**Resuscitatio, or, bringing into publick light several pieces of the works, civil, historical, philosophical, & theological, hitherto sleeping / of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon ... According to the best corrected copies. Together, with his Lordships life. By William Rawley.**

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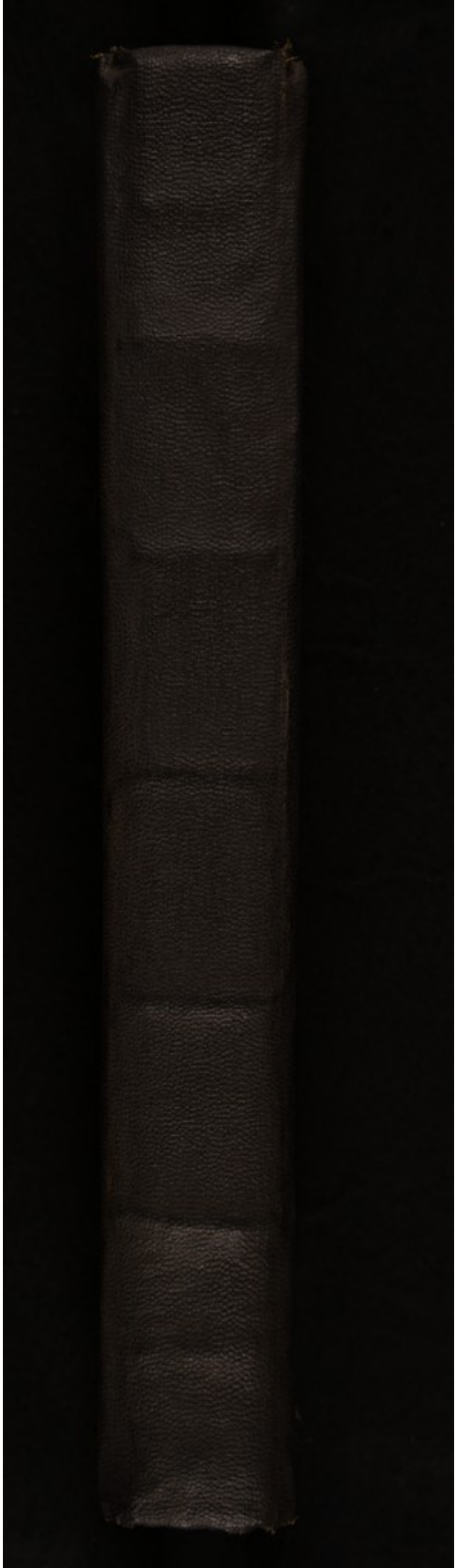
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lam Vice-Comes S.ti Albani Mortuus 9 Aprilis,
Anno Dni. 1626 Aimoq, Aetat 66.

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# Resuscitatio,

Or, bringing into

PVBLICK LIGHT

SEVERAL

# PIECES

OF THE

# WORKS,

*Civil, Historical, Philosophical, & Theological,*

HITHERTO

# SLEEPING,

Of the Right Honourable

*FRANCIS BACON,*

Baron of *Verulam*, Viscount Saint *Alban*.

According to the best Corrected COPIES.
Together, With his Lordships LIFE.

The Second Edition, some-what enlarged.

By WILLIAM RAVVLEY, Doctor in Divinity, His Lordships First, and Last, CHAPLEIN.

And now His Majesties CHAPLEIN, in Ordinary.

*LONDON*,

Printed by *S. Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Fleetstreet*, at the signe of the Turks head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.

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TO HIS

# Sacred Maieſtie,

# CHARLES THE II.

By the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

*May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,*

WHEN this *Booke* was firſt publiſhed, near four years paſt, there wanted a *Royall Majeſtie*, in the Land, to dedicate it unto: And a lower Dedication, did not beſeem the Works, of this Honourable *Author*. But now, that it hath pleaſed *God*, that a *Sun* is riſen, in our *Hemiſphere* again; This unpatroniz'd *Booke* before, ſaluting the world, with a *Second Edition*; Doth, in all Humility, preſſe forward, and draw neer, to your *Sacred Majeſtie*, to be cheriſhed, by the Light, and Warmth, of your Royal Countenance, and Protection. It is true, your *Majeſtie* hath now, a living *Counſell*, of the Ancient Splendour, and Dignity; But yet, it will not ſeeme grievous to you, at ſome times of Leiſure, to confer with this Dead *Counſeller*; who ſerved, ſeverall years, in a principall *Office*, of the *Kingdome*, under your *Royall Grand-Father*, (the moſt learned of *Kings*;) And was Graciouſly accepted by Him, during his Employment:

Being also, a *Writer* well known, and highly prized, amongst Forreign *Nations*. It is recorded, as the saying, of a wise, and pious *Bishop*, concerning St. *Augustine*; *That it was impossible, a Sonne, of so many Tears, should miscarry*: I may crave leave, to say the like, of your *Royal Majestie*, in a converted sense; That it is impossible, a *King*, of so many *Prayers*, and *Wishes*, and *Acclamations*, and *Gratulations*, and *Joyes*, as your *Majestie* is, (*Gods* Aid implored,) should not be prosperous. And therefore, as your Coming to your Rightfull *Throne*, with all the Circumstances, therein observable, amounted to no lesse, then a *Miracle*: So we have Budding, and Lively Hopes, that your Prudent Administration, of the same, will be, even a *Mirrour*, to succeeding *Princes*. Which, with your *Majesties* long Continuance, in Life, and Happiness, is, and shall be, the Fervent, and Daily *Prayer*, of

*Your Majesties most Humble,*

*And Devoted Subject,*

*And Servant,*

W. Rawley.

TO THE

# READER.



Having been employed, as an *Amanuensis*, or dayly instrument, to this *Honourable Authour*; And acquainted with his *Lordships* Conceits, in the composing, of his *Works*, for many years together; Especially, in his writing Time; I conceived, that no Man, could pretend a better Interest, or Claim, to the ordering of them, after his Death, then my self. For which cause, I have compiled in one, whatsoever bears the true Stamp, of his *Lordships* excellent *Genius*; And hath hitherto slept, and been suppressed; In this present *Volume*; Not leaving any Thing, to a future Hand, which I found, to be of moment, and communicable to the Publick; Save onely some few *Latine Works*; Which, by *Gods* Favour and sufferance, shall soon after follow.

It is true, that for some of the *Pieces*, herein contained, his *Lordship* did not aim, at the *Publication* of them, but at the Preservation onely; And *Prohibiting* them from *Perishing*; So as, to have been reposed, in some

some Private *shrine*, or *Library*: But now, for that, through the loose keeping, of his *Lordships Papers*, whilest he lived, divers *Surreptitious Copies* have been taken; which have since, employed the *Presse*, with sundry Corrupt, and Mangled, *Editions*; whereby Nothing hath been more difficult, than to find the *Lord Saint Alban*, in the *Lord Saint Alban*; And which have presented, (some of them,) rather a Fardle of *Non-sense*, then any true Expressions, of his *Lordships Happy Vein*; I thought my self, in a sort, tied, to vindicate these Injuries, and wrongs, done to the *Monuments*, of his *Lordships Penne*; And at once, by setting forth, the true, and Genuine, writings themselves, to prevent the like Invasions, for the time to come. And the rather, in regard, of the Distance, of the time, since his *Lordships* Dayes; whereby, I shall not tread too near, upon the *Heels* of *Truth*; Or of the Passages, and Persons; then concerned, I was induced hereunto. Which, considering the *Lubricity* of *Life*; And for that, I account my self, to be; Not now in *Vergentibus*, but in *Præcipitantibus Annis*, I was desirous to hasten.

Wherein, I shall crave leave, to open, my Counsels, and Purposes, as concerning this *present Edition*, in these five *Particulars*. First, I have ranked the severall *Tractates*; Either, according to the *Dignity*, of the *Work*; as *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero's*, *Orations*, do precede *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero's Epistles*; Or else, according to the *Series* of the *Times*, wherein they were written; or to which, they refer. By which Means, they may give the better Light; the one Part, to the other.

Secondly, I thought it fitting, to intimate; That the *Discourse*, within contained; Entituled, *A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen* Elizabeth; was written, by his *Lordship*, in *Latine* onely: whereof, though his *Lordship* had his particular Ends, then; yet, in regard, that I held it a *Duty*, That her own *Nation*, over which she so happily reigned, for many years; should be

be acquainted, and poſſeſſed, with the Vertues, of that excellent *Queen*, as well as *Forrein Nations*; I was induced, many years agoe, to put the ſame, into the *Engliſh Tongue*; Not, *Ad Verbum*; For that had been but Flat, and Injudicious; But, (as far, as my ſlender Ability could reach,) according to the *Expreſſions*, which, I conceived; his *Lordſhip* would have rendred it in, if he had written the ſame in *Engliſh*: Yet ever acknowledging, that *Zeuxis*, or *Apelles*, *Pencill*, could not be attained, but by *Zeuxis*, or *Apelles*, Himſelf. This *Work*, in the *Latine*, his *Lordſhip* ſo much affected; That He had ordained, by his *laſt Will*, and *Teſtament*, to have had it publiſhed, many years ſince: But that *ſingular Perſon*, entruſted therewith, ſoon after deceaſed. And therefore, it muſt now, expect a Time, to come forth, amongſt his *Lordſhips*, other *Latin Works*.

Thirdly, in the *Collection* of *Letters*; which is, as the Fourth *Part*, of this *Volume*; there are inſerted ſome few, which were written, by other *Pennes*, and not by his *Lordſhips* own: Like as we find, in the *Epiſtolar Authours*; *Cicero*, *Plinius ſecundus*, and the reſt: which becauſe I found them immixed, amongſt his *Lordſhips Papers*; And that they are written, with ſome ſimilitude of *Stile*; I was loath, they ſhould be left, to a Grave, at that time, when his *Lordſhips* own *Conceptions*, were brought to life.

Fourthly, for that *Treatiſe*, of his *Lordſhips*, Inſcribed, *A Confeſſion of the Faith*; I have ranked that, in the Cloſe, of this whole *Volume*: Thereby, to demonſtrate to the *World*; That he was a *Maſter*, in *Divinity*, as well as in *Philoſophy*, or *Politicks*; And that he was Verſed, no leſſe, in the *ſaving Knowledge*; Than, in the *Univerſall*, and *Adorning*, *Knowledges*. For though, he compoſed the ſame, many years, before his Death, yet I thought that, to be the fitteſt place; As the moſt acceptable Incenſe unto *God*, of the *Faith*, wherein he reſigned his *Breath*; The Crowning, of all his other Perfections,

fections, and Abilities; And the beſt Perfume, of his Name, to the *World*, after his Death.

Laſtly, if it be objected, that ſome few, of the *Pieces*, whereof this whole conſiſteth, had viſited the Publick Light before; It is true, that they had been obtruded, to the *World*, by unknown Hands; But with ſuch Skars, and Blemiſhes, upon their Faces; That they could paſſe, but for *a Spurious*, and *Adulterine Brood*, and not for his *Lordſhips Legitimate Iſſue*: And the Publiſhers, and Printers, of them, deſerve to have an *Action*, of *Defamation*, brought againſt them, by the *State of Learning*, for Diſgracing, and Perſonating, his *Lordſhips Works*.

As for this preſent *Collection*, I doubt not, but that it will verifie it ſelf, in the ſeverall *Parcells* thereof; And manifeſt, to all underſtanding, and unpartiall, *Readers*, who is the *Authour* of it; By that *Spirit*, of *Perſpicuity*, and *Aptneſſe*, and *Conciſeneſſe*, which runs through the whole *Work*; And is ever an Annex, of his *Lordſhips Penne*.

There is required now; And I have been moved by many; Both from *Forrein Nations*, and at *Home*; who have held in Price, and been Admirers, of this *Honourable Authours Conceits*, and *Apprehenſions*; That ſome *Memorialls*, might be added, concerning his *Lordſhips Life*; Wherein I have been more *Willing*, then *ſufficient*, to ſatisfie their *Requeſts*: And to that End, have endeavoured, to contribute, not my *Talent*, but my *Mite*, in the next following *Diſcourſe*; Though, to give the true Value, to his *Lordſhips* Worth; There were more need, of another *Homer*, to be the *Trumpet*, of *Achilles* Vertues.

*WILLIAM RAWLEY.*

THE

A GENERAL

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TO

# BOOK

# THE LIFE OF THE HONOURABLE AUTHOR.

FRANCIS BACON, *the Glory, of his* Age, *and* Nation; *The* Adorner, *and* Ornament, *of* Learning; *Was born, in* York House, *or* York Place, *in the Strand*; *On the* 22*th*, Day *of* January; *In the* Year *of our* Lord, 1560. *His* Father, *was that Famous* Counseller, *to* Queen Elizabeth; *The Second* Propp, *of the* Kingdome, *in his Time*; *Sir* Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Lord Keeper, *of the Great Seal, of* England; A Lord, *of Known Prudence, Sufficiency, Moderation, and Integrity. His* Mother, *was* Ann, *one of the* Daughters, *of Sir* Anthony Cook; *unto whom, the* Erudition, *of* King Edward, *the* Sixth, *had been committed: A choyce* Lady, *and Eminent, for Piety, Vertue, and Learning*; *Being exquisitely skilled, for a Woman, in the* Greek, *and* Latin, *Tongues. These being the* Parents, *you may easily imagine,*

*what the* Issue, *was like to be*; *Having had*, *whatsoever*, Nature, *or* Breeding, *could put into him.*

*His first, and childish, years, were not without some* Mark *of Eminency*; *At which time, he was endued, with that* Pregnancy, *and Towardness, of wit*; *As they were* Presages, *of that* Deep, *and* Universal, Apprehension, *which was manifest in him, afterward*: *And caused him, to be taken notice of, by several* Persons, *of* Worth, *and Place*; *And, especially, by the* Queen; *who*, (*as I have been informed*,) *delighted much, then, to confer with him*; *And to prove him with* Questions: *unto whom, he delivered Himself, with that* Gravity, *and Maturity, above his years*; *That her* Majesty, *would often term him*; The young Lord Keeper. *Being asked, by the* Queen; how old he was? *He answered with much discretion, being then but a Boy*; That he was two years younger then her Majesties happy Reigne: *with which Answer, the* Queen *was much taken.*

*At the ordinary years, of Ripeness, for the* University; *or rather, something earlier*; *He was sent, by his* Father, *to* Trinity Colledge, *in* Cambridge; *To be educated, and bred, under the* Tuition, *of* Doctor John White-Gift, *then* Master *of the* Colledge; *Afterwards*, *the Renowned* Arch-Bishop, *of* Canterbury; *A* Prelate, *of the* first Magnitude, *for Sanctity, Learning, Patience, and Humility*: *Under whom*, He *was observed, to have been more, then an* Ordinary *Proficient, in the several Arts, and Sciences. Whilst he was commorant in the* University, *about* 16 *years of Age*, (*As his* Lordship *hath been pleased, to impart unto my self*;) *he first fell into the Dislike, of the* Philosophy, *of* Aristotle: *Not for the* Worthlesness, *of the* Author, *to whom he would ever ascribe, all* High Attributes; *But for the* Unfruitfullnesse, *of the* way; *Being a* Philosophy, (*as his* Lordship *used to say*,) *onely strong, for Disputations, and Contentions*; But Barren, *of the* Production, *of* Works, *for the Benefit, of the Life, of* Man. *In w^ch Mind, he continued, to his Dying Day*

*After he had passed, the* Circle, *of the* Liberall Arts; *His* Father, *thought fit, to frame, and mould him, for the* Arts, *of* State; *And, for that end, sent him over into* France, *with*

*Sir*

*Sir* Amyas Paulet, *then Employed* Ambaſſadour Lieger, *into* France: *By whom, he was, after a while, held fit to be entruſted, with ſome* Meſſage, *or* Advertiſement, *to the* Queen: *which having performed, with great Approbation, he returned back, into* France *again*; *With Intention, to continue, for ſome years, there. In his abſence, in* France, *his* Father, *the* Lord Keeper, *died*; *Having collected, (as I have heard, of Knowing* Perſons,) *a conſiderable ſumme of* Money, *which he had ſeparated, with Intention, to have made a competent* Purchaſe *of* Land, *for the Lively-hood, of this his youngeſt* Son; (*who was onely unprovided for*; *And though, he was the youngeſt in years, yet he was not the loweſt, in his* Fathers *Affection*;) *But the ſaid* Purchaſe, *being unaccompliſhed, at his* Fathers *Death, there came no greater ſhare to him, than his ſingle Part, and Portion, of the* Money, *dividable amongſt* 5. Brethren: *By which meanes, he lived, in ſome* ſtreits, *and* Neceſſities, *in his younger years. For as for that pleaſant* Scite, *and* Mannour, *of* Gorhambury, *he came not to it, till many years after, by the Death, of his* Deareſt Brother, *Mr.* Anthony Bacon; *A* Gentleman, *equall to him, in* Heigth *of* Wit; *Though inferiour to him, in the* Endowments, *of* Learning, *and* Knowledge: *Unto whom he was, moſt nearly, conjoyned in Affection*; *They two, being the ſole* Male Iſſue, *of a ſecond* Venter.

*Being returned from* Travaile, *he applyed himſelf, to the ſtudy, of the* Common Law; *which he took upon him, to be his Profeſſion. In which, he obtained to great Excellency*; *Though he made that, (as himſelf ſaid,) but as an Acceſſary, and not as his Principall ſtudy. He wrote, ſeverall* Tractates, *upon that Subject. Wherein, though ſome* great Maiſters, *of the* Law, *did out-go him, in* Bulk, *and* Particularities *of* Caſes; *yet, in the Science, of the* Grounds, *and* Myſteries, *of the* Law, *he was exceeded by none. In this way, he was, after a while, ſworn, of the* Queens Counſell Learned, Extraordinary; *A Grace, (if I err not,) ſcarce known before. He ſeated himſelf, for the Commodity, of his ſtudies, and Practiſe; amongſt the* Honourable Society, *of* Greyes Inn;

*Of*

*Of which* House, *he was a* Member; *where he Erected, that Elegant* Pile, *or* Structure, *commonly known, by the Name, of the* Lord Bacons Lodgings: *which he inhabited, by Turns, the most part, of his Life,* (*some few years onely excepted,*) *unto his Dying Day. In which* House, *he carried* himself, *with such Sweetness, Comity, and Generosity; That he was much revered, and loved, by the* Readers, *and* Gentlemen, *of the* House.

*Notwithstanding, that he professed the* Law, *for his Livelyhood, and* Subsistence; *Yet his* Heart, *and Affection, was more carried, after the* Affaires, *and* Places, *of* Estate; *For which, if the* Majesty Royall *then, had been pleased, he was most fit. In his younger years, he studied, the Service, and Fortunes,* (*as they call them,*) *of that* Noble, *but* unfortunate Earl, *the* Earl *of* Essex; *unto whom, he was, in a sort, a Private, and free,* Counseller; *And gave him safe, and Honourable Advice; Till, in the end, the* Earl *inclined too much, to the violent, and precipitate Counsell, of others, his Adherents, and Followers; which was his* Fate, *and* Ruine.

*His* Birth, *and other* Capacities, *qualified him, above others of his* Profession, *to have Ordinary Accesses at* Court; *And to come frequently, into the* Queens Eye; *who would often grace him, with private, and free,* Communication; *Not onely about* Matters *of his* Profession, *or* Businesse *in* Law; *But also, about the* Arduous Affairs, *of* Estate; *From whom she received, from time to time, great Satisfaction. Nevertheless, though she cheered him much, with the* Bounty, *of her* Countenance; *yet she never cheered him, with the* Bounty, *of her* Hand: *Having never conferred upon him, any* Ordinary Place, *or* Means, *of Honour, or Profit; Save onely, one dry* Reversion, *of the Registers* Office, *in the* Star-Chamber; *worth about* 1600 l. per Annum; *For which he waited, in Expectation, either fully, or near,* 20. *years: Of which his* Lordship *would say, in* Queen Elizabeths *Time;* That it was, like another Mans Ground, buttalling upon his House; which might mend his Prospect, but it did not fill his Barn. (*Nevertheless, in the time, of* King James,

*it*

*it fell unto him. Which might be imputed; Not so much, to* her Majesties Averseness, *or* Disaffection, *towards him; As to the* Arts *and* Policy, *of a* Great Statesman, *then; who laboured, by all Industrious, and secret, Means, to suppress, and keep him down; Lest, if he had risen, he might have obscured his Glory.*

*But though, he stood long at a stay, in the Dayes, of his* Mistress, Queen Elizabeth; *Yet, after the change, and Comming in, of his New* Master, King James, *he made a great Progress; By whom, he was much comforted, in* Places, *of* Trust, Honour, *and* Revenue. *I have seen, a* Letter, *of his* Lordships, *to* King James, *wherein he makes Acknowledgement;* That He was that Master to him, that had raised and advanced him, nine times; Thrice in Dignity, and *Six* times in Office. *His* Offices (*as I conceive*) *were;* Counsell Learned Extraordinary, *to his* Majestie, *as he had been,* to Queen Elizabeth; Kings Solliciter General; *His* Majesties Atturney General; Counseller of Estate, *being yet but* Atturney; Lord Keeper *of the* Great Seal *of* England; *Lastly,* Lord Chanceller: *which two last Places, though they be the same, in Authority, and Power; yet they differ in* Patent, Heigth, *and* Favour *of the* Prince: *Since whose time, none of his* Successours, untill this present Honourable Lord, *did ever bear the* Title, *of* Lord Chanceller. *His* Dignities *were, first* Knight; *Then* Baron *of* Verulam; *Lastly,* Viscount Saint Alban: *Besides other good* Gifts, *and* Bounties, *of the* Hand, *which his* Majesty *gave him;* Both *out of the* Broad Seal; *And out of the* Alination Office; *To the value, in both, of* 1800. *pound* per Annum: *which with his* Manour *of* Gorhambury, & *other* Lands, *and* possessions, *near thereunto adjoyning, amounting to a third part more,* He *retayned to his Dying Day.*

*Towards his Rising years, not before, he entred into a married Estate; And took to Wife,* Alice, *one of the* Daughters, *and* Co-Heires, *of* Benedict Barnham, Esquire, *and* Alderman of London; *with whom he received, a sufficiently ample, and liberall* Portion, *in* Marriage. Children *he had none: which though they be the* Means, *to perpetuate our* Names, *after our Deaths; yet he had other* Issues, *to perpetu-*

*ate*

ate his Name; The Issues of his Brain; In which he was ever happy, and admired; As Jupiter was, in the production of Pallas. Neither did the want of Children, detract from his good usage, of his Consort, during the Intermarriage: whom he prosecuted, with much Conjugall Love, and Respect; with many Rich Gifts, and Endowments; Besides a Roab of Honour, which he invested her withall; which she wore, untill her Dying Day; Being twenty years, and more, after his Death.

The last five years of his Life, being with-drawn from Civil affaires, and from an Active Life, he employed wholy, in Contemplation, and Studies. A thing, whereof his Lordship would often speak, during his Active Life; As if he affected, to dye in the Shadow, and not in the Light; which also may be found, in several Passages, of his Works. In which time, he composed, the greatest Part, of his Books, and Writings; Both in English, and Latin; Which I will enumerate, (as near as I can,) in the just Order, wherein they were written. The History, of the Reign, of King Henry, the Seventh: Abecedarium Naturæ; or A Metaphysical piece; which is lost: Historia Ventorum: Historia vitæ & Mortis: Historia Densi, & Rari, not yet Printed: Historia Gravis, & Levis, which is also lost: A Discourse, of a War, with Spain: A Dialogue, touching an Holy War: The Fable, of the New Atlantis: A Preface, to a Digest, of the Lawes of England: The Beginning, of the History, of the Reign, of King Henry, the Eighth: De Augmentis Scientiarum; Or the Advancement of Learning, put into Latin, with several Enrichments, and Enlargements: Counsells Civil, and Morall; Or his Book of Essayes, likewise, Enriched and enlarged: The Conversion, of certain Psalms, into English Verse. The Translation into Latin; of the History, of King Henry the Seventh; of the Counsells, Civill and Morall; of the Dialogue, of the Holy War; of the Fable, of the New Atlantis; For the Benefit of other Nations. His Revising of his Book, De Sapientiâ Veterum. Inquisitio de Magnete; Topica Inquisitionis, de Luce, & Lumine; ; Both these, not yet Printed. Lastly, Sylva Sylvarum, or the Natural History. These were the

Fruits,

Fruits, *and* Productions, *of his last five years. His* Lordship *also designed, upon the Motion, and Invitation, of his* late Majesty; *To have written the* Reign, *of* King Henry, *the* Eighth; *But that* Work *Perished, in the* Designation, *meerly*; God *not lending him Life, to proceed further upon it, then onely, in one Mornings Work: Whereof there is Extant, An,* Ex Ungue Leonem, *already Printed, in his* Lordships Miscellany Works.

*There is a Commemoration due*; *As well, to his Abilities, and Vertues, as to the* Course, *of his* Life. *Those* Abilities, *which, commonly, goe single, in other Men, though of prime, and Observable,* Parts, *were all conjoyned, and met, in Him. Those are,* Sharpness of Wit, Memory, Judgement, *and* Elocution. *For the Former Three, his* Books *doe abundantly speak them*; *which, with what* Sufficiency *he wrote, let the* World *judge*; *But with what* Celerity *he wrote them, I can best testifie. But for the Fourth, his* Elocution; *I will onely set down, what I heard,* Sir Walter Rauleigh, *once speak of him, by way of Comparison*; (*whose Judgement may well be trusted*;) That the Earl of *Salisbury*, was an excellent Speaker, but no good Pen-man; That the Earl of *Northampton*, (the Lord *Henry Howard*,) was an excellent Pen-man, but no good Speaker; But that, Sir *Francis Bacon*, was Eminent in Both.

