

**The essayes or covnsels, civill and morall / of Francis Lo. Vervlam,
Viscovnt St. Alban.**

Contributors

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ESSAYS

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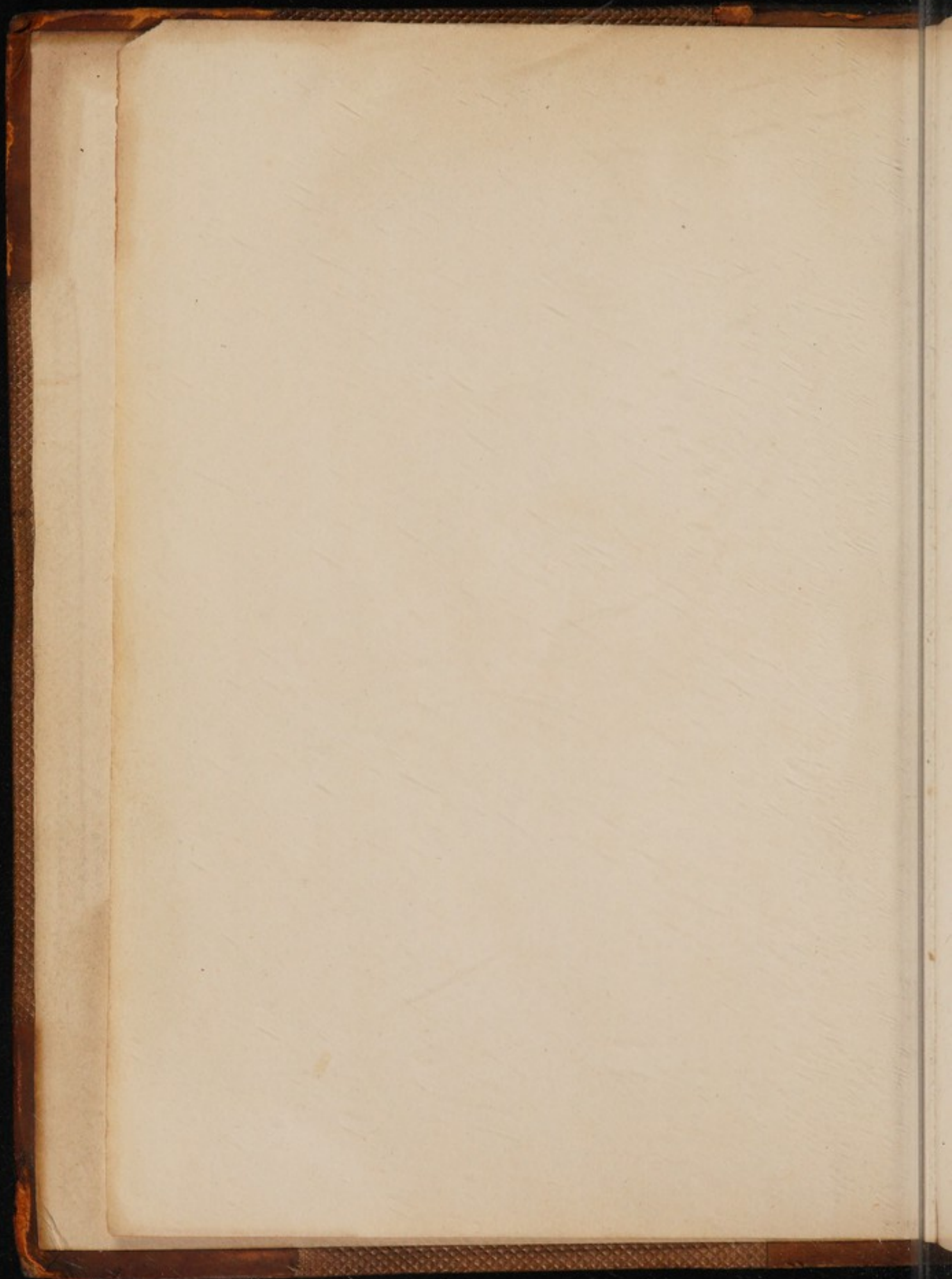


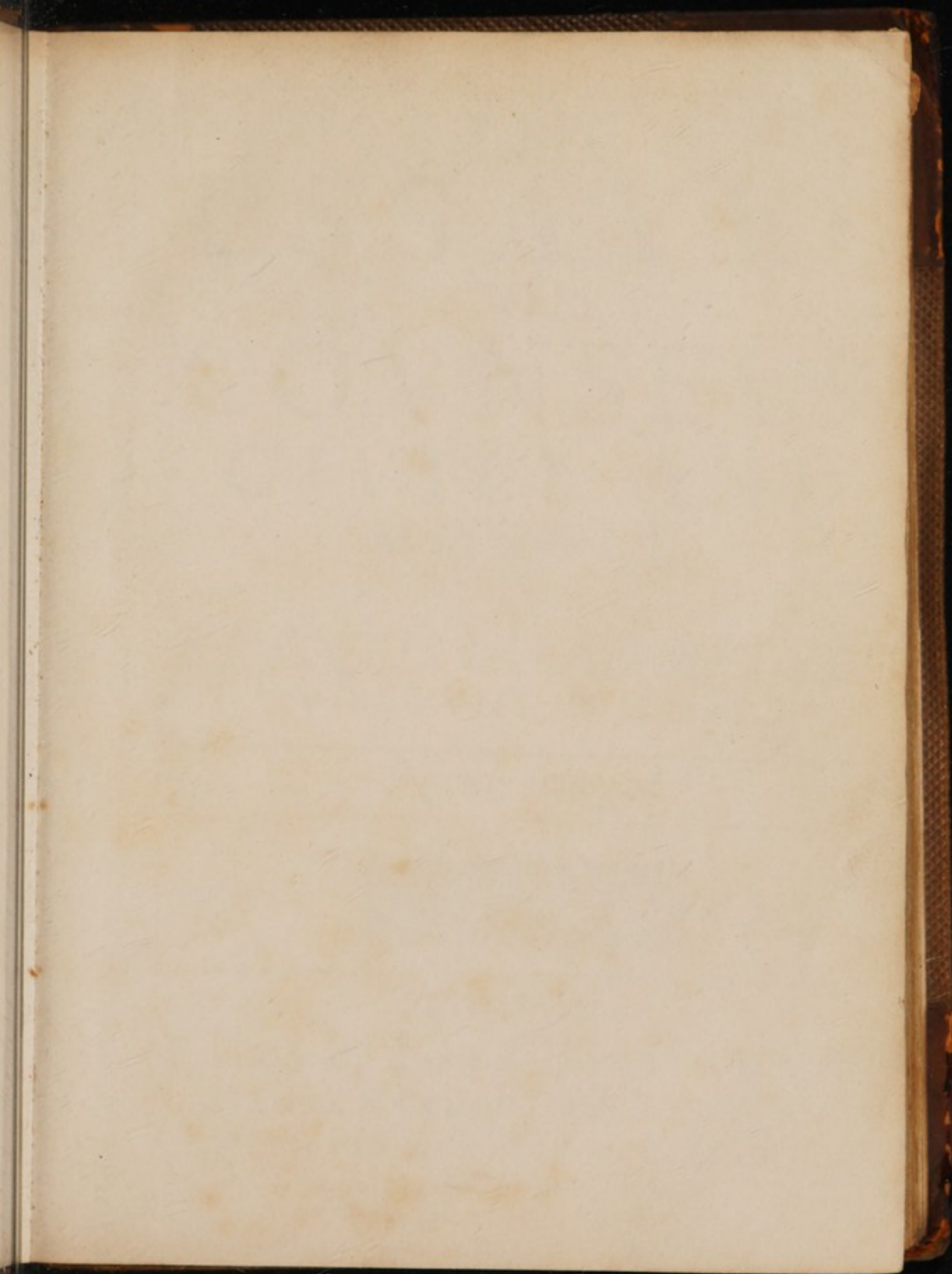


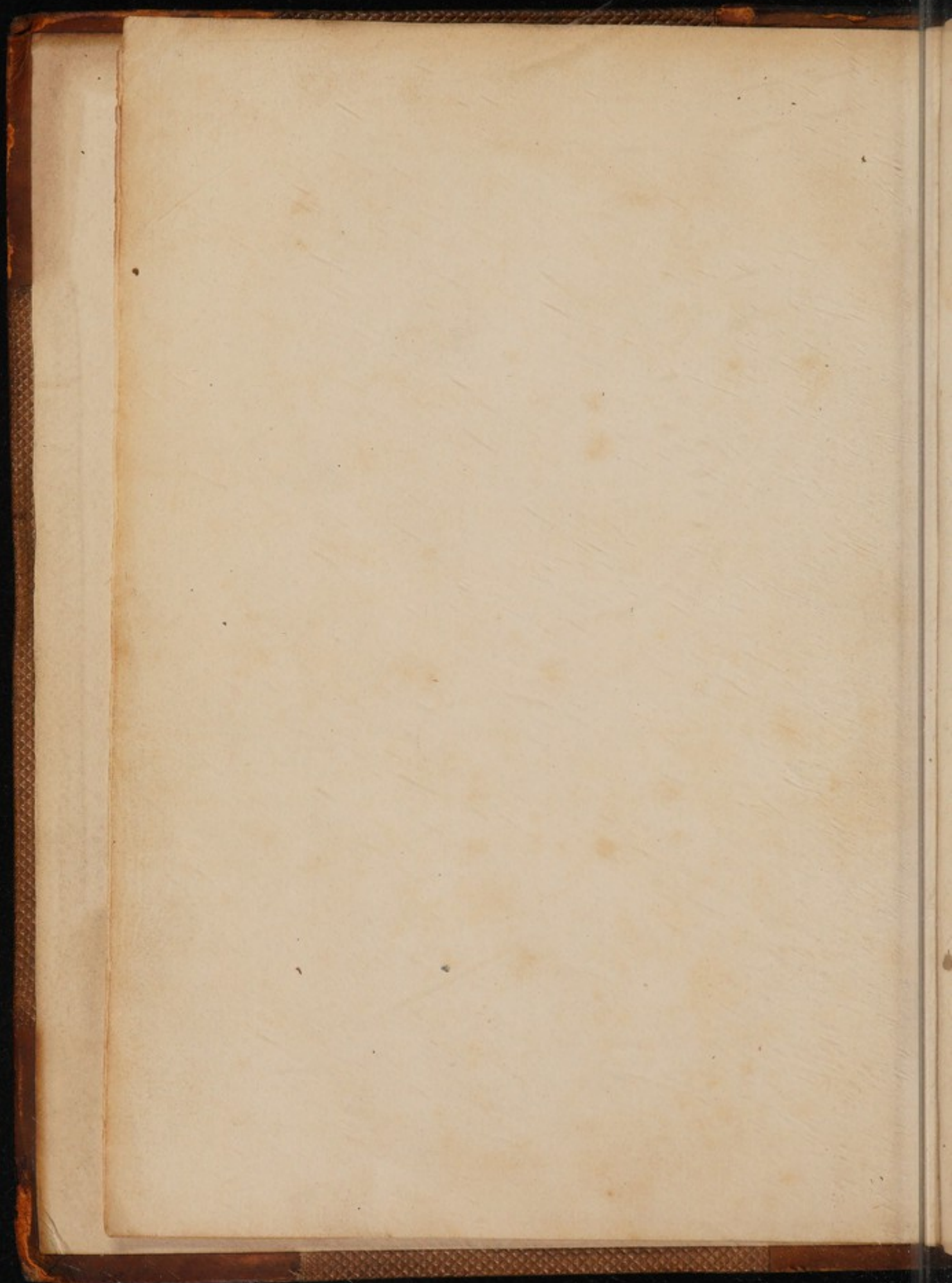


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THE
ESSAYES
OR
COUNSELS,
CIVILL AND
MORALL,
OF
FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,
VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

Newly enlarged.

Edw: d



Sparrow

LONDON,
Printed by Iohn HAVILAND for.
HANNA BARRET, and RICHARD
WHITAKER, and are to be sold
at the signe of the Kings head in
Pauls Church-yard. 1625.

THE
ESSAYS
OR
COUNSELS
CIVIL AND
MORAL
OF
FRANCIS LO. JERVIS
VISCOUNT S. ALBAN.

Not enlarged.



LONDON,
Printed by John Hare and John
Hanna Barker, and Richard
Whitaker, and are to be sold
at the Sign of the King's Head
in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1675.



TO
THE RIGHT
HONORABLE MY

VERY GOOD LO. THE D VKE
of Buckingham his Grace, Lo.

High Admirall of England,

EXCELLENT LO.



ALOMON
saies; A good
Name is as a
precious oynt-
ment; And
I assure my
felfe, such wil
your Graces Name bee, with

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Poste-

THE EPISTLE

Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, haue beene Eminent. And you haue planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes*; which, of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conuerue, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Vniuersall Language) may last,

DEDICATORIE.

last, as long as Bookes last. My
Instauration, I dedicated to the
King: My *Historie* of HENRY
the Seuenth, (which I haue now
also translated into Latine) and
my *Portions* of *Naturall History*,
to the *Prince*: And these I dedi-
cate to your *Grace*; Being of the
best Fruits, that by the good En-
crease, which *God* giues to my
Pen and Labours, I could yeeld.
God leade your *Grace* by the
Hand.

*Your Graces most Obliged and
faithfull Seruant,*

FR. S^c. ALBAN.

DEDICATORIE.

last, as long as Bookes last. My
Innovation, I dedicated to the
King: My Historie of H E N R Y
the Seventh, (which I have now
also translated into Latine) and
my Portion of Natural History,
to the Prince: And these I dedi-
cate to your Grace; Being of the
best Fruits, that by the good En-
crease, which God gives to my
Pen and Labours, I could yeeld.
God leade your Grace by the
Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and
Faithfull Servant,

R. S. ALBAN.



Of Truth.

I.



WHAT *is Truth*; said
jesting *Pilate*; And
would not stay for
an Answer. Cer-
tainly there be, that
delight in Giddi-
nesse; And count it
a Bondage, to fix a
Beleeve; Affecting Free-will in Thinking,
as well as in Acting. And though the Sects
of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone,
yet there remaine certaine discoursing
Wits, which are of the same veines, though
there be not so much Bloud in them, as
was in those of the Ancients. But it is not

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onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth*; Nor againe, that when it is found, it imposeth vpon mens Thoughts; that doth bring *Lies* in fauour: But a naturall, though corrupt Loue, of the *Lie* it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to thinke what should be in it, that men should loue *Lies*; Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant; but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth*, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candle-lights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth euer adde Pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes,

Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like ; but it would leaue the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunk Things ; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and vnpleasing to themselues? One of the Fathers, in great Seuerity, called Poesie, *Vinum Dæmonum*; because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Minde, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and setleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoeuer these things are thus, in mens depraued Iudgements, and Affections, yet *Truth*, which onely doth iudge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of *Truth*, which is the Loue-making, or Wooing of it ; The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it ; and the Beleeefe of *Truth*, which is the Enioying of it ; is the Soueraigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense ; The last, was the Light of Reason ; And his Sabbath Worke, euer since, is the

Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, vpon 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 vpon the shore, and to see ships tost vpon the Sea : A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Aduentures thereof, below : But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, vpon the vantage ground of Truth :* (A hill not to be commanded, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene ;) *And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below :* So alwaies, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heauen vpon Earth, to haue a Mans Minde Moue in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne vpon the Poles of Truth.

To passe from Theologicall, and Philosophicall

sophicall *Truth*, to the *Truth* of ciuill Bu-
sinesse; It will be acknowledged, euen by
those, that practize it not, that cleare and
Round dealing, is the Honour of Mans
Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is
like Allay in Coyne of Gold and Siluer;
which may make the Metall worke the
better, but it embaseth it. For these win-
ding, and crooked courses, are the Go-
ings of the Serpent; which goeth basely
vpon the belly, and not vpon the Feet.
There is no Vice, that doth so couer a
Man with Shame, as to be found false,
and perfidious. And therefore *Mountaigny*
saith prettily, when he enquired the
reason, why the word of the *Lie*, should
be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious
Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To
say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as
that he is braue towards God, and a Coward
towards men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and
shrinks from Man. Surely the Wicked-
nesse of Falshood, and Breach of Faith,
cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as
in that it shall be the last Peale, to call the

Iudgements of God, vpon the Generations of Men, It being foretold, that when Christ commeth, *He shall not finde Faith vpon the Earth.*

Of Death.

II.



Men feare *Death*, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Natural Feare in Children, is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of *Death*, as the wages of sinne, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due vnto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superstition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars Books of *Mortification*, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the Paine is, if he haue but his Fingers end Pressed, or Tortured;

tured ; And thereby imagine, what the Paines of *Death* are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and dissolued ; when many times, *Death* passeth with lesse paine, then the Torture of a Limme : For the most vitall parts, are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake onely as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipsa* Groanes and Conuulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* Terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of *Death* : And therefore Death, is no such terrible Enemy, when a man hath so many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Reuenge* triumphs ouer *Death* ; *Loue* flights it ; *Honour* aspireth to it ; *Griefe* flieth to it ; *Feare* pre-occupateth it ; Nay we reade, after *Otho* the Emperour had slaine himselfe, *Pitty* (which is the tenderest of Affections) prouoked many

many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soueraigne, and as the trueſt ſort of Followers. Nay *Seneca* addes *Niceneſſe & Saciety* ; *Cogita quam diu eadem feceris ; Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Miſer, ſed etiam Faſtidioſus poteſt.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miſerable, onely vpon a wearineſſe to doe the ſame thing, ſo oft ouer and ouer. It is no leſſe worthy to obſerue, how little Alteration, in good Spirits, the Approaches of *Death* make ; For they appeare, to be the ſame Men, till the laſt Inſtant. *Augustus Ceſar* died in a Complement ; *Li- uia, Coniugij noſtri memor, viue & vale.* *Tiberius* in diſſimulation ; As *Tacitus* ſaith of him ; *Iam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Diſſimulatio, deſerebant.* *Veſpaſian* in a leſt ; Sitting vpon the Stoole, *Vt puto Deus fio.* *Galba* with a Sentence ; *Feri, ſi ex re ſit populi Romani* ; Holding forth his Necke. *Septimius Seuerus* in diſpatch ; *Adeſte, ſi quid mihi reſtat agendum.* And the like. Certainly, the *Stoikes* beſtowed too much coſt vpon *Death*, and by their great preparations

parations, made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponat Naturæ.* It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent vpon somewhat, that is good, doth avert the Dolors of *Death*: But aboue all, beleeue 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 Enuie.

—*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

Of

Of Vnity in Religion.

III.



Religion being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing, when it selfe, is well contained, within the true Band of *Vnity*. The Quarrels, and Diuisions about *Religion*, were Euils vnknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the *Religion* of the Heathen, consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies; then in any constant Beleefe. For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a *Jealous God*; And therefore, his worship and *Religion*, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the *Vni-*

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ty of the Church ; What are the Fruits thereof ; what the Bounds ; And what the Meanes?

The Fruits of Vnity (next vnto 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 certaine , that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals ; yea more then Corruption of Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity , is worse then a Corrupt Humor ; So in the Spirituall. So that nothing, doth so much keepe Men out of the Church, and driue Men out of the Church, as Breach of Vnity : And therefore, whensoever it cometh to that passe, that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto* ; Another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus* ; That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conuenticles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to sound in Mens Eares , *Nolite exire, Goe not out.*

The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation, drew him to haue a speciall care of those *without*) saith; *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with severall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions in Religion; It doth auert them from the Church, and maketh them, *To sit downe in the chaire 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 faigned Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; *The morris daunce of Heretikes.* For indeed, euery Sect of them, hath a Diuers Posture, or Cringe by themselves, which cannot but Moue Derision, in Worldlings, and Deprauid Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are within*; It is *Peace*; which containeth
infinite

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 Controuersies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Deuotion.

Concerning the *Bounds of Vnity* ; The true Placing of them, importeth exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine *Zelants* all Speech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace Iehu ? What hast thou to doe with peace ? turne thee behinde me. Peace is not the Matter, but Following and Party.* Contrariwise, certaine *Laodiceans*, and Luke-warme Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of Religion, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both ; And witty Reconcilements ; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be auoyded ; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himselfe, were in the two crosse Clauses thereof, soundly and

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plainly

plainly expounded ; *He that is not with vs, is against vs* : And againe ; *He that is not against vs, is with vs* : That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in Religion, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter triuiall, and done already: But if it were done lesse partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may giue onely this Aduice, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of Controuersies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controuerted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat, and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers ; *Christs Coat, indeed, had no seame : But the Churches Vesture was of diuers colours* ; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas fit, Scissura non fit* ; They be two Things, *Unity*, and *Unifor-mity*. The other is, when the Matter of the

the Point Controuerted is great ; but it is
 driuen to an ouer-great Subtilty, and Ob-
 scurity ; So that it becommeth a Thing,
 rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A
 man that is of Iudgement and vnderstan-
 ding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant
 Men differ, and know well within him-
 selfe, that those which so differ, meane
 one thing, and yet they themselues would
 neuer agree. And if it come so to passe, in
 that distance of Iudgement, which is be-
 tweene Man and Man ; Shall wee not
 thinke, that God aboue, that knowes the
 Heart, doth not discern, that fraile Men,
 in some of their Contradictions, intend
 the same thing ; and accepteth of both ?
 The Nature of such Controuersies, is ex-
 cellently expressed, by *St. Paul*, in the
 Warning and Precept, that he giueth, con-
 cerning the same, *Deuita profanas vocum*
Novitates, & Oppositiones falsi Nominis
Scientie. Men create Oppositions, which
 are not ; And put them into new termes,
 so fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought
 to governe the Terme, the Terme in effect
 gover-

gouerneth the Meaning. There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Vnities*; The one, when the *Peace* is grounded, but vpon an implicate ignorance, For all Colours will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is pecced vp, vpon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the *Iron and Clay*, in the toes of *Nabucadnezars Image*; They may Cleaue, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the *Meanes of procuring Vnity*; Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of *Religious Vnity*, they doe not Dissolue and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both haue their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of *Religion*. But we may not take vp the Third sword, which is *Mahomets Sword*, or like vnto it; That is, to propagate *Religion*, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences; except it be in cases of Ouert Scandal,

dall, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practize, against the State ; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions ; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions ; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands ; And the like ; Tending to the Subuersion of all Gouernment, 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 owne Daughter, exclaimed ;

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he haue said, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England ? He would haue beene, Seuen times more Epicure and Atheist, then he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, 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 bee left vnto the Anabaptists,

baptists, and other Furies. It was great Blaspheemy, when the Deuill 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 Darknesse*; And what is it better, to make the cause of Religion, to descend, to the cruell and execrable Actions, of Murthuring Princes, Butchery of People, and Subuersion of States, and Gouvernments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Doue, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Rauen: And to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and *Affassins*. Therefore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for euer, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the same; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels, Concerning Religion, that
Counsell

Counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed;
Ira hominis non implet Iusticiam Dei. And
it was a notable Obseruation, of a wise
Father, And no lesse ingenuously confes-
sed; *That those, which held and perswaded,*
pressure of Consciences, were commonly inter-
essed therein, themselves, for their owne ends.

