not without their due *Admiration*, since they are such Things, as often are to be found in the *fabulous Narrations* of Poets and others. Thus 'tis recorded of a certain Queen in the *Fortunate Islands*, who in her Court and Government entertain'd that soft Thing call'd *Love*, and yet forbid *Lust* to enter there. But if a harsher Construction should be put upon them, yet they are to be admir'd, and that very highly too, since these *Softnesses* cast but little blemish on her *Fame*, and none at all upon her *Grandeur*; did no Injury to her Government, and hinder'd not the Publick Administration of Affairs. For these sort of Things are usually joyn'd to the most noted Fortune. But, to conclude this Essay; she was certainly a *good, moral Princess*, and as such she desir'd to appear: She was a hater of *Vice*, and study'd to grow famous by *honourable Methods*. And truly at the naming of her *Manners*,

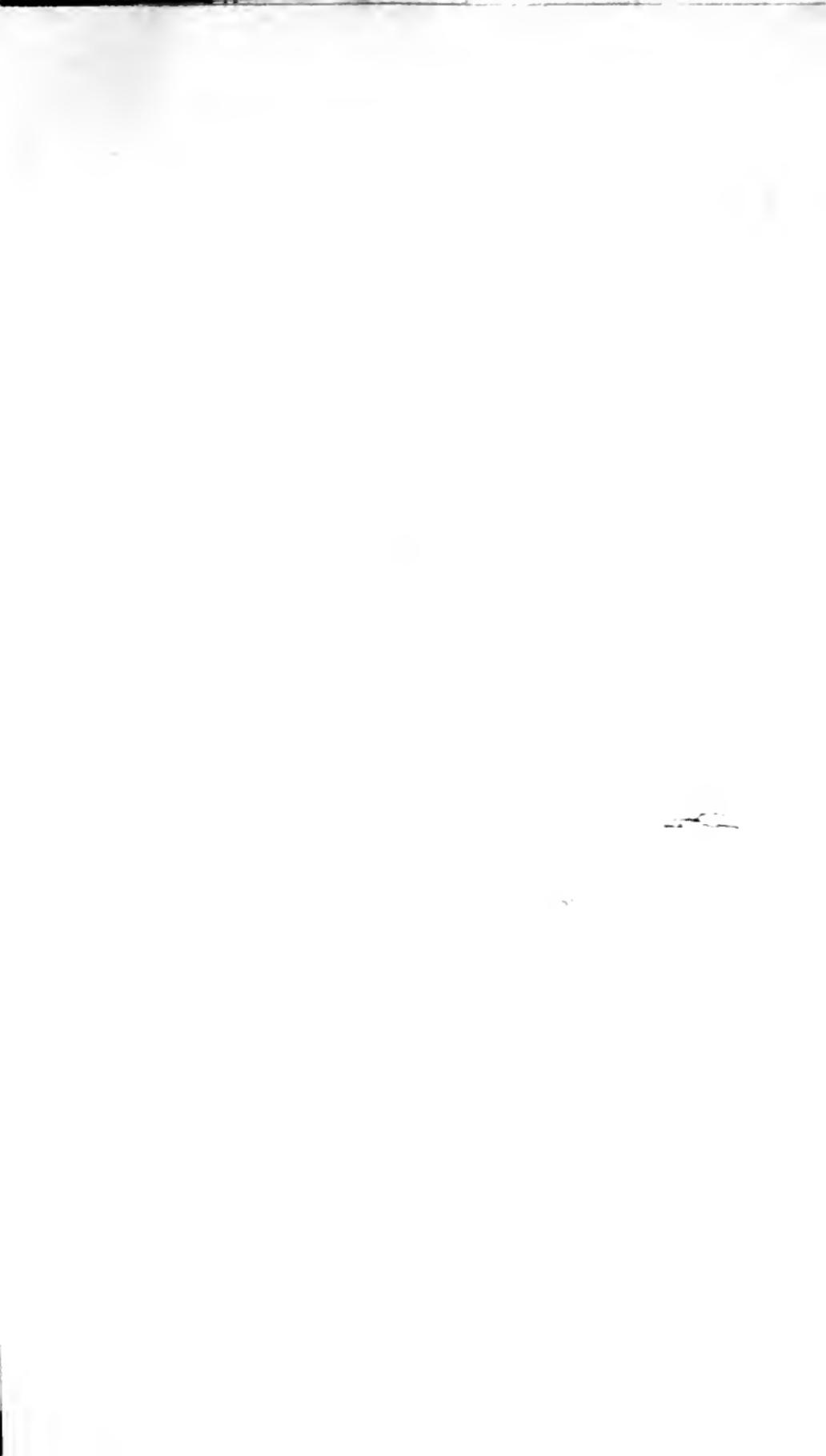
Manners, something comes into my Mind, which I will here declare. When she had order'd an Express to be written to her Ambassador, concerning certain Instructions, which he was privately to impart to the Queen Mother of *France* at *Valois*, and her Secretary had inserted a certain Clause, that the Ambassador to ingratiate himself the better should say, *That they were two Female Princes, of whom, in the Management of Affairs, and in the Art and Skill of Governing, as great Things were expected as from the best of Men*; she could not endure the Comparison, but order'd it to be struck out, and said, *That she us'd quite different Arts and Methods in the Administration of the Government*. And she was extremely pleas'd, when any one by chance dropt out such an Expression as this, *That she would have liv'd and excell'd in the Eye of the World, tho' she had spent her Days in a private and mean Station*: So desirous was she that nothing of her *Virtue* and *Praise* should be owing to the *Grandure* of her *Fortune*. But if I should enter upon her Praises, either *Moral* or *Political*, or should touch only upon her *Virtues*, which would be a Disparagement to so great a Princess: Or should I endeavour to set them in their clear and proper Light, I must run out into the *History* of her Life, which requires more Leisure, and a larger Genius, than I can pretend to. For I have here given you her *Character* in short. But it must after all be said, That only *Time* will bestow a true Encomium on this Excellent Woman: Since no Age since the Creation, could ever shew her *Equal* in her own *Sex*, that was so fit to manage the Affairs of a State.

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