*I have been enduced to think*; *That if there were, a* Beame *of* Knowledge, *derived from* God, *upon any* Man, *in these* Modern Times, *it was upon Him. For though he was a great* Reader *of* Books; *yet he had not his Knowledge from* Books; *But from some* Grounds, *and* Notions, *from within Himself. Which, notwithstanding, he vented, with great* Caution, *and* Circumspection. *His* Book, *of* Instauratio Magna, (*which, in his own Account, was the chiefest, of his* works,) *was no Slight* Imagination, *or* Fancy, *of his Brain*; *But a* Setled, *and* Concocted, Notion; *The* Production, *of many years,* Labour, *and* Travell. *I my Self, have seen, at the least, Twelve* Coppies, *of the* Instauration; *Revised, year by*

*year, one after another; And every year altred, and amended, in the Frame thereof; Till, at last, it came to that* Modell, *in which it was committed to the* Presse: *As many* Living Creatures, *do lick their* young ones, *till they bring them, to their* strength *of* Limms.

*In the Composing, of his* Books, *he did rather drive, at a Masculine, and clear,* Expression, *than at any* Finenes, *or* Affectation, *of* Phrases: *And would often ask, if the* Meaning *were expressed,* plainly enough: *As being one, that accounted* words, *to be but* subservient, *or* Ministeriall, *to* Matter; *And not the* Principall. *And if his* Stile *were* Polite, *it was because he could do no otherwise. Neither was he given, to any* Light Conceits; *Or* Descanting *upon* Words; *But did ever, purposely, and industriously, avoyd them; For he held such* Things, *to be but* Digressions, *or* Diversions, *from the* Scope *intended; And to derogate, from the* Weight, *and* Dignity, *of the* Stile.

*He was no* Plodder *upon* Books; *Though he read much; And that, with great Judgement, and Rejection of Impertinences, incident to many* Authours: *For he would ever interlace, a* Moderate Relaxation, *of His* Minde, *with his* Studies; *As* Walking; *Or* Taking *the* Aire abroad *in his* Coach; *or some other befitting* Recreation: *And yet, he would* loose *no* Time, *In as much, as upon his* First, *and* Immediate Return, *he would fall to* Reading *again: And so suffer, no* Moment *of* Time, *to Slip from him, without some present* Improvement.

*His* Meales, *were* Refections, *of the* Eare, *as well as of the* Stomack: *Like the* Noctes Atticæ; *or* Convivia Deipno-Sophistarum; *Wherein, a Man might be refreshed, in his* Minde, *and* understanding, *no lesse, then in his* Body. *And I have known some, of no mean Parts, that have professed, to make use, of their* Note-Books, *when they have risen, from his* Table. *In which* Conversations, *and otherwise, he was no Dashing Man; As some Men are; But ever, a* Countenancer, *and* Fosterer, *of another Mans* Parts. *Neither was he one, that would* appropriate *the* Speech, *wholy to Himself;*

*self*; *or delight to out-vie others*; *But leave a Liberty, to the* Co-Assessours, *to take their* Turns. *Wherein he would draw a* Man *on*, *and allure him*, *to speak upon such a Subject*, *as wherein he was peculiarly* Skilfull, *and would delight to speak*. *And*, *for Himself*, *he contemned no Mans* Observations; *But would light his* Torch, *at every Mans* Candle.

*His* Opinions, *and* Assertions, *were*, *for the most part*, Binding; *And not contradicted*, *by any*: *Rather like* Oracles, *then* Discourses. *Which may be imputed*, *either to the well weighing of his* Sentence, *by the Skales*, *of* Truth, *and* Reason; *Or else*, *to the* Reverence, *and* Estimation, *wherein he was*, *commonly*, *had*, *that no* Man *would* contest *with him So that*, *there was no* Argumentation, *or* Pro *and* Con, (*as they term it*,) *at his* Table: *Or if their chanced*, *to be any*, *it was Carried*, *with much* Submission, *and* Moderation.

*I have often observed*; *And so have other Men*, *of great Account*; *That if he had occasion*, *to repeat*, *another Mans* Words, *after him*; *he had an use*, *and Faculty*, *to dresse them*, *in better* Vestments, *and* Apparell, *then they had before*: *So that*, *the* Authour, *should finde his own* Speech *much amended*; *And yet the* Substance, *of it*, *still* retained. *As if*, *it had been* Naturall *to him*, *to use good* Forms; *As* Ovid *spake*, *of his* Faculty, *of* Versifying;

Et quod tentabam Scribere, Versus erat.

*When his* Office, *called him*, *as he was of the* Kings Counsell Learned, *to charge any* Offenders, *either in* Criminals, *or* Capitals; *He was never of an* Insulting, *or* Domineering Nature, *over them*; *But alwayes tender Hearted*, *and carrying himself decently towards the* Parties; (*Though it was his Duty*, *to charge them home*:) *But yet*, *as one*, *that looked upon the* Example, *with the Eye of* Severity; *But upon the* Person, *with the Eye*, *of* Pitty, *and Compassion*. *And in* Civill Businesse, *as he was* Counseller *of* Estate, *he had the best way of* Advising; *Not engaging his* Master, *in any* Precipitate, *or* grievous, *Courses*; *But in* Moderate, *and* Fair, *Proceedings*: *The* King, *whom he served*, *giving him this* Testimony; *That he ever dealt*, *in Businesse*, *Suavibus*

*Modis* ; Which, was the way, that was moſt according to his own Heart.

*Neither was He, in his time, leſſe Gracious with the* Subject, *then with his* Soveraign : *He was ever Acceptable, to the* Houſe, of Commons, *when He was a* Member *thereof. Being the* Kings Atturney, *& choſen to a place, in* Parliament; *He was allowed, and diſpenſed with, to ſit in the* Houſe ; *which was not permitted, to other* Atturneys.

*And as he was, a good* Servant, *to his* Maſter ; *Being never, in* 19. *years Service, (as himſelf averred,) rebuked by the* King, *for any Thing, relating to his* Majeſty ; *So he was, a good* Maſter, *to his* Servants ; *And rewarded, their long* Attendance, *with good* Places, *freely, when they fell into his Power. Which was the Cauſe, that ſo many young* Gentlemen, *of* Bloud, *and* Quality ; *Sought to liſt themſelves, in his* Retinew. *And if he were abuſed, by any of them, in their* Places ; *It was onely the* Errour, *of the* Goodneſſe, *of his* Nature ; *But the Badges of their* Indiſcretions, *and* Intemperances.

*This* Lord *was* Religious: For *though the* World *be apt, to ſuſpect, and prejudge,* Great Wits, *and* Politicks, *to have ſomewhat, of the* Atheiſt ; *Yet he was converſant with* God: *As appeareth, by ſeverall Paſſages, throughout the whole* Current, *of his* Writings. *Otherwiſe, he ſhould have croſſed, his own* Principles ; *which were* ; That a little Philoſophy, maketh Men apt, to forget God ; As attributing too much, to Second Cauſes ; But Depth of Philoſophy, bringeth a Man back, to God again. *Now, I am ſure, there is no Man, that will deny him, or account otherwiſe of him, but to have been, a deep* Philoſopher. *And not onely ſo ; But he* was able, to render a Reaſon, of the Hope, which was in him ; *Which that* Writing *of his, of the* Confeſſion, *of the* Faith, *doth abundantly teſtifie. He repaired frequently, when his Health would permit him, to the* Service, *of the* Church ; *To hear* Sermons ; *To the* Adminiſtration, *of the* Sacrament, *of the* Bleſſed Body, *and* Bloud, *of* Chriſt ; *And died, in the true* Faith, *eſtabliſhed in the* Church, *of* England.

*This*

*This is most true*; *He was free from* Malice; *which*, (*as he said Himself*,) He never bred, nor fed. *He was no* Revenger *of* Injuries; *which if he had minded, he had both* Opportunity, *and* Place High *enough*, *to have done it. He was no* Heaver *of Men, out of their Places*; *As delighting, in their* Ruine, *and* Undoing. *He was no* Defamer, *of any Man, to his* Prince. *One Day*, *when a great* States-Man, *was newly Dead*; *That had not been his* Friend; *The* King *asked him*; What he thought, of that Lord, which was gone? *He answered*; That he would never have made, his Majesties Estate better; But he was sure, he would have kept it, from being worse. *Which was the worst, he would say of him. Which I reckon, not amongst his* Morall, *but his* Christian, Vertues.

*His* Fame *is greater, and sounds louder, in* Forraign Parts, *abroad, then at* home, *in his own* Nation. *Thereby verifying that* Divine Sentence; A Prophet is not without Honour, save in his own Countrey, and in his own House. *Concerning which*, *I will give you a Taste onely*, *out of a Letter*, *written from* Italy, (*The* Store-House *of Refined* Witts,) *to the late* Earle *of* Devonshire; *Then*, *the* Lord Candish. I will expect the *New Essayes*, of my Lord Chancellor *Bacon*; As also his *History*, with a great deal of Desire; And whatsoever else, he shall compose. But in Particular, of his *History*, I promise my Self, a Thing perfect, and Singular; especially *in* Henry *the Seventh*; *Where he may exercise, the Talent*, of his Divine Understanding. This Lord is, more and more, known; And his Books here, more and more, delighted in; And those Men, that have more than ordinary Knowledge, in Humane Affaires, esteem him, one of the most capable Spirits, of this Age; And he is truly such. *Now his Fame doth not decrease with* Dayes *since*, *but rather encrease. Divers of his* Works, *have been*, anciently, *and yet* lately *translated*, *into other* Tongues, *both* Learned, *and* Modern, *by* Forraign Pens. *Severall* Persons *of Quality, during his* Lordships *Life*, *crossed the* Seas *on purpose*, *to gain*

*an*

*an Opportunity, of Seeing him, and* Diſcourſing *with him*: *whereof one, carried his* Lordſhips Picture, *from Head to Foot, over with Him, into* France; *As a Thing, which he foreſaw, would be much deſired there*; *That ſo they might enjoy, the* Image *of his* Perſon; *As well as the* Images *of his* Brain, *his* Books. *Amongſt the reſt,* Marquis Fiat; *A* French Nobleman; *who came* Ambaſſadour *into* England, *in the Beginning, of* Queen Mary, Wife *to* King Charles; *was taken, with an extraordinary Deſire of Seeing him*: *For which, he made way, by a* Friend: *And when he came to him, being then, through weakneſſe, confined to his Bed*; *The* Marquis *ſaluted him, with this* High Expreſſion; That his Lordſhip, had been ever to Him, like the Angels; of whom he had often heard; And read much of them in Books; But he never ſaw them. *After which, they contracted an intimate Acquaintance*; *And the* Marquis *did ſo much revere him*; *That beſides his Frequent viſits*; *They wrote* Letters, *one to the other, under the* Titles, *and* Appellations, *of* Father, *and* Son. *As for his many* Salutations, *by* Letters, *from* Forraign Worthies, *devoted to* Learning; *I forbear, to mention them*; *Becauſe that is a* Thing, *common to other* Men, *of* Learning, *or* Note, *together with him.*

*But yet, in this Matter of his* Fame, *I ſpeak, in the* Comparative, *onely, and not in the* Excluſive. *For his* Reputation *is great, in his own* Nation, *alſo*; *Eſpecially amongſt thoſe, that are, of a more Acute, and ſharper, Judgement*: *Which I will exemplifie, but with two* Teſtimonies, *and no more. The Former*; *When his* Hiſtory, *of* King Henry, *the* Seventh *was to come forth*; *It was delivered, to the old* Lord Brooke, *to be peruſed by him*; *who when he had diſpatched it, returned it to the* Authour, *with this* Eulogy: Commend me, to my Lord; And bid him take care, to get good Paper & Inke; For the Work is Incomparable. *The other, ſhall be that, of Doctor* Samuel Collins, *late* Provoſt, *of* Kings Colledge, *in* Cambridge; *A Man of no vulgar Wit*; *who affirmed unto me*; That when he had read, the Book of the Advancement of Learning; He found Himſelf;

ſelf in a caſe, to begin his Studies a new; And that he had loſt, all the Time, of his Studying, before.

*It hath been deſired; That ſomething ſhould be ſignified, touching his* Diet; *And the* Regiment, *of his* Health: *Of which, in regard, of his* Univerſall Inſight, *into* Nature, *he may,* (*perhaps,*) *be, to ſome, an* Example. *For his* Diet; *It was rather a* plentifull, *and* liberall, Diet, *as his* Stomack *would bear it, then a* Reſtrained. *Which he alſo commended, in his* Book, *of the* Hiſtory, *of* Life, *and* Death. *In his younger years, he was much given, to the* Finer, *and Lighter, ſort of* Meats; *As of* Fowles, *and ſuch like: But afterward, when he grew more Judicious; He preferred the ſtronger* Meats; *ſuch as the* Shambles *afforded; As thoſe* Meats, *which bred the more* firm, *and ſubſtantiall* Juyces, *of the* Body; *And leſſe* Diſſipable: *upon which, he would often make his* Meal; *Though he had other* Meats, *upon the* Table. *You may be ſure; He would not neglect that Himſelf, which He ſo much extolled, in his* Writings; *And that was the Uſe of* Nitre: *Whereof he took, in the Quantity, of about three Grains, in thin, warm, Broath, every Morning, for thirty years together, next before his Death. And for Phyſick, he did, indeed, live Phyſically, but not miſerably: For he took onely, a* Maceration *of* Rhubarb; *Infuſed into a* Draught, *of* White Wine, *and* Beer, *mingled together, for the Space of half an Hour; Once in ſix, or ſeven Dayes; Immediately before his* Meal, (*whether Dinner, or Supper,*) *that it might dry, the* Body, *leſſe: which,* (*as he ſaid,*) *did carry away frequently, the* Groſſer Humours, *of the* Body; *And not diminiſh, or carry away, any of the* Spirits; *As* Sweating *doth. And this was no Grievous Thing to take. As for other Phyſick, in an ordinary way,* (*whatſoever hath been vulgarly ſpoken;*) *he took not. His Receit, for the* Gout; *which did, conſtantly, eaſe him of his Pain, within two Hours, Is already ſet down, in the End, of the* Naturall Hiſtory.

*It may ſeem, the* Moon, *had ſome Principall* Place, *in the* Figure, *of his* Nativity. *For the* Moon, *was never in her* Paſſion, *or Eclipſed, but he was ſurprized, with a ſudden*

Fit,

Fit, *of* Fainting: *And that, though he observed not, nor took any previous Knowledge, of the* Eclipse *thereof: And assoon as the* Eclipse *ceased, he was restored, to his former strength again.*

*He died, on the* 9th. Day *of* Aprill, *in the* year 1626; *In the early* Morning, *of the* Day, *then celebrated, for our* Saviours Resurrection; *In the* 66th. *year of his* Age; *At the* Earle *of* Arundells House, *in* High-gate, *near* London; *To which Place, he casually repaired, about a week before; God so ordaining, that he should dye there: Of a Gentle* Feaver, *accidentally accompanied, with a great* Cold; *whereby the* Defluxion *of* Rheume, *fell so plentifully upon his* Breast, *that he died by* Suffocation: *And was buried, in* Saint Michaels Church, *at* Saint Albans; *Being the* Place, *designed for his* Buriall, *by his* last Will, *and* Testament; *Both because, the* Body, *of his* Mother, *was interred there; And because, it was the onely* Church, *then remaining, within the Precincts, of old* Verulam: *Where he hath a* Monument, *erected for him, of* White Marble; (*By the* Care, *and* Gratitude, *of Sir* Thomas Meautys, Knight, *formerly his* Lordships Secretary; *Afterwards* Clark, *of the* Kings Honourable Privy Counsell, *under two* Kings:) *Representing his full* Pourtraiture, *in the* Posture, *of studying; with an* Inscription, *composed, by that Accomplisht* Gentleman, *and* Rare Wit, Sir Henry Wotton.

*But howsoever, his* Body, *was* Mortall; *yet, no doubt, his* Memory, *and* Works, *will live; And will, in all probability, last, as long as the* World *lasteth. In order to which, I have endeavoured,* (*after my poor Ability,*) *to do this* Honour, *to his* Lordship, *by way, of conducing to the same.*

SPEECHES

# SPEECHES
IN
# Parliament,
# STAR-CHAMBER,
# Kings Bench,
# CHANCERY,
AND
OTHER-WHERE.

Of the Right Honourable

*FRANCIS BACON*

Baron of *Verulam*, Viſcount St. *Alban*.



*LONDON*,
Printed by *Sarah Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Fleetſtreet*, at the ſigne of the Turks head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.



# A SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT, Elizabeth 39.

## UPON THE *MOTION* of *SUBSIDY*.

AND pleaſe you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I muſt conſider the *Time*, which is ſpent; yet ſo, as I muſt conſider alſo the *Matter*, which is great. This great *Cauſe* was, at the firſt, ſo materially, and weightily, propounded; And after, in ſuch ſort perſwaded, and enforced; And by Him, that laſt ſpake, ſo much time taken, and yet to good purpoſe; As I ſhall ſpeak at a great diſadvantage: But becauſe it hath been alwayes uſed, and the Mixture of this *Houſe* doth ſo require it; That in *Cauſes* of this Nature, there be ſome Speech and Opinion, as well from perſons of Generallity, as by perſons of Authority; I will ſay ſomewhat, and not much: wherein i ſhall not be fit for me, to enter into, or to inſiſt, upon ſecrets, either of her *Majeſties* Coffers, or of her Councell, but my Speech muſt be, of a more vulgar Nature.

I will not enter (Mr. *Speaker*) into a laudative *Speech*, of the high and ſingular Benefits, which, by her *Majeſties*, moſt politick, and happy Government, we receive, thereby to incite you to a

Retribution; partly, becauſe no breath of Man, can ſet them forth worthily; and partly, becauſe I know her *Majeſty*, in her Magnanimity, doth beſtow her benefits, like her free'ſt Pattents, *abſque aliquo inde reddendo*; Not looking for any thing again, (if it were in reſpect only of her particular,) but Love, and Loyalty. Neither, will I now, at this time, put the caſe of this *Realm* of *England*, too preciſely; How it ſtandeth with the Subject, in point of payments to the *Crown*; Though I could make it appear by Demonſtration, (what opinion ſoever be conceived,) that never Subjects were partakers of greater Freedome, and Eaſe; And that, whether you look abroad, into other Countries, at this preſent time; or look back to former Times, in this our own Countrey; we ſhall find an exceeding Difference, in matter of Taxes; which now I reſerve to mention; not ſo much in doubt to acquaint your Ears with Forrain Strains, or to digge up the Sepulchers of Buried and Forgotten Impoſitions, which in this caſe, (as by way of Compariſon,) it is neceſſary you underſtand; But becauſe *Speech* in the *Houſe*, is fit to perſwade the generall point; And particularity is more proper and ſeaſonable for the *Committee*. Neither will I make any Obſervations, upon her *Majeſties* manner of expending and iſſuing Treaſure; being not upon exceſſive and exorbitant Donatives; nor upon ſumptuous and unneceſſary Triumphs, Buildings, or like Magnificence; but upon the Preſervation, Protection, and Honour of the *Realm*. For I dare not ſcan upon her *Majeſties* Actions; which it becommeth me, rather to admire in ſilence, then to gloſs, or diſcourſe upon them, though with never ſo good a meaning. Sure I am, that the Treaſure that commeth from you to her *Majeſty*, is but as a Vapour, which riſeth from the Earth, and gathereth into a Cloud, and ſtayeth not there long; but upon the ſame Earth it falleth again; and what if ſome drops of this, do fall upon *France*, or *Flaunders*? It is like a ſweet Odour of Honour, and Reputation, to our *Nation* throughout the World. But I will onely inſiſt upon the Naturall, and Inviolate, Law of Preſervation.

It is a Truth, (Mr. *Speaker*,) and a familiar Truth, that ſafety, and preſervation, is to be preferred, before Benefit, or Encreaſe: In as much as thoſe Counſels which tend to preſervation, ſeem to be attended with neceſſity; whereas thoſe Deliberations, which tend to Benefit, ſeem onely accompanied with perſwaſion. And it is ever gain, and no loſs, when at the foot of the account, there remains the purchaſe of ſafety. The Prints of this are, every where, to be found: The *Patient*, will ever part, with ſome of his *Bloud*, to ſave and clear the reſt. The *Sea-faring Man* will, in a Storm, caſt over ſome of his *Goods*, to ſave and aſſure the reſt. The *Husband-man* will afford ſome Foot of *Ground*, for his Hedge and Ditch, to fortifie and defend the reſt. Why (Mr. *Speaker*) the *Diſputer* will, if he be wiſe, and cunning,

grant

grant somewhat, that seemeth to make against him, because he will keep himself within the strength of his opinion, and the better maintain the rest. But this Place advertiseth me, not to handle the Matter, in a Common Place. I will now deliver unto you that, which upon a *probatum est*, hath wrought upon my self, knowing your Affections to be like mine own. There hath fallen out, since the last *Parliament*, four Accidents or Ocurrents of State; Things published and known to you all, by every one whereof, it seemeth to me, in my vulgar understanding, that the danger of this *Realm* is encreased: Which I speak not, by way of apprehending fear; For I know, I speak to English Courages; But by way of pressing Provision; For I do find, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that when *Kingdomes* and *States* are entred into Tearms and Resolutions of Hostility, one against the other, yet they are, many times, restrained from their Attempts, by four Impediments.

The first is by this same *Aliud agere*; when they have their Hands full of other Matters, which they have embraced, and serveth for a diversion of their Hostile purposes.

The next is, when they want the Commodity, or opportunity, of some places of near Approach.

The third, when they have conceived an apprehension of the Difficulty, and churlishness of the enterprise, and that it is not prepared to their Hand.

And the fourth is, when a *State*, through the Age of the *Monarch*, groweth heavy, and indisposed, to actions of great Perill, and Motion, and this dull Humour, is not sharpened, nor inflamed, by any provocations, or scorns. Now if it please you to examin, whither by removing the Impediments in these four kinds, the Danger be not grown, so many degrees nearer us, by accidents (as I said) fresh, and all dated since the last *Parliament*.

Soon after the last *Parliament*, you may be pleased to remember, how the *French King* revolted from his *Religion*; whereby every Man of common understanding, may infer, that the Quarrell, between *France*, and *Spain*, is more reconcileable; And a greater inclination of affairs to a peace than before: which supposed, it followeth, *Spain* shall be more free, to intend his Malice, against this Realm.

Since the last *Parliament*, it is also notorious, in every mans knowledge, and remembrance; That the *Spaniards* have possessed themselves, of that Avenue, and place of approach, for *England*, which was never in the Hands of any *King* of *Spain* before; And that is *Callais*; which, in true Reason, and Consideration of estate, of what value or service it is, I know not; but in common understanding, it is a knocking at our Doors.

Since the last *Parliament* also, that Ulcer of *Ireland*, which indeed brake forth before, hath run on, and raged more: which cannot but be a great Attractive, to the Ambition, of the *Councel*

of *Spain*, who by former experience know, of how tough a Complexion, this *Realm* of *England* is, to be assailed: And therefore (as Rheumes, and Fluxes, of Humours,) is like to resort to that part, which is weak, and distempered.

And lastly, it is famous now, and so will be many Ages hence, how by these two Sea-Journey's, we have braved him, and objected him to scorn: so that no Bloud, can be so frozen, or mortified, But must needs take Flames of Revenge, upon so mighty Disgrace.

So as this Concurrence of Occurents, all since our last Assembly; some to deliver, and free, our enemies; some to advance, and bring him, on his way; some to tempt, and allure him; some to spur on, and provoke him; cannot but threaten, an encrease of our Perill, in great Proportion.

Lastly, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I will but reduce to the Memory of this *House*, one other Argument, for ample and large providing, and supplying Treasure; And this it is.

I see, Men do with great Alacrity, and Spirit, proceed, when they have obtained a course, they long wished for, and were restrained from. My self can remember, both in this *Honourable Assembly*, and in all other places of this *Realm*, how forward, and affectionate, men were, to have an Invasive War. Then we would say; A Defensive War, was like eating, and consuming Interest; And needs we would be Adventurers, and Assailants. *Habes quod totâ mente petisti.* Shall we not now make it good? especially, when we have tasted, so prosperous Fruit, of our Desires?

The first of these Expeditions Invasive, was atchieved with great Felicity; ravished a strong and famous Port, in the Lap, and Bosome, of their high Countries: Brought them to such Despair, as they fired themselves, and their Indian Fleet; in Sacrifice, as a good Odour unto God, for the great and Barbarous Cruelties, which they have committed, upon the poor Indians, whither that Fleet was sayling; Disordred their Reckonings; so as the next News we heard of, was nothing but protesting of Bills, and Breaking credit.

The second Journey, was, with notable Resolution, born up against Weather, and all Difficulties; And besides the success, in amusing him, and putting him to infinite charge, sure I am, it was like a *Tartars*, or *Parthians Bow*, which shooteth backward; And had, a most strong, and violent effect, and Operation, both in *France* and *Flaunders*, so that our Neighbours, and Confederates, have reaped the Harvest of it; And while the Life Bloud of *Spain*, went inward to the Heart, the outward Limmes, and Members trembled, and could not resist. And lastly, we have a perfect account, of all the Noble, and good Bloud, that was carried forth; And of all our Sea-walls, and good Shipping without Mortality of Persons, wreck of Vessels, or any manner of Diminution.

minution. And theſe have been the happy Effects, of our, ſo long, and ſo much deſired, Invaſive War.