Of Reuenge.

IIII.

Reuenge is a kinde of Wilde Iu-
stice; which the more Mans
Nature runs to, the more ought
Law to weed it out. For as for the first
Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but
the Reuenge of that wrong, putteth the
Law out of Office. Certainly, in taking Re-
uenge, A Man is but euen with his Enemy;
But in passing it ouer, he is Superiour: For
it is a Princes part to Pardon. And *Salomon*,
I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a*
Man to passe by an offence. That which

is past, is gone, and Irreuoicable; And wise Men haue Enough to doe, with things present, and to come : Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselues, that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs sake ; But therby to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man, for louing himselfe better then mee ? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why ? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no other. The most Tolerable Sort of *Reuenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy : But then, let a man take heed, the *Reuenge* be such, as there is no law to punish : Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one. Some, when they take *Reuenge*, are Desirous the party should know, whence it commeth : 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

and Crafty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, had a Desperate Saying, against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were vn pardonable : *You shall reade* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgiue our Enemies; But you neuer read, that wee are commanded, to forgiue our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Iob*, was in a better tune ; *Shall wee* (saith he) *take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take euill also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine ; That a Man that studieth *Reuenge*, keepes his owne Wounds greene, which otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique *Reuenges*, 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 priuate *Reuenges* it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicatiue Persons liue the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischieuous, So end they Infortunate.

Of Aduersitie.

V.



It was an high speech of Seneca, (after the manner of the Stoickes) *That the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Aduersity, are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia; Aduersarum, Mirabilia.* Certainly if Miracles, be the Command ouer Nature, they appeare most in Aduersity. It is yet a higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatnesse, to haue in one, the Frailty of a Man, & the Security of a God. Verè magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.* This would haue done better in Poesy; where Transcendences are more allowed. And the Poets indeed, haue beene busy

busy with it ; For it is, in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction, of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery ; Nay, and to haue some approach, to the State of a Christian : That *Hercules*, when hee went to vnbinde *Prometheus*, (by whom Humane Nature is represented) sailed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher : Liuely describing Christian Resolution ; that saileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waues of the World. But to speake in a Meane. The Vertue of *Prosperitie*, is Temperance ; The Vertue of *Aduersity*, is Fortitude : which in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing of the Old Testament ; *Aduersity* is the Blessing of the New ; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the Clearer Reuelation of Gods Favour. Yet, euen in the old Testament, if you Listen to *Dauid's* Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols : And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Affli-
ctions

ctions of *Iob*, then the Felicities of *Salomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Feares and Distastes ; And *Aduersity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes, and Imbroideries, It is more pleasing, to haue a Liuely Worke, vpon a Sad and Solemne Ground ; then to haue a Darke and Melancholy Worke, vpon a Lightsome Ground : Iudge therefore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed : For *Prosperity* doth best discover Vice ; But *Aduersity* doth best discover Vertue.

Of

Of Simulation

And
Disimulation.

VI.



Disimulation is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdome ; For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it. Therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus saith ; *Liua* sorted well, with the Arts of her Husband, & *Disimulation* of her Sonne : Attributing Arts or Policy to *Augustus*, and *Disimulation* to *Tiberius*. And againe, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian*, to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith ; *We* rise not, against the Piercing Iudgment of *Augustus*, nor the Extreme Caution or Closenesse of *Tiberius*. These Properties

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of

of *Arts* or *Policy*, and *Disimulation* or *Clofenesse*, are indeed Habits and Faculties, feuerall, and to be distinguished. For if a Man, haue that Penetration of Iudgment, as he can discerne, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe 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 *Disimulation*, is a Hinderance, and a Poorenesse. But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Iudgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be Close, and a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall ; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that euer were, haue had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing ; And a name of Certainty, and Veracity ; But then they were like Horses, well mannaged ; For they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turne : And at such times, when they thought

thought the Case indeed, required *Disimulation*, if then they vsed it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearnesse of dealing, made them almost Inuisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe. The first *Clofenesse, Reseruation, and Secrecy*; when a Man leaueth himselfe without Obseruation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second *Disimulation*, in the *Negative*; when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not, that he is. And the third *Simulation*, in the *Affirmatiue*; when a Man industriously, and expressely, faigns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy*: It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour; And assuredly, the *Secret Man*, heareth many Confessions. For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a man be thought *Secret*, it inuiteth Discouerie; As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession, the Reuealing is not for worldly vse, but for the

Ease of a Mans Heart, so *Secret* Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say Truth) *Nakednesse* is vncomely, as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no small Reuerence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke, what he knoweth not. Therefore set it downe; *That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall.* And in this Part, it is good, that a Mans Face, giue his Tongue, leaue to Speake. For the Discouery, of a Mans Selfe, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weaknesse, and *Betraying*; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleeued, then a Mans words.

For the Second, which is *Disimulation*. It followeth many times vpon *Secrecy*, by a necessity: So that, he that will be *Secret*,

cret, must be a *Dissembler*, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be *Secret*, without Swaying the Ballance, on either side. They will to beset a man with Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination, one way ; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equiuocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be *secret*, except he giue himselfe a little Scope of *Disimulation* ; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Traine of *Secrecy*.

But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession ; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke ; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising, either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearefulnessse ; Or of a Minde, that hath some maine Faults ; which because a man must

needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of vre.

The great *Aduantages* of *Simulation* and *Disimulation* are three. First to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call vp, all that are against them. The second is, to reserue to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat: For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discouer the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselves aduerse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Prouerbe of the Spaniard; *Tell a lye, and finde a Troth*. As if there were no way of Discouery, but by *Simulation*. There be also three *Disaduantages*, to set it euen. The first, That *Simulation* and *Disimulation*, commonly carry with them, a Shew of Fearfulnesse, which in a-
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ny Businesse, doth spoile the Feathers, of round flying vp to the Mark. The second, that it pūleth & perplexeth the Conceits of many; that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walke, almost alone, to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it deprieth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruments for Action; which is *Trust* and *Beleeve*. The best Composition, and Temperature is; to haue *Opennesse* in Fame and Opinion; *Secrecy* in Habit; *Disimulation* in seasonable vse; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.

Of

Of Parents and Children.

VII.

THe Ioyes of *Parents* are Secret; And so are their Griefes, and Feares: They cannot vtter the one; Nor they will not vtter 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 workes, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, haue proceeded from *Childlesse Men*; which haue sought to expresse the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies haue failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that haue no Poste-

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 kinde, but of their Worke; And so both *Children*, and *Creatures*.

The difference in Affection, of *Parents*, towards their severall *Children*, is many times vnequall; And sometimes vnworthy; Especially in the *mother*; As Salomon saith; *A wise sonne reioyceth the Father; but an vngracious sonne 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, neuerthelesse, proue the best. The Illiberalitie of *Parents*, in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmefull Error; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proove is best, when Men keepe
F their

their Authority towards their *Children*, but not their Purse. Men haue a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and Schoole-masters, and Seruants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times letteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene *Children*, and Nephewes, or neere Kinsfolkes; But so they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Vncle, or a Kinsman, more then his owne *Parent*; As the Bloud happens. Let *Parents* choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane 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 haue most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection

or

or Aptneſſe of the *Children*, be Extraor-
dinary, then it is good, not to croſſe it ;
But generally, the Precept is good ; *Op-
timum elige, ſuave & facile illud faciet Con-
ſuetudo.* Younger Brothers are common-
ly Fortunate, but ſeldome or neuer, where
the *Elder* are diſinherited.

Of Marriage

And
Single Life.

VIII.

HE that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath giuen Hostages to Fortune; For they are Impediments, to great Enterprises, either of Vertue, or Mischiefe. Certainly, the best workes, and of greatest Merit for the Publike, haue proceeded from the *unmarried*, or *Childlesse Men*; which, both in Affection, and Meanes, haue married and endowed the Publike. Yet it were great Reason, that those that haue *Children*, should haue greatest care of future times; vnto which, they know, they must transmit, their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their Thoughts doe end with them-

themselves, and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay, there are some other, that account *Wife* and *Children*, but as Bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous Men, that take a pride in having no *Children*, because they may be thought, so much the richer. For perhaps, they have heard some talke; *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 certaine Selfe-pleasing, and humorous Mindes, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters, to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends; best Masters; best Seruants; but not alwayes best Subiects; For they are light to runne away; And almost all Fugitiues 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 Poole. It is in-

different for Iudges and Magistrates : For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall haue a Seruant, fīue times worse than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatiues, put Men in minde of their *Wīues and Children*. And I thinke the Despising of *Marriage*, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar souldier more base. Certainly, *Wife and Children*, are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity : And *single Men*, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Meanes are lesse exhaust ; yet, on the other side, they are more cruell, and hard hearted, (good to make seuerer Inquisitors) because their Tenderesse, is not so oft called vpon. Graue Natures, led by Custome, and therefore constant, are commonly louing *Husbands* ; As was said of *Vlysses* ; *Vetulam suam prætulit Immortalitati*. Chast Women are often Proud, and froward, as Presuming vpon the merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the *Wife*, if She thinke her *Husband* Wile ; which

which She will neuer doe, if She finde him *Jealous*. *Wives* are young Mens Mistresses ; Companions for middle Age ; and old Mens Nurses. So as a Man may haue a Quarrell 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 scene, that bad *Husbands*, haue very good *Wives* ; whether it be, that it rayseth the Price of their *Husbands* Kindnesse, when it comes ; Or that the *Wives* take a Pride, in their Patience. But this neuer failes, if the bad *Husbands* were of their owne choosung, against their Friends consent ; For then, they will be sure, to make good their owne Folly.

Of

Of Enuy.

I X.



Here be none of the *Affecti-
ons*, which haue beene no-
ted to fascinate, or bewitch,
but *Loue*, and *Enuy*. They
both haue vehement wishes;
They frame themselues readily into Ima-
ginations, and Suggestions; And they
come easily into the Eye; especially vpon
the presence of the Obiects; which are
the Points, that conduce to Fascination,
if any such Thing there be. We see like-
wise, the Scripture calleth *Enuy*, An *Euill
Eye*: And the Astrologers, call the euill
Influences of the Starrs, *Euill Aspects*; So
that still, there seemeth to be acknow-
ledged, in the Act of *Enuy*, an Eiaculation,
or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some haue
beene so curious, as to note, that the
Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion
of

of an *Envious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory, or Triumph ; For that sets an Edge vpon *Envy* ; And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the *person Envied*, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leauing these Curiosities, (though not vnworthy, to be thought on, in fit place,) wee will handle, what *Persons* are apt to *Envy* others ; What *persons* are most *Subiect to be Envied themselves* ; And, What is the *Difference between Publique, and private Envy*.

- A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, euer *enuieth* Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed vpon their owne Good, or vpon others Euill ; And who wanteth the one, wil prey vpon the other ; And who so is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at euen hand, by Depressing an others Fortune.

- A man that is Busy, and Inquisitiue, is commonly *Envious* : For to know
G much

much of other Men s Matters, cannot be, because all that Adoe may concerne his owne Estate : Therfore it must needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure, in looking vpon the Fortunes of others ; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Businesse, finde much matter for *Envy*. For *Envy* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home ; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit maleuolus.*

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *enuious* 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 thinke themselves goe backe.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Bastards, are *Enuious* : For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impair anothers ; Except these Defects light, vpon a very braue, and Heroicall Nature ; which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants, part of his Honour : In that

it should be said, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters ; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle ; as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, 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 thinke other Mens Harmes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Leuity, and Vaine glory, are euer *Enuious* ; For they cannot want worke ; It being impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *Enuied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers*, in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that haue beene bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth vpbraide vnto them, their owne Fortunes ; And pointeth at them, and commeth oft-

ner into their remembrance, and incur-
 reth likewise more into the note of others:
 And *Enuy* euer redoubleth from Speech
 and Fame. *Cains Enuy*, was the more vile,
 and Malignant, towards his brother
Abel; Because, when his Sacrifice was
 better accepted, there was no Body to
 looke on. Thus much for *those that are*
apt to Enuy.

Concerning *those that are more or lesse*
subiect to Enuy: First, Persons of eminent
 Vertue, when they are aduanced, are lesse
enuied. For their Fortune seemeth but
 due vnto them; and no man *Enuieth* the
 Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Li-
 berality rather. Againe, *Enuy* is euer ioy-
 ned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selte;
 And where there is no Comparison, no
Enuy; And therefore Kings, are not *enuied*,
 but by Kings. Neuerthelesse, it is to be
 noted, that vnworthy Persons, are most
enuied, at their first comming in, and after-
 wards ouercome it better; whereas con-
 trariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit,
 are most *enuied*, when their Fortune con-
 tinueth

tinueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the same Lustre; For fresh Men grow vp, that darken it.

Persons of Noble Bloud, are lesse enuied, 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 Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, vpon a Bank or steepe rising Ground; then vpon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are aduanced by degrees, are lesse enuied, then those that are aduanced suddainly, and *per saltum*.

Those that haue ioyned with their Honour, great Trauels, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subiect to Envy. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pittie them sometimes; And Pitty, euer healeth Envy: Wherefore, you shall obserue that the more deepe, and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are euer bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; Chanting a *Quanta patimur*. Not that they feele it so, but onely

to abate the Edge of *Envy*. But this is to be vnderstood, of Businesse, that is laid vpon Men, and not such as they call vnto themselves. For Nothing increaseth *Envy* more, then an vnecessary, and Ambitious Ingrossing of Businesse. And nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, then for a great Person, to preserve all other inferior Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. For by that meanes, there be so many Skreenes betweene him, and *Envy*.

Above all, those are most subiect to *Envy*, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: Being neuer well, but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphanting ouer all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to *Envy*; in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose to be crost, and ouerborne in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a
plaine

plaine and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw lesse *Envy*, then if it be in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that course, a Man doth but disauow Fortune; And seemeth to be conscious, of his owne 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 remoue the *Lot* (as they call it) & to lay it vpon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons, bring in euer vpon the Stage, some Body, vpon whom to deriue the *Enuie*, that would come vpon themselves; Sometimes vpon Ministers, and Seruants; Sometimes vpon Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne, there are neuer wanting, some Persons of violent and vndertaking Natures, who so they may haue Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.

Now

Now to speake of Publique *Envy*. There is yet some good in *Publique Envy*; whereas in *Private*, there is none. For *Publique Envy* is as an *Ostracisme*, that eclipseth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

This *Envy*, being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the Moderne languages, by the name of *Discontentment*. Of which we shall speake in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease, in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth vpon that, which is sound, and tainteth it; So when *Envy*, is gotten once into a State, it traducth euen the best Actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won by intermingling of plausible Actions. For that doth argue, but a Weaknesse, and Feare of *Envy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise vsuall in *Infections*; which if you feare them, you call them vpon you.

This publique *Envy*, seemeth to beat chiefly, vpon principall Officers, or Ministers,

nisters, rather then vpon Kings, & Estates themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the *Enuy* vpon the Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is smal; or if the *Enuy* be generall, in a manner, vpon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the *Enuy* (though hidden) is truly vpon the State it selfe. And so much of *publike enuy* or *discontentment*, & the difference thereof from *Private Enuy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of *Enuy*; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continuall. For of other *Affections*, there is occasion giuen, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, *Inuidia festos dies non agit*. For it is euer working vpon some, or other. And it is also noted, that *Loue* and *Enuy*, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraued; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute, of the Deuill, who is called; *The Enuious Man*, that soweth tares amongst the
H wheat

wheat by night. As it alwayes commeth to passe, that *Enuy* worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the preiudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

Of Loue.

X.



The Stage is more beholding to *Loue*, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, *Loue* is euer matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much mischief: Sometimes like a *Syren*; Sometimes like a *Fury*. You may obserue, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of *Loue*:

which

which shewes, that great Spirits, and great Businesse, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except, neuertheless, *Marcus Antonius* the halfe Partner of the Empire of Rome; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemuir*, and Law-giuer: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Austere, and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that *Love* can finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore Saying of *Epicurus*; *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus*: As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heauen, and all Noble Obiects, should doe nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subiect, though not of the Mouth. (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was giuen him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Excesse of this Passion; And how it braues, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*,

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bole, is comely in nothing, but in *Love*. Neither is it meerely in the Phrase ; For whereas it hath beene well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers haue Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe ; Certainly, the *Louer* is more. For there was neuer Proud Man, thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the *Louer* doth of the Person *loued* : And therefore, it was well said ; *That it is impossible to loue, and to be wise*. Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party *Loued* ; But to the *Loued*, most of all : except the *Love* be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that *Love* is euer 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 selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them ; That he that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of *Iuno*, and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection,

ction, quitteth both *Riches*, and *Wisdom*. This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great *Prosperitie*; and great *Aduersitie*; though this latter hath beene lesse obserued. Both which times kindle *Loue*, and make it more feruent, and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit *Loue*, yet make it keepe Quarter: And seuer it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends. I know not how, but Martiall Men, are giuen to *Loue*: I thinke it is, but as they are giuen to *Wine*; For *Perils*, commonly aske, to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards *loue* of others; which, if it be not spent, vpon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane, and Charitable; As it is seene

Sometime in Friars. Nuptiall *loue* maketh Mankinde ; Friendly *loue* perfecteth it ; but Wanton *loue* Corrupteth, and Imbaseth it.

Of Great Place.

XI.

MEn in *Great Place*, are thrice *Servants* : *Servants* of the Soueraigne or State ; *Servants* of Fame ; and *Servants* of Businesse. So as they haue no Freedome ; neither in their Persons ; nor in their Actions ; nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power, and to lose Libertie ; Or to seeke Power ouer others, and to loose Power ouer a Mans Selfe. The Rising vnto *Place* is Laborious ; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines ; And it is sometimes base ; And by Indignities, Men

Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the Regresse, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. *Cum non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis viuere.* Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: But are impatient of priuatenesse, euen in Age, and Sicknesse, which require the Shadow: Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age to Scorne. Certainly Great Persons, had need to borrow other Mens Opinions; to thinke themselves happy; For if they iudge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselves, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Grieffs; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to themselves,

selves, and while they are in the pisse
 of businesse, they haue no time to tend
 their Health, either of Body, or Minde.
Illi Mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis om-
nibus, ignotus moritur sibi. In Place, There
 is License to doe Good, and Euill; wher-
 of the latter is a Curse; For in Euill, the
 best condition is, not to will; The Second,
 not to Can. But Power to doe good, is
 the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For
 good Thoughts (though God accept
 them,) yet towards men, are little better
 then good Dreames; 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 Mans Motion; And
 Conscience of the same, is the Accom-
 plishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man,
 can be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall
 likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest. *Et*
conuersus Deus, vt aspiceret Opera, que
fecerunt manus sue, vidit quod omnia essent
bona nimis; And then the Sabbath. In the
 Discharge of thy Place, set before thee
 the

the best Examples ; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee, thine owne Example ; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that haue carried themselves ill, in the same *Place* : Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory ; but to direct thy selfe, what to auoid. Reforme therefore, without Brauerie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Persons ; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and obserue, wherein, and how, they haue degenerate ; but yet aske Counsell of both Times ; Of the Ancient Time, what is best ; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Secke to make thy Course Regular ; that Men may know before hand, what they may expect : But be not too positiuie, and peremptorie ; And expresse thy selfe well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserue the Right of thy *Place* ; but stirre

not questions of Iurisdiction : And rather assume thy Right, in Silence, and *de facto*, then voice it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preserve likewise, the Rights of Inferiour *Places* ; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, and inuite Helps, and Aduices, touching the Execution of thy Place ; And doe not driue away such, as bring thee Information, as Medlers ; but accept of them in good part. The vices of *Authoritie* are chiefly foure : *Delaies* ; *Corruption* ; *Roughnesse* ; and *Facilitie*. For *Delaies* ; Giue easie Accessse ; Keepe times appointed ; Goe through with that which is in hand ; And interlace not businesse, but of necessitie. For *Corruption* ; Doe not onely binde thine owne Hands, or thy Seruants hands, from taking ; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offering. For Integritye vsed doth the one ; but Integritye professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And auoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoeuer is
found

found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giueth Suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion, or Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons, that moue thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it. A Seruant, or a Fauorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close *Corruption*. For *Roughnesse*; It is a needlesse cause of *Discontent*: *Seueritie* breedeth Feare, but *Roughnesse* breedeth Hate. Euen Reproofes from Authoritie, ought to be Graue, and not Taunting. As for *Facilitie*; It is worse then Bribery. For *Bribes* come but now and then; But if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall neuer be without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect Persons, is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a peece 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:

d. *Omnium consensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset ;* saith Tacitus of Galba : but of *Vespasian* he saith ; *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie, the other of Manners, and Affection. It is an assured Signe, of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom Honour amends. For Honour is, or should be, the Place of Vertue : And as in Nature, Things moue violently to their Place, and calmely in their Place : So Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authoritie settled and calme. All Rising to *Great Place*, is by a winding Staire : And if there be Factions, it is good, to side a Mans selfe, whilest hee is in the Rising ; and to ballance Himselfe, when hee is placed. Vse the Memory of thy Predecessour fairely, and tenderly ; For if thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be paid, when thou art gone. If thou haue Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when they haue reason to looke to be called.

called. Be not too sensible, or too remembering, of thy Place, in Conuersation, and priuate Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said; *When he sits in Place, he is another Man.*

Of Boldnesse.

XII.



T is a triuiall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise *Mans* Consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes* ; *What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour* ? He answered, *Action* ; what next ? *Action* ; what next again ? *Action*. He said it, that knew it best ; And had by nature, himselfe, no Aduantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player ; should be placed so high, aboue those other Noble Parts, of *Inuention*, *Elocution*, and the rest : Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wise ;

Wise ; And therefore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case of *Boldnesse*, in Ciuill Businessse ; What first ? *Boldnesse* ; What Second, and Third ? *Boldnesse*. And yet *Boldnesse* is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts. But neuerthelesse, it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow in Iudgment ; or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part ; Yea and preuaileth with wise men, at weake times. Therefore, we see it hath done wonders, in Popular States ; but with Senates and Princes lesse ; And more euer vpon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, then soone after ; For *Boldnesse* is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanques* for the Naturall Body : So are there *Mountebanques* for the Politique Body : Men that vndertake great Cures ; And perhaps haue been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science ; And therefore cannot

cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a *Bold Fellow*, many times, doe *Mahomets* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the People beleeue, that he would call an Hill to him ; And from the Top of it, offer vp his Praiers, for the Obseruers of his Law. The People assembled ; *Mahomet* cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe ; And when the Hill stood still, he was neuer a whit abashed, but said ; *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil.* So these Men, when they haue promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they haue the perfection of *Boldnesse*) they will but slight it ouer, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Iudgment, *Bold Persons*, are a Sport to behold ; Nay and to the Vulgar also, *Boldnesse* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subiect of Laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldnesse* is seldome 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

most Shrunkē, and wooden Posture ; As needes it must ; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come ; but with *Bold* Men, vpon like occasion, they stand at a stay ; Like a Stale at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed ; That *Boldnesse* is euer blinde : For it seeth not dangers, and Inconueniences. Therefore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution : So that the right Vse of *Bold* persons is, that they neuer Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and vnder the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers ; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.

K **O**

Of Goodnesse

And
Goodnesse of Nature.

XIII.

Take *Goodnesse* in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; And the word *Humanitie* (as it is vsed) is a little too light, to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the Habit, and *Goodnesse of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deitie: And without it, Man is a Busic, Mischieuous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall Vertue Charitie*, and admits no Excesse, but

Errour.

Errour. The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall ; The desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall ; But in *Charity*, there is no Excesse ; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to *Goodnesse*, is imprinted deeply in the Nature of Man : In so much, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take vnto Other Liuing Creatures : As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People, who neuerthelesse, are kinde to Beasts, and giue Almes to Dogs, and Birds : In so much, as *Buibechi* reporteth ; A Christian Boy in *Constantinople*, had like to haue been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of *Goodnesse*, or *Charity*, may be committed. The *Italians* haue an vngracious Prouerb ; *Tanto buon che val niente* : So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Macciauel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes : *That the Christian Faith, had giuen vp Good Men, in prey, to those,*

that are Tyrannicall, and vniust. Which he spake, because indeed there was neuer Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie Goodnesse, as the Christian Religion doth. Therefore to auoid the Scandall, and the Danger both ; it is good to take knowledge, of the Errours, of an Habit, so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies ; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse ; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. Neither giue thou *Æsops* Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly : *He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, vpon the Iust, and Vniust ;* But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, vpon Men equally. Common Benefits, are to be communicate with all ; But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne : For Diuinitie maketh the Loue of our Selues the

the Patterne ; The Loue of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and follow mee* : But tell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee ; That is, except thou haue a Vocation, wherein thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great : For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a *Habit of Goodnesse* ; directed by right Reason ; but there is, in some Men, euen in Nature, a Disposition towards it : As on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crofnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Apinesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse, or the like ; but the deeper Sort, to Enuy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are euer on the loading Part ; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked *Lazarus* Sores ; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, vpon

any Thing that is raw ; *Misanthropi*, that make it their Practise, to bring Men, to the Bough ; And yet haue neuer a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions, are the very Errours of Humane Nature : And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme. The Parts and Signes of *Goodnesse* are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World ; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands ; but a Continent, that ioynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it selfe, when it giues the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted aboue Iniuries ; So that he cannot be shot. If he be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighes Mens Mindes,

Mindes, and not their Trash. But aboue
all, if he haue *S^r. Pauls* Perfection, that
he would wish to be an *Anathema* from
Christ, for the Saluation of his Brethren,
it shewes much of a Diuine Nature, and
a kinde of Conformity with *Christ* him-
selfe.



A Monarchy where there
is no Nobility at all is such a pure and
absolute Tyranny: As that of the Turkes:
For Nobility attempts Sovereignty, and
drawes the Eyes of the People, some-
what aside from the Line Royal. But for
Democracies, they need it not; And
are commonly, more quiet, and
less subject to Sedition, then where there
are Strips of Nobles. For Mens Eyes are
drawn to the Banners, and not to the
Peasants: Or if upon the Persons, it is for
the Banners sake, as much, and not for
Flags and Pedegree. We see the Switzer
last well, notwithstanding their Dis-
tinction.

Of Nobility.

XIII.



WE will speake 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 euer a pure, and absolute *Tyranny*; As that of the *Turkes*. For *Nobility* attempers *Soueraignty*, and drawes the *Eyes* of the *People*, somewhat aside from the *Line Royall*. But for *Democracies*, they need it not; And they are commonly, more quiet, and lesse subiect to *Sedition*, then where there are *Stirps* of *Nobles*. For *Mens Eyes* are vpon the *Businesse*, and not vpon the *Persons*: Or if vpon the *Persons*, it is for the *Businesse* sake, as fittest, and not for *Flags* and *Pedegree*. Wee see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their *Diuer-*
sitie

sitie of Religion, and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The vnited Prouinces of the Low Countries, in their Gouvernement, excell : For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent *Nobility* addeth Maiestie 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 Soueraignty, nor for Iustice ; And yet maintained in that heigth, as the Insolencie of Inferiours, may be broken vpon them, before it come on too fast vpon the Maiesty of Kings. A Numerous *Nobility*, causeth Pouerty, and Inconuenience 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 weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion, betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for *Nobility* in particular Persons ;

L

It

It is a Reuerend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay ; Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect : How much more, to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waues and weathers of Time. For new *Nobility* is but the Act of Power ; But Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility*, are commonly more Vertuous, but lesse Innocent, then their Descendants : For there is, rarely, any Rising, but by a Commixture, of good and euill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity ; And their Faults die with themselves. *Nobility of Birth*, commonly abateth Industry : And he that is not industrious, enuieth him, that is. Besides, *Noble persons*, cannot goe much higher ; And he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly auoid Motions of Enuy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passiue Enuy, from others towards them ; Because they are

in

in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that haue Able men of their *Nobility*, shall finde ease in imploying them; And a better Slide into their Bu-
sinesse : For People naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to Com-
mand.

VX

L 2 **Of**

Of Seditions

And
Troubles.

XV.

Shepherds of People, had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempests* in *State*; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinoctia*. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States:

— *Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus
Sæpe monet, Fraudesq; & aperta tumultu
cere Bella.*

Libels, and licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false Newes, often running vp and downe, to the disadvantage

aduantage of the State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the Signes of Troubles. *Virgil* giuing the Pedegre of *Fame*, saith, *She was sister to the Giants*

*Illam Terra Parens irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladog, sororem.*

Progenit.——

As if *Fames* were the Reliques of *Seditious* past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of *Seditious* to come. Howsoeuer, 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 giue greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the *Envy* great, as *Tacitus* saith; *Conflata magna Inuidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames*, are a signe of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much Seuerity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For

the Despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the Going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder Long-lived. Also that kinde of Obedience, which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen quimallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quàm exequi*; Disputing, Excusing, Cauilling vpon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as *Macciauel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrowen, by vneuen weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of *Henry* the third of *France*: For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the *Protestants*; and presently after, the same League was turned vpon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made
but

but an Accessary to a Cause ; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Soueraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are carried openly, and audaciously ; it is a Signe, the Reuerence of Gouvernment is lost. For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Gouvernment, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, vnder *Primum Mobile*; (according to the old Opinion:) which is, That Euery of them, is carried swiftly, by the Highest Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therefore, when great Ones, in their owne particular Motion, moue violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberius, quàm vt Imperantium meminissent* ; It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reuerence is that, wherewith Princes are girt from God ; Who threatneth the dissoluing thereof ; *Soluam cingula Regum.*

So when any of the foure Pillars of Gouvernment, are mainly shaken, or weakned

weakened (which are *Religion, Iustice, Counsell, and Treasure,*) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let vs passe from this Part of Predictions, (Concerning which, neuerthelesse, more light may be taken, from that which followeth;) And let vs speake first of the *Materials of Seditious*; Then of the *Motives* of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies*.

Concerning the *Materialls* of *Seditious*. It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to preuent *Seditious*, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The *Matter* of *Seditious* is of two kindes; *Much Pouerty*, and *Much Discontentment*. It is certaine, so many *Ouerthrowne Estates*, so many *Votes for Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State of Rome*, before the *Ciuill Warre*.

Hinc Vrsura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,

Hinc

*Hinc concussa Fides, & multis vtile
Bellum.*

This same *Multis vtile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to *Seditions*, and *Troubles*. And if this *Pouerty*, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be ioyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent, and great. For the *Rebels* of the Belly are the worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politique Body, like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them, by this; whether they be Iust, or Vniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the *Griefes*, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things, that pro-

uoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage : But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure concerning *Discontentments*, because they haue been often, or haue been long and yet no Perill hath ensued ; For as it is true, that euery Vapor, or Fume, doth not turne into a Storme ; So it is, neuerthelesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow ouer diuers times, yet may fall at last ; And as the Spanish Prouerb noteth well ; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Seditious* are ; *Innouation* in *Religion* ; *Taxes* ; *Alteration* of *Lawes* and *Customes* ; *Breaking* of *Priuiledges* ; *Generall* *Oppression* ; *Aduancement* of *vnworthy* persons ; *Strangers* ; *Dearth* ; *Disbanded* *Souldiers* ; *Factions* growne *desperate* ; And whatsoeuer in offending *People*, ioyneth and knitte them, in a *Common Cause*.

For the *Remedies* ; There may be some generall *Preseruatiues*, whereof wee will speake ; As for the iust *Cure*, it must answer

swer to the Particular Disease : And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule.

The first *Remedy* or preuention, is to remoue by all meanes possible, that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition*, wherof we spake; which is *Want* and *Pouerty* in the *Estate*.

To which purpose, serueth the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improuement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be foreseene, that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned, onely by number: For a smaller Number, that spend more, and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Number, that liue lower, and gather more. Therefore the

Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an ouer Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie : And so doth likewise an ouergrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increasc of any Estate, must be vpon the Forrainer, (for whatsoever is some where gotten, is some where lost) There be but three Things, which one Nation selleth vnto another; The *Commoditie* as Nature yeeldeth it; The *Manufacture*; and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*. So that if these three wheelles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to passe, *h*ut *Materiam superabit Opus*; That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth, then the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably scene in the *Low-Countrey-men*, who haue the best Mines, aboue ground, in the World.

About

About all things, good Policie is to be vsed, that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may haue a great Stock, and yet starue. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least, keeping a strait Hand, vpon the Deuouring Trades of *Vsurie*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For Remouing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of them; There is in euery State (as we know) two Portions of *Subiects*; The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*. 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 moue of themselves. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets faigne, that the rest of

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the Gods, would haue bound *Iupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs, to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

To giue moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and *Discontentments* to euaporate, (so it be without too great Insolency or Brauery) is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth malignant Vicers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of *Epimetheus*, mought well become *Prometheus*, in the case of *Discontentments*; For there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when Griefes and Euils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottom of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of *Hopes*, and Carrying Men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*; is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of *Discontentments*. And

And it is a certaine Signe, 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 Euill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Out-let of *Hope* : Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to braue that, which they belceue not.

Also, the Foresight, and Preuention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and vnder whom they may ioyne, is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I vnderstand a fit Head, to be one, that hath Greatnesse, & Reputation; That hath Confidence with the *Discontented Party*; and vpon whom they turne their Eye. And that is thought *discontented* in his own particular; which kinde of Persons, are either to be wonne, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; Or to be fronted, with some other,

other, of the same Party, that may oppole them, and so diuide the reputation. Generally, the Diuiding and Breaking of all Factions, and Combinations that are aduerse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst 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 vnited.

I haue noted, that some witty and sharpe Speeches, which haue fallen from *Princes*, haue giuen fire to *Seditions*. *Cæsar* did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; *Sylla nesciuit Literas, non potuit dictare*: For it did, vtterly, cut off that Hope, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, giue ouer his Dictatorship. *Galba* vndid himselfe by that Speech; *Legi à se Militem, non emi*: For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donatiue. *Probus* likewise, by that Speech; *Si vixero, non opus*

opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus.

A Speech of great Despaire, for the Souldiers : 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 flie 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 Euent, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour neere vnto the, for the Repressing of *Seditions*, in their beginnings. For without that, there vseth to be more trepidation in Court, vpon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, then were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith ; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, vt pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur.* But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factionous, and Popular ; Holding also good Correspondence, with the o-

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ther Great Men in the State ; Or else
the Remedic, is worse then the Disease.

Of Atheisme.

XVI.



I H A D rather beleeue
all the Fables in the
Legend, and the *Tal-*
mud, and the *Alcoran*,
then that this vniuer-
fall Frame, is without
a Minde. And there-
fore, God neuer wrought Miracle, to
conuince *Atheisme*, because his Ordinary
Works conuince it. It is true, that a lit-
tle Philosophy inclineth Mans Minde to
Atheisme ; But depth in Philosophy,
bringeth Mens Mindes about to *Religion*.
For while the Minde of Man, looketh
vpon Second Causes Scattered, it may
sometimes rest in them, and goe no fur-
ther :

ther: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of them, Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to *Providence*, and *Deitie*. Nay euen that *Schoole*, which is most accused of *Atheisme*, doth most demonstrate *Religion*; That is, the *Schoole* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite small Portions, or Seedes vnplaced, should haue produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Diuine Marshall. The Scripture saith; *The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God*: It is not said; *The Foole hath thought in his Heart*: So as, he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue, then that he can thoroughly belecue 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 *Atheisme* is rather in the *Lip*, then in the *Heart* of Man, then by this;

That *Atheists* will euer 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 haue *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects: And, which is most of all, you shall haue of them, that will suffer for *Atheisme*, and not recant; Whereas, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake, when he affirmed; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enjoyed themselves, without hauiing respect to the Gouernment of the World. Wherin, they say, he did temporize; though in secret, he thought, there was no *God*. But certainly, he is traduced; For his Words are Noble and Diuine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones. Dijs applicare profanum.* *Plato* could haue said no more. And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the *Administration*, he had not

not the Power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West*, haue Names for their particular *Gods*, though they haue no name for *God*: As if the *Heathens*, should haue had the Names *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. But not the Word *Deus*: which shewes, that euen those Barbarous People, haue the Notion, though they haue not the Latitude, and Extent of it. So that against *Atheists*, the very Sauages take part, with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplatiue *Atheist* is rare; A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that, all that Impugne a receiued *Religion*, or *Superstition*, are by the aduerse Part, branded with the Name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites*; which are euer Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling, So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheisme* are; *Diuisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; For any one maine *Diuision*, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many *Diuisions* introduce

Atheisme. Another is, *Scandall of Priests*; When it is come to that, which *S. Bernard* saith; *Non est iam dicere, vt Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, vt Sacerdos.* A third is, *Custom of Profane Scoffing in Holy Matters*; which doth, by little and little, deface the Reuerence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Aduersities doe more bow Mens Mindes to Religion. They that deny a *God*, destroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to *God*, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It destroys likewise Magnanimity, and the Raising of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generosity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in stead of a *God*, or *Melior Natura*: which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, then his owne, could neuer attaine. So Man, when
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he resteth and assureth himselfe, vpon diuine Protection, and Fauour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull, so in this, that it depriueth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it selfe, aboue Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Neuer was there such a State, for Magnanimity, as *Rome*: Of this State heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec deniq; hoc ipso buius Gentis & Terræ domestico natiuoq; sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hac vnâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernariq; perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesq; superauimus.*

Of Superstition.

XVII.



Twere better to haue no Opinion of *God* at all; then such an Opinion, as is vnworthy of him: For the one is Vnbeleefe, 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 deale, Men should say, there was no such Man, at all, as *Plutarch*; then that they should say, that there was one *Plutarch*, that would eat his Children, as soon as they were borne, as the Poets speake of *Saturne*. And, as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheisme* leaues a Man to Sense; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation; All which may be

be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though *Religion* were not ; But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy, in the Mindes of Men. Therefore *Atheisme* did neuer perturb *States* ; For it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further : And we see the times enclined to *Atheisme* (as the Time of *Augustus Caesar*) were ciuil Times. But *Superstition*, hath beene the Confusion of many *States* ; And bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that rauisheth all the Spheares of *Gouernment*. The Master of *Superstition* is the People ; And in all *Superstition*, Wise Men follow Fooles ; And Arguments are fitted to Practise, in a reuerfed Order. It was grauely said, by some of the Prelates, in the *Councell of Trent*, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen, bare great Sway ; That the Schoolemen were like *Astronomers*, which did faigne *Eccentricks* and *Epicycles*, and such Engines of Orbs, to saue the *Phenomena* ; though they knew, there were no such Things : And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed a Number

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ber of subtile and intricate *Axiomes*, and *Theorems*, to saue the practise of the Church. The *Causes* of *Superstition* are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies: Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Ouer-great Reuerence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; The Stratagems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre: The Fauouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Nouelties; The taking an Aime at diuine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially ioyned with Calamities and Disasters. *Superstition*, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man; So the Similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes; So good Formes and Orders, corrupt into a Number of petty Obseruances. There is a *Superstition*, in auoiding *Superstition*; when

when men thinke to doe best, if they goe
furthest from the *Superstition* formerly
receiued: Therefore, Care would be had,
that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the
Good be not taken away, with the Bad;
which commonly is done, when the
People is the Reformer.



Young Men shall goe hooded, and look
abroad little. It is a strange thing, that
in sea voyages, where there is nothing
Country where they goe; what Addition
Things are worthy to be seen in the
by he may be able to tell them, what
has been in the Country before; where
be such a one that hath the Language, and
original Language, I shew well; so that he
Young Men shall vnder some Tutor
to schools, and not to the Country.

Of

Of Trauaile.

XVIII.

T*rauaile*, in they ounger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *trauaileth* into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *Schoole*, and not to *Trauaile*. That Young Men *trauaile* vnder some Tutor, or graue Seruant, 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 scene in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be

be seene, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; But in *Land-Travile*, wherein so much is to be obserued, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Obseruation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in vſe. The Things to be seene and obserued are: The Courts of Princes, specially when they giue Audience to Ambassadors: The Courts of Iustice, while they sit and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke: The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: The Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And so the Hauens & Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruines: Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Nauies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armouries: Arsenals: Magazens: Exchanges: Burses; Ware-houses: Exercises of Horseman-ship; Fencing; Trayning of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies; Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe resort;

Treasuries of Jewels, and Robes ; Cabinets, and Rarities: And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places, where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Seruants, ought to make diligent Enquiry. As for Triumphs ; Masques ; Feasts ; Weddings ; Funeralls ; Capitall Executions ; and such Shewes ; Men need not to be put in minde of the ; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will haue a Young Man, to put his *Trauaile*, into a little Roome, and in short time, to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must haue some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must haue such a Seruant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he trauelleth ; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one Citty, or Towne ; More or lesse as the place deserueth, but not long : Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let

let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Towne, to another; which is a great Admant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he trauaileth. Let him vpon his Remoues, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he remoueth; that he may vse his Fauour, in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his *Trauaile*, with much profit. As for the acquaintance, which is to be sought in *Trauaile*; That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambassadors; For so in *Trauailing* in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels, they are with
Care

Care and Discretion to be auoided : They are, commonly, for Mistresses ; Healths ; Place ; and Words. And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarellome Persons ; for they will engage him into their owne Quarrels. When a *Trauailer* returneth home, let him not leaue the Countries, where he hath *Trauailed*, altogether behinde him ; But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth. And let his *Trauaile* appeare rather in his Discourse, then in his Apparrell, or Gesture : And in his Discourse, let him be rather aduised in his Answers, then forwards to tell Stories : And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts ; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customs of his owne Country.

Of

Of Empire.

XIX.



It is a miserable State of Minde, to haue few Things to desire, and many Things to feare : And yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings* ; Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing ; And haue many Representations of Perills and Shadowes, which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of ; *That the Kings Heart is inscrutable*. For Multitude of Iealousies, and Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or found. Hence it comes likewise, that

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Princes

Princes, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts vpon toyes : Sometimes vpon a Building; Sometimes vpon Erecting of an Order; Sometimes vpon the Aduancing of a Person; Sometimes vpon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As *Nero* for playing on the Harpe, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driuing Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible vnto those, that know not the Principle; That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great. We see also that *Kings*, that haue beene fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must haue some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes; turne in their latter yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy : As did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian*; And in our memory, *Charles* the fift; And others :

For

For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne fauour, and is not the Thing he was.

To speake now of the true Temper of *Empire*: It is a Thing rare, & hard to keep: For both Temper & Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian*, is full of Excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him; *What was Neroes ouerthrow?* He answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Gouvernment, sometimes he vsed to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low.* And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth Authority so much, as the vnequall and vntimely Enterchange of Power Pressed too farre, and Relaxed too much.

This is true; that the wildome of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affaires, is rather fine Deliueries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare; then solid and grounded Courses to keepe them aloofe. 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 Sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Businesse, are many and great ; But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde. For it is common with *Princes*, (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumq; Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariae.* For it is the Solœcisme of Power, to thinke to Command the End, and yet not to endure the Meane.

Kings haue to deale with their *Neighbours* ; their *Wiues* ; their *Children* ; their *Prelates* or *Clergie* ; their *Nobles* ; their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentlemen* ; their *Merchants* ; their *Commons* ; and their *Men of Warre* ; And from all these arise *Dangers*, if Care and Circumspection be not vled.

First for their *Neighbours* ; There can no generall Rule be giuen, (The Occasions are so variable,) saue one ; which euer holdeth ; which is, That *Princes* doe
keepe

keepe due Centinell, that none of their *Neighbours* doe ouergrow so, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry* the 8. of *England*, *Francis* the 1. *King* of *France*, and *Charles* the 5. *Emperour*, there was such a watch kept, that none of the Three, could win a *Palme* of *Ground*, but the other two, would straightwaies ballance it, either by *Confederation*, or, if need were, by a *Warre* : And would not, in any wise, take vp *Peace* at *Interest*. And the like was done by that *League* (which, *Guicciardine* saith, was the *Security* of *Italy*) made betwene *Ferdinando* *King* of *Naples* ; *Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludouicus Sforza*, *Potentates*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Millaine*. Neither is the Opinion, of some of the *Schoole-Men*, to be receiued ; That a *warre* cannot iustly be

made, but upon a precedent Iniury, or Pro-
vocation. For there is no Question, but a
iust Feare, of an Imminent danger, though
there be no Blow giuen, is a lawfull Cause
of a Warre.