To conclude (Mr. *Speaker*) therefore I doubt not, but every Man will conſent, that our Gift muſt bear, theſe two Marks, and Badges: The one, of the Danger, of the Realm, by ſo great a Proportion, ſince the laſt *Parliament*, encreaſed: The other, of the ſatisfaction we receive, in having obtained, our ſo earneſt, and ardent Deſire, of an *Invaſive War*.

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## *A* Speech *made by Sir* FRANCIS BACON Knight, *choſen by the* Commons, *to preſent a* Petition, *touching Purveyors, delivered to his* Majeſty, *in the with-drawing Chamber, at White-Hall, in the* Parliament, *held* 1°. & 2°. Jacobi, *the firſt Seſſion.*

IT is well known, to your *Majeſty*, (excellent *King*) that the *Emperours* of *Rome*, for their better Glory, and Ornament, did uſe in their *Titles*, the Additions of the *Countries* and *Nations*, where they had obtained victories: As *Germanicus*, *Britannicus*, & the like: But after all thoſe Names, as in the higher place, followed the Name of *Pater Patriæ*, as the greateſt Name of all human Honour, immediatly preceding that Name of *Auguſtus*; whereby they took themſelves, to expreſſe ſome Affinity, that they had, (in reſpect of their Office,) with Divine Honour. Your *Majeſty* mought, with good reaſon, aſſume to your ſelf, many of thoſe other Names; As, *Germanicus*, *Saxonicus*, *Britannicus*, *Francicus*, *Danicus*; *Gothicus*, and others, as appertaining to you; Not by Bloud-ſhed, (as they bare them,) but by Bloud: your *Majeſties* Royall Perſon, being a noble confluence, of ſtreams, and veynes, wherein the Royall Bloud of many *Kingdoms* of *Europe*, are met, and united. But no Name is more worthy of you, nor may more truly be aſcribed unto you, then that Name, of *Father of your people*, which you bear, and expreſs, not in the Formality of your ſtile, but in the reall Courſe of your Government. We ought not to ſay unto you, as was ſaid to *Cæſar Julius*; *Quæ miremur, habemus, quæ laudemus, expectamus*: That we have already, wherefore to admire you, And that now we expect ſomewhat, for which to commend you. For we may, (without ſuſpicion of Flattery) acknowledge, that we have found in your *Majeſty*, great Cauſe, both of Admiration, and Commendation. For great is the Admiration, wherewith you have poſſeſſed us, ſince this *Parliament* began, in thoſe two Cauſes, wherein we have had acceſſe unto you, and heard your Voice: That of the return of Sr. *Francis Goodwine*; And that of the Union: Whereby it ſeemeth unto us; The one of theſe, being ſo ſubtile a Queſtion

of

of Law; And the other, so high a Cause of Estate; That, as the Scripture saith, of the wisest *King*; *That his Heart was as the Sands of the Sea*; which, though it be one of the largest, and vastest Bodies, yet it consisteth, of the smallest Moates, and Portions. So (I say) it appeareth unto us, in these two examples, that *God* hath given your *Majesty* a rare sufficiency, both to compasse, and fathome, the greatest matters, and to discern the least. And for matter of Praise, and Commendation, which chiefly belongeth to Goodness, we cannot but with great thankfulness profess; That your *Majesty*, within the Circle of one Year, of your Raign, (*infra Orbem Anni Vertentis*) hath endeavoured, to unite your *Church*, which was divided; To supply your *Nobility*, which was diminished; And to ease your *People*, in Cases, where they were burthened, and oppressed.

In the last of these, your high Merits; That is the Ease, and Comfort, of your *People*; Doth fall out to be comprehended, the *Message*, which I now bring unto your *Majestie*; concerning the great Grievance, arising, by the manifold Abuses, of *Purveyors*; Differing, in some Degree, from most of the things, wherein we deale, and consult; For it is true, that the *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgesses* in *Parliament* assembled, are a Representative Body, of your *Commons*, and *Third Estate*: And in many matters, although we apply our selves, to perform the trust, of those that choose us; yet, it may be, we do speak much, out of our own Senses, and Discourses. But in this Grievance, being of that Nature, whereunto the poor *People* is most exposed, and Men of Quality less; we shall most humbly desire your *Majesty*, to conceive, That your *Majesty*, doth not hear, our Opinions, or Senses, but the very Groanes, and Complaints themselves, of your Commons, more truly, and vively, then by Representation: For there is no Grievance, in your Kingdome, so generall, so continuall, so sensible, and so bitter unto the common *Subject*, as this whereof we now speak. Wherein, it may please your *Majesty*, to vouchsafe me leave; First, to set forth unto you, the dutifull, and respective Carriage, of our proceeding; Next the substance of our Petition; And Thirdly, some Reasons and Motives, which, in all Humbleness, we do offer to your *Majesties*, Royall Consideration, or Commiseration: we assuring our selves, that never *King* raigned, that had better Notions of Head, and Motions of Heart, for the Good, and Comfort, of his loving *Subjects*.

For the first; In the Course of *Remedy*, which we desire, we pretend not, nor intend not, in any sort, to derogate from your *Majesties* Prerogative; Nor to touch, diminish, or question, any your *Majesties* Regalities, or Rights. For we seek nothing, but the Reformation of Abuses, and the Execution of former Laws, whereunto we are born. And although, it be no strange Thing in *Parliament*, for new *Abuses*, to crave new *Remedies*; yet nevertheless in these Abuses, (which, if not in Nature, yet in extremity,

ty, and Heigth of them, are moſt of them new) we content our ſelves with the old Laws: Onely we deſire a Confirmation, and Quickening of them, in their Execution; So far are we, from any Humour of Innovation, or Incroachment.

As to the *Court*, of the *Green-Cloth*, ordained, for the Proviſion, of your *Majeſties* moſt Honourable Houſhold, we hold it Ancient, we hold it Reverent. Other *Courts* reſpect your Politick Perſon, but that reſpects your Naturall Perſon. But yet notwithſtanding, (moſt Excellent King,) to uſe that Freedom, which to Subjects, that poure out their Griefs before ſo gracious a *King*, is allowable, we may very well alledge unto your *Majeſty*, a Compariſon, or Similitude, uſed by one of the *Fathers*, in another Matter; And not unfitly repreſenting, our Caſe, in this point: And it is of the Leaves, and Roots, of *Nettles*. The Leaves, are venomous, and ſtinging, where they touch: The Root is not ſo, but is without Venome, or Malignity: And yet it is that Root, that bears, and ſupports, all the Leaves.

To come now, to the ſubſtance, of our *Petition*. It is no other, then by the Benefit of your *Majeſties* Laws, to be relieved, of the Abuſes, of Purveyors; Which Abuſes, do naturally divide themſelves, into three ſorts. The firſt, they take in Kind, that they ought not to take. The ſecond, they take in Quantity, a far greater proportion, then commeth to your *Majeſties* Uſe. The Third, they take in an unlawfull manner: In a manner, (I ſay) directly, and expreſly, prohibited, by divers Laws.

For the Firſt of theſe; I am a little to alter their Name. For inſtead of *Takers*, they become *Taxers*: Inſtead of taking Proviſion for your *Majeſties* ſervice, they tax your people, *ad redimendam vexationem*: Impoſing upon them, and extorting from them, divers ſums of Money, ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the nature of Stipends annually paid, *Ne noceant*, to be freed, and eaſed, of their oppreſſion. Again, they take *Trees*, which by Law they cannot do; Timber-Trees, which are the Beauty, Countenance, and Shelter, of Mens Houſes; That Men have long ſpared, from their own purſe, and profit; That Men eſteem, (for their uſe, and delight,) above ten times the value: That are a Loſs, which Men cannot repair, or recover. Theſe do they take, to the Defacing, and Spoyling, of your Subjects Manſions, and Dwellings; Except they may be compounded with, to their own Appetites. And if a Gentleman, be too hard for them, while he is at home, They will watch their time, when there is but a Bayliffe, or a Servant, remaining, And put the Axe to the Root of the Tree, ere ever the Maſter can ſtop it. Again they uſe a ſtrange, and moſt unjuſt, Exaction; In cauſing the Subjects, to pay Poundage, of their own Debts, due from your *Majeſty* unto them: So as a poor Man, when he hath had his Hay, or his Wood, or his Poultry, (which, perchance, he was full loath to part with, and had, for the Proviſion, of his own Family, and not, to put to Sale,) taken from

from him; And that not at a juſt Price, but under the value; And commeth to receive his Mony, he ſhall have, after the rate, of 12. pence in the Pound, abated, for Poundage, of his due Payment, upon ſo hard Conditions. Nay further, they are grown to that extremity, (as is affirmed, though it be ſcarce credible; ſave that in ſuch Perſons, all things are Credible) that they will take double Poundage; Once when the *Debentur* is made; And again the ſecond time, when the Money is paid.

For the ſecond Point, (moſt *Gracious Soveraign*) touching the *Quantity* which they take, far above that which is anſwered to your *Majeſties* uſe, they are the onely *Multipliers* in the world; They have the Art of *Multiplication*: For it is affirmed unto me, by divers Gentlemen, of good report, and Experience, in theſe Cauſes, as a Matter, which I may ſafely avouch, before your *Majeſty*, (To whom we owe all Truth, as well of Information, as Subjection;) That there is no Pound Profit, which redoundeth to your *Majeſty*, in this Courſe; But induceth, and begetteth, three Pound damage upon your Subjects; beſides the Diſcontentment. And to the end, they may make their Spoil, more ſecurely, what do they? whereas divers Statutes, do ſtrictly provide, that whatſoever they take, ſhall be regiſtred, and atteſted; To the end, that by making a Collation, Of that which is taken from the Countrey, and that which is anſwered above, their Deceits might appear; They, to the end, to obſcure their Deceits, utterly omit the Obſervation of this, which the Law preſcribeth.

And therefore to deſcend, if it may pleaſe your *Majeſty*, to the Third ſort of *Abuſe*; which is of the unlawfull *Manner* of their Taking, whereof this Queſtion is a Branch; It is ſo manifold, as it rather asketh an Enumeration, of ſome of the Particulars, then a proſecution of all. For their *Price*: By Law they ought to take, as they can agree with the Subject; By Abuſe they take, at an impoſed, and enforced, *Price*: By Law, they ought to make, but one *Aprizement*, by Neighbours, in the Countrey; By Abuſe, they make a ſecond *Aprizement* at the *Court Gate*; And when the Subjects Cattell, come up, many Miles, lean, and out of Plight, by reaſon of their Travell, then they prize them anew, at an abated price: By Law, they ought to take, between Sun and Sun; By Abuſe, they take by Twilight, and in the Night time, A Time well choſen for Malefactours: By Law, they ought not to take in the High wayes, (A place, by your *Majeſties* high prerogative, protected; And by Statute, by ſpeciall words, excepted;) By abuſe, they take in the wayes, in Contempt of your *Majeſties* prerogative, and Laws: By Law, they ought to ſhew their Commiſſion; And the Form of Commiſſion, is, by Law ſet down; The Commiſſions, they bring down, are againſt the Law; And becauſe, they know ſo much, they will not ſhew them. A number of other particulars there are, whereof, (as I have given your

*Majeſty*

*Majeſty* a Taſt,) ſo the chief of them, upon deliberate Adviſe, are ſet down in writing, by the Labour of certain *Committees*, and approbation of the whole *Houſe*, more particularly, and lively, than I can expreſs them; My ſelf having them at the ſecond hand, by reaſon of my Aboad above. But this writing, is a Collection of theirs, who dwell amongſt the Abuſes of theſe offenders, and Complaints of the People: And therefore, muſt needs have, a more perfect underſtanding, of all the Circumſtances of them.

It remaineth only, that I uſe a few words, the rather, to move your *Majeſty*, in this cauſe. A few words, (I ſay,) a very few, For neither need ſo great Enormities any aggravating; Neither needeth ſo great Grace, as uſeth of it ſelf, to flow from your *Majeſties* Princely Goodneſs, any Artificiall perſwading. There be two Things onely, which I think good, to ſet before your Majeſty. The one, the Example, of your moſt Noble *Progenitours*, *Kings* of this *Realm*: who from the Firſt *King*, that endowed this *Kingdom*, with the *Great Charters* of their Liberties, untill the laſt, have ordained, moſt of them, in their ſeverall *Raignes*, ſome Laws, or Law againſt this kind of Offenders: And ſpecially the Example of one of them; That King, who for his Greatneſs, Wiſdom, Glory, and Union of ſeverall Kingdoms, reſembleth your Majeſty moſt, both in Vertue, and Fortune, *King Edward* the Third; who, in his time onely, made ten ſeverall Laws, againſt this Miſchief. The ſecond, is the Example, of *God* himſelf; who hath ſaid and pronounced; *That he will not hold them guiltleſs, that take his Name in vain.* For all theſe great Miſdemeanours, are committed, in, and under your *Majeſties* Name. And therefore we hope your *Majeſty*, will hold them twice guilty, that commit theſe offences: Once for the Oppreſſing, of the People: And once more, for doing it, under the Colour, and abuſe, of your *Majeſties* moſt dreaded, and beloved, Name. So then, I will conclude, with the ſaying of *Pindarus*; *Optima Res Aqua*: Not for the Excellency, but for the Common uſe of it: And ſo contrary-wiſe, the Matter of Abuſe of Purveyance, (if it be not the moſt hainous Abuſe,) yet certainly, it is the moſt common, and generall, Abuſe, of all others, in this Kingdom.

It reſteth, that according to the Command laid upon me, I do, in all Humbleneſs, preſent this writing, to your *Majeſties* Royall Hands; with moſt humble Petition, on the Behalf, of the Commons; That, as your *Majeſty*, hath been pleaſed, to vouchſafe, your Gracious Audience, to hear me ſpeak: So you would be pleaſed, to enlarge your Patience, to hear this writing read, which is more Materiall.

## A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon in the Lower House of Parliament, 5°. Jacobi, concerning the Article, of generall Naturalization, of the Scottish Nation.

IT may please you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) Preface will I use none, but put my Self, upon your good Opinions, to which I have been accustomed beyond my Deservings. Neither will I hold you in suspence, what way I will choose; But now, at the first, declare my self, that I mean to counsell the *House*, to naturalize this *Nation*. Wherein, nevertheless, I have a request to make unto you; which is of more Efficacy, to the purpose, I have in Hand, then all that I shall say afterwards. And it is the same, which *Demosthenes* did, more then once, in great Causes of Estate, make to the People of Athens; *Ut cum Calculis Suffragiorum, sumant Magnanimitatem Reip.* That when they took into their Hands, the Balls, whereby to give their Voices, (according as the manner of them was;) They would raise their Thoughts, and lay aside those Considerations, which their private Vocations, and Degrees, mought minister, and represent unto them: And would take, upon them, Cogitations, and Minds, agreeable to the Dignity, and Honour, of the *Estate*.

For, Mr. *Speaker*, as it was aptly, and sharply said, by *Alexander*, to *Parmenio*; when upon the Recitall, of the great offers, which *Darius* made, *Parmenio* said unto him; *I would accept these offers, were I as Alexander*: He Turned it upon him again; *So would I*, (saith he) *were I as Parmenio*. So, in this cause, if an honest *English Merchant*, (I do not single out that State, in disgrace; For this *Island* ever held it Honourable; But onely for an Instance, of a private profession:) If an *English Merchant* should say, *Surely I would proceed no further in the union, were I as the King*; It mought be reasonably answered; *No more would the King, were he as an English Merchant*. And the like may be said of a *Gentleman* of the *Countrey*, be he never so worthy, and sufficient; Or of a *Lawyer*, be he never so wise, and learned; Or of any other particular Condition, in this Kingdome. For certainly, Mr. *Speaker*, if a Man shall be onely, or chiefly, sensible, of those Respects, which his particular Vocation, and Degree, shall suggest, and infuse, into him; And not enter into true, and worthy Considerations, of Estate, he shall never be able aright to give Counsell, or take Counsell, in this Matter. So that if this Request be granted, I account the Cause obtained.

But to proceed to the Matter it self. All Consultations, do rest, upon Questions Comparative. For when a Question is, *De Vero*, it is simple: For there is but one *Truth*: But when a Question is *De Bono*, it is for the most part Comparative: For there be differing

differing Degrees, of *Good*, and *Evill*; And the beſt, of the *Good*, is to be preferred, and choſen; And the worſt, of the Evill, is to be declined, and avoyded. And therefore, in a Queſtion of this Nature, you may not look for Anſwers, proper to every Inconvenience, alledged: For ſomewhat that cannot be ſpecially anſwered, may, nevertheleſs, be encountred, and over-weighed, by matter of greater moment. And therefore the Matter, which I ſhall ſet forth unto you, will naturally receive this Diſtribution of three parts.

Firſt, an Anſwer, unto thoſe Inconveniences, which have been alledged, to enſue, if we ſhould give way to this *Naturalization*: which, I ſuppoſe, you will find, not to be ſo great, as they have been made: But that much Droſs, is put into the Ballance, to help to make weight.

Secondly, an Encounter againſt the Remain, of thoſe Inconveniences, which cannot properly be anſwered; By much greater Inconveniences, which we ſhall incur, if we do not proceed, to this *Naturalization*.

Thirdly, an Encounter likewiſe, but of another Nature; That is, by the gain, and benefit, which we ſhall draw, and purchaſe to our ſelves, by proceeding to this *Naturalization*. And yet to avoid Confuſion, which evermore followeth of too much Generality, it is neceſſary for me, before I proceed to perſwaſion, to uſe ſome Diſtribution of the Points, or Parts of *Naturalization*: Which certainly can be no better, nor none other, than the ancient Diſtribution, of *Jus Civitatis*, *Jus Suffragii*, *vel Tribus*, and *Petitionis*, *ſive Honorum*. For all Ability, and Capacity, is either of private Intereſt, of *Meum & Tuum*, or of publick Service. And the publick conſiſteth chiefly, either in Voyce, or in Office. Now it is the Firſt of theſe, Mr. *Speaker*, that I will onely handle at this Time, and in this Place; And reſerve the other two, for a Committee; Becauſe they receive, more Diſtinction, and Reſtriction.

To come therefore, to the Inconveniences, alledged on the other part. The firſt of them is, that there may enſue of this *Naturalization*, a ſurcharge of people upon this *Realm* of *England*; which is ſuppoſed already, to have the full charge, and content: & therefore, there cannot be an admiſſion of the adoptive, without a Diminution, of the Fortunes, and Conditions, of thoſe that are Native Subjects of this Realme. A grave Objection, Mr. *Speaker*, and very dutifull: For it proceedeth not, of any unkindneſs, to the *Scottiſh Nation*, but of a Naturall Faſtneſs to our ſelves. For that Anſwer of the *Virgins*; *Ne forte non ſufficiat Vobis & Nobis*, proceeded, not out of any Envy, or malign humour, but out of providence, and that originall charity, which begins with our ſelves. And I muſt confeſs, Mr. *Speaker*, that, as the Gentleman ſaid, when *Abraham*, and *Lot*, in regard of the Greatneſs of their Families, grew pent, and ſtraitened; it is true, that (Brethren though

they were) they grew to difference and to those words; *Vade tu ad Dextram, & ego ad sinistram*, &c. But certainly, I should never have brought that Example on that side, For we see what followed of it; How that this Separation, *ad Dextram*, and *ad Sinistram*, caused the miserable Captivity of the one Brother, and the Dangerous, though prosperous War, of the other, for his Rescous, and Recovery.

But to this Objection, Mr. *Speaker*, being so weighty, and so principall, I mean to give three severall Answers; every one of them, being, to mine understanding, by it self sufficient.

The first is, that this Opinion, of the Numbers, of the *Scottish Nation*, that should be likely, to plant themselves, here amongst us, will be found, to be a Thing, rather in Conceit, then in Event. For (Mr. *Speaker*) you shall find these plausible Similitudes, of a Tree, that will thrive the better, if it be removed into the more fruitfull Soyl; And of Sheep, or Cattell, that, if they find a Gap, or passage open, will leave the more barren Pasture, and get into the more rich, and plentifull; To be but Arguments meerly superficiall, and to have no sound Resemblance, with the Transplanting, or Transferring of Families. For the Tree, we know, by nature, as soon as it is set in the better Ground, can fasten upon it, and take Nutriment from it: And a sheep, as soon as he gets, into the better Pasture, what should let him to graze, and feed? But there longeth more, (I take it,) to a Family, or particular Person, that shall remove, from one Nation, to another. For if (Mr. *Speaker*) they have not Stock, Means, Acquaintance and Custome, Habitation, Trades, Countenance, and the like; I hope, you doubt not, but they will starve, in the midst, of the rich Pasture; And are far enough off, from grazing, at their pleasure. And therefore, in this Point, which is conjecturall, Experience is the best Guide: For the Time past, is a Pattern, of the Time to come. I think, no Man doubteth, Mr. *Speaker*, but his *Majesties* first comming in, was as the greatest Spring-tide, for the Confluence, and Entrance, of that *Nation*. Now I would fain understand, in these four years space, and in the Fulness, and Strength, of the Current, and Tide, how many Families, of the *Scottish* Men, are planted, in the *Cities*, *Burroughs*, and *Towns*, of this *Kingdom*? For I do assure my self, that more then some Persons of Quality, about his *Majesties* Person, here at the *Court*, and in *London*, And some other inferiour Persons, that have a Dependancy upon them; The Return and Certificate, if such a Survey, should be made, would be, of a Number, extremely small. I report me, to all your private knowledges, of the places, where you inhabit.

Now (Mr. *Speaker*,) as I said; *Si in Ligno viridi ita fit, quid fiet in arido?* I am sure there will be no more such Spring-Tides. But you will tell me, of a multitude of Families, of the *Scottish Nation*, in *Polonia*: And if they multiply, in a Country, so far off, how much

much more here at hand? For that (Mr. *Speaker*) you muſt impute it, of neceſſity, to ſome ſpeciall Accident, of Time, and place, that draweth them thither. For you ſee, plainly, before your eyes, that in *Germany*, which is much nearer; And in *France*, where they are invited with priviledges, And with this very priviledge, of *Naturalization*, yet no ſuch Number can be found. So as it cannot be, either nearneſs of place, or priviledge of Perſon, that is the Cauſe. But ſhall I tell you (Mr. *Speaker*,) what I think: Of all the places in the world, near or far of, they will never take, that courſe of life, in this Kingdome, which they content themſelves with, in *Poland*. For we ſee it, to be the Nature of all men, that they will rather diſcover Poverty abroad, then at home. There is never a Gentleman, that hath overreached himſelf in Expence, and thereby muſt abate his Countenance, but he will rather travell, and do it abroad, then at home. And we know well, they have good high Stomacks, and have ever ſtood, in ſome terms, and Emulation, with us; And therefore they will never live here, except they can live in good faſhion. So as I aſſure you (Mr. *Speaker*,) I am of Opinion, that the ſtrife, which we now have to admit them, will have like Sequele, as that Contention had, between the *Nobility*, and *People* of *Rome*, for the admitting of a *Plebeian Conſul*; which while it was in Paſſing, was very vehement, and mightily ſtood upon: And when the People had obtained it; they never made any *Plebeian Conſul*; No, not in 60. years after. And ſo will this be for many years, as I am perſwaded, rather a Matter in Opinion, then in uſe, or effect: And this is the Firſt Anſwer, that I give to this main Inconvenience, pretended, of Surcharge of *People*.

The Second Anſwer, which I give to this Objection, is this: I muſt have leave to doubt, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that this *Realm* of *England*, is not yet peopled to the full. For certain it is, that the Territories of *France*, *Italy*, *Flaunders*, and ſome parts of *Germany*, do in equall ſpace of Ground, bear and contain, a far greater Quantity of People, if they were muſtred by the *Poll*. Neither can I ſee, that this Kingdom, is ſo much inferiour, unto thoſe forrain Parts in fruitfulneſs, as it is in population; which makes me conceive, we have not our full charge. Beſides, I do ſee manifeſtly among us, the Badges, and Tokens, rather of Scarceneſs, then of Preſs of People; as Drowned Grounds, Commons, Waſtes, and the like: Which is a plain Demonſtration, that howſoever there may be, an overſwelling throng, and preſs of *People*, here about *London*, which is moſt in our Eye; yet the Body of the *Kingdome*, is but thin ſown with *People*. And whoſoever ſhall compare, the Ruines, and Decayes, of ancient Towns, in this Realm, with the Erections, and Augmentations, of new; cannot but judge, that this *Realm*, hath been far better peopled in former times; It may be, in the Heptarchy, or otherwiſe; For generally the Rule holdeth, *The ſmaller State, the greater Population,*

*pro-*

*pro ratâ*. And whether, this be true, or no, we need not seek further, then to call to our remembrance, how many of us, serve here, in this place, for desolate, and decayed, Burroughs. Again (Mr. *Speaker*,) whosoever looketh into the Principles of Estate, must hold it, that it is the *Mediterrane Countries*, and not the *Maritime*, which need to fear surcharge of *People*. For all *Sea Provinces*, and specially *Islands*, have another Element, besides the Earth, and Soil, for their Sustentation. For what an infinite, Number of people, are, and may be sustained by Fishing, Carriage by Sea, and Merchandizing? wherein, I do again discover, that we are not at all pinched, by Multitude of *People*. For if we were, it were not possible, that we should relinquish, and resign, such an infinite Benefit, of Fishing, to the Flemmings, as, it is well known, we do. And therefore, I see, that we have wastes by Sea, as well as by Land: which still is an infallible Argument, that our Industry, is not awaked, to seek maintenance, by any over great Press, or charge of people.

And lastly (Mr. *Speaker*) there was never any *Kingdome*, in the Ages of the world, had, I think, so fair, and happy means, to issue, and discharge, the Multitude of their People, (if it were too great,) as this *Kingdome* hath; In regard, of that desolate, and wasted, *Kingdome of Ireland*; which, (being a Countrey, blessed, with almost all the Dowries of Nature; As Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, good Soyl, and temperate Climate; And now at last, under his *Majesty*, blessed also with obedience) Doth, as it were, continually call unto us, for our Colonies, and Plantations. And so I conclude, my second Answer, to this pretended Inconvenience, of surcharge of People.