For their *Wives*; There are Cruell Exam-
ples of them. *Liua* is infamed for the poy-
soning of her husband: *Roxolana*, *Solymans*
Wife, was the destruction, of that renow-
ned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*; And other-
wise troubled his House, and Succession:
Edward the Second of *England*, his Queen,
had the principall hand, in the Deposing
and Murther of her Husband. This kinde
of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly,
when the *Wives* haue Plots, for the Raifing
of their owne Children; Or else that they
be Aduoutresses.

For their *Children*: The Tragedies, like-
wise, of dangers from them, haue been
many. And generally, the Entring of Fa-
thers, into Suspicion of their *Children*,
hath been euer vnfortunate. The destru-
ction of *Mustapha*, (that we named be-
fore) was so fatall to *Solymans* Line, as
the

the Succession of the *Turks*, from *Solyman*, vntill this day, is suspected to be vntrue, and of strange Bloud; For that *Selymus* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare Towardnesse, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both *Constantinus*, and *Constance*, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And *Constantius* his other Sonne, did little better; who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that *Iulianus* had taken Armes against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Sonne to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turned vpon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the Sonnes were vp, in open Armes against them; As was *Selymus* the first against *Baiazet*: And the three Sonnes of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates*; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them:

As

As it was, in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*; who with their Crofiars, did almost try it, with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, and *Henry* the second. The danger is not from that *State*, but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority; Or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles*; To keepe them at a distance, it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I haue noted it, in my History of King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility*; Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties, & Troubles; For the *Nobility*, though they continued loyall vnto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse.

So

So that in effect, he was faine to doe all things, himselfe.

For their *Second Nobles* ; There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt : Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher Nobility, that they grow not too Potent : And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority, with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants* ; They are *Vena porta* ; And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may haue good Limmes, but will haue empty Veines, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts vpon them, doe seldome good to the Kings Reuenew ; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leese in the Shire ; The particular Rates being increased, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons* ; There is little danger from them, except it be, where they haue Great and Potent Heads ; Or where

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you meddle, with the Point of Religion ;
Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.

For their *Men of warre* ; It is a dangerous State, where they liue and remaine in a Body, and are vsed to Donatiues ; whereof we see Examples in the *Ianizaries*, and *Pretorian Bands of Rome* : But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in seuerall places, and vnder seuerall Commanders, and without Donatiues, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to *Heauenly Bodies*, which cause good or euill times ; And which haue much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances : *Memento quod es Homo* ; And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei* : The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

Of Counsell.

XX.

THe greateſt Truſt, betweene Man and Man, is the Truſt of *Giving Counſell*. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Child, their Credit, ſome particular Affaire; But to ſuch, as they make their *Counſellours*, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wiſeſt *Princes*, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatneſſe, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely vpon *Counſell*. God himſelfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his bleſſed Sonne; *The Counſellour Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counſell is Stability*. Things will haue their firſt, or ſecond Agitation; If they be not toſſed vpon the

Arguments of *Counsell*, they will be tossed vpon the Waues of *Fortune*; And be full of Inconstancy, doing, and vndoing, like the Reeling of a drunken man. *Salomons* Sonne found the Force of *Counsell*, as his Father saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloued Kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill *Counsell*; Vpon which *Counsell*, there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby *Bad Counsell* is, for euer, best discerned: That it was *young Counsell*, for the Persons; And *Violent Counsell*, for the Matter.

The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inseparable Coniunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*; And the wise and Politique vse of *Counsell* by *Kings*: The one, in that they say, *Iupiter* did marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsell*: Whereby they intend, that *Soueraignty* is married to *Counsell*: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceiued by him, and was with Childe, but *Iupiter* suffered her not to stay, till

till she brought forth, but eat her vp; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was deliuered of *Pallas Armed*, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable, containeth a Secret of *Empire*; How *Kings* are to make vse of their *Councell of State*. That first, they ought to referre matters vnto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their *Councell*; and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their *Councell* to goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it depended on them; But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not onely from their *Authority*, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselves) from their *Head*, and *Deuice*.

Let vs now speake of the *Inconueniences*

of Counsell, and of the Remedies. The *Inconueniences*, that haue been noted in calling, and vsing Counsell, are three. First, the Reuealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse *Secret*. Secondly, the Weakening of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of Themselves. Thirdly, the Danger of being vnfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsell, then of him that is counselled. For which *Inconueniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practise of *France*, in some Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Counsels*; A Remedy worse then the Disease.

As to *Secrecy*; *Princes* are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all *Counsellors*; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let *Princes* beware, that the *vnsecreting* of their Affaires, comes not from Themselves. And as for *Cabinet Counsels*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenus rimarum sum*: One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe
more

more hurt, then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true, there be some Affaires, which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons, besides the *King*: Neither are those *Counsels* vnprosperous: For besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent *King*, such as is able to Grinde with a *Hand-Mill*; And those *Inward Counsellours*, had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings Ends; As it was with King *Henry* the Seuenth of *England*, who in his greatest Businesse, imparted himselfe to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *Weakening of Authority*; The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay the Maiesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell: Neither was there euer *Prince*, bereaued of his Dependances, by his *Counsell*; Except where there hath beene, either

ther an Ouergreatnesse in one Counsellour, Or an Ouerstriect Combination in Diuers ; which are Things soone found, and holpen.

For the last Inconuenience, that Men will Counsell with an Eye to themselves ; Certainly, *Non inueniet Fidem super terram*, is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons ; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct ; Not Crafty, and Inuolued : Let Princes, aboue all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, Counsellours are not Commonly so vnited, but that one Counsellour keepeth Centinell ouer Another ; So that if any do Counsell out of Faction, or priuate Ends, it commonly comes to the Kings Eare. But the best Remedy is, if Princes know their Counsellours, as well as their Counsellours know Them :

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, Counsellours should not be too Speculatiue, into their Soueraignes Person. The true Composition

tion of a *Counsellour*, is rather to be skillfull in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Advise him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Counsell*, both Seperately, and Together. For Private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reuerend. In private, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Consort, Men are more obnoxious to others Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to preserve Respect. It is in vaine for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsell* likewise concerning *Persons*: For all *Matters*, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires, resteth in the good Choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *Secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or *Mathematicall Description*, what the Kinde and

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Character of the *Person* should be ; For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Iudgement is shewne, in the choice of *Indiuiduals*. It was truly said ; *Optimi Consiliarij mortui*; Books will speake plaine, when *Counsellors* Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conuersant in them ; Specially the *Bookes* of such, as Themselues haue been Actors vpon the Stage.

The *Counsels*, at this Day, in most Places, are but Familiar Meetings ; where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsell*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day ; *In Nocte Consilium*. So was it done, in the Commission of *Vnion*, between *England* and *Scotland* ; which was a Graue and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions : For both it giues 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

ripening Businesse, for the *Counsell*, it is better to choose Indifferent persons, then 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 Warre; for Suits; for some Prouinces: For where there be diuers particular *Counsels*, and but one *Counsell* of Estate, (as it is in *Spaine*) they are in effect no more, then *Standing Commissions*; Saue that they haue greater Authority. Let such, as are to informe *Counsels*, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard, before *Committees*; And then, as Occasion serues, before the *Counsell*. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner; For that is, to clamour *Counsels*, not to enforme them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the vpper end, in effect, sway all the Businesse; But in the other Forme, there is

more vse of the *Counsellours* Opinions, that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Counsell*, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth : For else *Counsellours* will but take the Winde of him; And in stead of giuing Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*.

Of

Of Delayes.

XXI.



Fortune is like the *Market*; Where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is sometimes like *Sybilla's* Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth vp 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 receiued, and after the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is surely no greater Wisedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seeme light: And more dangers haue deceiued Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing

neare, then to keepe too long a watch, vpon their Approaches; For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceiued, with too long Shadowes, (As some haue been, when the Moone was low, and shone on their Enemies backe) And so to shoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on, by ouer early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripenesse, or Vnripenesse, of the Occasion (as we said) must euer be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to *Argos* 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 Politicke Man goe Inuisible, is, *Secrecy* in the Counsell, & *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 Ayre, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

Of Cunning.

XXII.

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a *Cunning* Man, and a *Wise* Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canuasses, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand Persons, and another thing to vnderstand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Businesse; Which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more then Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practise, then for Counsell; And they are good but in their own Alley: Turne them to New Men,

Men, and they haue lost their Ayme; So as the old Rule, to know a Foole 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 amisse to set forth their Shop.

It is a point of *Cunning*; to wait vpon him, with whom you speake, with your eye; As the Iesuites giue it in precept: For there be many Wise Men, that haue Secret Hearts, and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done, with a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Iesuites also doe vse.

Another is, that when you haue any thing to obtaine of present dispatch, you entertaine, and amuse the party, with whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Obiections. I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that neuer came to *Queene Elizabeth of England*, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate, that she mought
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the lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize, may be made, by Mouing things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consider aduisedly, of that is moued.

If a man would crosse a Businesse, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually moue, let him pretend to wish it well, and moue it himselfe, in such sort, as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he tooke himselfe vp, breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to giue Occasion, for the party to aske, what the Matter is of the Change? As *Nehemias* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In Things, that are tender and vnpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice, by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserue the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question vpon the others Speech. As *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius*, the Marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius*.

In things, that a Man would not be seen in, himselfe ; It is a Point of *Cunning*, to borrow the Name of the World ; As to say ; *The World sayes, Or, There is a speech abroad.*

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

I knew another, that when he came to haue Speech, he would passe ouer that, that he intended most, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and speake of it, as of a Thing, that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they work vpon, will suddenly come
vpon

vpon 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 apposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to vtter.

It is a Point of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would haue another Man learne, and vse, and thereupon take Aduantage. I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in *Queene Elizabeths* time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselves ; And would conferre, one with another, vpon the Businesse ; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it : The other, straight caught vp those Words, and discoursed with diuers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the *Queene* ; Who hearing of a *Declination*

of a Monarchy, tooke it so ill, as she would neuer after heare of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The Turning of the Cat in the Pan*; which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it to him; And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, from which of them, it first moued and began.

It is a way, that some men haue, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Iustifying themselves, by Negatiues; As to say, *This I doe not*: As *Tigellinus* did towards *Burrhus*. *Se non diuersas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some haue in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serueth both to keepe themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of *Cunning*, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would haue, in his owne Words, and Propositions;

ons ; For it makes the other Party sticke the lesse.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to say ; and how farre about they will fetch, and how many other Matters they will beat ouer, to come neare it ; It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Vse.

A sudden bold, and vnexpected Question, doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that hauing changed his Name ; And walking in *Pauls*, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

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, then that *Cunning Men*, passe for *Wise*.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine of it : Like a House, that hath conuenient Staires, and

Entries, but neuer a faire Roome. Therefore, you shall see them finde out pretty Loofes in the Conclusion, but are no waies 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 vpon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) *Putting Tricks vpon them*; Then vpon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But *Salomon* saith; *Prudens auertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus diuertit ad Dolos.*

Of

Of Wisedome

for a Mans selfe.

XXIII.



N *Ant* is a wise Creature for it Selfe ; But it is a shrewd Thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great *Louers* of *Themselves*, waste the Publique. Diuide with reason betweene *Selfe-loue*, and *Society* : And be so true to thy *Selfe*, as thou be not false to Others ; Specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poore Center of a Mans Actions, *Himselfe*. It is right Earth. For that onely stands fast vpon his owne Center ; Whereas all Things, that haue Affinity with the *Heauens*, moue vpon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a *Mans Selfe*, is more tolerable in a Soueraigne Prince ;

Prince; Because *Themselves* are not onely *Themselves*; But their Good and Euill, is at the perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Euill in a Seruant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoeuer Affaires passe such a Mans Hands, he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentricke to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose such Seruants, as haue not this marke; Except they meane their Seruice 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 Seruants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Seruant, shall carry Things, against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadors, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Seruants; which set a Bias vpon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Enuies, to the ouerthrow of their Masters

Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part, the Good such Seruants receiue, is after the Modell of their own Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the Modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme *Selfe-Louers*; As they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges: 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 Affaires.

Wisedome for a Mans selfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraued Thing. It is the *Wisedome of Rats*, that will be sure to leaue a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisedome of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged & made Roome for him. It is the *Wisedome of Crocodiles*, that shed teares, when they would deuoure. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those, which (as *Cicero* saies of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Riuali*, are

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many

Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe.

many times vnfortunate. And whereas they haue 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-Wisedome*, to haue Pinnioned.

Of Innouations.

XXIIII.



AS the Births of Liuing Creatures, at first, are ill shapen : So are all *Innouations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed : So the first President (if it be good) is seldome attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands peruerterd, hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance : But Good, as a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely euery *Medicine* is an *Innouation* ; And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Euils : For Time is the greatest *Innouatour* : And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and Wisedome,

and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? It is true, that what is settled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those Things, which haue long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves: Whereas New Things peece not so well; But though they helpe by their vtility, yet they trouble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *Strangers*; more Admired, and lesse Fauoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moueth so round, that a Forward Retention of Custome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an *Innouation*: And they that Reuerence too much Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innouations*, would follow the Example of Time it selfe; which indeed *Innouateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceiued: For otherwise, whatsoeuer is New, is vnlooked for; And euer it mends Some, and paires Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the

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 Vrgent, or the vtility Euident : 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 reiected, yet be held for a Suspect : And, as the Scripture saith ; *That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about vs, and discover, what is the straight, and right way, and so to walke in it.*

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Of Dispatch.

XXV.



Affected Dispatch, is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call *Predigestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*; which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure not *Dispatch*, by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the Care of Some, onely to come off speedily, for the time; Or to contriue some false Periods of Businesse, because they may seeme *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one Thing, to Abbreviate

uate by Contracting, Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at severall Sittings or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in an vnsteady 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.*

d.

On the other side, *True Dispatch* is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small *dispatch*. The *Spartans*, and *Spaniards*, haue been noted to be of Small *dispatch*; *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna*; *Let my Death come from Spaine*; For then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Giue good Hearing to those, that giue the first Information in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne Order, will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits
vpon

vpon his Memory, then he could haue been, if he had gone on, in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene, that the Moderator is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iterations are commonly losse of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question*: For it chaseth away many a Friuolous Speech, as it is comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long Train, is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great waists of Time; And though they seeme to proceed of Modesty, they are Brauery. Yet beware of being too Materiall, when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde, euer requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomentation to make the vnguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling out of Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch*; So as the *Distribution* be not

too subtrill : For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into Businesse ; And he that diuideth too much, will neuer come out of it clearely. To choose Time, is to saue Time ; And an Vnseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse : The *Preparation* ; The *Debate*, or *Examination* ; And the *Perfection*. Whereof, if you looke for *Dispatch*, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding vpon somewhat conceiued in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch* : For though it should be wholly reiected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of Direction, then an *Indefinite* ; As Ashes are more Generatiue then Dust.

V

Of

Of Seeming wise.

XXVI.



T hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme; And the *Spaniards* seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, Certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godlinesse*; *Having a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof*; So certainly, there are in Point of *Wisedome*, and *Sufficiency*, that doe Nothing or Little, very solemnly; *Magno conatu Nugas*. It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Iudgement, to see what snifts these Formalists haue, and what Prospectives, to make *Superficies* to seeme *Body*, that hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserued, as they will not shew their

their Wares, but by a darke Light: And seeme alwaies to keepe backe somewhat; And when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know, would neuerthelesse seeme to others, to know of that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wise by Signes; As *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Browes, vp to his Forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso Supercilio; Crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word, and being peremptory; And goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoeuer is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent, or Curious; And so would haue their Ignorance seeme Iudgement. Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the matter;

Of whom *A. Gellius* saith ; *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutij Rerum frangit Pondera.* Of which kinde also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus*, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negative Side; and affect a Credit, to object and foretell Difficulties : For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisedome, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks, to vphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty persons haue, to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming Wise-men* may make shift to get Opinion : But let no Man choose them for Employment ; For certainly, you were better take for Businesse, a Man somewhat Absurd, then ouer Formall.

Of Frendship.

XXVII.

IT had beene hard for him that spake it, to haue put more Truth and vnruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech; *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Auerfation towards Society, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Sauage Beast; But it is most Vntrue, that it should haue any Character, at all, of the Diuine Nature; Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a Love and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conuersation: Such as is found, to haue been falsely and fainedly, in some of the Heathen; As *Epimenides* the Candian, *Numa*

the Roman, *Empedocles* the Scicilian, and *Apollonius* of Tyana ; And truly and really, in diuers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceiue, what *Solitude* is, and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company ; and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures ; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball*, where there is no *Loue*. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little ; *Magna Ciuitas, Magna solitudo* ; Because in a great Towne, *Friends* are scattered ; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in lesse *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly ; That it is a meere, and miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Friends* ; without which the World is but a Wildernesse : And euen in this sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is vnfit for *Friendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principall *Fruit* of *Friendship*, is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions
of

of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body ; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde : You may take *Sarza* to open the Liuer ; *Steele* to open the Spleene ; *Flower of Sulphur* for the Lungs ; *Castoreum* for the Braine ; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart, Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Sulpicions, Counsels, and whatsoeuer lieth vpon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Ciuill Shrift or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to obserue, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do set vpon this *Fruit of Friendship*, whereof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subiects & Seruants, 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

times sorteth to Inconuenience. The Moderne Languages giue vnto such Persons, the Name of *Fauorites*, or *Prinadoses*; As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conuersation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Vse, 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 Weake and Passionate *Princes* onely, but by the Wisest, and most Politique that euer reigned; Who haue oftentimes ioyned to themselves, some of their Seruants; Whom both Themselues haue called *Frends*; And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner; Vsing the Word which is receiued between Priuate Men.

H *L. Sylla*, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the Great) to that Heighth, that *Pompey* vaunted Himselfe for *Sylla's* Ouermatch. 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 speake great, *Pompey* turned vpon him againe,

againc, and in effect bad him be quiet;
For that more Men adored the Sunne Ri-
sing, then the Sunne setting. With Iulius Cæ-
sar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that In-
terest, as he set him downe, in his Testa-
ment, for Heire in Remainder, after his
Nephew. And this was the Man, that had
power with him, to draw him forth to
his death. For when Cæsar would haue
discharged the Senate, in regard of some
ill Prelages, and specially a Dreame of Cal-
purnia; This Man lifted him gently by the
Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he
hoped he would not dismisse the Senate,
till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame.
And it seemeth, his fauour was so great, as
Antonius in a Letter, which is recited Ver-
batim, in one of Cicero's Philippiques, cal-
leth him *Venefica, Witch*; As if he had en-
chanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa
(though of meane Birth) to that Heighth,
as when he consulted with Mæcenas, a-
bout the Marriage of his Daughter Iulia,
Mæcenas tooke the Liberty to tell him;
That he must either marry his Daughter to
X Agrippa,

Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Caesar, Seianus had ascended to that Height, as they Two were tearmed and reckoned, as a Paire of Friends. Tiberius in a Letter to him saith; *Hec pro Amicitia nostra non occultavi*: And the whole Senate, dedicated an Altar to Frendship, as to a Goddesse, in respect of the great Dearenesse of Frendship, between them Two. The like or more was between Septimius Seuerus, and Plantianus. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of Plantianus; And would often maintaine Plantianus, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words; *I loue the Man so well, as I wish he may ouer-live me*. Now if these Princes, had beene as a Traian, or a Marcus Aurelius, A Man might haue thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Seueritie of minde, and so Extreme Louers of Themselues, as all these were; It proueth most

most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as euer happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought haue a *Friend* to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were *Princes*, that had Wiues, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commeneus* obserueth, of his first Master *Duke Charles the Hardy*; Namely, that hee 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 closenesse did impair, and a little perishe his understanding*. Surely *Commeneus* mought haue made the same Iudgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master *Lewis the Eleuenth*, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is darke, but true; *Cor ne edito; Eat not the Heart*. Certainly, if a Man would giue it a hard Phrase, Those that want *Friends* to open

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them-

themselves vnto, are Canniballs of their owne Hearts. But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit of friendship*) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his *Friend*, workes two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth *Ioyes*, and cutteth *Griefes* in Halves. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Ioyes* to his *Friend*, but he *ioyeth* the more; And no Man, that imparteth his *Griefes* to his *Friend*, but hee *grieueth* the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation vpon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the *Alchymists* vse to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good, and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, *Vnion* strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dullerh any violent Impression: And euen so is it of Minds.

The second *Fruit of Friendship*, is
Health-

Healthfull and Soueraigne for the *Vnderstanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*. For *Frendship* maketh indeed a faire Day in the *Affections*, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh *Day-light* in the *Vnderstanding*, out of Darknesse & Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be vnderstood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiueth from his *Frend*; But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosocuer hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and *Vnderstanding* doe clarifie and breake vp, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes 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 appeare in Figure; whereas in Thoughts, they

lie but as in Packs. Neither is this Second *Fruit of Frendship*, in opening the *Vnderstanding*, restrained onely to such *Frends*, as are able to giue a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best) But euen, without that, a Man learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.

Adde now, to make this Second *Fruit of Frendship* compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Obseruation; which is *Faithfull Counsell* from a *Frend*. *Heraclitus* saith well, in one of his *Ænigmaes*; *Dry Light is euer the best.* And certaine it is, that the Light, that a Man receiueth, by Counsell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne *Vnderstanding*, and Iudgement; which is euer infused and drenched in his *Affecti- ons* and *Customes*. So as, there is as much difference,

difference, betweene the *Counsell*, that a *Friend* giueth, and that a Man giueth himselfe, as there is between the *Counsell* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*. For there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a Mans Selfe ; And there is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a *Friend*. *Counsell* is of two Sorts ; The one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Businesse*. For the First ; The best Preseruatiue to keep the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a *Friend*. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosiue. Reading good Bookes of *Morality*, is a little Flat, and Dead. Obseruing our Faults in Others, is sometimes vnproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best (I say) to worke, and best to take) is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a *Friend*, to tell them of them ; To the great damage,

image, both of their Fame, & Fortune. For, as *S. Iames* saith, they are as Men, that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape, & Faour. As for *Busnesse*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said ouer the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, as well vpon the Arme, as vpon a Rest; And such other fond and high Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done, the Helpe of good Counsell, is that, which setteth *Busnesse* straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take Counsell, but it shall be by Peecces; Asking Counsell in one *Busnesse* of one Man, and in another *Busnesse* of another Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire Friend, to haue Counsell giuen, but such
as

as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giueth it. The other, that he shall haue Counsell giuen, hurtfull, and vn safe, (though with good Meaning) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy : Euen as if you would call a Phyfician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease, you complaine of, but is vnacquainted with your body; And therefore, may put you in way for a present Cure, but ouerthroweth your Health in some other kinde; And so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a *Frend*, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Businesse*, how he dafheth vpon other Inconuenience. And therefore, rest not vpon *Scattered Counsels*; They will rather distract, and Misleade, then Settle, and Direct.

After thesetwo Noble *Fruits of Frendship*; (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Iudgement*;) followeth the last *Fruit*; which is like the *Pomgranat*, full of many kernels; I meane *Aid*, and *Bearing a Part*,

in all *Actions*, and *Occasions*. Here, the best Way, to represent to life the manifold vse of *Frendship*, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe ; And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Frend is another Himselfe* : For that a *Frend* is farre more then *Himselfe*. Men haue 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 Worke, Or the like. If a Man haue a true *Frend*, he may rest almost secure, that the Care of those Things, will continue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Liues in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place ; But where *Frendship* is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercise them by his *Frend*. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with modesty,
much

much lesse extoll them : A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg : And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a *Frends* Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father ; To his Wife, but as a Husband ; To his Enemy, but vpon Termes : whereas a *Frend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person. But to enumerate these Things were endlesse : I haue giuen the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his owne Part : If he haue not a *Frend*, he may quit the Stage.

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Of Expence.

XXVIII.



Riches are for Spending ; And Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limited by the Worth of the Occasion : For *Voluntary Undoing*, may be aswell for a Mans Country, as for the *Kingdome of Heauen*. But *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limited by a Mans Estate ; And governed with such regard, as it be within his Compasse ; And not subiect to Deceit and Abuse of Seruants ; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bills may be lesse, then the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Euen hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be, but to the Halfe of his Receipts ; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but

to the Third Part. It is no Basenesse, for the Greatest, to descend and looke, into their owne *Estate*. Some forbear it, not vpon Negligence alone, But doubting to bring Themselues into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken. But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all, had need both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoueth him to turne all to Certainties. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in some kinde of *Expence*, to be as Sauing againe, in some other. As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Sauing in Apparell: If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Sauing in the Stable: And the like. For he that is Plentifull in *Expences* of all Kindes, will hardly be preserued from Decay. In Clearing of a Mans Estate, he may as well hurt Himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling is common-

ly as Disadvantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once, will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights, he will reuert to his Customes: But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well vpon his Minde, as vpon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repaire, may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is lesse dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to stoope to pettie Gettings. A Man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne not, he may be more Magnificent.

Of

Of the true Great-
nesse of Kingdomes and
Estates.

XXIX.



He Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was Haughtie and Arrogant, in taking so much to Himselfe, had been a Graue and Wise Obseruation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne, a great Citty.* These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore) may expresse two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse of Estate. For if a true Suruey be taken, of Counsellours 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

will be found a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able, to make a *Small State Great*, as their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellours and Gouvernours, gaine both *Favour* with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserue no better Name then *Fidling*; Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull to themselves onely, then tending to the Weale and Aduancement of the State, which they serue. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Gouvernours, which may be held sufficient, (*Negotijs pares*,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconueniences; which neuertheless, are farre from the Abilitie, to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune. But be the worke-men what they may be, let vs speake of the Worke; That is; The true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates

Estates; and the *Meanes* thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie Princes, to haue in their hand; To the end, that neither by Ouer-measuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vaine Enterprises; Nor on the other side, by vnderualueing them, they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsells.

The *Greatnesse* of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall vnder Measure; And the *Greatnesse* of Finances and Reuenew doth fall vnder Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters: And the Number and *Greatnesse* of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Ciuill Affaires, more subiect to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Iudgement, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The *Kingdome of Heauen* is compared; not to any great Kernell or Nut, but to a *Graine of Mustard-seed*; which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get vp and spread. So are there States, great in Ter-

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ritorie,

ritorie, and yet not apt to Enlarge, or Command; And some, that haue but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as *Virgil* saith) *It neuer troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.* The Armie of the *Persians*, in the Plaines of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexanders* Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to set vpon them by Night; But hee answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was Easie. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being incamped vpon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discovered the
Armie

Armie of the *Romans*, being not about 14000. Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Tonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough, to giue him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Iudgement; That the Principal Point of *Greatnesse* in any State, is to haue a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is triuially said) where the Sinewes of Mens Armes, 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 then you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Thertore let any Prince or State, thinke soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natiues, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that haue Subiects of Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength;

vnlesse they be otherwise wanting vnto
 Themselues. As for *Mercenary Forces*,
 (which is the Helpe in this Case) all Ex-
 amples shew; That whatsoeuer Estate or
 Prince doth rest vpon them; *Hee may*
spread his Feathers for a time, but he will
mew them soone after.

The Blessing of *Iudah* and *Issachar* will
 neuer meet; That the same People or Nati-
 on, should be both The *Lions* whelpe, and
 the *Asse* betweene Burthens: Neither will it
 be, that a People ouer-laid with Taxes,
 should euer become Valiant, and Marti-
 all. It is true, that Taxes leuied by Con-
 sent of the Estate, doe abate Mens Cou-
 rage lesse; As it hath beene seene notably,
 in the *Excises* of the *Low Countries*; And
 in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England*.
 For you must note, that we speake 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 workes diuersly
 vpon the Courage. So that you may
 conclude; That no People, ouer-charged
 with

with Tribute, is fit for Empire.

Let States that aime at Greatnesse, take heed how their Nobility and Gentlemen, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subiect, grow to be a Peasant, and Base Swaine, driuen out of Heart, and in effect but the *Gentlemans* Labourer. Euen as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leaue your staddles too thick, you shall neuer haue cleane Vnderwood, but Shrubs and Busbes.* So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base; And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll, will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerue of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of *England* and *France*; whereof *England*, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (neuerthelesse) an Ouermatch; In regard, the *Middle People* of *England*, make good Souldiers, which the *Peasants* of *France* doe not. And here-

in, the deuice of King *Henry* the Seuenth, (whereof I haue spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound, and Admirable; In making Farmes, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land vnto them, as may breed a Subiect, to liue in Conuenient Plenty, and no Seruile Condition; And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you shall attaine to *Virgils* Character, which he giues to Ancient *Italy*.

—*Terra potens Armis atq; 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 ouer; I meane the State of *Free Seruants* and *Attendants* vpon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*; which are no waies inferiour, vnto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*,
receiued

receiued into Custome, doth much conduce, vnto *Martiall Greatnesse*. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close and Reserued liuing, of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the Trunck of *Nebuchadnezzars Tree of Monarchy*, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the *Naturall Subiects* of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient Proportion, to the *Stranger Subiects*, that they gouerne. Therefore all States, that are liberall of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to thinke, that an Handfull 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 faile suddainly. The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compasse, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they became a Windfall vpon the suddaine.

suddaine. Neuer any State was, in this Point, so open to receiue *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 *Ius Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely *Ius Commerciij*, *Ius Connubij*, *Ius Hereditatis*; But also, *Ius Suffragij*, and *Ius Honorum*. And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation* of *Colonies*; whereby the Roman Plant, was remoued into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spread vpon the *World*; But it was the *World*, that spread vpon the *Romans*: And that was the sure Way of Greatnesse. I haue marueiled sometimes at *Spaine*, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions, with so few Naturall *Spaniards*: But sure, the whole Compasse
of

of *Spaine*, is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre about *Rome*, and *Sparta*, at the first. And besides, though they haue not had that vsage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they haue 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 Natiues; as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that *Sedentary*, and *Within-doore Arts*, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) haue, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle; And loue Danger better then Trauaile: Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserued in vigour. Therefore, it was great Aduantage, in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the vse of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures.

factures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the *Christian Law*. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leaue those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be receiued) and to containe, the principall Bulke of the vulgar Natiues, within those three kinds; *Tillers of the Ground; Free Seruants; & Handy-Crafts-Men*, of Strong, & Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But aboue all, for *Empire* and *Greatnesse*, it importeth most; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly haue spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Armes: And what is *Habilitation* without *Intention* and *Act*? *Romulus*, after his death (as they report, or faigne) sent a Present to the *Romans*; That, aboue all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should proue the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta*, was wholly (though not wisely) framed,

med, 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* haue it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that haue it, are, in effect, onely the *Spaniards*. But it is so plaine, That euery Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood vpon. It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly professe Armes, may looke to haue Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally haue done) do wonders. And those, that haue professed Armes but for an Age, haue notwithstanding, commonly, attained that Greatnesse in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to

haue those Lawes or Customes, which may reach forth vnto them, iust Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Iustice imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not vpon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but vpon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells. The *Turke*, hath at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they neuer rested vpon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to *Greatnesse*, haue this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either vpon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that they sit not too long vpon a Prouocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready, to giue Aids and Succours, to their Confederates: As it euer was with the *Romans*: In so much, as if the Confederate, had Leagues

Leagues Defensue with diuers other States, and vpon Inuasion offered, did implore their Aides seuerally, yet the *Romans* would euer bee the formost, and leaue it to none Other to haue the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well iustified: As when the *Romans* made a Warre for the Libertie of *Grecia*: Or when the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, made Warres, to set vp or pull downe *Democracies*, and *Oligarchies*: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, vnder the pretence of Iustice, or Protection, to deliuer the Subjects of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, vpon any iust Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without *Exercise*, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique; And certainly, to a Kingdome or

Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre, is the true *Exercise*. A Ciuill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feauer; But a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serueth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoeuer it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for *Greatnesse*, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giueth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee scene in *Spaine*; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the Sea, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. Cicero writing to Atticus, of Pompey his Preparation against Caesar, saith; *Consilium Pompeij plane Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur,*

tur, eum Rerum potiri. And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out *Cesar*, if vpon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battails by Sea. The Battaille of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battaille of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatnesse of the *Turke*. There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* haue beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States, haue set vp their Rest, vpon the Battails. But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land, are many times neuerthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with vs of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at Sea (which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of *Great Brittain*) is Great: Both because, Most of the Kingdomes of *Europe*, are not meere-ly Inland, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compasse; And because, the Wealth of both *Indies*, seemes in great Part,

Part, but an Accessary, to the Command of the Seas.

The *Warres* of *Latter Ages*, seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected vpon Men, from the *Warres* in *Ancient Time*. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry; which neuerthelesse, are conferred promiscuously, vpon Soldiers, & no Soldiers; And some Remembrance perhaps vpon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times; The *Trophies* erected vpon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatiues and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal; The Stile of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes of the Generalls vpon their Returne; The great Donatiues and Largeesses vpon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages. But aboue all, That of the Triumph, amongst
the

the *Romans*, was not Pageants or Gaude-
rie, but one of the Wisest and Noblest In-
stitutions, that euer was. For it contain-
ed three Things; Honour to the Gene-
rall; Riches to the Treasury out of the
Spoiles; And Donatiues to the Army. But
that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for
Monarchies; Except it be in the Person of
the *Monarch* himselfe, or his Sonnes; As
it came to passe, in the Times of the *Ro-
man Emperours*, who did impropriate the
Actuall Triumphs to Themselues, and
their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did
atchieue in Person: And left onely, for
Wars atchieued by Subiects, some Tri-
umphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the
Generall.

To conclude; No Man can, by *Care
taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *adde a Cubite
to his Stature*; in this little Modell of a
Mans Body: But in the Great Frame of
Kingdomes, & Common Wealths, it is in the
power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Am-
plitude and *Greatnesse* to their *Kingdomes*.
For by introducing such Ordinances,

Constitutions, and Customes, as we haue now touched, they may low *Greatnesse*, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Obserued, but left to take their Chance.

Of Regiment of Health.

X X X.

THere is a wisdom in this, beyond the Rules of *Physicke*: A Mans owne Observation, what he findes Good of, and what he findes Hurt of, is the best *Physicke* to preferue Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say; *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*; Then this; *I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it*. For Strength of Nature in youth, passeth ouer many Excesses, which are owing a Man till his Age. Discerne of the comming on of Yeeres, and thinke not, to doe the same Things still; For Age will not be Defied. Beware of suddenn 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, then one. Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe, Exercise, Apparell, and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou shalt iudge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so, as if thou doest finde any Inconuenience by the Change, thou come backe to it againe: For it is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome, from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine owne Body. To be free minded, and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde; Auoid Enuie; Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill and knottie Inquisitions; Ioyes, and Exhilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Ioy; Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder, and Admiration, and therefore Nouelties; Studies

dies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Obiects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie *Physicke* in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect, when Sicknesse commeth. I commend rather, some Diet, for certaine Seasons, then frequent Vse of *Physicke*, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it lesse. Despise no new Accident, in your Body, but aske Opinion of it. In *Sicknesse*, respect *Health* principally; And in *Health*, *Action*. For those that put their Bodies, to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet, and Tendering. *Celsus* could neuer haue spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a Wise Man withall; when he giueth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting; That a Man doe vary, and enterchange Contraries; But with an Inclination to

the more benigne Extreme : Vse 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 Humor of the Patient, as they presse 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.

Of Suspicion.

XXXI.

S*uspicious* amongst Thoughts,
are like Bats amongst Birds,
they euer fly by Twilight.
Certainly, they are to be re-
pressed, or, at the least, well guarded: For
they cloud the Minde; they leese Friends;
and they checke with Businesse, whereby
Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and
constantly. They dispose Kings to Ty-
ranny, Husbands to Iealousie, Wise Men
to Irresolution and Melancholy. They
are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the
Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest
Natures: As in the Example of *Henry* the
Seuenth of *England*: There was not a
more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout:
And in such a Composition, they doe
small Hurt. For commonly they are not
admitted, but with Examination, whether
they

they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man *Suspect* much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspitions* in Smother. What would Men haue? Doe they thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints? Doe they not thinke, they will haue their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselues, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate *Suspitions*, then to account vpon such *Suspitions* as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a Man ought to make vse of *Suspitions*, as to prouide, as if that should be true, that he *Suspects*, yet it may doe him no Hurt. *Suspitions*, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes; But *Suspitions*, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads, by the Tales, and Whisprings of others, haue Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this same Wood of *Suspitions*, is franckly to communicate

municate them, with the Partic, that he *Suspects*: For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before ; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect, not to giue further Cause of *Suspicion*. But this would not be done to Men of base Natures : For they, if they finde themselves once suspected, will neuer be true. The *Italian* saies : *Sospetto licentia fede* : As if *Suspicion* did giue a Pasport to Faith : But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selfe.

Cc

Of

Of Discourse.

XXXII.

Some in their *Discourse*, desire rather Commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, then of Judgment, in discerning what is True: As if it were a Praise, to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some haue certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are good, and want Variety: Which kinde of Pouerty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceiued Ridiculous. The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to giue the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce. It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conuersation, to vary, and entermingle Speech, of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons;

sons; Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and lest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and, as we say now, to Iade, any Thing too farre. As for lest, there be certaine Things, which ought to be priuiledged from it; Namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any Mans present Businesse of Importance, And any Case that deserueth Pitty. Yet there be some, that thinke their Wits haue been asleepe; Except they dart out somewhat, that is Piquant, and to the Quicke: That is a Vaine, which would be brideled;

Parce Puer stimulis, & fortius utere Loris.

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference, between Saltnesse and Bitternesse. Certainly, he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much; But especially, if he apply his Questions, to the Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh:

For he shall giue them occasion, to please themselves in Speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome ; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leaue other Men their Turnes to speak. Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take vp all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on ; As Musicians vse to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speech of a Mans Selfe ought to be seldome, and well chosen. I knew One, was wont to say, in Scorne ; *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speakes so much of Himselfe* : And there is but one Case, wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe, with good Grace ; And that is in commending Vertue in Another ; Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himselfe pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards Others, should be sparingly

ringly vsed: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without comming home to any Man. I knew two *Noble-men*, of the West Part of *England*; Whereof the one was giuen to Scoffe, but kept euer Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would aske of those, that had beene at the Others Table; *Tell truely, was there neuer a Flout or drie Blow giuen*; To which the Guest would answer; *Such and such a Thing passed*: The Lord would say; *I thought he would marre a good Dinner*. *Discretion of Speech*, is more then *Eloquence*, And to speak agreeably to him, with whom we deale, is more then to speake in good Words, or in good Order. A good cōtinued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse. As we see in Beasts, that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, & the Hare. To vse too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To vse none at all, is Blunt.

Of

Of Plantations.

XXXIII.



Plantations are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may iustly account new *Plantations*, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a *Plantation* in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries, is like *Planting* of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence, in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most *Plantations*, hath beene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Spec-
die

die Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Vnblessed Thing, to take the Scumme 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 euer liue like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie ouer to their Country, to the Discredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Ioyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall, the Countrey yeelds of it selfe, to Hand: As Chest-nuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Oliues, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make vse of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily,
and

and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serue for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Aboue all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such, as are least Subject to Diseases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geese, House-doues, and the like. The Victuall in *Plantations*, ought to be expended, almost as in a Besieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in, and Stored vp, and then Deliuered out in Proportion; Besides some Spots of Ground, that

that any Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne Priuate. Consider likewise, what Commodities the Soile, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yeeld, that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the *Plantation*: So it be not, as was said, to the vntimely Preiudice, of the maine Businesse; 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 Vre, and Streames whereupon to set the Milles; Iron is a braue Commoditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silke likewise, if any be, is a likely Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and, Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit. Soape Ashes likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moile not too much vnder Ground: For the Hope of Mines is very Vncertaine, and vseth to make the *Plan-*

ters Lazie, in other Things. For Gouvernment, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them haue Commission, to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And aboue all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse, as they haue God alwaies, and his Seruice, before their Eyes. Let not the Gouvernment of the *Plantation*, depend vpon too many Counsellours, and Vnder-takers, in the Countrie that *Planteth*, but vpon a temperate Number: And let those be, rather Noblemen, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke euer to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes from Custome, till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only Freedom from Custome, but Freedom to carrie their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme 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 liue well,

well, in the *Plantation*, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some *Plantations*, that they haue built along the Sea, and Riuers, in Marish and vnwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to auoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather vpwards, from the Streames, then along. It concerneth likewise, the Health of the *Plantation*, that they haue good Store of Salt with them, that they may vse it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant*, where Sauages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But vse them iustly, and gratioufly, with sufficient Guard neuerthelesse: And doe not winne their fauour, by helping them to inuade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amisse. And send oft of them, ouer to the Country, that *Plants*, that they may see a better Condition then their owne, and commend it when they returne. 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 euer peece'd from without. It is the sinfulllest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a *Plantation*, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable Persons.

Of

Of Riches.

XXXIIII.



Cannot call *Riches* better, then the Baggage of Vertue. 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 behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory: Of great *Riches*, there is no Reall Vse, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith *Salomon*; *Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes?* The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great *Riches*: There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donatiue of them; Or a

Fame of them; But no Solid Vse to the Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Princes, are set vpon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation, are vndertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Vse of great Riches? But then you will say, they may be of vse, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not alwaies in *Fact*. For certainly Great Riches, haue sold more Men, then they haue bought out. Seeke not Proud Riches, but such as thou maist get iustly, Vse soberly, Distribute cheerfully, and Leaue contentedly. Yet haue no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificande, apparebat, non Auaritia Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati, queri.* Hearken also to *Salomon*, and beware of Hasty Gathering of Riches: *Qui festinat ad Diuitias, non erit insons.* The Poets saigne that
when

when *Plutus*, (which is *Riches*,) is sent from *Iupiter*, he limps, and goes slowly ; But when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that *Riches* gotten by Good Meanes, and Iust 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 vpon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Deuill. For when *Riches* come from the Deuill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and vniust Meanes,) they come vpon Speed. The *Waies to enrich* are many, and most of them Foule. *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent : For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The *Improuement of the Ground*, is the most Naturall Obtaining of *Riches* ; For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths ; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Noble-

Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits, of any Man in my Time : A Great Grafier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great Colliar, A Great Corne-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 Perpetuall Importation. It was truly obserued by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little *Riches*, and very easily to Great *Riches*. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainly. The *Gaines* of Ordinary Trades and *Vocations*, are honest ; And furthered by two Things, chiefly : By Diligence ; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. But the *Gaines* of Bargaines, are of a more doubtfull Nature ; When Men shall waite vpon Others Necessity,
broake

broake by Seruants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargaines*, when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell ouer againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both vpon the Seller, and vpon the Buyer. *Sharings*, doe greatly *Enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen, that are trusted. *Vsury* is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eat his Bread; *In sudore vultus alieni*: And besides, doth Plough vpon Sundaies. But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scriueners and Broakers, doe valew vnfound Men, to serue their owne Turne. The *Fortune*, in being the First in an *Inuention*, or in a *Priniledge*, doth cause sometimes a wonderfull Ouergrowth in *Riches*; As it was with the first Sugar Man, in the *Canaries*: Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to haue as well

Iudgement, as Inuention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth vpon *Gaines Certaine*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches*: And he that puts all vpon *Adventures*, doth oftentimes breake, and come to Pouerty: It is good therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties*, that may vphold losses. *Monopolies*, and *Coemption* of *Wares* for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great Meanes to enrich; especially, if the Partie haue intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Seruite*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding Humours, and other Seruile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacit^o* saith of *Seneca*; *Testamēta et Orbos, tāquām Indagine capi*;) It is yet worse; By how much Men submit themselues, to Meaner Persons, then in *Seruite*. Beleeue not much them, that seeme to despise *Riches*: For they despise them, that despaire
of

of them ; And none Worse, when they come to them. Be not Penny-wife ; *Riches* haue Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring in more. Men leaue their *Riches*, either to their Kindred ; Or to the Publique : And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in Yeares and Iudgement. Likewise Glorious Gifts and Foundations, are like *Sacrifices without Salt* ; And but the *Painted Sepulchres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Aduancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure ; And Deferre not Charities till Death : For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of an Other Mans, then of his Owne.