The Third Answer, (Mr. *Speaker*,) which I give, is this. I demand, what is the worst Effect, which can follow of Surcharge of *People*? Look into all Stories, and you shall find it none other, then some Honourable War, for the Enlargement of their Borders, which find themselves pent, upon Forrain parts. Which Inconvenience, in a valourous, and Warlike, Nation, I know not, whether I should term, an Inconvenience, or no? For the saying is most true, though in another Sense; *Omne solum Forti Patria*. It was spoken, indeed, of the patience, of an exil'd Man: But it is no less true, of the valour, of a Warlike Nation. And certainly, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I hope, I may speak it without offence: That if we did hold our selves worthy, whensoever just Cause should be given; Either to recover our ancient Rights; Or to revenge our late wrongs; Or to attain the Honour of our Ancestors; Or to enlarge the Patrimony of our Posterity; We would never, in this manner, forget Considerations, of Amplitude, and Greatness, and fall at variance, about profit, and Reckonings; Fitter, a great deal, for private Persons, then for *Parliaments*, and *Kingdoms*. And thus, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I leave this first objection, to such Satisfaction, as you have heard.

So

The ſecond Objection is, that the Fundamentall Laws of both theſe *Kingdoms*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, are yet divers, and ſeverall: Nay more, that it is declared, by the Inſtrument, that they ſhall ſo continue; And that there is no intent, in his *Majeſty*, to make Innovation in them: And therefore, that it ſhould not be ſeaſonable, to proceed to this Naturalization, whereby to endowe them, with our Rights, and Priviledges, except they ſhould likewiſe receive, and ſubmit themſelves, to our Laws. And this Objection, likewiſe, (Mr. *Speaker*) I allow to be a weighty Objection, and worthy to be well anſwered, and diſcuſſed.

The Anſwer, which I ſhall offer, is this. It is true, for mine own part, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that I wiſh, the *Scottiſh Nation*, governed by our Laws: For I hold our Laws, with ſome reducement, worthy to govern, if it were, the world. But this is that which I ſay, and I deſire therein your Attention; That, according to true reaſon of Eſtate, *Naturalization* is, in Order, Firſt, and precedent, to union of Laws; In degree, a leſs Matter, then union of Laws; And, in Nature, ſeparable, not inſeparable, from union of Laws. For Naturalization, doth but take out, the Marks of a Forrainer; But union of Laws, makes them entirely as ourſelves: *Naturalization* taketh away ſeparation; But union of Lawes doth take away Diſtinction. Do we not ſee, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that, in the Adminiſtation, of the world, under the great *Monarch*, *God* himſelf, that his Lawes are divers; One Law in *Spirits*, another in *Bodies*; One Law in *Regions celeſtiall*, another in *Elementary*? And yet the Creatures, are all one Maſs, and Lump, without any vacuum, or ſeparation? Do we not ſee, likewiſe, in the State of the Church, that amongſt *People*, of all Languages, and Linages, there is one *Communion* of *Saints*? And that, we are all Fellow Citizens, and naturalized, of the Heavenly Hieruſalem? And yet, nevertheleſs, divers, and ſeverall, Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, Policies, and Hierarchies; According to the Speech, of that worthy Father; *In veſte varietas ſit, ſciſſura non ſit.* And therefore, certainly, (Mr. *Speaker*,) the Bond of Law, is the more ſpeciall, and private, Bond; And the Bond of *Naturalization*, the more common, and generall. For the Lawes, are rather *Figura Reip*, then *Forma*; And rather *Bonds of Perfection*, then *Bonds of Entireneſſe*. And therefore, we ſee, in the Experience, of our own Government, that in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, all our Statute-Lawes, ſince *Poynings Law*, are not in force; And yet we deny them not, the Benefit, of *Naturalization*. In *Gerſey*, *Garneſey*, and the *Iſle of Man*, our Common-Lawes are not in force; And yet they have the Benefit of *Naturalization*. Neither need any Man doubt, but that our Laws, and Cuſtomes, muſt, in ſmall time, gather, and win, upon theirs. For here's the Seat of the Kingdome, whence come the ſupreme Directions of Eſtate; Here is the *Kings Perſon*, and *Example*, of which the Verſe ſaith.

*Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis.*

And

And therefore, it is not possible; Although not by solemne, and formall, Act of Estates; yet by the secret Operation, of no long time, but they will come under the yoak of our Lawes; And so, *Culcis tractus pari jugo.* And this is the Answer, I give, to this second objection.

The third Objection, is, some Inequality, in the Fortunes, of these two *Nations*, *England* and *Scotland*; By the Commixture whereof, there may ensue Advantage to them, and Loss to us. Wherein, (Mr. *Speaker*) it is well, that this Difference, or Disparity, consisteth, but in externall Goods, of Fortune. For indeed, it must needs be confessed, that for the Goods of the Mind, and the Body, they are *Alteri Nos*; *Other our selves.* For to do them but right, we know, in their Capacity, and understanding, they are a people Ingenious; In Labour, Industrious; In Courage, Valiant; In Body, Hard, Active, and Comely. More might be said, but in commending them, we do but, in effect, commend our selves: For they are of one Piece, and Continent, with us: And Truth is, we are participant, both of their Vertues, and Vices. For if they have been noted, to be a people not so tractable in Government, we cannot, without flattering our selves, free our selves, altogether, from that Fault; Being, indeed, a thing incident, to all Martiall *People.* As we see it evident, by the Example, of the *Romans*, and others. Even like unto Fierce Horses, that though they be, of better service then others, yet are they harder, to guid, and to mannage.

But for this Objection, (Mr. *Speaker*) I purpose to answer it; Not by Authority of *Scripture*, which saith. *Beatius est dare quam accipere:* But by an Authority framed, and derived, from the Judgement of our selves, and our Ancestors, in the same case, as to this point. For, (Mr. *Speaker*,) in all the Line of our Kings, none useth to carry, greater Commendation, then his Majesties Noble Progenitour, King *Edward*, the First of that Name: And amongst his other Commendations, both of War, and Pollicy, none is more celebrated, then his purpose, and Enterprise, for the Conquest of *Scotland:* As not bending his Designes to glorious Acquests abroad, but to solid strength at home: which, nevertheless, if it had succeeded well, could not, but have brought in, all those Inconveniences, of the Commixture, of a more Opulent *Kingdome*, with a less, that are now alledged. For it is not the Yoke, either of our Arms, or of our Lawes, that can alter the nature of the *Climate*, or the Nature of the *Soyl:* Neither is it, the *Manner*, of the *Commixture*, that can alter, the *Matter*, of the *Commixture.* And therefore, (Mr. *Speaker*,) if it were good for us then, it is good for us now; And not to be prised the less, because we paid not so dear for it. But a more full Answer to this Objection, I refer over to that, which will come after to be spoken, touching Surety, and Greatness.

The fourth Objection, (Mr. *Speaker*,) is not properly an Objection,

jection, but rather a preoccupation, of an Objection, of the other ſide: For it may be ſaid, and very materially, whereabout do we contend? The Benefit of *Naturalization* is, by the Law, in as many, as have been, or ſhall be born, ſince his *Majeſties* Comming to the *Crown*, already ſetled, and inveſted. There is no more then, but to bring the *Ante-Nati*, into the Degree of the *Poſt-Nati*; that Men grown, that have well deſerved, may be in no worſe caſe, then children, which have not deſerved: And Elder Brothers, in no worſe caſe, then yonger Brothers. So as we ſtand, upon *Quiddam*, not *Quantum*; Being but a little difference of Time, of one Generation, from another.

To this, (Mr. *Speaker*,) it is ſaid by ſome; That the Law is not ſo, but that the *Poſt-Nati*, are Aliens, as well as the reſt. A point, that I mean not much to argue; Both becauſe it hath been well ſpoken to, by the Gentleman, that ſpake laſt before me; And becauſe, I do deſire, in this Caſe, and in this place, to ſpeak rather of Convenience, then of Law. Onely this will I ſay; That that Opinion, ſeems to me, Contrary to reaſon of Law; Contrary to form of pleading in Law; And Contrary to Authority, and Experience, of Law. For Reaſon of Law, when I meditate of it; Methinks, the wiſdom, of the Common Laws of *England*, well obſerved, is Admirable, in the Diſtribution, of the Benefit, and protection, of the Laws; According to the ſeverall Conditions of Perſons; in an excellent Proportion. The Degrees are four, but bipartite. Two of *Aliens*, and Two of *Subjects*. The firſt Degree, is of an *Alien*, born, under a *King*, or *State*, that is an Enemy. If ſuch an one, come into this Kingdom, without ſafe Conduct, it is at his perill: The Law giveth him no protection, neither for Body, Lands, nor Goods: So as if he be ſlain, there is no Remedy, by any Appeal, at the parties ſute, although his wife were an *Engliſh* Woman: Marry at the *Kings* ſute, the Caſe may be otherwiſe, in regard of the offence to the *Peace*. The Second Degree, is, of an *Alien*, that is born under the faith, and Allegiance, of a *King*, or *State*, that is a friend. Unto ſuch a Perſon, the Law doth impart, a greater Benefit, and protection; That is, concerning things perſonall, Tranſitory, and Moveable; As Goods, and Chattels, Contracts, and the like: But not concerning Freehold, and Inheritance. And the reaſon is, becauſe he may be an Enemy, though he be not. For the *State*, under the Obeiſance of which he is, may enter into Quarrell, and Hoſtility; And therefore, as the Law hath but a Tranſitory Aſſurance of him, ſo it rewards him, but with Tranſitory Benefits. The third Degree, is, of a Subject, who having been an *Alien*, is, by *Charter* made *Denizen*. To ſuch an one, the Law doth impart, yet, a more ample Benefit: For it gives him power, to purchaſe Free-Hold, and Inheritance, to his Own uſe: And likewiſe, enables the Children, born after his Denization, to inherit. But yet, nevertheleſs, he cannot make Title, or

convey Pedegree, from any Anceſtour Paramount. For the Law, thinks not good, to make him, in the ſame Degree, with a Subject born: Becauſe he was once an Alien, and ſo mought once have been an Enemy. And *Nemo ſubitò fingitur*: Mens Affections, cannot be ſo ſetled, by any Benefit, as when from their Nativity, they are inbred, and inherent. And the fourth Degree, which is the perfect Degree, is, of ſuch a Perſon, that neither is Enemy, nor can be Enemy, in time to come; Nor could have been Enemy, at any time paſt; And therefore, the Law gives unto him, the full Benefit, of *Naturalization*. Now, (Mr. *Speaker*,) if theſe be the true Steps, and Paces, of the Law, no Man can deny, but whoſoever is born under the *Kings* Obedience, never could, in *Aliquo puncto temporis*, be an Enemy; (A *Rebell* he mought be, but no *Enemy*;) And therefore, in Reaſon of Law, is naturalized. Nay contrary-wiſe, he is bound, *Jure Nativitatis*, to defend this *Kingdome* of *England*, againſt all Invaders or Rebels: And therefore, as he is obliged, to the protection of Arms; And that perpetually, and univerſally; ſo he is to have, the perpetuall, and univerſall, Benefit, and protection of Law, which is *Naturalization*.

For Form of *Pleading*, it is true, that hath been ſaid; That if a Man, would plead another, to be an *Alien*; He muſt not onely ſet forth, negatively, and privatively, that he was born, out of the Obedience, of our *Soveraign* Lord the *King*; But affirmatively, under the Obedience, of a forrain *King*, or *State*, in particular; which never can be done in this caſe.

As for *Authority*, I will not preſs it; you know all what hath been publiſhed, by the *Kings Proclamation*.

And for *Experience* of *Law*, we ſee it in the Subjects of *Ireland*; In the Subjects of *Gerſey*, and *Gernſey*, parcels of the *Dutchy* of *Normandy*; In the Subjects of *Calleis*, (when it was *Engliſh*,) which was parcell of the *Crown* of *France*. But, as I ſaid, I am not willing, to enter into an *Argument* of *Law*, but to hold my ſelf, to point of *Convenience*.

So as, for my part, I hold all *Poſt-Nati*, Naturalized, *ipſo Jure*. But yet, I am far from Opinion, that it ſhould be a thing ſuperfluous, to have it done by *Parliament*; Chiefly, in reſpect, of that true principle; *Principum Actiones præcipuè ad Famam ſunt componendæ*. It will lift up a Sign, to all the World, of our Love towards them, and good agreement with them. And theſe are, (Mr. *Speaker*) the Materiall Objections, which have been made of the other Side, whereunto you have heard mine Anſwers: Weigh them in your Wiſdomes; And ſo I conclude that General Part.

Now, (Mr. *Speaker*,) according as I promiſed, I muſt fill the other Ballance, in expreſſing unto you, the Inconveniences, which we ſhall incurre, if we ſhall not proceed, to this *Naturalization*. wherein, that Inconvenience, which of all others, and alone by it ſelf, if there were none other, doth exceedingly move me, and

may

may move you, is a Position of Estate, collected out of the Records of Time, which is this: That whersoever severall *Kingdomes*, or *Estates*, have been united in *Soveraignty*; If that Union, hath not been fortified, and bound in, with a further Union; And namely that, which is now in Question, of *Naturalization*; This hath followed; That at one time, or other, they have broken again, being upon all Occasions apt to revolt, and relapse, to the former Separation.

Of this Assertion, the first Example, which I will set before you, is of that memorable *Union*, which was between the *Romans*, and the *Latines*, which continued, from the Battaile, at the *Lake* of *Regilla*, for many years, untill the Consulships of *T. Manlius*, and *P. Decius*. At what time, there began, about this very point of *Naturalization*, that War, which was called *Bellum Sociale*; Being the most Bloudy, and Pernicious War, that ever the *Roman State* endured. wherein after Numbers of Battailes, and infinite Seiges, and Surprises of Towns, the *Romans*, in the end, prevailed, and mastered the *Latines*. But assoon as ever they had the Honour of the War, looking back into what Perdition, and Confusion, they were near to have been brought, they presently naturalized them all. You speak of a *Naturalization* in *Blood*; There was a *Naturalization* indeed in *Blood*.

Let me set, before you, again, the Example of *Sparta*, and the rest of *Peloponnesus*, their Associates. The *State* of *Sparta*, was a Nice, and Jealous, State, in this point, of imparting *Naturalization*, to their Confederates, But what was the issue of it? After they had held them, in a kind of Society, and Amity, for divers years: upon the first occasion given, (which was no more, then the Surprize, of the *Castle* of *Thebes*, by certain desperate Conspiratours, in the habit of Masquers; There ensued immediately, a generall Revolt, and Defection, of their Associats; which was the Ruine of their State, never afterwards to be recovered.

Of later time, let me lead your Consideration to behold, the like Events, in the *Kingdome* of *Arragon*; which *Kingdome* was united with *Castile*, and the rest of *Spain*, in the persons of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*; And so continued many years; But yet so, as it stood, a *Kingdome*, severed, and divided, from the rest, of the Body, of *Spain*, in priviledges; And directly, in this point of *Naturalization*, or Capacity of Inheritance. What came of this? Thus much; That now of fresh Memory, not past twelve years since, onely upon the voice of a Condemned Man, out of the Grate of a Prison, towards the Street, that cried *Fueros*, (which is as much as *Liberties*, or Priviledges;) There was raised a dangerous Rebellion, which was suppressed, with Difficulty, with an Army Royall; And their priviledges disannulled, and they incorporated, with the rest of *Spain*. Upon so small a Spark, notwithstanding so long continuance, were they ready to break, and sever again.

The like may be said, of the *States* of *Florence*, and *Pisa*: Which City of *Pisa*, being united unto *Florence*, but not endued with the Benefit of *Naturalization*, upon the first light of forrain Assistance, by the Expedition, of *Charles* the eighth, of *France*, into *Italy*, did revolt; Though it be since, again reunited, and Incorporated.

The same Effect, we see, in the most Barbarous Government; which shewes it, the rather, to be an effect of Nature. For it was thought, a fit Pollicy, by the *Councell* of *Constantinople*, to retain the three Provinces, of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, (which were, as the very Nurses of *Constantinople*, in respect of their Provisions,) to the end, they mought be the less wasted, onely under *Vayvods*, as Vassals and Homagers; And not under *Bassa's*, and Provinces of the *Turkish Empire*; Which Pollicy, we see, by late Experience, proved unfortunate; As appeared, by the Revolt, of the same three Provinces, under the Arms and Conduct of *Sigismund*, Prince of *Transylvania*; A Leader, very famous, for a time; which Revolt is, not yet, fully recovered. Whereas we seldome, or never hear, of Revolts of Princes, incorporate, to the *Turkish Empire*.

On the other part, (Mr. *Speaker*,) becaus it is true, which the *Logicians* say; *Oppositа, juxta se posita, magis elucescunt*; let us take a view, and we shall find; That whersoever, Kingdomes, and States, have been united; And that union Corroborate, by the Bond of mutuall *Naturalization*; you shall never observe them, afterwards, upon any Occasion of Trouble, or otherwise, to break and sever again: As we see, most evidently, before our eyes, in divers Provinces of *France*; That is to say, *Guien*, *Provence*, *Normandy*, *Brittain*; which, notwithstanding, the infinite infesting Troubles, of that *Kingdom*, never offered to break again.

We see the like Effect, in all the Kingdoms, of *Spain*, which are mutually naturalized; As *Leon*, *Castile*, *Valencia*, *Andaluzia*, *Granada*, and the rest: Except *Aragon*, which held the contrary Course, and therefore had the contrary successe, as we said: And *Portugall*, of which, there is not yet, sufficient Triall.

And lastly, we see the like effect, in our own *Nation*, which never rent asunder, after it was once united; so as we now scarce know, whether the *Heptarchy*, were a *Story*, or a *Fable*. And therfore, (Mr. *Speaker*,) when I revolve with my Self, these Examples, and others, so lively expressing the necessity of a *Naturalization*, to avoy'd a relapse into a Separation; And do hear so many Arguments, and Scruples, made on the other side; It makes me think on the old *Bishop*; which upon a publick Disputation, of certain *Divines*, *Christians*, with some learned Men of the *Heathen*, did extremely presse to be heard; And they were loath to suffer him, because they knew he was unlearned, though otherwise an Holy and well-meaning Man; But, at last, with much ado, he got to be heard. And when he came to speak, instead of using Argument, he did only say over his Belief: But did it with

such

ſuch Aſſurance, and Conſtancy, as it did ſtrike the Minds, of thoſe that heard him, more then any Argument had done. And ſo, (Mr. *Speaker*,) againſt all theſe witty and ſubtile Arguments, I ſay, that I do believe, and I would be ſorry to be found a Prophet in it; That except we proceed, with this *Naturalization*; (Though not perhaps in his *Majeſties* time, who hath ſuch Intereſt in both Nations,) yet in the time of his Deſcendants, theſe *Realms* will be in continuall Danger, to divide, and break again. Now if any Man, be of that careleſſe mind,

——*Maneat noſtros ea Cura Nepotes*;

Or of that hard Mind, to leave things, to be tried, by the ſharpeſt Sword; ſure I am, he is not of Saint *Pauls* Opinion; who affirmeth; That whoſoever, uſeth not Fore-ſight, and Proviſion for his *Family*, is worſe then an *unbeliever*: Much more, if we ſhall not uſe fore-ſight for theſe two *Kingdoms*, that comprehend ſo many *Families*: But leave things open, to the perill of future Diviſions. And thus have I expreſſed unto you the *Inconvenience*, which, of all other, ſinketh deepeſt with me, as the moſt weighty.

Neither do there want, other Inconveniences, (Mr. *Speaker*,) the Effect, and Influence whereof, I fear, will not be adjourned to ſo long a Day, as this, that I have ſpoken of. For I leave it, to your wiſdom, to conſider; whether you do not think, in caſe, by the deniall of this *Naturalization*, any Pike of Alienation, or unkindneſs; (I do not ſay,) ſhould be, thought to be, or noiſed to be, between theſe two Nations; whether it will not quicken, and excite, all the Envious, and Malicious, Humours, whereſoever, (which are now covered,) againſt us, either forraign, or at home; And ſo open the way to practiſes, and other Engines, and Machinations, to the Diſturbance, of this State. As for that other Inconvenience, of his *Majeſties* Engagement, into this Action, it is too binding, and preſſing, to be ſpoken of; And may do better, a great deal, in your Minds, then in my Mouth; Or in the mouth of any man elſe; becauſe, as I ſay, it doth preſs, our Liberty, too far. And therefore, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I come now, to the third generall part, of my Diviſion, concerning the *Benefits*, which we ſhall purchaſe, by this knitting of the knot, ſurer, and ſtreighter, between theſe two *Kingdoms*, by the Communicating of *Naturalization*.

The *Benefits* may appear to be two; The one *Surety*; the other *Greatneſs*. Touching *Surety*, (Mr. *Speaker*) it was well ſaid by *Titus Quintius*, the *Roman*, touching the ſtate of *Peloponneſus*; *That the* Tortois *is ſafe within her ſhell*: *Teſtudo intra Tegumen tuta eſt*. But if there be any Parts, that lye open, they endanger all the reſt. We know well, that although the State, at this time, be in a happy peace; Yet, for the time paſt, the more *Ancient* Enemy, to this *Kingdome*, hath been the *French*; and the more *late*, the *Spaniard*: And both theſe, had, as it were, their ſeverall poſtern

ſtern Gates; whereby, they mought have approach, and Entrance, to annoy us. *France* had *Scotland*, and *Spain* had *Ireland*: For theſe were the two Acceſſes, which did comfort, and encourage, both theſe Enemies, to aſſail, and trouble us. We ſee, that of *Scotland*, is cut off, by the *Union*, of both theſe *Kingdoms*; If that, it ſhall be now made conſtant, and permanent. That of *Ireland*, is likewiſe cut off, by the convenient ſituation, of the *North* of *Scotland*, toward the *North* of *Ireland*, where the Sore was: Which, we ſee, being ſuddainly cloſed, hath continued cloſed, by means of this Salve; So as now, there are no Parts, of this State, expoſed to Danger, to be a Temptation, to the Ambition of *Forrainers*, but their approaches, and Avenues, are taken away. For, I do little doubt, but thoſe *Forrainers*, which had ſo little ſucceſſe, when they had theſe advantages, will have much leſſe comfort now, that they be taken from them. And ſo much for *Surety*.

For *Greatneſs*, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I think a Man may ſpeak it ſoberly, and without Bravery; That this *Kingdom* of *England*, having *Scotland* united, *Ireland* reduced, the Sea Provinces of the *Low-Countreys* contracted, and *Shipping* maintained; Is one of the greateſt Monarchies, in Forces, truly eſteemed, that hath been in the *world*. For certainly, the *Kingdoms* here on *Earth*, have a Reſemblance with the *Kingdome* of *Heaven*; which our *Saviour* compareth, not to any great *Kernell*, or *Nut*, but to a very *ſmall Grain*; yet ſuch an one, as is apt, to grow, and ſpread. And ſuch, do I take to be, the Conſtitution of this *Kingdome*; If indeed, we ſhall refer our Counſels, to Greatneſs, and Power; And not quench them, too much, with Conſideration, of Utility, and Wealth. For (Mr. *Speaker*,) was it not, think you, a true Anſwer, that *Solon* of *Greece*, made, to the Rich *King Cræſus* of *Lydia*, when hee ſhewed unto him, a great Quantity of Gold, that he had gathered together, in Oſtentation of his Greatneſs, & Might? But *Solon* ſaid to him, contrary to his Expectation; *Why Sir, if another come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Lord, of all your Gold.* Neither is the Authority of *Machiavell* to be deſpiſed; who ſcorneth the *Proverb* of eſtate, taken firſt from a Speech of *Mucianus*; *That Moneys are the Sinews of War*: And ſaith, *There are no true Sinews of War, but the very Sinews, of the Arms, of valiant Men.* Nay more, (Mr. *Speaker*,) whoſoever ſhall look, into the Seminaries, and Beginnings, of the *Monarchies*, of the *world*, he ſhall find them founded in Poverty. *Perſia*, a Country barren, and poor, in reſpect of the *Medes*, whom they ſubdued. *Macedon*, a *Kingdome* ignoble, and Mercenary, untill the Time, of *Philip*, the Son of *Amyntas*. *Rome* had poor, and paſtorall Beginnings. The *Turks*, a Band of *Sarmatian Scythes*, that, in a vagabond manner, made Impreſſion, upon that part of *Aſia*, which is yet called *Turcomania*. Out of which, after much variety of Fortune, ſprung the *Ottomon Family*, now the Terrour of the world. So we know the *Gothes*, *Vandals*

*dals*, *Alanes*, *Huns*, *Lombards*, *Normans*; and the rest of the *Northern People*, in one Age of the *World*, made their Descent, or Expedition, upon the *Roman Empire*; And came not, as *Rovers*, to carry away prey, and be gone again; But planted themselves, in a number, of fruitfull, and rich, *Provinces*; Where, not onely their *Generations*, but their *Names*, remain, till this Day: witness *Lombardy*; *Catalonia*, A name compounded of *Goth* & *Alane*; *Andaluzia*, A name corrupted from *Vandelicia*; *Hungary*; *Normandy*; and others. Nay, the Fortune of the *Swizzes*, of late years, (which are bred, in a barren, and Mountanous Countrey,) is not to be forgotten; Who first ruined the *Duke* of *Burgundy*; The same, who had almost ruined, the *Kingdome* of *France*: what time, after the *Battail* of *Granson*, the Rich Jewell of *Burgundy*, prized at many Thousands, was sold for a few pence, by a common *Swizze*, That knew no more, what a Jewell meant, then did *Esops Cock*. And again, the same *Nation*, in revenge of a Scorn, was the Ruin of the *French Kings* Affaires in *Italy*, *Lewes* the 12th. For that *King*, when he was pressed somewhat rudely, by an Agent of the *Swizzes*, to raise their Pensions, brake into Words of Choller; *What*, (said he,) *will these Villaines of the Mountaines, put a Tax upon me?* which words, lost him his *Dutchy* of *Millain*, and chased him out of *Italy*. All which Examples, (Mr. *Speaker*,) do well prove *Solons* opinion, of the Authority, and Mastry, that *Iron* hath over *Gold*. And therefore, if I shall speak, unto you, mine own Heart; Me thinks, we should a little disdain, that the Nation of *Spain*, (which, howsoever of late, it hath grown to *Rule*, yet of ancient time *served* many Ages; First under *Carthage*, then under *Rome*, after under *Sarazens*, *Gothes*, and others;) should, of late years, take unto themselves that Spirit, as to dream, of a *Monarchy*, in the *West*, according to that Devise; *Video Solem Orientem in Occidente*: Onely, because they have ravished, from some wild, and unarmed, People, Mines, and Store, of Gold: And, on the other side, that this Island of Britanny, seated, and manned, as it is, and that hath, (I make no question,) the best *Iron* in the *world*; (That is, the best *Souldiers* of the *world*;) should think of nothing, but Reckonings, and Audits, and *Meum* and *Tuum*, and I cannot tell what.