Of Prophecies.

XXXV.



Meane not to speake of
Diuine Prophecies; Nor
 of *Heathen Oracles*;
 Nor of *Naturall Predi-*
ctions; But only of *Pro-*
phcies, that haue beene
 of certaine Memory, and from Hidden
 Causes. Saith the *Pythouissa* to *Saul*; To
Morrow thou and thy sonne 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 seemes, of the *Roman*
Empire. *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath these
 Verses.

— *Venient Annis*

Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisq; nouos

Detegat

Detegat Orbes ; nec sit Terris

Vltima Thule :

A Prophecie of the Discouery of *America*.
The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that
Iupiter bathed her Father, and *Apollo* an-
nointed him : And it came to passe, that
he was crucified in an Open Place, where
the Sunne made his Bodie runne with
Sweat, and the Raine washed it. *Philip* of
Macedon dreamed, He sealed vp his Wiues
Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his
Wife should be barren : But *Aristander* the
Soothsayer, told him, his Wife was with
Childe, because Men doe not vse to Scale
Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasme,
that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent,
said to him ; *Philippis iterum me videbis*.
Tiberius said to *Galba*. *Tu quoq; Galba de-*
gustabis Imperium. In *Vespasians* Time,
there went a Prophecie in the East ; That
those that should come forth of *Iudea*,
should reigne ouer the World : which
though it may be was meant of our Sa-
uiour, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian*.
Domitian dreamed, the Night before he

was slaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke : And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixt of *England*, said of *Henry* the Seuenth, when he was a Lad, and gaue him Water; *This is the Lad, that shall enioy the Crowne, for which we striue.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one *D^r. Pena*, that the *Q. Mother*, who was giuen to Curious Arts, caused the *King* her Husbands Natiuitie, to be Calculated, vnder a false Name; And the Astrologer gaue a Iudgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the *Queene* laughed, thinking her Husband, to be aboue Challenges and Duels: but he was slaine, vpon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of *Mongomery*, going in at his Beuer. The triuiall *Prophecie*, which I heard, when I was a Childe, and *Queene Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

*When Hempe is sponne;
England's done.*

Whereby, it was generally conceiued, that
after

after the *Princes* had Reigned, which had the Principiall *Letters*, of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*) *England* should come to vtter Confusion. Which, thanks be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of *England*, but of *Britaine*. There was also another *Prophecie*, before the yeare of 88. which I doe not well vnderstand.

*There shall be seene vpon a day,
Betweene the Baugh, and the May,
The Blacke Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone
For after Warres shall you haue None.*

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

Octogessimus octauus mirabilis Annus;
Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the
greatest

greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that euer swamme vpon the Sea. As for *Cleons Dreame*, I thinke it was a Iest. It was, that he was deuoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like kinde; Especially if you include *Dreames*, and *Predictions of Astrologie*. But I haue set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Iudgement is, that they ought all to be *Despised*; And ought to serue, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say *Despised*, I meane it as for Beleeefe: For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no sort to be *Despised*. For they haue done much Mischiefe: And I see many seuerer Lawes made to suppress them. That, that hath giuen them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke, when they hit, and neuer marke, when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of *Dreames*. The second is, that Probable
Con-

Coniectures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne themselves into *Prophecies*: While the Nature of Man, which co-ueteth *Diuination*, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subiect to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the *Atlanticke*; which mought be Probably conceiued, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlantickus*, it mought encourage One, to turne it to a *Prediction*. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, haue beene Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines, meerely contriued and faigned, after the Euent Past.

Of Ambition.

XXXVI.



*A*mbition is like *Choler*; Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Actiue, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot haue his Way, it becommeth Aduſt, and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they finde the way Open for their Riſing, and ſtill get forward, they are rather Buſie then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their deſires, they become ſecretly diſcontent, and looke vpon Men and matters, with an Euill Eye; And are beſt pleaſed, when Things goe backward; Which is the worſt Propertie, in a Seruant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they vſe *Ambitious Men*, to handle it ſo, as they be ſtill Progreſſiue, and
not

not Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconuenience, it is good not to vse such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Seruice, they will take Order to make their Seruice fall with them. But since we haue said, it were good not to vse Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be vpon necessitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres, must be taken, be they neuer so *Ambitious*: For the Vse of their Seruice dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great vse of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Enuie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Doue, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Vse also of *Ambitious Men*, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subiect that ouer-tops: As *Tiberius* vsed *Macro* in the Pulling down of *Seianus*. Since therefore they must be vsed, in such Cases, there resteth to speake,

how they are to be brideled, that they may be lesse *dangerous*. There is lesse *danger* of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble : And if they be rather Harsh of Nature, then Gracious and Popular : And if they be rather New Raised, then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weaknesse in Princes, to haue *Favorites*: But it is, of all others, the best Remedy against *Ambitious Great-Ones*. For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring, lieth by the *Favourite*, it is Impossible, Any Other should be *Over-great*. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady: For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule 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 hauing of them Obnoxious to Ruine, if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well : But if they bee Stout, and

and Daring, it may precipitate their Designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely 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 lesse harmefull, the *Ambition* to preuaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in euery thing; For that breeds Confusion, and marres Businesse. But yet, it is lesse danger, to haue an *Ambitious* Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men, hath a great Taske; but that is euer good for the Publique. But he that plots, to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings, and principall Persons: And the Raifing of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspi-

F f 3 reth,

reth, is an Honest Man : And that Prince, that can discerne of these Intentions, in Another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States, choose such Ministers, as are more sensible of Duty, then of Rising ; And such as loue Businessse rather vpon Conscience, then vpon Brauery : And let them Discerne a Busie Nature, from a Willing Minde.

fo

Of Masques and Triumphs.

XXXVII.

THese Things are but Toyes,
to come amongst such Se-
rious Obseruations. But
yet, since Princes will haue
such Things, it is better,
they should be Graced with Elegancy,
then Daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*,
is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I
vnderstand it, that the Song be in Quire,
placed aloft, and accompanied with some
broken Musicke: And the Ditty fitted to
the Deuice. *Acting in Song*, especially in
Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace:
I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (For that is a
Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the *Voi-*
ces of the *Dialogue*, would be Strong and
Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treb-
ble;)

ble;) And the *Ditty* High and Tragically;
 Not nice or Dainty. *Seuerall Quires*, placed
 one ouer against another, and taking
 the Voice by Catches, *Antheme* wise, giue
 great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure*,
 is a childish Curiosity. And generally,
 let it be noted, that those Things, which I
 here set downe, are such, as doe naturally
 take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonders.
 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 relieue the Eye, before it be full of the
 same Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with
Light, specially *Coloured* and *Varied*: And
 let the *Masquers*, or any other, that are to
 come down from the *Scene*, haue some
 Motions, vpon the *Scene* it selfe, before
 their Comming down: For it drawes the
 Eye strangely, & makes it with great
 pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot
 perfectly discern. Let the *Songs* be
Loud, and *Cheerefull*, and not *Chirpings*,
 or *Pulings*. Let the *Musicke* likewise,
 be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and *Well Placed*.

The

The *Colours*, that shew best by Candle-light, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; 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 *Sutes* of the *Masquers*, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person, when the *Vizars* are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Antimasques* not belong; They haue been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua's Mouing, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in *Anti-Masques*; And any Thing that is hideous, as Deuils, Giants, is on the other side as vnfit. But chiefly, let the *Musicke* of them, be Recreatiue, and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great
Gg Pleasure;

Pleasure; & Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the *Roome* be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For *Iusts*, and *Tourneys*, and *Barriers*; The Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; Especially if they be drawne with Strange Beasts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the Deuices of their Entrance; Or in the Brauery of their Liueries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour. But enough of these Toyes.

Of

Of Nature in
Men.

XXXVIII.



Nature is Often Hidden; Sometimes Overcome; Seldome Extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* lesse Importune: But Custom onely doth alter and subdue *Nature*. Hee that seeketh Victory ouer his *Nature*, let him not set Himselfe too great, nor too small Tasks: For the first, will make him deiected by often Faylings; And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Preuailings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him practise with disaduantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then the vse.

Where *Nature* is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be ; First to Stay and Arrest *Nature* in Time ; Like to Him, that would say ouer the Foure and Twenty Letters, when he was Angry : Then to Goe lesse in Quantity ; As if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from Drinking Healths, to a Draught at a Meale : And lastly, to Discontinue altogether. But if a Man haue the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best ;

*Optimus ille Animi Vindex, ledetia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluit q̄, semel.*

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend *Nature* as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right : Vnderstanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit vpon himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause, reinforceth the new Onset ; And if a Man, that is not perfect, be
euer

ever in Practise, he shall as well practise his Errours, as his Abilities; And induce one Habite of both: And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie ouer his *Nature* too farre; For *Nature* will lay buried a great Time, and yet reuiue, vpon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with *Æsopes Damofell*, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either auoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe often to it, that hee may be little moued with it. A Mans *Nature* is best perceiued in Priuatenesse, for there is no Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there Custome leaueth him. They are happie Men, whose *Natures* sort with their Vocations; Otherwise they may say, *Multum Incola fuit Anima mea*: when they conuerse in those Things, they doe not Affect. In Studies, whatloeuere a Man

commandeth vpon himselfe, let him set
 Houres for it: But whatsoeuer is agreea-
 ble to his *Nature*, let him take no Care,
 for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will
 flie to it of Themselues; So as the Spaces
 of other Businesse, or Studies, will suffice.
 A Mans *Nature* runnes either to Herbes,
 or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably
 Water the One, and Destroy the Other.

Of

Of Custome and Education.

XXXIX.

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 haue beene *Accustomed*. And therefore, as *Macciauel* well noteth (though in an euill fauoured Instance) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Brauery of Words; Except it be Corroborate by *Custome*. His Instance is, that for the Atchieuing of a desperate Conspiracie, a Man should not rest vpon the Fiercenesse of any mans Nature, or his Resolute Vndertakings; But take such an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But *Macciauel* knew not of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, nor

nor a *Iaureguy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard*: yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible, as *Custome*. Onely Superstition is now so well aduanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation : And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custome*, euen in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of *Custome* is euey where Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Giue Great Words, and then Doe iust as they haue Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moued onely by the wheelles of *Custome*. We see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of *Custome*, what it is. The *Indians* (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men) lay Themselues quietly vpon a Stack of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselues by Fire. Nay the Wiues striue to be burned with the Corpse of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged vpon the Altar of *Diana*, without

out so much as Queching. I remember in the beginning of *Queene Elizabeths* time of *England*, an *Irish Rebelle* Condemned, put vp a Petition to the *Deputie*, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in an Halter, because it had beene so vsed, with former *Rebels*. There be *Monkes* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night, in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of *Custome*, both vpon Minde, and Body. Therefore, since *Custome* is the Principall Magistrate of Mans life; Let Men by all Means endeavour, to obtaine good *Customes*. Certainly, *Custome* is most perfect, when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call *Education*; which is, in effect, but an *Early Custome*. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Ioints are more Supple to all Feats of Actiuitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes, that

haue not suffered themselves to fixe, but haue kept themselves open and prepared, to receiue continuall Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of *Custome* Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of *Custome* Copulate, and Conioyned, & Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of *Custome* is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Vertues vpon Humane Nature, resteth vpon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplined. For Commonwealths, and Good Governments, doe nourish Vertue Growne, but doe not much mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be desired.

Of

Of Fortune.

XL.



It cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents conduce much to *Fortune*: Fauour, Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans *Fortune*, is in his owne hands. *Faber quisq; Fortunæ suæ*; saith the Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the *Fortune* of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errours. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco*. Ouert, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth *Fortune*. Certaine Deliueries of a Mans Selfe, which haue no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura*, partly ex-

H h 2

presseth

preſſeth them: When there be not Stonds,
 nor Reſtiuenefſe in a Mans Nature; But
 that the wheelles of his Minde keepe way,
 with the wheelles of his *Fortune*. For ſo
Liui (after he had deſcribed *Cato Maior*,
 in theſe words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur*
Corporis & Animi fuit, vt quocunq; loco na-
tus eſſet, Fortunam ſibi facturum videretur;)
 falleth vpon that, that he had, *Versatile*
Ingenium. Therefore, if a Man looke Sharp-
 ly, and Attentiuely, he ſhall ſee *Fortune*:
 For though ſhee be Blinde, yet ſhee is not
 Inuiſible. The Way of *Fortune*, is likethe
Milken Way in the Skie; Which is a Mee-
 ting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars;
 Not Scene aſunder, but Giuing Light to-
 gether. So are there, a Number of Little,
 and ſcarce diſcerned Vertues, or rather Fa-
 culties and Cuſtomes, that make Men
Fortunate. The *Italians* note ſome of
 them, ſuch as a Man would little thinke.
 When they ſpeake of one, that cannot doe
 amiſſe, they will throw in, into his other
 Conditions, that he hath, *Poco di Matto*.
 And certainly, there be not two more
Fortunate

Fortunate Properties ; Then to haue a *Little* of the *Foole* ; And not *Too Much* of the *Honest*. Therefore, Extreme Louers of their Countrey, or Masters, were neuer *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An *hastie Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remouer, (The *French* hath it better ; *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*) But the Exercised *Fortune* maketh the Able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured, and Respected, and it bee but for her Daughters, *Confidence*, and *Reputation*. For those two Felicitie breedeth : The first within a Mans Selfe ; the Latter, in Others towards Him. All Wise Men, to decline the Enuy of their owne vertues, vse to ascribe them to Prouidence and *Fortune* ; For so they may the better assume them : And besides, it is Greatnesse in a Man, to be the Care, of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, & Fortunam eius*. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath

beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wisdome, and Policie, end *Infortunate*. It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the Account he gaue to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech; *And in this Fortune had no Part*; neuer prospered in any Thing he vndertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homers Verses*, that haue a Slide, and Easinesse, more then the Verses of other Poets: As *Plutarch* saith of *Timo-leons Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agefilaus*, or *Epaminondas*. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.

Of

Of Usurie.

XLI.

MAny haue made Wittie Inuectiues against *Usurie*. They say, that it is Pitie, the Deuill should haue Gods part, which is the *Tithe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth euery Sunday. That the *Usurer* is the *Droane*; that *Virgil* speaketh of:

Ignauum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcet.
That the *Usurer* breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultûs tui comes des Panem tuum*; Not, *In sudore Vultûs alieni*. That *Usurers* should haue Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe *Iudaize*. That it is against Nature, for Money to beget Money; And the like. I say
this

this onely, 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 haue made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Discouery of Mens Estates, and other Inuentions. But few haue spoken of *Usury* vselfully. It is good to set before vs, the *Incommodities*, and *Commodities* of *Usury* ; That the Good may be, either Weighed out, or Culled out ; And warily to prouide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worle.

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are : First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of *Usury*, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Employed vpon Merchandizing ; Which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent ; So the Merchant cannot driue his

his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Usury*. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at Vncertainties, at the end of the Game, Most of the Money will be in the Boxe; And euer a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; And *Usury* Way-layes both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improvements, and new Inuentions, wherein Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in proceffe of Time breeds a Publike Pouertie.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury* are. First, that howsoeuer *Usury* in

some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it aduanceth it: For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is driuen by Young Merchants, vpon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer*, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing vpon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw vpon them, a most sudden vndoing; In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre vnder Foot; and so, whereas *Usury* doth but Gnaw vpon them, Bad Markets would Swallow them quite vp. As for Mortgaging, or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without *Use*; Or if they doe, they will looke precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man, in the Country, that would say; The Deuill take this *Usury*, it keepes vs from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceiue, that

that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit; And it is impossible to conceiue, the Number of Inconueniences, that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of *Usury* is Idle. All States haue euer had it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to *Vtopia*.

To speake now, of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Usury*; How the *Discommodities* of it may be best auoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of *Commodities*, and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usurie* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to inuite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two seuerall Sorts of *Usury*; A *Lesse*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Usury*, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seeke for Money. And

it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucratiue, may beare *Usury* at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serue both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be *Two Rates of Usury*, The one Free, and Generall for All; The other vnder *Licence* only, to *Certaine Persons*, and in *Certaine Places of Merchandizing*. First therefore, let *Usury*, in generall, be reduced to *Fiue in the Hundred*; And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the State shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the same. This will preferue Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinesse. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares Purchase, wil yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Fiue. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde,

kinde, then take Fiue in the Hundred, especially hauing beene vsed to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be *Certaine Persons licensed to Lend, to knowne Merchants*, vpon *Usury* at a *Higher Rate*; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, euen with the Merchant himselfe, somewhat more easie, then that he vsed formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers shall haue some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but euery Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. 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 tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then giue ouer his Trade of *Usury*; And goe from *Certaine* Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Let

these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing : For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneyes, in the Country : So as the *Licence of Nine*, will not sucke away the current *Rate of Five* : For no Man will Lend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Vnknown Hands.

If it be Obiected, 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*, then to suffer it to Rage by *Connivence*.

Of

Of Youth and Age.

XLII.



Man that is *Young in yeares*, may be Old in Houres, if he haue 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 Inuention of *Young Men*, is more liuely, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Diuinely. Natures that haue much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they haue passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with *Iulius Caesar*, & *Septimi^{us} Seuer^{us}*. Of the latter of whom, it is said; *Iuuentutem egit, Erroribus, imò Furoribus, plenā*. And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost,

almost, of all the List. But Reposed Natures may doe well in *Youth*. As it is seene, in *Augustus Caesar*, *Cosmus Duke of Florence*, *Gaston de Foix*, and others. On the other side, Heate and Viuacity in *Age*, is an Excellent Composition for Businesse. *Young Men*, are Fitter to Inuent, then to Iudge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Proiects, then for Setled Businesse. For the Experience of *Age*, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them; But in New Things, abuseth them. The Errours of *Young Men* are the Ruine of Businesse; But the Errours of *Aged Men* amount but to this; That more might haue beene done, or sooner. *Young Men*, in the Conduct, and Mannage of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles, which they haue chanced vpon absurdly; Care not to Innouate, which draws vnknowne Inconueniences;

Vse

Vse extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will not acknowledge or retract them; Like an vnready Horse, that will neither Stop, nor Turne. *Men of Age*, Obiect too much, Consult too long, Adventure too little, Repent too soone, and seldome driue Bu-
sinesse home to the full Period; But content themselves with a Mediocrity of Successe. 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 Actours: And lastly, Good for *Externe Accidents*, because Authority followeth *Old Men*, And Fauour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the Morall Part, perhaps *Youth* will haue the preheminance, as *Age* hath for the Politique. A certaine *Rabbine*, vpon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreame dreames*; Inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God

then *Old*; Because *Vision* is a clearer Reue-
 lation, then a *Dream*. And certainly, the
 more a Man drinketh of the World, the
 more it intoxicateth; And *Age* doth pro-
 fit rather in the Powers of Vnderstanding,
 then in the Vertues of the Will and Affe-
 ctions. There be some haue an Ouer-
 early Ripenesse in their yeares, which fa-
 deth betimes: These are first, Such as haue
 Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone
 turned; Such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhe-*
torician, whose Books are exceeding Sub-
 till; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A
 Second Sort is of those, that haue some
 naturall Dispositions, which haue better
 Grace in *Youth*, then in *Age*: Such as is a
 fluent and Luxuriant Speeche; which be-
 comes *Youth* well, but not *Age*: So *Tul-*
ly saith of *Hortensius*; *Idem manebat, neq;*
idem decebat. The third is of such, as
 take too high a Straine at the First; And
 are Magnanimous, more then Tract of
 yeares can vphold. As was *Scipio Affri-*
canus, of whom *Liuy* saith in effect; *Vlti-*
ma primis cedebant.

Of Beauty.

XLIII.



Vertue is like a Rich Stone,
 best plaine set : And surely,
 Vertue is best in a Body, that
 is comely, though not of
 Delicate Features : And that hath rather
 Dignity of Presence, then *Beauty* of A-
 spect. Neither is it almost seene, that very
Beautifulfull Persons, are otherwise of great
 Vertue ; As if Nature, were rather Busie
 not to erre, then in labour, to produce
 Excellency. And therefore, they proue
 Accomplished, but not of great Spirit ;
 And Study rather Behaviour, then Ver-
 tue. But this holds not alwaies ; For *Au-*
gustus Caesar, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip le*
Belle of France, *Edward the Fourth of Eng-*
land, *Alcibiades of Athens*, *Ismael the Sophy*
of Persia, were all High and Great Spirits ;
 And yet the most *Beautifulfull Men* of their

Times. In *Beauty*, that of Fauour, is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion, more then that of Fauour. That is the best Part of *Beauty*, which a Picture cannot expresse; No nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no Excellēt *Beauty*, that hath not some Strangenesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the best Parts out of diuers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Personages, I thinke, would please no Body, but the Painter, that made the. Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then euer was; But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke) And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde neuer a good; And yet all together doe well. If it be true, that the Principall Part of *Beauty*, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no maruaile, though

Persons

Persons in Yeares, seeme many times more Amiable; *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*: For no Youth can be comely, but by Pardon, and considering the Youth, as to make vp the comelineffe. 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 againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.

K k 3 Of

Of Deformity.

XLIII.



Deformed Persons are commonly euen with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall Affection*; And so they haue their Reuenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. *Vbi peccat in vno, periclitatur in altero.* But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Signe, which is more Deceiuable; But as

a Cause, which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth enduce Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliuer himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn; But in Proesse of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to warch and observe the Weaknesse of Others, that they may haue somewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it quencheth lealouise towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours asleepe; As neuer beleeuing, they should be in possibility of aduancement, till they see them in Possession. So that, vpon 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 Enuious

Enuious towards All, are more Obnoxious and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Maruelled, if sometimes they proue Excellent Persons; As was *Agefilas*, *Zanger* the Sonne of *Solyman*, *Æsope*, *Gasca* President of *Peru*; And *Socrates* may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.

Of

Of Building.

XLV.

Houses are built to Liue in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Vse bee preferred before Vniformitie; Except where both may be had. Leauethe Goodly Fabrickes of *Houses*, for Beautie only, to the *Enchanted Pallaces* of the *Poets*: Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire *House*, vpon an *ill Seat*, committeth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an *ill Seat*, only, where the Aire is Vnwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is vnequall; As you shall see many Fine *Seats*, set vpon a knap of Ground, Enuironed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as you shall haue, and that suddenly, as great Diuersitie of Heat and

L 1 Cold,

Cold, as if you Dwelt in feuerall Places. Neither is it *ill Aire* onely, that maketh an *ill Seat*, but Ill Wayes, Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with *Momus*, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of feuerall Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of Leuell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote, Having the Commoditie of Nauigable Ri- uers, or the discommoditie of their Ouer- flowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Prouisi- ons, and maketh euery Thing deare: Where a Man hath a great Liuing laid together, and where he is scanted: All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can: And if he haue feuerall Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what hee wan-
teth

teth in the One, hee may finde in the Other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well, Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his Houses, said; Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter? *Lucullus* answered; Why, doe you not think me as wise, as some Fowle are, that euer change their Aboad towards the Winter?

To passe from the Seat, to the House it selfe; We will doe as *Cicero* doth, in the Oratours Art; Who writes Bookes *De Oratore*, and a Booke he entitles *Orator*: Whereof the Former deliuers the Precepts of the Art; And the Latter the Perfection. We will therefore describe a Princely Palace, making a brieve Modell thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, such Huge Buildings, as the *Vatican*, and *Escuriall*, and some Others be, and yet scarce a very Faire Roome in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot haue a Perfect *Pallacé*, except you haue two seuerall Sides; A Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Booke of *Hester*;

And a Side; for the *Houſhold*: The One for Feaſts and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I vnderſtand both theſe Sides, to be not onely Returnes, but Parts of the *Front*; And to be vni-forme without, though ſeuerally Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and *Stately Tower*, in the Middeſt of the *Front*; That as it were, ioyneth them together, on either Hand. I would haue on the Side of the *Banquet*, in Front, one only *Goodly Roome*, aboue Staires, of ſome Fortie Foot high; And vnder it, a Roome, for a *Dreſſing* or *Preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the *Houſhold Side*, I wiſh it diuided at the firſt, into a *Hall*, and a *Chappell*, (with a Partition betweene;) Both of good State, and Bigneſſe: And thoſe not to goe all the length, but to haue, at the further end, a *Winter*, and a *Summer Parler*, both Faire. And vnder theſe Roomes, A Faire and Large *Cellar*, ſuncke vnder Ground: And likewise, ſome *Priuie Kitchins*, with *Butteries*, and *Pantries*, and the like.

like. As for the *Tower*, I would haue it two Stories, of Eightene Foot High a peece, aboue the two Wings; And a Goodly *Leads* vpon the Top, railed with Statua's interposed; And the same *Tower* to bee diuided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise, to the vpper Roomes, let them bee vpon a Faire open *Newell*, and finely railed in, with *Images of Wood*, cast into a Brasse Colour: And a very faire *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Seruants. For otherwise, you shall haue the Seruants Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come vp as in a Tunnell. And so much for the *Front*. Only, I vnderstand the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a Faire *Court*, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the *Front*. And in all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cafes, 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 vp a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter. But onely some Side Alleys, with a Crosse, and the *Quarters* to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The Row of *Returne*, 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 equall distance: And fine *Coloured Windows* of seuerall workes. On the Household Side, *Chambers* of *Presence*, and Ordinary Entertainments, with some *Bed-chambers*; And let all three Sides, be a double House, without Thorrow Lights, on the Sides, that you may haue Roomes from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone, and After-noone. Cast it also, that you may haue Roomes, both for Summer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warne for Winter. You shall haue sometimes

times Faire Houses, so full of Glasse, that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold: For *Inbowed Windowes*, I hold them of good Use; (In Cities indeed, *Vpright* doe better, in respect of the Vniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that which would strike almost thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the *Window*. But let them be but few, Foure in the *Court*, On the Sides onely.

Beyond this *Court*, let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square, and Height; Which is to be enuironed, with the *Garden*, on all Sides: And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides, vpon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the *Vnder Story*, towards the *Garden*, Let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or Place of Shade, or Estiuation. And onely haue opening and *Windowes* towards the *Garden*; And be Leuell vpon the Floare, no whit sunke vnder Ground, to auoid all
Dam-

Dampishnesse. And let there be a *Fountain*, or some faire *Worke of Statua's*, in the Middest of this *Court*; And to be Paued as the other *Court* was. These Buildings to be for *Priuie Lodgings*, on both Sides; And the End, for *Priuie Galleries*. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of them, be for an *Infirmariy*, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with *Chambers*, *Bed-chamber*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, ioyning to it. This vpon the Second Story. Vpon the *Ground Story*, a Faire *Gallery*, *Open*, vpon *Pillars*: And vpon the *Third Story* likewise, an *Open Gallery* vpon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of *Returne*, Let there be two Delicate or Rich *Cabinets*, Daintily Paued, Richly Hanged, Glased with *CrySTALLINE Glasse*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon. In the *Vpper Gallery* too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some *Fountaines* Running, in diuers Places, from the Wall,

Wall, with some fine Auoidances. And thus much, for the Modell of the *Pallace*: Saue that, you must haue, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts. A *Greene Court Plain*, with a Wall about it: A *Second Court* of the same, but more Garnished, with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, vpon the Wall: And a *Third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with *Tarrasses*, Leaded aloft, and fairely garnished, on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for *Offices*, let them stand at Distance, with some *Low Galleries*, to passe from them, to the *Pallace* it Selfe.

M m Of

Of Gardens.

XLVI.



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 Pallaces are but Gross Handy-works: And a Man shall euer see, that
 when Ages grow to Ciuility and Elegancie, Men come to *Build Stately*, sooner
 then to *Garden Finely*: As if *Gardening*
 were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it,
 in the Royall Ordering of *Gardens*, there
 ought to be *Gardens*, for all the *Moneths* in
 the Ycare: In which, seuerally, Things of
 Beautie, may be then in Season. For *December*, and *Ianuary*, and the Latter Part
 of *Nouember*, you must take such Things,
 as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Iuy;
 Bayes; Iuniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh;
 Pine-

Pine-Apple-Trees ; Firre-Trees ; Rose-Mary ; Lauander; Periwinkle, the White, the Purple, and the Blewe ; Germander ; Flaggess ; Orenge-Trees ; Limon-Trees ; And Mirtles, if they be stooued ; & Sweet Marioram warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of *January*, and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes ; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, and the Gray ; Prime-Roses ; Anemones ; The Early Tulippa ; Hiacyntus Orientalis ; Chamaïris ; Frettellaria. For *March*, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest ; The Yellow Daffadill ; The Dazie ; The Almond-Tree in Blossome ; The Peach-Tree in Blossome ; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome ; Sweet-Briar. In *April* follow, The Double white Violet ; The Wall-flower ; The Stock-Gilly-Flower ; The Couflip ; Flower-De-lices, & Lillies of all Natures ; Rose-mary Flowers ; The Tulippa ; The Double Piony ; The Pale Daffadill ; The French Honny-Suckle ; The Cherry-Tree in Blossome ; The Dammafin, and Plum-

Trees in Blossome ; The White-Thorne in Leafe ; The Lelacke Tree. In *May*, and *June*, come Pincks of all sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke ; Roses of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later ; Hony-Suckles ; Strawberries ; Buglosse ; Columbine ; The French Mary-gold ; Flos Africanus ; Cherry-Tree in Fruit ; Ribes ; Figges in Fruit ; Raspes ; Vine Flowers ; Lauender in Flowers ; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower ; Herba Muscaria ; Liliū Conuallium ; The Apple-tree in Blossome. In *July*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties ; Muske Roses ; The Lime-Tree in blossome, Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit ; Ginnitings, Quadlins. In *August*, come Plummes of all sorts in Fruit ; Peares ; Apricockes ; Berberies ; Filberds ; Muske-Melons ; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In *September*, come Grapes ; Apples ; Poppies of all colours ; Peaches ; Melo-Corones ; Nectarines ; Cornelians ; Wardens ; Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *November*, come Seruices ; Medlars ; Bullifes ; Roses Cut or Remo-
ued

ued to come late ; Hollyokes ; and such like. These Particulars are for the *Climate* of *London*; But my meaning is Perceiued, that you may haue *Ver Perpetuum*, as the Place affords.

And because, the *Breath* of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Musick) then in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, then to know, what be the *Flowers*, and *Plants*, that doe best perfume the Aire. Roses Damask & Red, are fast Flowers of their Smels; So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and finde Nothing of their Sweetnesse; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewise yeeld no Smell, as they grow. Rosemary little; Nor Sweet-Marioram. That, which aboue all Others, yeelds the *Sweetest Smell* in the Aire, is the Violet; Specially the White-double-Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About the middle of *Aprill*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is, the Muske-Rose. Then the Strawberry Leaues dying, which a most

Excellent Cordiall Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, which growes vpon the Cluster, in the First comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be set vnder a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers, specially the Matted Pinck, & Cloue Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, so they be somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which *Perfume* the Aire most delightfully, not *passed by* as the rest, but being *Trodden vpon* and *Crushed*, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Allies of them, to haue the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For Gardens, (Speaking of those, which are indeed *Prince-like*, as we haue done of *Buildings*) the Contents, ought not well to be, vnder *Thirty Acres of Ground*; And to be diuided into three Parts:

Parts : A *Greene* in the Entrance ; A *Heath* or *Desart* in the Going forth ; And the *Maine Garden* in the midst ; Besides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that *Foure Acres* of Ground, be assigned to the *Greene* ; Six to the *Heath* ; *Foure* and *Foure* to either *Side* ; And *Twelue* to the *Maine Garden*. The *Greene* hath two pleasures ; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then *Greene Grasse* kept finely shorne ; The other, because it will giue you a faire *Alley* in the midst, by which you may go in front vpon a *Statelie Hedge*, which is to inclose the *Garden*. But, because the *Alley* will be long, and in great Heat of the *Yeare*, or *Day*, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by Going in the *Sunne* thorow the *Greene*, therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Greene*, to Plant a *Couert Alley*, vpon *Carpenters Worke*, about *Twelue Foot* in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the *Garden*. As for the Making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *Diuers Coloured Earths*, that they may
lie

lie vnder the Windowes of the House, on that Side, which the *Garden* stands, they be but *Toyes*: You may see as good *Sights*, many times, in *Tarts*. The *Garden* is best to be *Square*; *Incompassed*, on all the *Foure Sides*, with a *Stately Arched Hedge*. The *Arches* to be vpon *Pillars*, of *Carpenters Worke*, of some *Ten Foot* high, and *Six Foot* broad: And the *Spaces* between, of the same *Dimension*, with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Ouer the *Arches*, let there bee an *Entire Hedge*, of some *Foure Foot* High, framed also vpon *Carpenters Worke*: And vpon the *Upper Hedge*, ouer euery *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receiue a *Cage* of *Birds*: And ouer euery *Space*, betweene the *Arches*, some other little *Figure*, with *Broad Plates* of *Round Coloured Glasse*, gilt, for the *Sunne*, to Play vpon. But this *Hedge* I intend to be, raised vpon a *Bancke*, not *Steepe*, but gently *Slope*, of some *Six Foot*, set all with *Flowers*. Also I vnderstand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole breadth

Breadth of the Ground, but to leaue, on either Side, Ground enough, for diuersity of *Side Alleys*: Vnto which, the Two *Covert Alleys* of the *Greene*, may deliuer you. But there must be, no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either *End*, of this great *Inclosure*: Not at the *Hither End*, for letting your Prospect vpon this Faire Hedge from the *Greene*; Nor at the *Further End*, for letting your Prospect from the Hedge, through the *Arches*, vpon the *Heath*.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*, I leaue it to Variety of Deuice; Aduising neuerthelesse, that whatsoeuer forme you cast it into, first it be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like *Images Cut out in Iuniper*, or other *Garden stufte*: They be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round, like *VVelts*, with some Pretty *Pyramides*, I like well: And in some Places, *Faire Columnes* vpon Frames of Carpenters *VVorke*. I would also, haue the *Alleys*, Spacious and Faire. You may haue *Closer Alleys* vpon the *Side Grounds*, but

none in the *Maine Garden*. I wish also, in the very Middle, a *Faire Mount*, with three *Ascents*, and *Alleys*, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would haue to be Perfect Circles, without any *Bulwarkes*, or *Imbolments*; And the *Whole Mount*, to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine *Banquetting House*; with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glasse*.

For *Fountaines*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But *Pooles* marre all, and make the *Garden* vnuwholsome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountaines* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *Sprinkleth* or *Spouteth Water*; The Other a *Faire 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 vse, doe well: But the maine Matter is, so to Conuey the Water, as it neuer Stay, either in the *Bowles*, or in the *Cesterne*; That the Water be neuer by Rest *Discoloured*, *Greene*, or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Mossinesse* or *Putrefaction*.

Putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed euery day by the Hand. Also some *Steps* vp to it, and some *Fine Pauement* about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of *Fountaine*, which we may call a *Bathing Poole*, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selues: As, that the Botome be finely Paved, And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of *Fountaine*; which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetuall Motion*, Fed by a Water higher then the *Poole*, and Deliuered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away vnder Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Deuices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rise in seuerall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to

looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetnesse.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildnesse*. *Trees* I would haue none in it; But some *Thickets*, made onely of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honny-suckle*, and some *Wilde Vine* amongst; And the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Prime-Roses*. 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-hils*, (such as are in *Wilde Heaths*) to be set, some with *Wilde Thyme*; Some with *Pincks*; Some with *Germander*, that giues a good Flower to the Eye; Some with *Periwinckle*; Some with *Violets*; Some with *Strawberries*; Some with *Couslips*; Some with *Daiesies*; Some with *Red-Roses*; Some with *Lilium Conuallium*; Some with *Sweet-Williams Red*; Some with *Bears-Foot*; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which *Heapes*, to be
with

with *Standards*, of little *Busbes*, prickt vpon their Top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be *Roses*; *Iuniper*; *Holly*; *Beare-berries* (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;) *Red Currans*; *Goose-berries*; *Rose-Mary*; *Bayes*; *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 fill them with *Varietie* of *Alleys*, Priuate, to giue a full Shade; Some of them, wherefoeuer the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those *Alleys* must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these *Closer Alleys*, must bee euer finely Grauelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; As well vpon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally obserued, that the *Borders*, wherein you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Faire

and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceiue the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would haue a *Mount* of some Pretty Height, leauing the Wall of the Enclosure Brest high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the *Maine Garden*, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees*; And some Pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, And *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by no Meanes, set too thicke; But to leaue the *Maine Garden*, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for *Shade*, I would haue you rest, vpon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, thereto walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account, that the *Maine Garden*, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Euening, or Ouer-cast Dayes.

For *Auiaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse, as they may be
Turffed,

Turffed, and haue *Liuing Plants*, and *Bushes*, set in them; That the *Birds* may haue more *Scope*, and *Naturall Neastling*, and that no *Foulenesse* appeare, in the *Floare* of the *Auiary*. So I haue made a *Platforme* of a *Princely Garden*, Partly by *Precept*, Partly by *Drawing*, not a *Modell*, but some generall *Lines* of it; And in this I haue spared for no *Cost*. But it is *Nothing*, for *Great Princes*, that for the most *Part*, taking *Aduice* with *Workmen*, with no *Lesse Cost*, set their *Things* together; And sometimes adde *Statua's*, and such *Things*, for *State*, and *Magnificence*, but nothing to the true *Pleasure* of a *Garden*.

Of Negotiating.

XLVII.



It is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third, then by a Mans Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serue, for a Mans Iustification, afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peecces. To *deale in Person* is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender Cases, where a Mans Eye, vpon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may giue him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will reserue to himselfe Libertie, either to Disavow,

vow, or to Expound. In Choice of *Instruments*, it is better, to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Success; Then those, that are Cunning to Contriue out of other Mens Businesse, somewhat to grace themselves; And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction sake. Use also, such Persons, as affect the Businesse, wherein they are Employed; For that quickeneth much; And such, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry and Obseruation, Forward and Absurd Men for Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Use also such, as haue beene Luckie, and Preuailed before in Things wherein you haue Employed them; For that breeds Confidence, and they will striue to maintaine their Prescription. It is better, to sound a Person, with whom one *Deales*, a farre off, then to fall vpon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize him by some

O o

Short

Short Question. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite, then with those that are where they would be. If a Man *Deale* with another vpon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise, is to *Discover*, or to *Worke*. Men *Discover* themselves, in Trust; In Passion; At vnawares; And of Necessitie, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you would *Worke* any Man, you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disaduantages, and so Awe him; or those that haue Interest in him, and so Gouverne him. In *Dealing* with Cunning Persons, we must euer Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to
say

say little to them, and that which they least
 looke for. In all *Negotiations* of Difficul-
 tie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and
 Reape at once ; But must Prepare Busi-
 nesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.




Of

Of Followers

and Friends.

XLVIII.

P ostly *Followers* are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Train Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which Follow not vpon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but vpon Discontentment Conceiued against some Other: Whereupon commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious *Followers*, who

who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconuenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Enuie. There is a Kinde of *Followers* likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Fauour; For they are Officious, And commonly Exchange Tales. The *Following* by certaine *Estates* of *Men*, answerable to that, which a Great Person himselfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath euer beene a Thing Ciuill, and well taken euen in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie. But the most Honourable Kinde of *Following*, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to aduance Vertue and Desert, in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Odds in Sufficiencie, it is better to

take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Actiue Men are of more vse, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Gouvernment, it is Good to vse Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due. But contrariwise in Fauour, to vse Men with much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Because all is of Fauour. It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man, at the first; Because One Cannot hold out that Proportion. To be gouerned (as we call it) by One, is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse, and giues a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediately, will talke 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,

Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Friends is ever Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is Little Friendship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.

Of Sutours.

XLIX.



Any ill Matters and Proiects are vndertaken; And Private *Sutes* doe Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are vndertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt Mindes, but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Sutes*, which neuer meane to deale effectually in them; But if they see, there may be life in the Matter, by some other meane, they will be content to winne a Thanke, or take a Second Reward, or at least to make Vse, in the meane time, of the *Sutours* Hopes. Some take hold of *Sutes*, onely for an Occasion, to Crosse some other; Or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise haue apt Pretext; without Care what become of the *Sute*,
when

when that Turne is serued: Or generally, to make other Mens Businesse, a Kinde of Entertainment, to bring in their owne. Nay, some vndertake *Sutes*, with a full Purpose, to let them fall; To the end, to gratifie the Aduerse Partie, or Competi-
tour. Surely, there is, in some sort, a Right in euery *Sute*: Either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Sute* of Controuerfie; Or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Sute* of Petition. If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the Wrong Side in Iustice, let him rather vse his Countenance, to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the lesse Worthy in Desert, let him doe it without Deprauing or Disabling the Better Deseruer. In *Sutes*, which a man doth not well vnderstand, it is good to referre them, to some Friend of Trust and Iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Sutours* are so distasted with Delayeres, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale

in *Sutes* at first, and Reporting the Successes barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deserued, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Sutes* of Fauour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise haue beene had, but by him, Aduantage bee not taken of the Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort, Recompenced for his Discouerie. To be Ignorant of the value of a *Sute*, is Simplicitic; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof, is Want of Conscience. Secrecie in *Sutes*, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them, to bee in Forwardnesse, may discourage some Kinde of *Sutours*; But doth Quicken and Awake Others. But Timing of the *Sute*, is the Principall. Timing, I say, not onely in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane, rather

ther choose the Fittest Meane, then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall. The Reparation of a Deniall, is somtimes Equall to the first Grant; If a Man shew himselfe, neither dejected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, et Æquum feras*; is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his *Sute*; For he that would haue ventured at first to haue lost the *Sutour*, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the *Sutour*, and his owne 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, then these Generall Contriuers of *Sutes*: For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.

78

Of Studies.

L.

Studies serue for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their Chiefe Vse for Delight, is in Priuatenesse and Retiring ; For Ornament, is in Discourse ; And for Ability, is in the Iudgement and Disposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars, one by one ; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are *Learned*. To spend too much Time in *Studies*, is Sloth ; To vse them too much for Ornament, is Affectation ; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience : For Naturall Abilities, are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by *Study* :
And

And *Studies* themselves, doe giue forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men Contemne *Studies*; Simple Men Admire them; and Wise Men Vse them: For they teach not their owne Vse; But that is a Wisdome without them, and aboue them, won by Obseruation. Reade not to Contradict, and Confute; Nor to Belleeue and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. Some *Bookes* are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed, and Some Few to be Chewed and Digested: That is, some *Bookes* are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously; And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some *Bookes* also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would be, onely in the lesse important Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of *Bookes*: else distilled *Bookes*, are like Common distilled Waters, Flashy Things. Reading maketh a Full Man; Conference a Ready

dy Man ; And Writing an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little, he had need haue a Great memory ; If he Conferre little, he had need haue a Present Wit ; And if he Reade litle, he had need haue much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth not. *Histories* make Men Wise ; *Poets* Witty ; The *Mathematicks* Subtill ; *Naturall Philosophy* deepe ; *Morall* Graue ; *Logick* and *Rhetorick* Able to Contend. *Abeunt studia in Mores*. Nay there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit *Studies* : Like as Diseases of the Body, may haue Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines ; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast ; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke ; Riding for the Head ; And the like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks* ; For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away neuer so little, he must begin again. If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the *Schoole-men* ; For they are *Cymini sectores*. If he be not
Apt

Apt to beat ouer Matters, and to call
vp one Thing, to Proue and Illustrate an-
other, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cases*: So
euery Defect of the Minde, may haue a
Speciall Reccit.

Of Faction.

LI.

MAny haue an Opinion not wise ; That for a Prince to Gouverne his Estate ; Or for a Great Person to gouverne his Proceedings , according to the Respect of *Factions*, is a Principall Part of Policy : whereas contrariwise, the Chiefest Wisdome is, either in Ordering those Things, which are General, and wherein Men of Seuerall *Factions* doe neuerthelesse agree ; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions*, is to be Neglected. Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere ; But Great Men , that haue Strength in themselues , were better to maintaine themselues Indifferent, and Neutrall.