Mr. *Speaker*,) I have, (I take it,) gone through the Parts, which I propounded to my Self; Wherein, if any Man, shall think, that I have sung *Placebo*; For mine own particular, I would have him know, that I am not so unseen in the world, but that I discern, it were much alike, for my private fortune, to rest a *Tacebo*, as to sing a *Placebo*, in this Business. But I have spoken, out of the Fountain, of my *Heart*: *Credidi, propter quod locutus sum*; *I believed, therefore I spake*. So as my Duty is performed: The Judgement is yours; *God* direct it for the best.

## A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacons in the Lower House of Parliament, by occasion, of a Motion, concerning the Union of Lawes.

AND it pleaſe you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) were it now a time to Wiſh, as it is to Adviſe; No Man ſhould be more forward, or more earneſt, then my ſelf, in this wiſh; That his *Majeſties Subjects*, of *England* and *Scotland*, were governed by one Law; And that for many Reaſons.

Firſt, becauſe it will be an infallible Aſſurance, that there will never be, any Relapſe, in ſucceeding Ages, to a Separation.

Secondly, *Dulcis tractus pari Jugo*: If the *Draught* lye moſt upon us, and the *Toke* lighteſt upon them, it is not equall.

Thirdly, the *Qualities*, and, (as I may term it,) the *Elements* of their *Laws*, and ours, are ſuch, as do promiſe, an excellent Temperature, in the compounded Body: For if the *prerogative* here be too indefinite, it may be the *Liberty* there is too unbounded: If our *Laws*, and proceedings, be too Prolixe, and Formall; it may be theirs, are too informall, and Summary.

Fourthly, I do diſcern, to my underſtanding, there will be no great *Difficulty*, in this Work. For their Laws, by that I can learn, compared with curs, are like their Language, compared with ours. For as their *Language*, hath the ſame Roots, that ours hath, but hath a little more mixture of *Latine*, and *French*; So their *Laws* and *Cuſtomes*, have the like Grounds, that ours have, with a little more mixture, of the *Civill Law*, and *French Cuſtomes*.

Laſtly, the *Mean* to this work, ſeemeth to me, no leſſe excellent, then the *Work* it ſelf: For if both *Laws* ſhall be united, it is of neceſſity, for preparation, and Inducement thereunto, that our own *Laws*, be reviewed, and recompiled, Then the which, I think, there cannot be a work, that his Majeſty can undertake, in theſe his times of Peace, more Politique, more Honourable, nor more Beneficiall to his Subjects, for all Ages;

*Pace datâ Terris, Animum ad Civilia Vertit*
*Jura ſuum, Legeſque tulit juſtiſſimus Auctor.*

For this continuall Heaping up, of Laws, without digeſting them, maketh but a *Chaos* and *Confuſion*: And turneth the Laws, many times, to become but *Snares* for the People, as is ſaid, in the Scripture, *Fluet ſuper eos Laqueos*. Now, *Non ſunt pejores Laquei, quam Laquei Legum*. And therefore, this work, I eſteem to be, indeed, a work, (rightly to term it,) *Heroicall*. So that, for this good wiſh, of *Union* of *Laws*, I do conſent to the full; And, I think, you may perceive, by that which I have ſaid, that I come not in this, to the Opinion of Others, but that I was, long ago, ſetled in it, my Self. Nevertheleſſe, as this is moved out of zeal,

ſo,

ſo, I take it, to be moved out of Time; As commonly zealous Motions are: while Men, are, ſo faſt, carried on, to the End, as they give no Attention to the Mean. For if it be *Time*, to talk of this now; It is, either becauſe the buſineſs, now in hand, cannot proceed without it; Or becauſe, in Time, and Order, this Matter ſhould be precedent; Or becauſe, we ſhall leeſe ſome advantage, towards this Effect, ſo much deſired, if we ſhould go on, in the courſe, we are about. But none of theſe three; in my judgement, are true; And therefore, the Motion, as I ſaid, unſeaſonable.

For firſt, that there may not be, a *Naturalization*, without an *Union* in *Laws*, cannot be maintained. Look into the Example, of the *Church*; And the Union thereof; You ſhall ſee ſeverall *Churches*, that joyn in one *Faith*, one *Baptiſm*, (which are the points of ſpirituall Naturalization,) do, many times, in Policy, Conſtitutions, and Cuſtomes, differ. And therefore, one of the *Fathers*, made an excellent obſervation, upon the two *Myſteries*: The one, that in the *Goſpell*; where the *Garment* of *Chriſt*, is ſaid to have been without *Seame*; The other, that in the *Pſalm*, where the *Garment*, of the Queen is ſaid, to have been *of divers Colours*; And concludeth, *In veſte Varietas ſit, Sciſſura non ſit.* So, in this Caſe, (Mr. *Speaker*,) we are now in hand, to make this *Monarchy* of one *Piece*, and not of one *Colour*. Look again, into the Examples, of *Forrain Countries*; And take, that next us, of *France*; And there, you ſhall find, that they have this Diſtribution; *Pais du droit Eſcript*; and *Pais du droit Conſtumier*. For *Gaſcoigne*, *Languedock*, *Provence*, *Daulphenie*, are *Countries*, governed by the *Letter*, or *Text*, of the *Civill Law*: But the *Iſle* of *France*, *Tourain*, *Berry*, *Anjou*, and the reſt; And moſt of all *Brittain*, and *Normandy*; Are governed by *Cuſtomes*, which amount unto a *Municipall Law*; And uſe the *Civill Law*, but only for Grounds; And to decide new, and rare, Caſes; And yet, nevertheleſs, *Naturalization*, paſſeth through all.

Secondly, that this *Union* of *Laws*, ſhould precede the *Naturalization*; Or that it ſhould go on, *pari paſſu*, hand in hand, I ſuppoſe, likewiſe, can hardly be maintained: But the contrary, that *Naturalization* ought to precede. Of which my Opinion, as I could yield many reaſons, ſo becauſe all this, is but a Digreſſion, and therefore ought to be ſhort; I will hold my ſelf now, onely to one, which is briefly and plainly this: That the *Union* of *Laws*, will aſk a great Time, to be perfected, both for the *Compiling*, and for the *Paſſing*: During all which time, if this *Mark* of *Strangers*, ſhould be denied to be taken away; I fear it may induce, ſuch a Habit of *Strangeneſs*, as will rather be an Impediment, then a preparation, to further proceeding. For he was a wiſe Man that ſaid; *Opportuni Magnis Conatibus Tranſitus Rerum.* And in theſe Caſes, *Non progredi eſt Regredi.* An like, as in a pair of Tables, you muſt put out the former writing, before you can put

in new; And again, that which you write in, you write Letter by Letter; But that which you put out, you put out at once: So we have now to deal with the Tables of Mens Hearts, wherein it is in vain, to think you can enter, the willing Acceptance of our *Laws*, and *Customs*; except you first put forth, all Notes, either of *Hostility*, or *Forrain Condition*. And these, are to be put out, *simulet semel*, at once, without Gradations; whereas the other points, are to be imprinted, and engraven, distinctly, and by degrees.

Thirdly, whereas it is conceived by some, that the Communication, of our Benefits, and priviledges, is a good Hold, that we have over them, to draw them to submit themselves to our Laws: It is an Argument, of some probability, but yet to be answered, many wayes. For first, the Intent is mistaken; Which is not, as I conceive it, to draw them wholy, to a Subjection to our *Laws*; But to draw, both Nations, to one *uniformity*, of *Law*. Again to think, that there should be, a kind of Articulate, and Indented, Contract; That they should receive our *Laws*, to obtain our *priviledges*, it is a Matter in reason of Estate not to be expected; Being that, which scarcely a private Man, will acknowledge, if it come to that, whereof *Seneca* speaketh; *Beneficium accipere, est Libertatem vendere*: No, but Courses of Estate, do describe, and delineate, another way; Which is, to win them, either by Benefit, or Custome. For we see, in all Creatures, that Men do *Feed* them first, and *Reclaim* them after. And so, in the first Institution of *Kingdomes*, *Kings* did first win *People*, by many *Benefits*, and *Protections*, before they prest any *Yoke*. And for *Custome*, which the *Poets* call, *Imponere Morem*: Who doubts, but that the Seat of the *Kingdome*, and the Example of the *King*, resting here with us, our *Manners* will quickly be there, to make all things ready for our *Laws*?

And lastly, the *Naturalization*, which is now propounded, is qualified, with such Restrictions, as there will be enough kept back, to be used, at all times, for an *Adamant*, of drawing them further on to our Desires. And therefore, to conclude, I hold this Motion, of *Union* of *Laws*, very worthy, and arising from very good Minds, but not proper for this Time.

To come therefore to that, which is now in Question: It is no more, but whither, there should be a Difference made, in this priviledge of *Naturalization*, between the *Ante-Nati*, and the *Post-Nati*; Not in point of *Law*, (for that will otherwise be decided,) but onely in point of Convenience; [As if a Law, were now to be made, *de novo*.] In which *Question*, I will, at this time, onely answer two *Objections*; And use two *Arguments*, and so leave it to your Judgement.

The first *Objection* hath been; That if a Difference, should be, it ought to be in favour of the *Ante-Nati*; Because, they are Persons, of Merit, Service, and Proof; whereas the *Post-Nati* are Infants,

ſants, That, (as the Scripture ſaith,) *know not the Right Hand from the Left.*

This were good Reaſon, (Mr. *Speaker*,) if the Queſtion were, of *Naturalizing* ſome particular Perſons, by a private *Bill:* But it hath no proportion, with the generall Caſe. For now, we are not to look to reſpects, that are proper to ſome, but to thoſe, which are common to all. Now then, how can it be imagined, but that thoſe, that took their firſt Breath, ſince this happy *Union*, inherent in his *Majeſties* Perſon, muſt be more aſſured, and affectionate to this Kingdome, then thoſe generally can be preſumed to be, which were ſometimes Strangers? For, *Nemo ſubito fingitur:* The Converſions of *Minds*, are not ſo ſwift, as the Converſions of *Times*. Nay, in Effects of *Grace*, which exceed far the Effects of *Nature*, we ſee, Saint *Paul*, makes a difference, between thoſe he calls *Neophites*; That is, newly grafted into *Chriſtianity*; And thoſe, that are brought up, in the Faith. And ſo, we ſee, by the *Lawes* of the *Church*, that the *Children* of *Chriſtians*, ſhall be *Baptized*, in regard, of the Faith, of their Parents; But the *Child* of an *Ethnick*, may not receive *Baptiſm*, till he be able, to make, an underſtanding *Profeſſion*, of his *Faith*.

Another *Objection* hath been made; That we ought, to be more provident, and reſerved, to reſtrain the *Poſt-Nati*, then the *Ante-Nati*: Becauſe, during his Majeſties time, being a *Prince* of ſo approved Wiſdome, and *Judgement*, we need no better Caution, then the Confidence, we may repoſe in Him: But in the Future *Reigns*, of ſucceeding Ages, our Caution muſt be in *Re*, and not in *Perſonâ*.

But, (Mr. *Speaker*,) to this I anſwer; That as we cannot expect a *Prince* hereafter, leſs like to erre, in reſpect of his Judgement: ſo again, we cannot expect a *Prince*, ſo like to exceed, (if I may ſo term it,) in this point of Beneficence, to that Nation, in reſpect of the Occaſion. For whereas all *Princes*, and all Men are won, either by Merit, or Converſation, there is no Appearance, that any of his *Majeſties Deſcendants*, can have either of theſe Cauſes, of Bounty, towards that *Nation*, in ſo ample Degree, as his *Majeſty* hath. And theſe be, the two *Objections*, which ſeemed to me moſt Materiall, why the *Poſt-Nati*, ſhould be left free, and not be concluded, in the ſame Reſtrictions, with the *Ante-Nati*, whereunto you have heard the Anſwers.

The two Reaſons, which I will uſe, on the other ſide, are briefly theſe. The one, being a Reaſon, of Common Senſe; The other, a Reaſon, of Eſtate. We ſee, (Mr. *Speaker*,) the Time of the Nativity, is, in moſt Caſes, principally regarded. In Nature, the Time of planting, and ſetting, is chiefly obſerved. And we ſee, the *Aſtrologers*, pretend to judge, of the Fortune of the Party, by the Time of the *Nativity*. In Lawes, we may, not unfitly, apply, the Caſe of *Legitimation*, to the Caſe of *Naturalization*. For it is true, that the *Common Canon Law*, doth put the *Ante-Natus*, and

the *Post-Natus*, in one Degree; But when it was moved, to the *Parliament* of *England*; *Barones unâ voce responderunt, Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare.* And though, it must be confessed, that the *Ante-Nati*, and *Post-Nati*, are in the same Degree, in *Dignities*; yet were they never so, in *Abilities*: For no Man doubts, but the Son, of an *Earl*, or *Baron*, before his *Creation*, or *Call*, shall inherite the *Dignity*, as well as the Son born after.

But the Son, of an *Attainted Person*, born before the Attainder, shall not inherit, as the After born shall, notwithstanding *Charter* of *Pardon.*

The *Reason* of *Estate* is; That any Restriction, of the *Ante-Nati*, is Temporary; And expireth with this Generation: But if you you make it in the *Post-Nati* also, you do, but in substance, pen, a perpetuity of *Separation.*

(Mr. *Speaker*,) in this point, I have been short, because I little expected this Doubt, as to point of Convenience: And therefore will not much labour, where I suppose, there is no greater Opposition.

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## A Report, *made by Sir* Francis Bacon, Knight, *in the* House *of* Commons, *of a Speech, delivered by the* Earl *of* Salisbury; *And another* Speech, *delivered by the* Earl *of* Northampton, *at a Conference, concerning the Petition of the Merchants, upon the* Spanish *grievances*, Parliament 5°. Jacobi.

AND it please you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I do not find my self, any wayes bound, to report that, which passed, at the last conference, touching the *Spanish Grievances*; Having been neither employed to speak, nor appointed to *Report* in that Cause. But because it is put upon me, by a silent Expectation, grounded upon nothing, (that I know,) more then that I was observed, diligently to take notes; I am content, (if that Provision, which I made for mine own Remembrance, may serve this *House* for a *Report*,) not to deny you that *Sheafe*, that I have, in hast, *bound up.* It is true, that one of his *Majesties, Principall Counsellours* in Causes of *Estate*, did use a *Speach*, that contained a World of Matter: But how, I shall be able to make a Globe, of that World, therein I fear mine own strength.

*His Lordship*, took the occasion, of this, which I shall now report, upon the Answer, which was by us made, to the Amendments, propounded, upon the *Bill* of *Hostile Lawes*; Quitting that *Business*, with these few words; That he would discharge, our Expectation of Reply, because their *Lordships* had, no Warrant

to

to Diſpute. Then, continuing his *Speach*, he fell into this other Cauſe, and ſaid; That being now, to make Anſwer, to a propoſition of ours, as we had done to one of theirs, he wiſhed it could be paſſed over, with like Brevity. But he did foreſee his way, that it would prove, not onely long, but likewiſe hard to find, and hard to keep; This Cauſe, being ſo to be carried, as above all, no wrong be done, to the *Kings* Soveraignty, and Authority; And in ſecond place, no Miſunderſtanding do enſue between the two *Houſes*. And therefore, that he hoped, his words ſhould receive a benign Interpretation; Knowing well, that purſuit, and Drift of Speech, and multitude of Matter, might breed words to paſs from him, beyond the Compaſs of his Intention: And therfore, he placed more Aſſurance, and Caution, in the Innocency of his own meaning, and in the Experience of his Favours, then in any his Warineſs, or Watchfulneſs, over his own Speech.

This reſpective preface uſed, *his Lordſhip* deſcended to the Matter it ſelf; which he divided into three Conſiderations: For, he ſaid, he would conſider of the *Petition*.

First, as it proceeded, from the *Merchants*.

Secondly, as from them, it was offered, to the *Lower Houſe*.

And thirdly, as from the *Lower Houſe*, it was recommended to the *Higher Houſe*.

In the Firſt of theſe Conſiderations, there fell out naturally, a Subdiviſion, into the *Perſons* of the Petitioners; And the Matter, and *Parts*, of the Petition. In the Perſons of the *Merchants*, his *Lordſhip* made, (as I have collected them,) in number, eight Obſervations: whereof, the three firſt, reſpected the Generall Condition of *Merchants*; And the five following, were applyed, to the particular Circumſtances, of the Merchants, now complaining.

His *Lordſhips* firſt, generall Obſervation, was; That *Merchants* were of two ſorts: The one ſought their Fortunes, (as the verſe ſaith,) *per Saxa, per Ignes*: And, as it is ſaid, in the ſame place, *Extremos currit Mercator ad Indos*; Subjecting themſelves, to Wether, and Tempeſt; To Abſence, and, as it were, Exile, out of their Native Countreys; To Arreſts, in Entrances of War; To Forrain Injuſtice, and Rigour, in times of Peace; And many other Sufferances, and Adventures. But that there were others, that took, a more ſafe, but a leſs generous Courſe, in raiſing their Fortunes. He taxed none, but did attribute, much more reſpect, to the former.

The ſecond Generall *Obſervation*, which his *Lordſhip* made was, That the Complaints of *Merchants*, were, uſually, ſubject, to much Errour; In regard, that they ſpake, (for the moſt part,) but upon Information; And that carried through many Hands; And of Matters done in Remote parts: So as, a falſe, or factious, Factour, mought, oftentimes, make great Tragedies, upon no great Ground. Whereof, towards the End

of

of his Speech, he brought an Inſtance, of one trading the *Levant*; That complained, of an Arreſt of his Ship; And poſſeſſed the *Counſell-Table*, with the ſame Complaint, in a vehement, and bitter, faſhion; Deſiring, and preſſing, ſome preſent, and Expoſtulatory Letters, touching the ſame. Whereupon, ſome *Counſellours*, well acquainted with the like Heates, and Forwardneſs, in Complaints, happened to ſay to him; Out of Conjecture, and not out of any Intelligence; *What will you ſay, if your Ship, which you complain to be under Arreſt, be now under Sail, in way homewards?* Which fell out accordingly: The ſame Perſon, confeſſing, ſix dayes after, to the Lords, that ſhe was indeed, in her way homewards.

The third generall *Obſervation*, which his *Lordſhip* made, was this, in Effect: That, although, he granted, that the Wealth, and Welfare of the *Merchant*, was not, without a Sympathy, with the generall Stock, and State of a *Nation*, eſpecially an *Iſland*; yet nevertheleſs, it was a Thing, too familiar, with the *Merchant*, to make the Caſe of his Particular Profit, the publick Caſe of the *Kingdom*.

There follow, the particular *Obſervations*, which have a reference, and application, to the *Merchants*, that trade to *Spain*, and the *Levant*. Wherein his *Lordſhip*, did firſt, honourably, and tenderly, acknowledge, that their *Grievances* were great, That they did multiply; And that they do deſerve, compaſſion, and help; But yet, nevertheleſs, that he muſt uſe, that loving plainneſs to them, as to tell them, that in many things, they were Authors, of their own Miſeries. For ſince the Diſſolving of the *Company*, which was termed the *Monopoly*; And was ſet free, by the ſpeciall Inſtance, of this *Houſe*; There hath followed, ſuch a Confuſion, and Relaxation, in Order, and Government, amongſt them; As they do not onely incur, many Inconveniences; And commit many Errours; But in the purſuites, of their own Remedies, and ſuites, they do it ſo impolitiquely, and after ſuch a Faſhion; As Except, *Legier Embaſſadours*, (which are the Eyes, of Kings, in forrain Parts,) ſhould leave their Centinell, and become *Merchants Factours*, and Sollicitours, their Cauſes can hardly proſper. And, which is more, ſuch is now the Confuſion, in the Trade; As Shop-Keepers, and Handy-Crafts-Men, become *Merchants* there; Who being bound, to no Orders, ſeek baſe means, by Gifts, and Bribery, to procure favours, at the Hands, of Officers there. So as the honeſt *Merchant*, that trades like a ſubſtantiáll *Merchant*; And loves not to take Servile Courſes, to buy the Right due to him, by the Amity of the *Princes*; can have no Juſtice, without treading in their ſteps.

Secondly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve, ſome Improbability, that the wrongs ſhould be ſo great, conſidering Trading, into thoſe parts, was never greater; *whereas* if the wrongs, and griefs, were ſo intollerable, and continuall, as they propound them; It would work,

work, rather, a generall Diſcouragement, and Coldneſs, of Trade, in *Fact*; Then an earneſt, and hot Complaint, in *Words*.

Thirdly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve; That it is a Courſe, (howſoever it may be with a good Intent,) yet of no ſmall preſumption, for *Merchants*, upon their particular *Grievances*, to urge things, tending to a direct *War*; Conſidering, that nothing, is more uſuall, in Treaties, then that ſuch particular Dammages, and Moleſtations of Subjects, are left to a Form of Juſtice, to be righted: And that the more high Articles, do retain, nevertheleſs, their vigour inviolably; And that the great Bargain, of the *Kingdome*, for *War*, and *Peace*, may, in no wiſe, depend, upon ſuch petty Forfeitures; No more, then in common Aſſurance, between Man and Man, it were fit, that upon every breach of Covenants, there ſhould be limitted a Re-entry.

Fourthly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve; In the manner, of preferring their *Petition*, they had inverted due order; Addreſſing themſelves, to the *Foot*, and not to the *Head*. For conſidering, that they prayed, no new Law, for their Relief; And that, it concerned, Matter of Inducement, to *War*, or *Peace*; They ought, to have begun, with his *Majeſty*, unto whoſe Royall Judgement, Power, and Office, did properly belong, the diſcerning of that, which was deſired; The putting in Act of that, which mought be granted; And the Thanks for that, which mought be obtained.

Fifthly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve; That, as they had not preferred their *Petition* as it ſhould be; So, they had not purſued their own Direction, as it was. For, having directed their *Petition* to the *King*, the Lords ſpirituall, and Temporall, and the Commons in Parliament aſſembled; It imported, as if they had offered the like Petition, to the Lords; which they never did; Contrary, Not onely, to their own Direction, but, likewiſe, to our Conceipt; who preſuppoſed, (as it ſhould ſeem, by ſome Speech, that paſſed from us, at a former Conference;) That they had offered, ſeverall *Petitions*, of like tenour, to both *Houſes*. So, have you now, thoſe eight *Obſervations*, part Generall, part Speciall, which his Lordſhip; made touching the *Perſons* of thoſe, which exhibited the *Petition*, and the *Circumſtances* of the ſame.

For the *Matter*, of the *Petition*, it ſelf, his Lordſhip made this *Diviſion*; That it conſiſteth of threeparts.

Firſt, of the Complaints, of wrongs, in Fact.

Secondly, of the Complaints, of wrongs, in Law; As they may be truly termed; That is, of the Inequality of Lawes, which do regulate the Trade.

And thirdly, the *Remedy* deſired, by Letters of *Mart*.

The *wrongs*, in *Fact*, receive a locall Diſtribution, of three. In the Trade to *Spain*; In the Trade to the *Weſt. Indies*; And in the Trade to the *Levant*.

Concerning the *Trade* to *Spain*: Although *his Lordſhip* did uſe, much ſignification, of Compaſſion, of the Injuries, which the

*Merchants*

*Merchants* received; And attributed so much to their Profession, and Estate; As from such a mouth in such a Presence, they ought to receive, for a great deal, of Honour, and Comfort; (which Kind of Demonstration, he did enterlace, throughout his whole Speech as proceeding, *Ex Abundantiâ Cordis*,) yet, nevertheless, he did remember four *Excusations*, or rather *Extenuations*, of those *wrongs*.

The first was, that the *Injustices*, complained of, were not in the Highest Degree; Because, they were Delayes, and hard proceedings, and not Inique Sentences, or definitive Condemnations. Wherein I called to mind, what I heard a great *Bishop*, say; That *Courts* of *Justice*, though they did not turn *Justice* into *Wormwood*, by *Corruption*; yet, they turned it, into Vinegar, by Delaies which sowred it. Such a Difference did his *Lordship* make, which, no question, is a Difference, *secundum Magis, & Minus*.

Secondly, his *Lordship* ascribed these *Delayes*, not so much to Mallice, or Alienation of Mind, towards us; As to the Nature, of the People, and Nation; which is Proud, and therefore Dilatory: For all proud Men are full of *Delayes*, and must be waited on; And specially, to the Multitudes, and Diversities, of Tribunals, and places of Justice; And the Number of the Kings Counsels, full of *Referrings*, which ever prove, of necessity, to be Deferrings; Besides, the great Distance of Territories. All which, have made, the Delayes, of *Spain*, to come into a Byword, through the *World*. Wherein, I think, his *Lordship* might allude, to the *Proverb* of *Italy*; *Me I enga la Morte di Spagna. Let my Death come from Spain*: For then it is sure, to be long a comming.

Thirdly, his *Lordship* did use, an Extenuation of these wrongs, drawn from the Nature of Man; (*Nemo subitò fingitur*:) For that, we must make an account; That, though the Fire of Enmity, be out, between *Spain*, and us, yet it vapoureth: The utter Extincting whereof, must be the work of Time.

But lastly, his *Lordship* did fall, upon that Extenuation, which of all the rest, was most forcible; which was; That many of these *wrongs*, were not sustained, without some Aspersion, of the *Merchants* own Fault, in ministring the Occasion, which grew chiefly in this manner.

There is contained, an *Article*, in the *Treaty*, between *Spain*, and *us*; That, we shall not transport, any Native Commodities, of the *Low-Countreys*, into *Spain*: Nay more, that we shall not transport, any *Opificia*; *Manufactures*, of the same *Countreys*. So that, if an English Cloath, take but a Dye, in the *Low Countryes*, it may not be transported by the *English*: And the Reason is, because even those *Manufactures*, although the Materiall come from other Places, do yield unto them, a Profit and Sustentation, in regard their People are set on work by them: They have a gain, likewise, in the Price; And they have, a Custome, in the Transporting. All which, the Pollicy of *Spain*, is, to debar them of;

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Being no leſs deſirous, to Suffocate the *Trade* of the *Low-Countries*, then to reduce their *Obedience*. This *Article*, the *Engliſh Merchant*, either doth not, or will not, underſtand: But being drawn, with his threefold Cord, of Love, Hate, and Gain; They do adventure, to tranſport, the *Low-Countrey* Commodities, of theſe natures; And ſo, draw upon themſelves, theſe Arreſts, and Troubles.

For the *Trade*, to the *Indies*; His Lordſhip did diſcover unto us, the ſtate of it, to be thus. The Pollicy of *Spain*, doth keep that Treaſury of theirs, under ſuch Lock, and Key, as both Confederates, yea, and Subjects, are excluded, of Trade, into thoſe Countries. : Inſomuch as the *French King*, who hath reaſon to ſtand, upon equall termes, with *Spain*, yet nevertheleſs, is, by expreſſe Capitulation, debarred. The *Subjects* of *Portugall*, whom the *State* of *Spain*, hath ſtudied, by all means, to content, are likewiſe debarred: Such a *vigilant Dragon* is there, that keepeth this *Golden Fleece*: yet nevertheleſſe, ſuch was his *Majeſties* Magnanimity, in the Debate, and Concluſion, of the laſt Treaty; As he would never condiſcend, to any Article, importing the Excluſion, of his *Subjects*, from that *Trade*: As a *Prince*, that would not acknowledge, that any ſuch Right, could grow, to the *Crown* of *Spain*, by the *Donative*, of the *Pope*; whoſe Authority he Diſclaimeth: Or by the Title, of a diſperſed, and punctuall Occupation, of certain Territories, in the name of the reſt: But ſtood firm, to reſerve that point, in full Queſtion, to further Times, and occaſions. So as it is left, by the Treaty, in Suſpence, neither debarred, nor permitted. The Tenderneſs, and Point of Honour whereof, was ſuch, as they, that went thither, muſt run their own Perill. Nay further, his *Lordſhip affirmed*; That if yet, at this time, his Majeſty would deſcend, to a Courſe of Entreaty, for the releaſe, of the *Arreſts*, in thoſe parts, And ſo confeſs an Excluſion; And quit the point of Honour; his *Majeſty*, mought have them, forthwith releaſed: And yet his *Lordſhip* added; That the Offences, and Scandalls, of ſome, had made this point worſe then it was; In regard, that this very laſt *Voyage* to *Virginia*, intended for *Trade* and *Plantation*; Where the Spaniard, hath no People, nor Poſſeſſion, is already become inflamed for *Pyracy*. Witneſs *Bingley*, who firſt, inſinuating his purpoſe, to be an Actour, in that worthy Action, of Enlarging *Trade*, and *Plantation*, is become a *Pyrate*; And hath been ſo purſued, as his Ship, is taken in *Ireland*, though his Perſon, is not yet in hold.

For the *Trade*, to the *Levant*; His *Lordſhip* opened unto us, that the Complaint conſiſted, in effect, but of two Particulars: The one, touching the Arreſt of a *Ship*, called the *Triall*, in *Sicely*; The other, of a *Ship*, called the *Vineyard*, in *Sardinia*. The Firſt, of which *Arreſts*, was, upon pretence, of *Pyracy*: The Second, upon pretence, of carrying *Ordnance*, and *Powder*, to the *Turk*. That *Proceſſe*, concerning the *Triall*, hath been, at the *Merchants* in-

ſtance, drawn to a Review, in *Spain*; which is a Favour, of exceeding rare Preſident; Being directly, againſt the Liberties, & Priviledges of *Sicely*. That of the *Vineyard*, notwithſtanding it be of that nature, as, (if it ſhould be true,) tendeth, to the great Diſhonour, of our Nation; (whereof, Hold hath been already taken, by the *French Ambaſſadour*, reſiding at *Conſtantinople*; Who entred, into a Scandalous Expoſtulation, with his *Majeſties Ambaſſadour* there, upon that, and the like, Tranſportations, of Munition, to the *Turk*;) yet nevertheleſſe, there is an Anſwer given, by Letters, from the *Kings*, *Ambaſſadour Legier*, in *Spain*; That there ſhall be, ſome Courſe taken, to give reaſonable Contentment, in that Cauſe, as far as may be; In both which *Ships*, (to ſpeak truly,) the greateſt Maſs, of loſs, may be included: For the reſt are mean, in reſpect of the value, of thoſe two Veſſels. And thus much his *Lordſhip Speech* comprehended, concerning the *wrongs* in *Fact*.

Concerning the *Wrongs*, in *Law*; That is to ſay; the *Rigour* of the *Spaniſh Lawes*, extended upon his *Majeſties Subjects*, that traffique thither, his *Lordſhip* gave this Anſwer. That they were no new *Statutes*, or *Edicts*, deviſed for our *People*, or our *Times*; But were the ancient Lawes, of that *Kingdome*: *Suus cuique Mos*. And therefore, as Travellers, muſt endure the Extremities, of the Climate, and Temper of the Air, where they travell: So *Merchants*, muſt bear with the Extremities, of the *Lawes*, and Temper of the *Eſtate*, where they trade. Whereunto his *Lordſhip* added; that our own *Lawes*, here in *England*, were not exempted, from the like Complaints, in Forrain Parts; Eſpecially, in point, of Marine Cauſes, & Depredations; And that ſame ſwift Alteration, of Property, which is claimed by the *Admiralty*, in caſe of Goods, taken, in *Pyrates* hands. But that, we were to underſtand, thus much, of the *King* of *Spains* Care, and Regard, of our *Nation*; That he had written, his Letters, to all *Corrigidors*, *Officers* of *Ports*, and other his *Miniſters*; Declaring his will, and pleaſure, to have his *Majeſties Subjects*, uſed, with all Freedome, and Favour: And with this Addition, that they ſhould have more Favour, when it might be ſhewed, then any other. Which words, howſoever the Effects prove, are not ſuddainly to be requited, with peremptory Reſolutions, till Time declare, the direct Iſſue.

For the third Part, of the *Matter*, of the Petition; which was, the *Remedy*, ſought by *Letters* of *Mart*; His *Lordſhip* ſeemed deſirous, to make us capable, of the Inconvenience, of that, which was deſired, by ſetting, before us, two notable *Exceptions* thereunto: The one, that the *Remedy*, was utterly incompetent, and vain: The other, that it was dangerous, and pernicious, to our *Merchants*; And, in Conſequence, to the whole *State*.

For the *weakneſſe*, of the *Remedy*; His Lordſhip, wiſhed us, to enter into Conſideration, what the *Remedy* was, which the *Statute* of *Henry* the fifth, (which, was now ſought, to be put in Execution,)

cution,) gave, in this Case; which was thus: That the Party grieved, should first complain, to the Keeper, of the private Seal; And from him, should take Letters unto the Party, that had committed the Spoyl, for Restitution. And in default of Restitution, to be made upon such *Letters*, served; Then, to obtain of the *Chanceller*, *Letters* of *Mart*, or *Repriſall*: which Circuit of *Remedy*, promised nothing, but endlesse, and fruitles, Delay; In regard that the first Degree prescribed, was never likely to be effected: It being so wilde a Chace, as to serve Processe, upon the wrong-Doer, in Forrain Parts. Wherefore his *Lordship* said, that it must be, the *Remedy* of *Statute*, that must do good, in this case: which useth to proceed, by Certificats, Attestations, and other means of Information; Not depending upon a privy Seal, to be served upon the Party, whom happily they must seek out, in the *West-Indies*.

For the *Danger*, of the *Remedy*; His *Lordship* directed our Considerations, to take notice, of the proportions, of the *Merchants* Goods, in either *Kingdome*: As that the Stock, of Goods, of the *Spaniard*, which is within his *Majesties* Power, and Distresse, is a Trifle: Whereas the Stock of *English* Goods, in *Spain*, is a Masse, of mighty value. So as, if this Course, of *Letters* of *Mart*, should be taken, to satisfie, a few hot Pursuitours, here; All the Goods, of the *English* Subjects, in *Spain*, shall be exposed, to Seisure, and Arrest; And we have little, or nothing, in our Hands, on this side, to mend our selves upon. And thus much, (Mr. *Speaker*,) is that, which I have collected, out of that excellent *Speech*, concerning the First main part which was; The *Consideration*, of the *Petition* as it proceeded, from the *Merchant*.

There followeth now, the *Second Part*; Considering the *Petition*, as it was offered in this *House*. Wherein his *Lordship*; after an affectionate Commemoration, of the Gravity, Capacity, and Duty, which he generally found, in the proceedings of this *House*; desired us, nevertheless, to consider with him, how it was possible, that the Entertaining of *Petitions*, concerning private *Injuries*, and of this *Nature*, could avoid, these three *Inconveniencies*. The First, of *Injustice*; The Second, of Derogation, from his *Majesties* supreme, and absolute Power, of concluding, *Warre*, or Peace; And the Third, of some prejudice, in reason of *Estate*.

For *Injustice*, it is plain, and cannot be denied, that we hear but the one Part: Whereas that *Rule*, *Audi alteram Partem*, is not, of the Formality, but of the Essence, of *Justice*: Which is, therefore figured, with *both Eyes shut*, and *both Eares open*. Because, she should hear both sides, and respect Neither: So that, if we should hap, to give, a right Judgement, it mought be *Justum*, but not *Juste*, without hearing both *Parties*.

For the Point of *Derogation*; his *Lordship* said; He knew well, we were no lesse ready, to acknowledge, then Himself; That

the *Crown* of *England*, was ever inveſted (amongſt other *Prerogatives*, not diſputable) of an abſolute Determination, & Power, of concluding, and making, *War* and *Peace*. Which, that it was no new Dotation, but of an ancient Foundation, in the *Crown*, he would recite unto us, a number of Preſidents, in the *Raignes*, of ſeverall *Kings*; And chiefly, of thoſe *Kings*, which come neareſt his *Majeſties* own worthineſſe: Wherein He ſaid, that he would not put his Credit, upon Ciphars, and Dates; Becauſe it was eaſie to miſtake, the year of a *Raign*, or number of a *Rowle*, but he would avouch them, in ſubſtance, to be perfect and true, as they are taken, out of the *Records*. By which Preſidents, it will appear; That *Petitions* made in *Parliament* to *Kings*, of this *Realme*, his *Majeſties Progenitours*; Intermedling, with matter, of Warr, or Peace; Or inducement thereunto; Received ſmall Allowance, or Succeſſe; But were alwaies put off, with Dilatory Anſwers: Sometimes, referring the matter, to their *Councell*; Sometimes, to their *Letters*; ſometimes to their further *Pleaſure*, and *Advice*; And ſuch other *Formes*; Expreſſing plainly, that the *Kings*, meant to reſerve, Matter of that Nature, entirely to their own Power, and pleaſure.

In the 18th. yeare of *King Edward the Firſt*; Complaint was made, by the Commons, againſt the *Subjects*, of the *Earle* of *Flanders*, with *Petition*, of Redreſſe: The *Kings* Anſwer was; *Rex nihil alind poteſt, quam eodem modo petere*: That is, *The King could do no more, but make Requeſt, to the Earle of Flanders*, as Requeſt, had been made to him: And yet no Body will imagine, but *King Edward* the *Firſt* was potent enough, to have had his Reaſon, of a *Count* of *Flaunders*, by a Warr: And yet, his Anſwer was; *Nihil alind poteſt*; As giving them to underſtand; That the Entering into a *Warr*, was a Matter Tranſcendent, that muſt not depend, upon ſuch Controverſies.

In the 4th. year of *King Edward* the *Third*; The *Commons* Petitioned; That the *King* would enter, into certain Covenants, and Capitulations, with the *Duke* of *Brabant*: In which *Petition*, there was alſo inſerted, ſomewhat touching a *Money Matter*. The *Kings* Anſwer was; That for that, that concerned the *Moneys*, they mought handle it, and examine it; But touching the *Peace*, he would do, as to himſelf ſeemed good.

In the 18th. year, of *King Edward* the *Third*; The *Commons* petitioned, that they might have, the Triall, and proceeding, with certain *Merchants Strangers*, as *Enemies* to the *State*. The *Kings* Anſwer was; *It ſhould remain, as it did, till the King had taken further order*.

In the 45th. yeare of *King Edward* the *Third*; The *Commons* complained; That their Trade with the *Eaſterlings*, was not upon equall Tearms; (which is one, of the poynts, inſiſted upon in the preſent *Petition*;) And prayed an Alteration, and Reducement. The *Kings* Anſwer was; *It ſhall be ſo, as occaſion ſhall require*.

In

In the 50th. year, of the ſame *King*; The *Commons* petitioned to the *King*, for Remedy, againſt the *Subjects of Spaine*, as they now do. The *Kings* Anſwer was; *that he would write his Letter, for Remedy.* Here is *Letters* of *Requeſt*, no *Letters* of *Mart: Nihil poteſt niſi eodem modo petere.*

In the ſame year, the *Merchants* of *Yorke*, petitioned in *Parliament*, againſt the *Hollanders*; And defired their *Shipps* mought be ſtayed, both in *England*, and at *Calais*. The *Kings* Anſwer was: *Let it be declared, to the Kings Councell; And they ſhall have ſuch remedy, as is according to Reaſon.*

In the 2d. year of *King Richard the ſecond*, the *Merchants* of the Seacoaſt, did complaine, of diverſe ſpoiles upon their Shipps, and Goods, by the *Spaniard*. The *Kings* Anſwer was, that with the Adviſe of his Councell, he would procure remedy.

His *Lordſhip* cited two other Preſidents; The one, in the ſecond yeare, of *King Henry the Fourth*; of a *Petition*, Againſt the *Merchants* of *Genova*: The other, in the 11th. yeare, of *King Henry* the 6th; Of a *Petition*, againſt the *Merchants*, of the *Stilliard*; which I omit, becauſe they contain, no variety of Anſwer.

His *Lordſhip* further cited, two *Preſidents*, concerning other points of *Prerogative*; Which are, likewiſe, *Flowers* of the *Crowne*; The one; Touching the *Kings ſupremacy Eccleſiaſticall*: The other; Touching the Order, of *Waightes*, and *Meaſures*. The former of them, was, in the time, of *King Richard the* 2d. At what time, the *Commons* complained, againſt certaine Encroachments, and Uſurpations, of the *Pope*: And the *Kings* Anſwer was; *The King hath given Order, to his Councell, to treat with the Biſhops, thereof.* The other was, in the 18th. year of *King Edward the Firſt*; At which time, Complaint was made, againſt uneven Waights; And the *Kings* Anſwer was; *Vocentur partes, ad placita Regis, & fit Juſtitia*: Whereby it appeared, that the *Kings* of this *Realme*, ſtill uſed, to refer Cauſes, petitioned in *Parliament*, to the proper places, of Cognizance, and Deciſion. But for the Matter, of *Warr*, and *Peace*; As appeares in all the former Preſidents; The *Kings*, ever kept it, *in Scrinio pectoris*; In the Shrines, of their own Breaſt; Aſſiſted and adviſed, by their *Counſell* of *Eſtate*.

His *Lordſhip* did conclude, his Enumeration of *Preſidents*, with a notable *Preſident*, in the 17. year, of King *Richard* the Second. A Prince, of no ſuch glory, nor ſtrength: And yet, when he made offer, to the *Commons* in *Parliament*; That they ſhould take into their Conſiderations, Matter of *Warr*, and *Peace*, then in in hand; The Commons, in Modeſty, excuſed themſelves, and anſwered: *The Commons will not preſume to treat of ſo high a charge.* Out of *all* which *Preſidents*, his *Lordſhip* made this Inference, that as, *Dies Diem docet*; So by theſe *Examples*, Wiſe Men, will be admoniſhed, to forbear thoſe *Petitions* to *Princes*, which are not likely, to have, either a Welcome Hearing, or an effectuall *Anſwer.*

And

And for *prejudice*, that might come, of handling, and debating, Matter of *War*, and *Peace*, in *Parliament*; He doubted not, but that the Wiſedom, of this Houſe, did conceive, upon what ſecret Conſideration, and Motives, that point did depend. For that, there is no *King*, which will *providently*, and Maturely, enter into a *War*; But will firſt ballance, his own Forces; Seek to anticipate, Confederacies, and Alliances; Revoake his *Merchants*; Finde an opportunity, of the firſt Breach; And many other points: which if they once, do but take winde, will prove vaine, and fruſtrate. And therefore, that this Matter, which is *Arcanum Imperij*, one of the higheſt Myſteries of Eſtate, muſt be ſuffered, to be kept, within the Vaile. His *Lordſhip* adding, that he knew not wel, whether in that, which he had already ſaid, out of an extreme Deſire, to give us ſatisfaction; He had not communicated, more particulars, then perhaps was requiſite. Neverthelesſe, he confeſſed, that ſometimes, *Parliaments* have been made acquainted, with Matter of *Warr*, and Peace, in a generallity; But it was, upon one of theſe Two Motives: When the *King*, and *Counſell*, conceived; That either it was Materiall, to have ſome Declaration, of the zeal, and Affection, of the *People*: Or elſe, when the *King* needed, to demand *Moneys*, and *Aides*, for the Charge, of the *Warrs*: Wherin, if Things did ſort to *Warre*, we were ſure enough, to hear of it. His *Lordſhip* hoping, that his *Majeſty*, would find, in us, no leſſe readineſs, to *ſupport* it, then to *perſwade* it.

Now, (Mr. *Speaker*,) for the laſt part; Wherein, his *Lordſhip*, conſidered the *Petition*, As it was, recommended from us, to the upper Houſe; His *Lordſhip* delivered, thus much, from their *Lordſhips*; That they would make, a good Conſtruction, of our Deſires; As thoſe, which they conceived, did rather ſpring, out of a Feeling, of the *Kings Strength*; And out of a Feeling of the *Subjects Wrongs*; Nay more, out of a Wiſdome, and Depth, to declare our forwardneſs, if need were, to aſſiſt his *Majeſties* future Reſolutions; (which Declaration, might be of good uſe, for his *Majeſties* Service, when it ſhould be blown abroad;) Rather, I ſay, then that we did, in any ſort, determine, by this their Overture, to do that wrong to his *Highneſs* Supreme Power; Which happily, might be inferred, by thoſe, that were rather apt to make evill, then good Illations, of our proceeding. And yet, that their *Lordſhips*, for the reaſons, before made, moſt plainly tell us; That they neither could, nor would, concur with us, nor approve the courſe. And therefore concluded; That it would not be amiſs, for us, for our better Contentment, to behold the Conditions, of the laſt *Peace* with *Spain*, which were, of a ſtrange nature, to him that duely obſerves them; No *Forces* recalled, out of the *Low-Countries*; No new *Forces*, (as to *Voluntaries*) reſtrained to go thither: So as the *King*, may be in peace, and never a *Subject* in *England*, but may be in *War*: And then, to think thus with our ſelves; That that *King*, which would give no ground, in making

making his *Peace*, will not loose any Ground, upon just provocation, to enter into an *Honourable War*. And that, in the meane time, we should know thus much; that there could not be, more forcible Negotiation, on the Kings part, but Blowes, to procure Remedy, of those *wrongs*; Nor more fair promises, on the *King* of *Spaines* part, to give contentment, concerning the same: And therefore, that the Event, must be expected.

And thus (Mr. *Speaker*,) have I passed over, the *Speech*, of this worthy *Lord*; whose *Speeches* (as I have often said,) in regard of his place, and Judgement, are extraordinary Lights, to this *House*; And have both the properties of *Light*; That is *Conducting*, and *Comforting*. And although (Mr. *Speaker*) a Man would have thought, nothing had been left, to be said; Yet I shall now, give you account, of another *Speech*, full of excellent Matter, and Ornaments; And without Iteration. Which, nevertheless, I shall report, more compendiously; Because, I will not offer the *Speech*, that wrong, as to report it at large, when your minds percase, and Attentions, are already wearied.

The other *Earl*, who, usually, doth bear a principall part, upon all important Occasions; used a *Speech*, first of *Preface*, then of *Argument*. In his *Preface*, he did deliver, that he was perswaded, that both *Houses* did differ, rather in *Credulity*, and Belief, then in Intention, and Desire. For it mought be, their *Lordships*, did not believe, the Information so far, but yet desired, the Reformation as much.

His *Lordship* said further, that the *Merchant* was a State, and Degree of persons; Not only to be respected, but to be prayed for; And graced them, with the best Additions: That they were, the Convoyes, of our supplies; The Vents of our Abundance; *Neptunes* Almesmen; and Fortunes Adventurers. His *Lordship*, proceeded, and said; This *Question*, was new to us, but antient to them: Assuring us, that the *King*, did not beare, in vaine, the Devise of the *Thistle*, with the word; *Nemo me lascescit impunè*; And that, as the Multiplying of his *Kingdomes*, maketh him feel his own Power; So the Multiplying of our Loves, and Affections, made him to feel our Griefs.

For the *Arguments*, or *Reasons*, they were Five in number, which his *Lordship* used, for satisfying us, why their *Lordships*, might not concur with us, in this *Petition*. The first was, the Composition of our *House*; which he took, in the first foundation thereof, to be meerly *Democraticall*; Consisting, of *Knights* of *Shires*, and *Burgesses* of *Townes*; And intended to be of those, that have their Residence, Vocation, and Employment, in the places, for which they serve: And therefore, to have a private, and locall wisedom, according to that Compasse; And so, not fit, to examine, or determine, *Secrets* of *Estate*; which depend, upon such Variety, of Circumstances; And therefore, added, to the President, formerly vouched, of the 17. of *King Richard* the 2d; When the *Commons* disclaimed

diſclaimed, to intermeddle in matter of *War* and *Peace*; That their Anſwer was, that they would not preſume, to treat, of ſo High, and variable a Matter. And although, his *Lordſhip* acknowledged; That there be divers Gentlemen, in the Mixture, of our *Houſe*; That are of good Capacity, and Inſight, in Matters of Eſtate; yet that was the Accident of the *Perſon*, and not the Intention of the place. And Things were to be taken, in the *Inſtitution*, not in the *Practice*.

His *Lordſhips* ſecond *Reaſon*, was; That both, by *Philoſophy, and Civill Law, Ordinatio Belli, & pacis, eſt abſoluti Imperij*; A principall *Flower* of the *Crown*. Which *Flowers*, ought to be ſo dear unto us, as we ought, if need were, to water them with our *Blood*. For if thoſe *Flowers*, ſhould, by neglect, or upon facility, and good affection, wither, and fall, the Garland would not be worth the wearing.

His *Lordſhips* third *Reaſon was*; That *Kings*, did ſo love, to imitate *Primum Mobile*, as that, they do not like, to move in borrowed Motions: So that, in thoſe things, that they do, moſt willingly, intend; yet they indure not, to be prevented, by Requeſt. Whereof he did alledge, a notable Example, in *King Edward* the 3d. who would not hearken, to the *Petition* of his *Commons*, that beſought him, to make the *Black Prince*, *Prince* of *Wales*. But yet, after that Repulſe, of their *Petition*, out of his own meer Motion, he created him.

His *Lordſhips* fourth *Reaſon*, was; That it mought be ſome ſcandall, to ſtep, between the *King*, and his own *Vertue*: And that it was the Duty of *Subjects*; Rather, to take honours, from *Kings* Servants, and give them to *Kings*; then to take honours from *Kings*, and give them to their Servants: Which, he did, very elegantly, ſet forth, in the Example of *Joab*; who lying at the *Siege* of *Rabbah*; And finding, it could not hold out; writ to *David*, to come, and take the Honour, of taking the Town.

His *Lordſhips* laſt *Reaſon* was, that it caſt ſome aſperſion upon his *Majeſty*; Implying, as if the *King*, ſlept, out the *Sobbs* of his *Subjects*, untill he was awaked, with the *Thunderbolt* of a *Parlament*.

But his *Lordſhips Concluſion*, was very Noble; Which was, with a Proteſtation; That what Civill Threats, Conteſtation, Art, and Argument, can do, hath been uſed, already, to procure *Remedy*, in this Cauſe: And a Promiſe; That if *Reaſon*, of *State*, did permit, as their *Lordſhips* were ready, to ſpend their Breath, in the pleading, of that we deſire: ſo they would be ready, to ſpend their Blouds, in the Execution thereof.