Neutrall. Yet euen in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as hee bee a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most Passable with the other, commonly giueth best Way. The Lower and Weaker *Faction*, is the firmer in Coniunction: And it is often seene, that a few, that are Stiffe, doe tire out, a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the *Factions* is Extinguished, the Remaining Subdiuideth: As the *Faction*, betweene *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 Downe, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soone after brake. The *Faction* or Partie of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were ouerthrowne, then soone after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and Subdiuided. These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Priuate *Factions*. And therefore, those that are Seconds in *Fa-*

ctions, doe many times, when the *Faction* Subdiuideth, proue Principals : But many times also, they proue Ciphars and Casheer'd : For many a Mans Strength is in opposition ; And when that faileth, he groweth out of vse. It is commonly seene, that Men once Placed, take in with the Contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter ; Thinking belike that they haue the First Sure ; And now are Readie for a New Purchase. The Traitour in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it ; For when Matters haue stucke long in Ballancing, the Winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Euen Carriage betweene two *Factions*, proceedeth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Mans Selfe, with End to make vse of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they haue often in their Mouth, *Padre commune* : And take it, to be a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the Greatnesse of his owne House. Kings had need beware, how they Side themselves, and

and make themselves as of a *Faction* or *Partie*: For Leagues, within the State, are ever Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soueraignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis*: As was to be scene, in the *League of France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes; And much to the Preiudice, both of their Authoritie, and Businesse. The Motions of *Factions*, vnder Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the *Astronomers* speake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may haue their Proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the Higher Motion, of *Primum Mobile*.

Q^d 2

Of

Of Ceremonies and Respects.

LII.

HE that is only Reall, had need haue Exceeding great Parts of Vertue: As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the Prouerbe is true, *That light Gaines make heauy Purfes*; For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true, that Small Matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in Vse, and in note: whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue, commeth but on Festiuals. Therefore it doth much adde, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as Queene Isabella said) *Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory*, to haue good Formes.

To

To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man obserue them in Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Vnaffected. Some Mens Behauiour, is like a Verse, wherein euery Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Obseruations? Not to vse *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach Others not to vse them againe; And so diminisheth *Respect* to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling vpon them, & Exalting them aboue the Moone, is not only Tedious, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Conueying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst Complements, which is of Singular vse, if a Man can hit vpon it. Amongst a Mans Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a

little to keepe State. Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reuerence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giueth another Occasion of Satiety, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good: So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it vpon Regard, And not vpon Facilitie. It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion, let it bee with Condition; If you allow his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they neuer so Sufficient otherwise, their Enuiers will be sure to giue them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is losse also in businesse, to be too full of Respects, or to be too Curious in Observing Times and Opportunities. *Salomon* saith; *He that considereth the wind, shall not*

Sow

Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape. A wise Man will make more Opportunities then he findes. Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Deuice, but Free for Exercise or Motion.



Of

But of the highest Vertues, they
 have no Seale, or Testimony at all. But
 Shows and Signs, which make them
 self with them. Certainly, Fancie like a
 Riot, that beareth up Things light and
 Swolne, And Drowns Things weighty
 and Solide: But if persons of Quality and
 Iudgement concur, then it is (as the
 Scripture

Of Praise.

LIII.



Praise is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glasse or Bodie, which giueth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People vnderstand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw *Praise* from them; The middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they haue no Sense, or Perceiuing at all. But Shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes*, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer, that beareth vp Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Iudgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture

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, then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of *Praise*, that a Man may iustly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praises* proceed meerely of Flattery ; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will haue certaine Common Attributes, which may serue euery Man ; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans selfe ; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will vphold him most : But if he be an Impudent Flatterer, look wherin a Man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defectiue, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to, perforce, *Spretâ Conscientiâ*. Some *Praises* come of good Wilhes, and Respects, which is a Forme due in Ciuilitie to Kings, and Great Persons, *Laudando præcipere* ; When by telling Men, what they are, they represent to them, what

R r they

they should be. Some Men are Praised Maliciously to their Hurt, thereby to stirre Enuie and lealouſie towards them; *Pessimus genus Inimicorum laudantium*; In ſo much as it was a Prouerb, amongſt the Grecians; that, *He that was praised to his Hurt, ſhould haue a Puſh riſe vpon his Noſe*: As we ſay; *That a Blister will riſe vpon ones Tongue, that tell's a lye*. Certainly Moderate Praise, vſed with Opportunity, and not Vulgar, is that which doth the Good. Salomon ſaith, *He that praiſeth his Friend aloud, Riſing Early, it ſhall be to him, no better then a Curſe*. Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Enuie and Scorne. To Praise a Mans ſelfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Caſes: But to Praise a Mans Office or Profeſſion, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The Cardinals of Rome, which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, haue a Phraſe of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Ciuill Buſineſſe: For they call all Temporall Buſineſſe,

nesse, of Warres, Embassages, Iudicature,
 & other Emploiments, *Sbirrerie*; which is,
Vnder-Sheriffries; As if they were but mat-
 ters for Vnder-Sheriffes and Catchpoles;
 Though many times, those *Vnder-sheriffe-
 ries* doe more good, then their High Spe-
 culations. *S^c. Paul*, when he boasts of
 himselfe, he doth oft enterlace; *I speake
 like a Foole*; But speaking of his Calling,
 he saith; *Magnificabo Apostolatium meum.*

R r 2

Of

Of Vaine-Glory.

LIIII.



T was prettily Deuised of *Æsop*; *The Fly* sate vpon the *Axle-tree* of the *Chariot wheele*, and said, *What a Dust* doe I raise?

So are there some *Vaine Persons*, that whatsoeuer goeth alone, or moueth vpon greater Means, if they haue neuer so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factionous*; For all Brauery stands vpon Comparisons. They must needs be *Violent*, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be *Secret*, and therefore not *Effectuall*; but according to the *French Prouerb*; *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit*: *Much Bruit, little Fruit*. Yet certainly there is Vse of this Qualitie, in *Ciuill Affaires*. Where there is an Opinion,
and

and Fame to be created, either of Vertue, or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpetters. Again, as *Titus Liuius* noteth, in the Case of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*; There are sometimes great Effects of Crosse Lies; As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to ioyne in a Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, aboue Measure, the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raiseth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that *Somewhat* is produced of *Nothing*: For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Militar Commanders and Soldiers, *Vaine-Glory* is an Essentiall Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise, vpon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures, doth put Life into Businesse; And those that are of Solide and Sober Na-

4 ures, haue more of the Ballast, then of the
 Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight
 will be slow, without some Feathers of
 Ostentation. *Qui de contemnenda Gloria
 Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt.*
 Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were Men full
 of Ostentation. Certainly Vaine-Glory hel-
 peth to Perpetuate a Mans Memory; And
 Vertue was neuer so Beholding to Hu-
 mane Nature, as it receiued his due at the
 Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of
 Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her
 Age so well, if it had not been ioyned,
 4 with some Vanity in themselves: Like vn-
 to Varnish, that makes Seelings not onely
 Shine, but Last. But all this while, when
 I speake of Vaine-Glory, I meane not of
 that Property, that Tacitus doth attribute
 to Mucianus; *Omnium, quae dixerat, fece-
 ratq; Arte quadam Ostentator*: For that pro-
 ceeds not of Vanity, but of Naturall Mag-
 nanimity, and discretion: And in some
 Persons, is not onely Comely, but Graci-
 ous. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty
 it selfe well Governed, are but Arts of
 Ostentation.

Ostentation. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of; which is to be Liberall of Praise and Commendation to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Perfection. For saith *Pliny* very Wittily; *In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend, or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse.* Glorious Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles; the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaues of their own Vaunts.

And some count it a shame to be valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not bene attempted before; Or a thing which hath bene attempted, but not with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more of them, then by Ellecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man to temper

Of Honour and Reputation.

L V.



He Winning of *Honour*, is but the Reuealing of a Mans Vertue and Worth, without Disaduantage. For some in their Actions, doe Wooc and affect *Honour*, and *Reputation*: Which Sort of Men, are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little Admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue, in the Shew of it ; So as they be vnder-valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before; Or attempted & giuen ouer; Or hath beene atchieued, but not with so good Circumstance ; he shall purchase more *Honour*, then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper
his

his Actions, as in some one of them, hee doth content euerie Faction, or Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then the Carying of it through can *Honor* him. *Honour*, that is gained and broken vpon Another, hath the quickest Reflection ; Like Diamonds cut with Falcets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet Followers and Seruants helpe much to *Reputation*: *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat.* Enuy, which is the Canker of *Honour*, is best extinguished, by declaring a Mans Selfe, in his Ends, rather to seeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing a Mans Successes, rather to diuine Prouidence and Felicity, then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of the Degrees of *Soueraigne Honour* are these. In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum* ; Founders of
Sf States,

States, and Common-Wealths: Such as were *Romulus, Cyrus, Caesar, Ottoman, Ismael.* In the Second Place are *Legis-latores, Law-givers*; which are also called, *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, because they Gouverne by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Iustinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile*, the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*. In the Third Place, are *Liberatores, or Saluatores*: Such as compound the long Miseries of Ciuill Warres, or deliuer their Countries from Seruitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As *Augustus Caesar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus*, K. *Henry the 7. of England*, K. *Henry the 4. of France*. In the Fourth Place, are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperij*; Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Inuaders. And in the Last Place, are *Patres Patrie*; which reigne iustly, & make the Times good, wherein they liue. Both which last Kindes, need no Examples; they are in such Number. Degrees of Honour in Subjects are; First, *Participes*

ticipes Curarum; Those vpon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affaires; Their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The Next are, *Duces Belli*, Great Leaders; Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Seruices in the Warres. The Third are, *Gratiosi*; *Fauorites*; Such as exceed not this Scantling; To be Solace to the Soueraigne, and Harmlesse to the People. And the Fourth, *Negotijs pares*; Such as haue great Places vnder Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an Honour likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as *Sacrifice themselves*, to Death or Danger, for the Good of their Countrey: As was M. Regulus, and the Two Decij.

Of Iudicature.

LVI.



*I*udges ought to remember, that their Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius 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 vnder pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke to Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by Shew of *Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noueltie*. Iudges ought to be more Learned, then Wittie; More Reuerend, then Plausible; And more Aduised, then Confident. Aboue all Things, Integrity is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. Cursed (saith the Law) is hee that remoueth the Land-marke. The Millaier of a Meere Stone

Stone is to blame. But it is the Vniust Iudge, that is the Capitall Remouer of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith Salomon; *Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram Aduersario.* The Office of Iudges, may haue Reference, Vnto the Parties that sue; Vnto the Aduocates that Plead; Vnto the Clerkes and Ministers of Iustice vnderneath them; And to the Soueraigne or State aboue them.

First, for the Causes or Parties that Sue. There be (saith the Scripture) that turne Iudgement into Worme-wood; And surely, there be also, that turne it into Vinegar; For Iniustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Sourc. The Principall Dutie of a Iudge, is to suppress Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Con-

tentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A *Iudge* ought to prepare his Way to a Iust Sentence, as *God* vscth to prepare his Way, by *Raising Valleys*, and *Taking downe Hills*: So when there appeareth on either side, an High Hand; Violent Prosecution, Cunning Aduantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the Vertue of a *Iudge* scene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he may plant his *Iudgement*, as vpon an Euen Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*; And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. *Iudges* must beware of Hard Constructions, and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to haue Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not vpon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos Laqueos*: For Penall Lawes Pressed, are a
Shower

Shower of Snares vpon the People. Therefore, let *Penall Lawes*, if they haue beene Sleepers of long, or if they be growne vnfit for the present Time, be by Wise *Iudges* confined in the Execution; *Iudicis Officium est, vt Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.* In *Causes* of Life and Death; *Iudges* ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy; And to Cast a Seuerer Eye vpon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye vpon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Aduocates* and *Counsell that Plead*: Patience and Grauitie of Hearing, is an Essentiall Part of Iustice; And an Ouer-speaking *Iudge* is no well tuned Cymball. It is no Grace to a *Iudge*, first to finde that, which hee might haue heard, in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit in Cutting off Euidence or Counsell too short; Or to preuent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a *Iudge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Euidence; To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate,

tulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath beene said; And to Giue the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is about these, is too much; And proceedeth, Either of Glory and willingness to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare; Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Stead and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the Boldnesse of *Aduocates*, should preuaile with *Iudges*; Whereas they should imitate God, in whose Seat they sit; who represseth the *Presumptuous*, and giueth Grace to the *Modest*. But it is more Strange, that *Iudges* should haue Noted Fauourites; Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion of By-waies. There is due from the *Iudge*, to the *Aduocate*, some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well Handled, and faire Plead; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds, in the *Client*, the Reputation of his *Counsell*, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publique*, a
Ciuill

Ciuill Reprehension of *Aduocates*, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Ouer-bold Defence. And let not the *Counsell* at the Barre, chop with the *Iudge*, nor winde himsele into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Iudge* hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the *Iudge* meet the *Cause* halfe Way; Nor giue Occasion to the Partic to say; *His Counsell or Proofes were not heard.*

Thirdly, for that that concernes *Clerks*, and *Ministers*. The Place of *Iustice*, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserued without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes*, (as the *Scripture* saith) *will not be gathered of Thornes or Tbistles*: Neither can *Iustice* yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling *Clerkes* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subiect to Foure bad Instru-

ments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarells of Iurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curie*, but *Parasiti Curie*; in puffing a Court vp beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Aduantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they peruert the Plaine and Direct Courses of Courts, and bring *Iustice* into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which iustifies the Common Resemblance of the Courts of *Iustice*, to the *Busb*, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerke*, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Vnderstanding in the *Businesse* of the Court, is an excellent Finger of a Court; And doth many times point the way to the *Iudge* himselfe.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the *Soueraigne* and *Estate*. *Judges* ought aboue all to remember the Conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*; *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*; And to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* doe often Consult with *Judges*; And againe, when *Judges* doe often Consult with the *King* and *State*: The one, when there is Matter of Law, interuenient in Bu-
finesse of *State*; The other, when there is some Consideration of *State*, interuenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to *Judge-ment*, may bee *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of *Estate*: I call Matter of *Estate*, not onely the parts of *Soueraigntie*, but whatsoeuer introduceth any Great Alteration, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth ma-

nifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceiue, that Iust Laws, and True Policie, haue any *Antipathie*: For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes, that One moues with the Other. Let *Iudges* also remember, that *Salomons Throne*, was supported by Lions, on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions vnder the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of *Soueraigntie*. Let not *Iudges* also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Vse, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater *Law*, then theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur Legitimè.*

Of

Of Anger.

LVII.

TO seeke to extinguish *Anger* viterly, is but a Brauery of the *Stoickes*. We haue better Oracles : *Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe downe vpon your Anger.* *Anger* must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, *To be Angry*, may be attempred, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of *Anger*, may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger*, in Another.

For the first ; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminare well, vpon the Effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Mans Life. And the best Time, to doe

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this,

this, is, to looke backe vpon Anger, when the Fitt is throughly ouer. *Seneca* saith well ; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes it Selfe, vpon that it fall's.* The Scripture exhorteth vs ; *To possesse our Soules in Patience.* Whosoever is out of *Patience*, is out of Possession of his Soule. Men must not turne Bees ;

— *Animaſq; in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse: As it appeares well, in the Weaknesse of those Subiects, in whom it reignes : Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware, that they carry their Anger, rather with Scorne, then with Feare : So that they may seeme rather, to be about the Iniury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will giue Law to himselfe 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 Feeles not himselfe Hurt : And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft Angry : They haue

haue so many Things to trouble them ; Which more Robust Natures haue little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offred, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of *Contempt*. For *Contempt* is that which putteth an Edge vpon *Anger*, as much, or more, then the *Hurt* it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of *Contempt*, they doe kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans *Reputation*, doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*. Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man should haue, as *Consaluo* 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 Mans Selfe belecue, that the Opportunity of his Reuenge is not yet come : But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, and reserue it.

To containe *Anger* from *Mischiefe*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must haue speciall

ciall Caution. The one, of extreme *Bitternesse of Words*; Especially, if they be *Aculcate*, and Proper: For *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much: And againe, that in *Anger*, a Man reueale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not *peremptorily break off*, in any *Businesse*, in a *Fitt of Anger*: But howloeuver you *shew Bitternes*, do not *Act* any thing, that is not *Reuocable*.

For *Raising* and *Appeasing Anger* in Another; It is done chiefly, by *Choosing of Times*, when Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggrauate 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 Businesse*: For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to seuer, as much as may be, the Construction of the Iniury, from the Point of *Contempt*: Imputing it, to *Misunderstanding*, *Feare*, *Passion*, or what you will.

Of Vicissitude
of Things.

LVIII.

SALOMON saith; *There is no New Thing upon the Earth.* So that as *Plato* had an Imagination; *That all Knowledge was but Remembrance:* So *Salomon* giueth his Sentence; *That all Noueltie is but Oblivion.* Whereby you may see, that the *Riuer of Lethe*, runneth as well aboue 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 Starres euer stand at like distance, one from another, and neuer come nearer together, nor goe further asunder;* *The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time.:*) *No Indiuiduall would last one Moment.* Certain it is, that the Mat-

ter, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and neuer at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Oblivion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earth-quakes*. As for *Conflagrations*, and great *Droughts*, they doe not meerely dispeople, and destroy. *Phaetons* Carre went but a day. And the *Three* yeares *Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but Particular, and left People Aliue. 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 *Earth-quake*, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be reserved, are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can giue no Account, of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you consider well, of the People of the *West Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earth-quakes*,
(As

(As the *Ægyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*; That it was swallowed by an *Earth-quake*;) But rather, that it was desolated, by a Particular *Deluge*. For *Earth-quakes* are seldome in those Parts. But on the other side, they haue such *Powring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*, are but *Brookes* to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or *Mountaines*, are farre higher, then those with vs; Whereby it seemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a Particular *Deluge*, saued. As for the Observation, that *Macciauel* hath, that the *Iealouse* 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 doe not finde, that those *Zcales*, doe any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did reuiue the former *Antiquities*.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations*, in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's* great

Yeare, if the World should last so long, would haue some Effect; Not in renewing the State of like Indiuiduals (for that is the Fume of those, that conceiue the Celestiall Bodics, haue more accurate Influences, vpon these Things below, then indeed they haue) but in grosse. *Comets*, out of question, haue likewise Power and Effect, ouer the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather gazed vpon, and waited vpon in their Iourney, then wisely obserued in their Effects; Specially in their Respective Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heauen, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I haue heard, and I would not haue it giuen ouer, but waited vpon a little. They say, it is obserued, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part) that Euery Fiue and Thirtie yeeres, The same Kinde and Sute of Yeers and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warme

Warme Winters, Summers with little Hear, and the like : And they call it the *Prime*. It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I haue found some Concurrence.

But to leaue these Points of *Nature*, and to 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 vpon the *Rocke* ; The Rest are tost vpon the *Waues* of *Time*. To speake therefore, of the *Causes* of New *Seets* ; And to giue some *Counsell* concerning them ; As farre, as the Weaknesse of Humane Iudgement, can giue stay to so great *Reuolutions*.

When the *Religion* formerly receiued, is rent by *Discords* ; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of *Religion* is decayed, and full of *Scandall* ; And withall the Times be *Stupid*, *Ignorant*, and *Barbarous* ; you may doubt the Springing vp of a *New Seet* ; If then also there should arise, any *Extrauagant* and *Strange Spirit*,

to make himsef Authour thereof. All which Points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law*. If a *New Sect* haue not two Properties, feare it not : For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established : For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giuing Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative Heresies* (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they worke mightily vpon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States ; except it be by the Helpe of Ciuill Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of *New Sects*. By the Power of *Signes* and *Miracles* : By the *Eloquence* and *Wisedome* of *Speech* and *Perswasion* : And by the *Sword*. For *Martyrdomes*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles* ; Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature : And I may doe the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holinesse* of *Life*. Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the
Rising

Rising of New Sects, and Schismes ; then To reforme Abuses ; To compound the smaller Differences ; To proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions ; And rather to take off the principall Authors, by Winning and Advancing them, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The Changes and Vicissitude in Warres are many ; But chiefly in three Things ; In the Seats or Stages of the Warre ; In the Weapons ; And in the Manner of the Conduct. Warres in ancient Time, seemed more to moue from East to West : For the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the Inuaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the Gaules were Westerne ; But we reade but of two Incurfions of theirs ; The one to Gallo-Grecia, the other to Rome. But East and West haue no certaine Points of Heauen : And no more haue the Warres, either from the East, or West, any Certainty of Obseruation. But North and South are fixed : And it hath seldome or neuer been seene, that
the

the farre Southern People haue inuaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the *Northern Tract* of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are vpon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Vpon the *Breaking* and *Shiuering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to haue *Warres*. For great Empires, while they stand, doe enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natiues, which they haue subdued, resting vpon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it, in the Decay of the *Roman Empire*; And likewise, in the *Empire of Almaigne*, after *Charles* the Great, euery Bird taking a Fether; And were not vnlike

like to befall to *Spaine*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Vnions* of *Kingdomes*, doe likewise stirre vp *Warres*. For when a State growes to an *Ouer-power*, it is like a great *Floud*, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been scene, in the States of *Rome*, *Turky*, *Spaine*, and others. Look when the World hath fewest *Barbarous Peoples*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to liue; (As it is almost euery where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no Danger of *Inundations* of People: But when there be great *Shoales* of People, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing Meanes of Life and Sustaination, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People vpon other Nations: Which the ancient *Northern People*, were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a *Warre-like State* growes *Soft* and *Effeminate*, they may be sure of a *Warre*. For commonly

such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inuitheth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth vnder Rule and Obseruation: yet we see, euen they haue *Returns* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known in the Citty of the *Oxidrales* in *India*; And was that, which the *Macedonians* called *Thunder* and *Lightning*, and *Magicke*. And it is well knowne, that the vse of *Ordnance* hath been in *China*, aboue 2000. yeares. The Conditions of *Weapons*, & their Improuement are; First, The Fetching a farre off: For that outruns the Danger: As it is seene in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherein likewise *Ordnance* doe exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inuentions. The third is, the commodious vse of them: As that they may serue in all Weathers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the Warre: At the first,

first, Men rested extremely vpon *Number* : They did put the Warres likewise vpon *Maine Force*, and *Valour* ; Pointing Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, vpon an euen Match : And they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battailes*. After they grew to rest vpon *Number*, rather *Competent*, then *Vast* : They grew to *Aduantages*, of *Place*, *Cunning* *Diuerfions*, and the like : And they grew more skilful in the *Ordering* of their *Battailes*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Armes* doe 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*, *Mechanicall Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his *Infancy*, when it is but beginning, and almost *Childish* : Then his *Youth*, when it is *Luxuriant* and *Iuvenile* : Then his *Strength* of yeares, when it is *Solide* and *Reduced* : And lastly, his *old Age*, when it waxeth *Dry* and *Exhaust*. But it is not good, to looke too long, vpon these turning *Wheels* of *Vi-*

Of Vicissitude of Things.

cissitude, lest we become Giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

FINIS.



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