This was the *Reſolution*, of that which paſſed.

## *A* Speech, *used to the* King, *by his* Majesties Solliciter, *being chosen, by the* Commons, *as their Mouth, and Messenger, for the presenting to his* Majesty, *of the* Instrument, *or* Writing, *of their* Grievances; *In the* Parliament 7°. Jacobi.

MOst gracious *Soveraign*; The *Knights*, *Cittizens*, and *Burgesses*, assembled in *Parliament*, in the *House*, of your *Commons*, in all humbleness do Exhibite, and present, unto your *Sacred Majesty*, in their own Words, though by my hand, their *Petitions*, and *Grievances*. They are here conceived, and set down in writing; According to ancient Custome, of *Parliament*. They are also prefaced, according to the Manner, and Tast, of these later Times. Therefore, for me, to make any Additionall *Preface*, were neither warranted, nor convenient: Especially speaking before a *King*; The Exactness of whose Judgement, ought to scatter, and chase away, all unnecessary Speech as the *Sun* doth a *Vapour*. This onely I must say: Since this *Session* of *Parliament*, we have seen your Glory, in the Solemnity, of the *Creation*, of this most Noble *Prince*: We have heard your Wisdome, in sundry excellent *Speeches*, which you have delivered amongst us. Now we hope, to find, and feel, the Effects of your Goodness, in your Gracious Answer, to these our *Petitions*. For this we are perswaded, that the *Attribute*, which was given, by one of the wisest Writers, to Two, of the best *Emperours*; *Divus Nerva*, *& Divus Traianus*; (So saith *Tacitus*,) *Res olim insociabiles miscuerunt, Imperium, & Libertatem*; May be truly applyed, to your *Majesty*. For never was there, such a Conservatour of *Regality*, in a *Crown*; Nor never, such a *Protectour*, of lawfull Freedome, in a *Subject*.

Onely this, (*Excellent Soveraign*,) Let not the sound of *Grievances*, (though it be sad,) seem harsh, to your Princely Eares: It is but *Gemitus Columbæ*; The *Mourning of a Dove*; With that Patience, and Humility of Heart, which appertaineth, to loving and Loyall *Subjects*. And far be it from us; But that, in the midst, of the Sense, of our Grievances, we should remember, and acknowledge the infinite Benefits, which by your *Majesty*, next under *God*, we do enjoy; Which bind us, to wish unto your life, Fulness of Dayes; And unto your *Line Royall*, a Succession, and Continuance, even unto the worlds end.

It resteth, that unto these *Petitions*, here included, I do adde one more, that goeth to them all: Which is; That if, in the words, and frame, of them, there be any Thing offensive; Or that we have expressed our Selves, otherwise then we should, or would; That your *Majesty* would cover it, and cast the Vaile,

of your Grace upon it; And accept of our good Intentions; And help them, by your benign Interpretation.

Laſtly, I am, moſt humbly, to crave, a particular pardon, for my ſelf, that have uſed theſe few words; And ſcarcely, ſhould have been able, to have uſed any at all, in reſpect of the Reverence, which I bear, to your Perſon, and Judgement, had I not been ſomewhat relieved, and comforted, by the Experience, which in my Service, aud Acceſſe, I have had, of your continuall *Grace*, and *Favour*.

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## *A* Speech, *of the* Kings Sollicitour, *uſed unto the* Lords, *at a* Conference, *by* Commiſſion, *from the* Commons; *Moving, and perſwading the* Lords *to joyn with the* Commons, *in* Petition *to the* King; *To obtain* Liberty, *to treat, of a* Compoſition, *with his* Majeſty, *for* Wards, *and* Tenures: *In the* Parliament, 7°. Jacobi.

THe *Knights*, Cittizens, and *Burgeſſes*, of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, have commanded me, to deliver to your *Lordſhips*, the *Cauſes*, of the *Conference*, by them prayed, and by your *Lordſhips* aſſented, for the ſecond *Buſineſs*, of this *Day*. They have had Report, made unto them, faithfully, of his *Majeſties* Anſwer, declared by My *L. Treaſurer*, touching their humble Deſire, to obtain Liberty, from his *Majeſty*, to treat, of compounding for *Tenures*. And firſt, they think themſelves, much bound unto his *Majeſty*; That, in *Re novâ*, in which caſe *Princes* uſe to be apprehenſive, he hath made a gracious Conſtruction, of their Propoſition. And ſo much they know of that, that belongs to the Greatneſs of his *Majeſty*, and the Greatneſs of the *Cauſe*; As themſelves acknowledge, they ought not, to have expected a preſent *Reſolution*; Though the *Wiſe-Man* ſaith; *Hope deferred is the Fainting of the Soul.* But they know, their Duty to be, to attend his *Majeſties* Times, at his good pleaſure. And they do it, with the more comfort, becauſe in that his *Majeſties* Anſwer, (Matching the Times, aad weighing the Paſſages thereof,) they conceive, in their Opinion, rather Hope, then Diſcouragement.

But the principall *Cauſes*, of the *Conference*, now prayed; (Beſides theſe ſignifications of Duty, not to be omitted;) Are two *Propoſitions*. The one, Matter of *Excuſe*, of themſelves: The other Matter of *Petition*. The former of which growes thus. Your *Lordſhip*, (my *L. Threaſurer*) in your laſt *declaration*, of his *Majeſties Anſwer*, (which according to the Attribute, then given unto it, had *Imaginem Cæſaris*, fair, and lively, graven,) made this true, and effectuall Diſtribution: That there depended upon *Tenures*, Conſiderations of *Honour*; of *Conſcience*; And of *Utility*: Of theſe three, *Utility*, as his *Majeſty* ſet it by, for the preſent, out of the Greatneſs of

of his Mind; So we ſet it by, out of the Juſtneſſe, of our Deſires: For we never ment, but a goodly, and worthy Augmentation, of the Profit, now received, and not a Diminution. But, (to ſpeak truly,) that *Conſideration* falleth naturally to be examined, when *Liberty* of *Treaty* is granted: But the former Two, indeed, may exclude *Treaty*; And cut it off, before it be admitted.

Nevertheleſs, in this that we ſhall ſay, concerning thoſe Two, We deſire to be conceived rightly: We mean not, to diſpute with his *Majeſty*, what belongeth to *Soveraign Honour*, or his *Princely Conſcience*; Becauſe we know, we are not capable, to diſcern them; Otherwiſe, then as Men uſe, ſometimes, to ſee the Image, of the *Sun*, in a Pail of Water. But this we ſay for our ſelves; *God* forbid, that we, knowingly, ſhould have propounded any thing, that mought, in our Senſe, and perſwaſion, touch, either of both: And therefore herein we deſire to be heard, not to enform, or perſwade his *Majeſty*, but to free, and excuſe, our ſelves.

And firſt, in generall, we acknowledge, that this *Tree* of *Tenures*, was Planted, into the *Prerogative*, by the ancient common *Law* of this *Land*: That it hath been Fenced in, and Preſerved, by many *Statutes*; And that it yieldeth, at this day, to the *King*, the *Fruit*, of a great *Revenue*. But yet notwithſtanding, if upon the *Stemme*, of this Tree, may be raiſed a *Pillar*, of ſupport to the *Crown*, Permanent, and durable as the *Marble*, by inveſting the *Crown*, with a more ample, more certain, and more loving, Dowry, then this of *Tenures*, we hope we propound no Matter of Diſſervice.

But to ſpeak, diſtinctly, of both, and firſt of *Honour*. Wherein, I pray your *Lordſhips*, give me leave, in a Subject, that may ſeem, *ſupra Nos*, to handle it, rather as we are capable, then as the Matter, perhaps, may require. Your *Lordſhips* well know, the various Mixture, and Compoſition, of our *Houſe*. We have, in our *Houſe*, learned *Civilians*, that profeſs a Law, that we reverence, and ſometimes conſult with: They can tell us, that all the *Laws* de *Feodis*, are but *Additionals*, to the *Ancient Civill Law*; And that the *Roman Emperours*, in the full Heigth of their *Monarchy*, never knew them; So that they are not *Imperiall*. We have grave Profeſſours, of the *Common Law*, who will deſine unto us, that thoſe are Parts of *Soveraignty*, and of the *Royall Prerogative*, which cannot be communicated with *Subjects*: But for *Tenures*, in ſubſtance, there is none of your *Lordſhips*, but have them; And few of us, but have them. The *King*, indeed, hath a priority, or firſt Service, of his *Tenures*; which ſhewes, that they are not *Regall*, nor any point of *Soveraignty*. We have Gentlemen, of honourable Service, in the *Wars*, both by Sea and Land; Who can enform us, that when it is in queſtion, who ſhall ſet his foot, foremoſt, towards the Enemy, it is never asked, whether he hold in *Knights Service*, or in *Socage*. So have we many *Deputy Lievtenants*,

to your *Lordſhips*; And many *Commiſſioners*, that have been for *Muſters*, and *Levies*, That can tell us, that the Service, and Defence, of the *Realm*, hath, in theſe dayes, little dependance upon *Tenures*. So then we perceive, that it is no Bond, or Ligament, of *Government*; No Spur of Honour; No Bridle of Obedience: Time was, when it had other uſes, and the Name of *Knights Service* imports it: But, *Vocabula manent*, *Res fugiunt*. But all this, which we have ſpoken, we confeſs to be, but in a vulgar Capacity; which, nevertheleſs, may ſerve, for our Excuſe; Though we ſubmit, the Thing it ſelf, wholy to his *Majeſties* Judgement.

For Matter of *Conſcience*, Far be it from us, to caſt in any Thing, willingly, that, may trouble, that clear Fountain, of his *Majeſties* conſcience. We do confeſs, it is a noble Protection, that theſe young *Birds*, of the *Nobility*, and good *Families*, ſhould be gathered, and clocked, under the wings of the *Crown*. But yet, *Naturæ vis maxima*: And *ſuus cuique diſcretus ſanguis*. Your *Lordſhips* will favour me, to obſerve my former Methode. The *Common Law* it ſelf, which is the beſt Bounds of our wiſdom, doth even, in *hoc Individuo*, prefer the *prerogative* of the *Father*, before the *prerogative* of the *King*: For if *Lands* deſcend, held in chief, from an Anceſtour, on the part of a Mother, to a Mans eldeſt Son, the *Father* being alive; The *Father*, ſhall have the Cuſtody of the Body, and not the *King*. It is true, that this is only for the *Father*; And not, any other *Parent*, or *Anceſtour*: But then, if you look, to the high *Law* of *Tutelage*, and *Protection*; And of *Obedience*, and *Duty*, which is the *Relative* thereunto; It is not ſaid; *Honour thy Father alone*; *But*, *Honour thy Father*, *and thy Mother*, &c. Again, the *Civilians* can tell us, that there was a ſpeciall Uſe, of the *Pretorian* Power, for *Pupills*, and yet no *Tenures*. The *Citizens* of *London*, can tell us; There be *Courts* of *Orphants*, and yet no *Tenures*. But all this while, we pray your *Lordſhips*, to conceive; That we think our ſelves, not competent, to diſcern of the *Honour*, of his *Majeſties Crown*, or the *Shrine* of his *Conſcience*; But leave it, wholy, unto him, and alledge theſe things, but in our own *Excuſe*.

For Matter of *Petition*, we do continue our moſt humble ſuit, by your *Lordſhips* loving Conjunction, that his *Majeſty* will be pleaſed, to open unto us, this entrance of his Bounty, and Grace; As to give us liberty, to treat. And laſtly, we know his *Majeſties* Times, are not ſubordinate at all, but to the *Globe* above: About this time, the *Sun* hath got even with the Night, and will riſe apace; And we know, *Solomons Temple*, (whereof your *Lordſhip*, my *Lord Treaſurer*, ſpake) was not built in a day: And if We ſhall be ſo happy, as to take the Axe to hew, and the Hammer to frame, in this Caſe; We know, it cannot be, without Time; And therefore, as far, as we may, with Duty, and without Importunity, we moſt humbly deſire, an Acceleration of his *Majeſties Anſwer*, according to his good time, and Royall Pleaſure.

## *A* Speech, *of the* Kings Sollicitor, *perswading the* House *of* Commons, *to desist from further Question, of receiving the* Kings Messages, *by their* Speaker; *And from the* Body *of the* Councell; *As well as from the* Kings Person; *In the* Parliament 7°. Jac.

IT is my Desire, that if any the *Kings* Business, either of Honour or Profit, shall pass the *House*; It may be, not onely, with externall prevailing; But with satisfaction, of the Inward Man. For in Consent, where *Tongue strings*, not *Hart-strings*, make the *Musick*; That *Harmony* may end in *Discord*. To this I shall alwayes bend my Endeavours.

The *Kings Soveraignty*, and the *Liberty* of *Parliament*, are; as the two Elements, and Principles of this *Estate*; which, though the one be more Active, the other more Passive, yet they do not crosse, or destroy, the one the other; But they strengthen, and maintain, the one the other. Take away *Liberty* of *Parliament*, the *Griefes*, of the *Subject*, will bleed inwards. Sharp, and Eager, Humours, will not evaporate; And then they must exulcerate, and so may indanger, the *Soveraignty*, it self. On the other side, if the *Kings Soveraignty*, receive Diminution, or any Degree of Contempt, with us that are born under an *Hereditary Monarchy*; (So as the Motions of our *Estate*, cannot work, in any other Frame, or Engine;) It must follow, that we shall be a *Meteore*, or *Corpus imperfectè mistum*; which kind of Bodies, come speedily to Confusion, and Dissolution. And herein, it is our Happinesse, that we may make, the same Judgement of the *King*, which *Tacitus* made of *Nerva*; *Divus Nerva, res olim Dissociabiles miscuit, Imperium, & Libertatem.* Nerva *did temper things, that before were thought incompatible, Soveraignty, and Liberty.* And it is not amisse, in a great Councell, and a great Cause, to put the other part of the Difference; which was significantly expressed, by the Judgement, which *Apollonius* made of *Nero*; which was thus. When *Vespasian* came out of *Judea*, towards *Italy*, to receive the *Empire:* As he passed by *Alexandria*, he spake with *Apollonius*, A Man much admired; And asked him a Question, of State. *What was* Nero's *Fall, or overthrow?* Apollonius *said*, Nero *could tune the Harp well, but in Government, he alwaies, either wound up the Pinns too high, and strained the strings too far; or let them down too low, and slackened the strings too much.* Here we see the Difference, between Regular, and Able, *Princes*; And Irregular, and Incapable; *Nerva*, and *Nero*. The one tempers, and mingles, the *Soveraignty*, with the *Liberty*, of the *Subject*, wisely; And the other, doth interchange it, and vary it unequally, and absurdly. Since therefore, we have a *Prince* of so excellent Wisdom, and Moderation; Of whose

whose *Authority*, we ought to be tender, as he is, likewise, of our *Liberty*; Let us enter, into a true, and indifferent, consideration, how far forth the Case in Question, may touch his *Authority*, and how far forth our *Liberty*. And to speak cleerly; In my Opinion, it concerns his *Authority*, much; And our Liberty nothing at all.

The *Questions* are Two. The one, whither our *Speaker*, be exempted, from Delivery, of a Message from the *King*; without our Licence. The other, whither it is not all one, whither he received it from the *Body* of the *Counsell*, as if he received it immediatly from the *King*. And I will speak of the last First, because it is the Circumstance, of the present Case.

First, I say, let us see, how it concerns the *King*, and then how it concerns *Us*? For the *King*; certainly, if it be observed, it cannot be denyed, but if you may not receive his pleasure, by his *Representative Body*, which is his *Counsel* of his *Estate*; you both streighten his *Majesty*, in point of Conveniency; And *weaken* the Reputation, of his *Counsell*. All *Kings*, though they be *Gods* on Earth, yet (as he said) they are *Gods* of Earth: They may be of Extreme Age; they may be indisposed in Health; They may be absent. In these Cases, if their *Councells* may not supply their Persons, to what infinite Accidents, do you expose them? Nay more, sometimes in Pollicy, *Kings* will not be seen, but cover themselves, with their *Councell*; And if this be taken from them, a great part of their safety, is taken away. For the other point, of *weakning* the *Councel*: you know they are nothing, without the *King*. They are no *Body Politique*: They have no *Commission* under *Seal*. So as, if you begin, to distinguish, and disjoyn them, from the *King*, they are *Corpus Opacum*; For they have *Lumen de Lumine*; And so, by distinguishing, you extinguish, the principle Engine, of the *Estate*. For it is truly affirmed; That *Consilium non habet potestatem delegatam, sed inhærentem*: And it is, but *Rex in Cathedrâ*; The *King* in his *Chair*, or *Consistory*, where, his Will and Decrees, which are, in privacy, more changeable, are setled and fixed.

Now for that which concerns our *selves*. First for Dignity, no man must think this a Disparagement for us. For the greatest *Kings* in *Europe*, By their *Embassadours*, receive Answers and Directions, from the *Councell*, in the *Kings* absence; And if that *Negotiation* be fit, for the *Fraternity*, and *Party*, of *Kings*; It may much lesse, be excepted to, by *Subjects*.

For Use or Benefit, no Man can be so Raw, and Unacquainted in the *Affaires* of the *World*, as to conceive, there should be any Disadvantage in it; As if such *Answers*, were lesse Firm and *Certain*. For it cannot be supposed, that Men of so great Caution, as *Counsellours* of *Estate*, commonly are; (whether you take Caution, for Wisedom, or Providence; Or for *Pledges*, of Estate, or Fortune;) Will ever erre, or adventure so far, as to exceed their

their Warrant. And therefore, I conclude, that, in this point, there can be, unto us, neither Disgrace, nor Disadvantage.

For the Point, of the *Speaker*. First, on the *Kings* Part, it may have a shrewd Illation: For it hath a shew, as if, there could be a stronger Duty, then the Duty, of a *Subject*, to a *King*. We see, the Degrees, and Differences, of Duties, in Families, between *Father*, and *Son*; *Master*, and *Servant*; In Corporate Bodies, between Communalties, and their Officers; Recorders, Stewards, and the like; yet all these, give place, to the *Kings* commandements. The Bonds are more speciall, but not so Forcible. On our Part, it concerns us nothing. For first it is, but *de Canali*, of the Pipe; How the *Kings* Message shall be conveyed to us, and not of the Matter. Neither hath the *Speaker*, any such Dominion; As that, comming out of his mouth, it presseth us more, then out of a *Privy Councellours*. Nay, it seems to be, a great Trust, of the *Kings*, towards the *House*; When the *King*, doubteth not, to put his Message, into their *Mouth*; As if, he should speak to the *Citty*, by the *Recorder*: Therefore, me thinks, we should not entertain, this unnecessary Doubt. It is one use of wit, to make clear Things Doubtfull; But it is a much better, use of wit, to make Doubtfull Things clear; And to that, I would, Men would bend themselves.

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## *A brief* Speech, *in the End, of the Session, of* Parliament, 7°. Jac. *Perswading some* Supply, *to be given, to his* Majesty; *which seemed then, to stand, upon doubtfull terms*; *And passed upon this* Speech.

THe proportion, of the *Kings Supply*, is not now in question: For when that shall be, it may be, I shall be of Opinion, that we should give so now, as we may the better give again. But as Things stand for the present, I think, the point of Honour, and Reputation, is that, which his *Majesty* standeth most upon, That our Gift, may, at least be like those *showers* that may serve, to lay the *Winds*; Though they do not, sufficiently, *Water* the *Earth*.

To labour, to perswade you, I will not; For I know not, into what Form, to cast my *Speech*. If I should enter, into a Laudative, (though never so due, and just,) of the *Kings* great Merits, it may be taken for Flattery: If I should speak, of the strait Obligations, which intercede, between the *King*, and the *Subject*, in case of the *Kings* want, it were a kind of concluding the *House*: If I should speak, of the dangerous Consequence, which Want may reverberate upon *Subjects*, it might have a shew, of a secret Menace.

These *Arguments*, are, (I hope,) needless; And do better, in your

your Minds, then in my Mouth. But this, give me leave to ſay; That, whereas the Example, of *Cyrus*, was uſed; Who ſought his *Supply*, from thoſe, upon whom he had beſtowed his *Benefits*; We muſt always, remember; That there are, as well *Benefits* of the *Scepter*, as *Benefits* of the *Hand*; As well of *Government*, as of *Liberality*. Theſe, I am ſure, we will acknowledge, to have come, *plenâ manu*, amongſt us All; And all thoſe, whom we repreſent; And therefore, it is every Mans *Head*, in this Caſe, that muſt be his Counſellor; And every Mans *Heart*, his Orator; And thoſe inward Powers, are more forcible, then any Mans *Speech*; I leave it, and wiſh, it may go to the *Queſtion*.

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*A* Speech, *delivered by the* Kings Atturney, *Sir* Francis Bacon, *in the* Lower Houſe; *When the* Houſe *was in great heat, and much troubled, about the* undertakers; *which were thought to be, ſome able, and forward* Gentlemen; *Who, to ingratiate themſelves, with the* King, *were ſaid, to have undertaken, that the* Kings Buſineſs, *ſhould paſs in that* Houſe, *as his* Majeſty *could wiſh. In the* Parliament, 12°. Jac.

(Mr. *Speaker*,)

I Have been hitherto ſilent, in this Matter of *undertakings*; wherin, as I perceive, the *Houſe*, is much enwrapped.

Firſt, becauſe, (to be plain with you,) I did not well underſtand, what it meant, or what it was; And, I do not love, to offer at that, that I do not throughly conceive. That Private Men, ſhould *undertake*, for the *Commons* of *England*: Why? A Man mought as well undertake, for the four *Elements*: It is a thing, ſo giddy, and ſo vaſt, as cannot enter, into the Brain, of a ſober Man. And ſpecially, in a new *Parliament*; When, it was impoſſible to know, who ſhould be of the *Parliament*; And when all Men, that know never ſo little, the Conſtitution of this *Houſe*, do know it to be ſo open to Reaſon; As Men, do not know, when they enter into theſe Dores, what mind themſelves will be of, untill they hear Things argued, and debated. Much leſſe, can any Man make, a pollicy, of Aſſurance; what Ship, ſhall come ſafe home, into the Harbour, in theſe Seas. I had heard, of *undertakings*, in ſeverall kinds: There were *undertakers*, for the Plantations, of *Derry*, and *Colerane*, in *Ireland*, the better to command, and bridle, thoſe Parts: There were, not long ago, ſome *undertakers*, for the *North-Weſt Paſſage*. And now, there are ſome *undertakers*, for the Project, of *Died*, and *Dreſſed*, *Cloaths*. And, in ſhort, every Novelty uſeth to be ſtrengthened, and made good,

good, by a kind of *undertaking*. But, for the Ancient *Parliament* of *England*, which moves, in a certain Manner, and Sphear; To be *undertaken*, it paſſes my reach, to conceive, what it ſhould be. Muſt we be all *Died*, and *Dreſſed*; And no pure *Whites* amongſt us? Or muſt there be, a new paſſage found, for the *Kings Buſineſs*, by a point of the *Compaſs*, that was never *ſailed* by, before? Or muſt there be, ſome *Forts* built, in this *Houſe*, that may command, and contain the reſt? (Mr. *Speaker*) I know, but two *Forts*, in this *Houſe*, which the *King* ever hath; The *Fort* of *Affection*, and the *Fort* of *Reaſon*; The one, Commands the *Hearts*, and the other, Commands the *Heads*; And others, I know none. I think *Aeſop* was a Wiſe Man; that deſcribed, the nature, of the *Fly*, that ſat upon the Spoke, of the *Chariot Wheele*, and ſaid to her ſelf; *What a Duſt do I raiſe?* So, for my part, I think, that all this Duſt, is raiſed, by light Rumours, and Buzzes, and not upon any ſolid Ground.

The ſecond *Reaſon*, that made me ſilent, was, becauſe this Suſpicion, and Rumor, of undertaking, ſettles upon no Perſon certain. It is like, the *Birds* of *Paradiſe*, that they have in the *Indies*, that have no Feet, and therefore, they never light upon any place, but the wind, carries them away: And ſuch a Thing, do I take, this *Rumour* to be.

And laſtly, when that the *King*, had in his two ſeverall *ſpeeches*, freed us, from the main of our Fears; In affirming, directly, that there was no *undertaking* to him; And that, he would have taken it, to be no leſs derogation, to his own *Majeſty*, then to our Merits; To have the Acts, of his people, transferred, to particular perſons; That did quiet me, thus far; That theſe Vapours, were not gone up to the *Head*, howſoever, they might glow, and eſtuate, in the *Body*.

Nevertheleſſe, ſince I perceive, that this Cloud, ſtill hangs over the *Houſe*; And that it may do hurt, as well in Fame abroad, as in the *Kings* Eare; I reſolved with my ſelf, to do the part, of an honeſt voice, in this *Houſe*, to counſell you, what I think, to be for the beſt.

Wherein firſt, I will ſpeak plainly, of the pernicious Effects of the Accident, of this Brute, and Opinion, of *undertaking*; Towards *Particulars*; Towards the *Houſe*; Towards the *King*; And wards the *People*.

Secondly, I will tell you, in Mine Opinion, what *undertaking*, is tolerable; And how far, it may be juſtified, with a good mind; And, on the other ſide, this ſame Ripping up, of the *Queſtion*, of *Undertakers*; How far it may proceed, from a good Mind; And in what kind, it may be thought Malicious, and Dangerous.

Thirdly, I will ſhew you, my poor advice, what Meanes there are, to put an end, to this Queſtion of *Undertaking*; Not falling, for the preſent, upon a preciſe Opinion; But breaking it, how many wayes there be, by which you may get out of it; And lea-

ving, the choice of them, to a *Debate*, at the *Committee*.

And Lastly, I will advise you, how things, are to be handled, at the *Commitee*, to avoid distraction, and losse of Time.

For the First of these, I can say to you, but as the Scripure saith, *Si invicem mordetis, ab invicem consumemini.* If ye Fret, and Gall, one anothers Reputation; The end will be, that every Man shall go hence, like *Coyn* cried down; Of lesse price, than he came hither. If some, shall be thought, to fawn upon the *Kings* Busines openly; And others, to crosse it secretly; Some shall be thought *Practicers*, that would pluck the Cardes; And others, shall be thought *Papists*, that would shuffle the Cardes; what a Misery is this, that we should come together, to foul one another, instead of procuring the publick good?

And this ends not in particulars, but will make, the whole *House*, Contemptible: For now, I hear Men say; That this Question, of *undertaking*, is the predominant Matter of this *House*. So that we are now, according to the *Parable* of *Jotham*, in the Case, of the *Trees* of the *Forrest*; That when Question was, whether the *Vine* should *raign* over them? That mought not be: And whether the *Olive* should *raign* over them? That mought not be; But we have accepted the *Bramble*, to *raign* over us. For it seemes, that the good *Vine*, of the *Kings Graces*, that is not so much in esteem: And the good Oyle, whereby we should salve, and relieve, the wants, of the Estate, and Crown, that is laid aside too: And this *Bramble*, of *Contention*, and *Emulation*; This *Abimelech*, which (as was truly said, by an understanding Gentleman,) is a *Bastard*: (For every Fame, that wants a Head, is *Filius populi*;) This must *Raign*, and *Rule* amongst us.

Then for the *King* nothing can be more opposite, *Ex diametro*, to his Ends and Hopes, then this. For you have heard him profes like a *King*; and like a *gracious King*, that he doth not, so much, respect, his present supply; As this demonstration, that the *Peoples* Hearts are more knit to him, then before. Now then, if the Issue shall be this, that whatsoever shall be done for Him, shall be thought to be done, but by a number of Persons, that shall be laboured, and packt; This will rather be a sign of Diffidence, and Alienation, then of a naturall Benevolence, and Affection, in his People, at home; And rather Matter, of Disreputation, then of Honour, abroad. So that to speak plainly to you; The *King* were better call, for a new Pair of Cards, then play upon these, if they be packt.

And then for the *People*; It is my manner, ever, to look, as well beyond a *Parliament*, as upon a *Parliament*; And if they abroad, shall think themselves, betrayed by those, that are their *Deputies*, and *Atturnies* here; it is true, we may bind them, and conclude them, But it will be, with such Murmur, and Insatisfaction, as I would be loath to see.

These Things mought be dissembled; And so things left, to bleed

bleed inwards; But that is not the way, to cure them. And therefore I have ſearched the *Soare*, in hope, that you will endeavour the *Medecine*.

But this to do more throughly, I muſt proceed, to my Second Part; To tell you cleerely, and diſtinctly, what is to be ſet on the Right hand, and what on the left, in this buſineſs.

Firſt, if any Man, hath don good Offices, to adviſe the *King*, to call a *Parliament*; And to increaſe, the good Affection, and Confidence of his *Majeſtie*, towards his *People*; I ſay, that ſuch a *Perſon*, doth rather *Merit* well, then commit any Errour; Nay further, if any Man, hath out of his own good mind, given an opinion, touching the Minds of the *Parliament*, in generall; How it is probable, they are like to be found; And that they will have, a due feeling of the *Kings* wants; And, will not deal drily, or illiberally, with him; This Man, that doth but think, of other Mens minds, as he finds his own, is not to be blamed. Nay further, if any Man, hath coupled this, with good wiſhes, and Propoſitions; That the *King* do comfort, the Hearts of his *People*, and teſtifie his own love to them, by filing off, the harſhneſs of his *Prerogative*; Retaining the ſubſtance, and ſtrength; And to that purpoſe, like the good *Houſholder* in the *Scripture*, *That brought forth old ſtore and new*, hath revolved the Petitions, and Propoſitions, of the laſt *Parliament*, and added new; I ſay, this Man hath *ſown good ſeed*; And he that ſhall draw him, into Envy for it, *ſowes Tares*. Thus much of the *Right hand*. But on the other ſide, if any ſhall mediatly, or immediatly, infuſe into his *Majeſty*, or to others; That the *Parliament*, is as *Cato* ſaid of the *Romans*, like *Sheep*; That a Man, were better drive a Flock of them, then one of them; And however, they may be wiſe Men ſeverally, yet, in this Aſſembly, they are guided by ſome few; which if they be made, and aſſured, the reſt will eaſily follow: This is a plain Robbery, of the *King* of Honour, and his *Subjects* of Thanks; And it is to make the *Parliament* vile, and ſervile, in the eyes of their *Soveraign*; And I count it no better, than a ſupplanting, of the *King* and *Kingdom*. Again, if a Man ſhall make this Impreſſion; that it ſhall be enough for the *King* to ſend us ſome things of ſhew, that may ſerve, for colours; And let ſome *Eloquent Tales*, be told of them; And that will ſerve, *Ad faciendum populum*; any ſuch Perſon, will find, that this *Houſe* can well skill, of falſe Lights: And that it is, no wooing Tokens, but the true Love, already planted, in the Breaſt of the *Subjects*, that will make them do for the *King*. And this is my Opinion, touching thoſe that may have perſwaded a *Parliament*. Take it on the other ſide, (for I mean in all things to deale plainly) If any Man hath been diffident touching the Call of a *Parliament*, Thinking, that the beſt Meanes, were firſt for the *King*, to make his utmoſt tryall, to ſubſiſt of himſelf, and his own Meanes; I ſay, an Honeſt, and Faithfull Heart, mought conſent to that Opinion; And the event, it ſeems doth, not greatly diſcredit it hitherto. Again, if any Man,

ſhall have been of Opinion, that it is not a particular Party, that can bind the *Houſe*; Nor, that it is not Shews or *Colours*, can pleaſe the *Houſe*; I ſay, that Man, though his ſpeech tend to diſcouragement, yet it is coupled with Providence. But by your leave, if any Man ſince the *Parliament* was called, or when it was in ſpeech, ſhall have laid Plots, to croſſe the good will of the *Parliament*, to the *King*; By poſſeſſing them, that a few ſhall have the thanks; And that they are (as it were) Bought and Sold, and betrayed; And that, that which the *King* offers them, are but Baites, prepared by particular perſons; Or have raiſed rumours, that it is a packt *Parliament*; To the end, nothing may be done, But that the *Parliament* may be diſſolved (as Gameſters uſe to call for new Cards, when they miſtruſt a *Pack*:) I ſay, Theſe are Engins, and Deviſes, Naught, Maligne, and Seditious.

Now for the *Remedy*; I ſhall rather break the Matter, (as I ſaid in the Beginning,) then adviſe poſitively. I know but three wayes. Some *Meſſage* of *Declaration* to the *King*. Some *Entry*, or *proteſtation*, amongſt our ſelves: Or ſome, *ſtrict* and *punctuall Examination*. As for the laſt of theſe, I aſſure you, I am not againſt it, if I could tell where to begin, or where to end. For certainly, I have often ſeen it, that Things, when they are in ſmother, trouble more, then when they break out. Smoak blinds the Eyes, but when it blazeth forth into Flame, it gives light to the Eyes. But then, if you fall to an *Examination*, ſome *Perſon* muſt be charged; ſome *Matter* muſt be charged: And the *Manner*, of that *Matter*, muſt be likewiſe charged; For it may be in a Good Faſhion, and it may be in a Bad; In as much difference as between Black, and White: And then, how far Men will *ingenuouſly confeſs*; How far they will *politickly deny*; And what we can *Make*, and *gather*, upon their Confeſſion; And how we ſhall *prove*, againſt their *Deniall*, It is an endleſs peece of Work; And, I doubt, that we ſhall grow, weary of it.

For a *Meſſage* to the *King*; It is the Courſe. I like beſt; ſo it be carefully, and conſiderately, handled: For if, we ſhall repreſent to the *King*, the Nature of this *Body*, as it is; Without the vayles, or ſhadows, that have been caſt upon it; I think, we ſhall do him Honour, and our ſelves Right.

For any Thing, that is to be done, *amongſt our ſelves*, I do not ſee much gained by it; Becauſe it goes no further then *our ſelves*: Yet if any thing, can be wiſely conceived, to that end, I ſhall not be againſt it; But, I think, the purpoſe of it, is fitteſt to be; Rather, that the Houſe conceives, that all this, is but a Miſ-underſtanding; Then to take knowledge, that there is, indeed, a Juſt Ground; And then, to ſeek, by a *Proteſtation*, to give it a *Remedy*. For *Proteſtations*, and *Profeſſions*, and *Apologies*, I never found them very Fortunate; But they rather encreaſe ſuſpicion, then clear it.

Why then the Laſt Part is, that theſe things, be handled at the

the *Committee*, ſeriouſly, and temperately: Wherein I wiſh, that theſe four Degrees, of *Queſtions*, were handled, in order.

Firſt, whether we ſhall do any thing, at all, in it; Or paſſe by it, and let it ſleep?

Secondly, whether we ſhall enter, into a particular *Examination*, of it?

Thirdly, whether we ſhall content our ſelves, with ſome *Entry*, or *Proteſtation*, amongſt our ſelves?

And Fourthly, whether we ſhall proceed, to a *Meſſage*, to the *King*; And what?

Thus I have told you mine Opinion. I know, it had been more ſafe, and politick, to have been ſilent; But it is, perhaps, more honeſt, and loving, to ſpeak. The old *Verſe* is: *Nam nulli tacuiſſe nocet, nocet eſſe locutum.* But, by your leave, *David* ſaith; *Silui à bonis, & Dolor meus renovatus eſt.* When a Man ſpeaketh, He may be wounded by Others; but if He holds his peace, from Good Things, he wounds Himſelf. So I have done my part, and leave it to you, to do that, which you ſhall judge, to be the beſt.

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## *The* Charge, *of* Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, *his* Majeſties Atturney Generall, *againſt* William Talbot, *a Counſellor at Law, of* Ireland, *upon an* Information, *in the* Star-Chamber, Ore tenus; *For a writing, under his Hand, whereby, the ſaid* William Talbot *being demanded, whether the Doctrine of* Suarez, *touching Depoſing, and Killing, of* Kings Excommunicated, *were true, or no? He anſwered, that he referred himſelf, unto that, which the* Catholick Roman Church, *ſhould determine thereof.* Ultimo die Termini *Hilarij*, undecimo *Jacobi Regis.*

*My Lords,*

I Brought before you, the firſt ſitting, of this *Term*, the Cauſe of *Duels*: But now, this laſt ſitting, I ſhall bring before you, a Cauſe, concerning the greateſt *Duell*, which is in the *Chriſtian World*; The *Duels*, and Conflicts, between the lawfull Authority, of *Soveraign Kings*, which is *Gods* Ordinance, for the comfort of Humane Society; And the ſwelling pride, and uſurpation, of the *See* of *Rome*, *in Temporalibus*; Tending, altogether, to *Anarchy*, and Confuſion. Wherein, if this pretence, by the *Pope* of *Rome*, by *Cartels*, to make *Soveraign Princes*, as the *Banditi*; And to proſcribe their Lives; and to expoſe their *Kingdomes* to prey; If theſe pretences, (I ſay,) and all Perſons, that ſubmit themſelves,

ſelves, to that part of the *Popes* Power, be not, by all poſſible Severity, repreſſed, and puniſhed; The State of *Chriſtian Kings*, will be no other, then the ancient Torment, deſcribed by the *Poets*, in the *Hell* of the *Heathen*: *A man ſitting, richly roabed, ſolemnly attended, delicious fare* &c. *With a Sword hanging over his Head, hanging by a ſmall thread, ready every moment to be cut down, by an accurſing, and accurſed, hand.* Surely, I had thought, they had been the Prerogatives, of *God* alone, and of his ſecret Judgements; *Solvam Cingula Regum*; *I will looſen the Girdles of Kings*; Or again; *He powreth contempt upon Princes*; Or, *I will give a King in my wrath, and take him away again, in my diſpleaſure.* And the like: But if theſe be the Claims, of a *Mortall Man*, certainly, they are but the *Myſteries*, of that *Perſon*, which exalts himſelf, above all that is called *God*: *Supra omne quod dicitur Deus*; (Note it well:) Not above *God*, (though that, in a ſenſe, be true, in reſpect of the Authority, they claim over the *Scriptures*;) But, *Above all that is called God*; That is, Lawfull *Kings*, and *Magiſtrates*.

But, *my Lords*, in this *uel*, I find this *Talbot* that is now before you, but a Coward: For he hath given ground; He hath gone backward, and forward; But in ſuch a faſhion, and with ſuch Interchange, of Repenting, and Relapſing, as I cannot tell, whether it doth extenuate, or aggravate, his Offence. If he ſhall, more publikely, in the face of the *Court*, fall, and ſettle, upon a right mind, I ſhall be glad of it; And he that would be againſt the *Kings* Mercy, I would he might need the *Kings* Mercy; But, nevertheleſſe, the *Court* will proceed, by Rules of Juſtice.

The Offence, wherewith I charge this *Talbot*, *Priſoner* at the *Bar*, is this, in brief, and in Effect: *That he hath maintained, and maintaineth, under his hand, a power in the Pope for the Depoſing, and Murthering, of Kings.* In what ſort he doth this, when I come, to the proper, and particular, *charge*, I will deliver it, in his own words, without Preſſing, or Straining.

But before I come to the particular *charge*, of this Man; I cannot proceed ſo coldly, but I muſt expreſſe, unto your *Lordſhips*, the extreme, and imminent Danger, wherein our Dear, and Dread *Soveraign*, is; And, in him, we all; Nay, and wherein, all *Princes* of both *Religions*, (For it is a common Cauſe,) do ſtand at this day; By the ſpreading, and Enforcing, of this furious, and pernicious, Opinion, of the *Popes* Temporall Power: which though, the modeſt Sort, would blanch, with the *Diſtinction* of; *In ordine ad Spiritualia*, yet that is but an Eluſion; For he that maketh the *Diſtinction*, will alſo make the *Caſe*. This perill, though it be, in it ſelf, notorious, yet becauſe there is a kind of Dulneſs, and, almoſt, a Lethargy, in this Age; Give me leave to ſet before you, two Glaſſes; Such as, certainly, the like, never met, in one Age; The *Glaſſes* of *France*, and the *Glaſſe* of *England*. In that of *France*, the *Tragedies* acted, and executed, in two Immediate *Kings*; In the *Glaſſe* of *England*, the ſame, or more horrible, attempted

tempted, likewiſe, in a *Queen*, and *King*, immediate; But ending, in a happy Deliverance. In *France*, *H.* 3. in the face of his Army, before the walls of *Paris*, ſtabbed, by a wretched *Jacobine Fryer*: *H.* 4. (a *Prince*, that the *French* do ſurname the *Great*;) One, that had been a Saviour, and Redeemer, of his Country from infinite Calamities; And a Reſtorer of that *Monarchy*, to the ancient State, and Splendour; And a *Prince*, almoſt, *Heroicall*; (except it be, in the Point, of *Revolt*, from *Religion*;) At a time, when he was, as it were to mount on Horſe-back, for the Commanding, of the greateſt, Forces, that, of long time, had been levied in *France*; This *King*, likewiſe, ſtilletted, by a *Raſcal votary*; which had been enchanted and conjured, for the purpoſe.

In *England*, Queen *Elizabeth*, of bleſſed memory; A *Queen* comparable, and to be rankt, with the greateſt *Kings*; Oftentimes attempted, by like votaries; *Sommervile*, *Parry*, *Savage*, and others; But ſtill protected, by the *Watch-man*, that *Slumbreth not*. Again, our excellent *Soveraign*, King *James*; The Sweetneſs, and Clemency, of whoſe nature, were enough, to quench, and mortifie, all Malignity; And a *King* ſhielded, and ſupported, by Poſterity: Yet this *King*, in the Chair of *Majeſty*, (his *Vine* and *Olive Branches* about him;) Attended, by his *Nobles*, and *Third Eſtate*, in *Parliament*; Ready, in the *Twinckling of an Eye*; (As if it had been, a particular *Doomeſday*;) To have been brought to Aſhes, diſperſed to the *four Winds*. I noted, the laſt day my *Lord Chief Juſtice*, when he ſpake, of this *Powder Treaſon*, he laboured for words; Though they came from him, with great Efficacy, yet he truly confeſſed, and ſo muſt all Men; *That, that Treaſon, is above the Charge, and Report, of any Words whatſoever*.

Now, my *Lords*, I cannot let paſſe, but in theſe *Glaſſes*, which I ſpake of, beſides the *Facts* themſelves, and *Danger*, to ſhew you two Things. The one, the Wayes of *God Almighty*, which turneth the *Sword* of *Rome*, upon the *Kings*, that are the *Vaſſals* of *Rome*; And over them, gives it power; But protecteth thoſe *Kings*, which have not accepted, the Yoak of his Tyranny, from the Effects of his Mallice. The other, that, (as I ſaid at firſt,) this is a common Cauſe, of *Princes*; It involveth *Kings*, of both *Religions*; And therefore, his *Majeſty*, did moſt worthily, and prudently, ring out the *Alarum Bell*, to awaken all other *Princes*, to think of it, ſeriouſly, and in Time. But this is a miſerable caſe, the while; That theſe *Roman Souldiers*, do, either thruſt the Spear, into the Side of *Gods Annointed*; Or, at leaſt, they *Crown* them with *Thorns*; That is, piercing, and pricking, Cares, and Feares, that they can never be quiet, or ſecure, of their Lives, or States. And as this Perill, is common to *Princes*, of both *Religions*: So *Princes* of both *Religions* have been, likewiſe, equally ſenſible, of every Injury, that touch't their *Temporall*.

*Thunaus* reports in his Story; That when the *Realm* of *Fraunce*

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was interdicted by the violent proceedings of *Pope Julius* the 2d. the *King*, *Lewis* the 12th. otherwiſe noted for a Moderate Prince, cauſed Coyns of *Gold* to be ſtamped with his own Image, and this *Superſcription*; *Perdam nomen Babylonis è terrâ*. And *Thuanus* ſaith, Himſelf hath ſeen, divers *pieces* thereof. So as this *Catholick King* was ſo much incenſed at that time, in reſpect of the *Popes Vſurpation*; As he did fore-run *Luther*, in applying *Babylon* to *Rome*. *Charles* the 5th. *Emperour*, who was accounted, one of the *Popes* beſt *Sonnes*; yet proceeded, in matter temporall, towards *Pope Clement*, with ſtrange Rigour; Never regarding the *Pontificality*, but kept him *Priſoner* 18. Moneths, in a Peſtilent Priſon; And was hardly diſſwaded by his Councell, from having ſent him, *Captive* into *Spain*; And made ſport with the Threats of *Frosberg*, the *Germaine*; who wore a ſilk Rope, under his Caſſock, which he would ſhew in all Companies; Telling them, that he carried it, to ſtrangle the *Pope* with his own hands. As for *Philip* the *Faire*; It is the ordinary Example, how he brought *Pope Boniface* the 8th. to an ignominious End; Dying Mad and Enraged; And how he ſtiled his Reſcript, to the Popes Bull, whereby he challenged his Temporall; *Sciat Fatuitas Veſtra*; Not your *Beatitude*, but your *Stultitude*; A Stile, worthy to be continued, in like Caſes. For certainly, that claim is meerly Folly, and Fury. As for *Native Examples* here, it is too long a Field to enter into them. Never *Kings* of any *Nation*, kept the Partition wall, between Temporall, and Spirituall, better in times of greateſt Superſtition: I report me, to *King Edward* 1. that ſet up ſo many *Croſſes*; And yet croſſed that part of the *Popes Juriſdiction*, no Man more ſtrongly. But theſe things, have paſſed better *Penns* and *Speeches*: Heere I end them.

But now to come to the *particular Charge*, of this Man: I muſt enform your *Lordſhips* the *Occaſion*, and *Nature*, of this *Offence*. There hath been publiſhed, lately, to the *World*, a Work of *Suarez*, a *Portugeſe*; A *Profeſſor* in the *Univerſity* of *Coimbra*; A Confident, and daring Writer; ſuch an one, as *Tully* deſcribes in deriſion; *Nihil tam verens, quam ne dubitare, aliquâ de re, videretur: One that feares nothing but this, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to doubt of any thing.* A Fellow, that thinks, with his Magiſtrallity, and Gooſe-quill, to give Lawes, and Mannages, to *Crowns* and *Scepters*. In this *Mans writing* this *Doctrine* of *Depoſing*, and *Murthering*, *Kings*, ſeems to come to a higher Elevation, then heretofore; And it is more artted, and poſitived, then in others. For in the paſſages, which your *Lordſhips* ſhall hear read anon, I find three *Aſſertions*, which run, not in the vulgar Track, But are ſuch, as wherewith Mens Eares (as I ſuppoſe) are not much acquainted. Whereof the firſt is, *That the Pope hath a ſuperiority over Kings, as Subjects to depoſe them; Not only, for Spirituall Crimes, as Hereſie, and Schiſme; But for Faults, of a Tempo rall Nature; Foraſmuch, as a Tyrannicall Government, tendeth ever, to the Deſtruction of Soules.* So by this Poſition, *Kings* of either *Religi-*

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*on*, are alike comprehended, and none exempted. The Second, that after a *Sentence*, given by the *Pope*, this *Writer*, hath defined, of a Series, or Succeſſion, or Subſtitution, of *Hangmen*, or *Enrreo's*, to be ſure, leaſt an *Executioner* ſhould fail. His *Aſſertion* is; *That when a King, is ſentenced, by the Pope, to Deprivation, or Death*; *The Executioner, who is firſt in place, is He, to whom the Pope ſhall commit the Authority*; Which may, be a *Forraign Prnce*; It may be *a Particular Subject*; It may be, in generall, to the firſt undertaker. *But if there be no Direction, or Aſſignation, in the Sentence, ſpeciall, nor generall, then*, de Jure, *it appertains to the next Succeſſour*: (A naturall, and pious, Opinion; For, commonly, they are Sons, or Brothers, or near of Kin, all is one:) *So as the Succeſſor be Apparent, and alſo that he be a Catholique. But, if he be Doubtfull, or that he be no Catholique, then it devolves, to the Commonalty, of the Kingdome*; So as, he will be ſure, to have it done, by one *Miniſter*, or other. In the Third, he diſtinguiſheth, of two kinds, of *Tyrants*; *A Tyrant in Title*, and A *Tyrant* in *Regiment*, *The Tyrant in Regiment, cannot be reſiſted, or killed, without a Sentence, precedent, by the Pope: But a Tyrant in Title, may be killed, by any private Man, whatſoever.* By which *Doctrine*, he hath put the Judgement, of *Kings Titles*; (which, I will undertake, are never ſo clean, but that ſome vain Quarrel, or Exception, may be made unto them;) upon the Fancy, of every *Private Man*; And alſo couples, the Judgement, and Execution, together; That he may judge him, by a Blow, without any other *Sentence.*

Your *Lordſhips* ſee, what *Monſtrous Opinions*, theſe are; And how, both theſe *Beaſts*, the *Beaſt* with *ſeven Heads*, and the *Beaſt* with *Many Heads*, *Pope*, and people, are, at once, let in, and ſet upon the ſacred *Perſons* of *Kings.*

Now, to go on, with the *Narrative.* There was an *Extract* made, of certain *Sentences*, and *Portions*, of this *Book*; (Being, of this nature, that I have ſet forth;) By a great *Prelate*, and *Councellor*, upon a juſt Occaſion; And, there being ſome Hollowneſs, and Heſitation, in theſe Matters, (wherein, it is a thing impious, to doubt,) diſcovered, and perceived, in *Talbot*; He was asked, his Opinion, concerning theſe Aſſertions, in the Preſence of his *Majeſty*: And afterward, they were delivered to him; That, upon adviſe, and *Sedato animo*, he mought declare himſelf; Whereupon, under his hand, he ſubſcribes thus.

*May it pleaſe your Honourable good* Lordſhips: *Concerning this* Doctrine *of* Suarez, *I do perceive, by what I have read, in his Book, that the ſame, doth concern,* Matter *of* Faith; *The Controverſie growing, upon* Expoſition *of* Scriptures, *and* Councels; *Wherein, (being ignorant, and not ſtudied,) I cannot take upon me, to judge: But I do ſubmit mine Opinion therein, to the Judgement, of the* Catholick Roman Church, *as in all other Points, concerning* Faith, *I do. And for Matter, concerning my Loyalty, I do acknowledge, my* Soveraign Liege Lord King James, *to be lawfull, and undoubted, King, of all the* Kingdomes, *of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *And I will bear, true faith, and Allegeance, to his Highneſs, during my life.*

NOw, (my *Lords*,) upon theſe words, I charge *William Talbot*, to have committed a great Offence; And ſuch an one, as if he had entred, into a voluntary, and malicious, Publication, of the like writing; It would have been, too great an Offence, for the *Capacity* of this *Court*. But becauſe, it grew from a *Queſtion*, askt by a *Councell* of *Eſtate*; And ſo, rather ſeemeth, in a favourable Conſtruction, to proceed, from a kind of Submiſſion to anſwer, then from any malicious, or inſolent Will, it was fit, according to the Clemency, of theſe Times, to proceed in this maner, before your *Lordſhips*. And yet, let the *Hearers*, take theſe things right; For certainly, if a Man be required, by the *Lords* of the *Councell*, to deliver his Opinion, whether *King James*, be *King*, or no? And He deliver his Opinion, that He is not; This is, *High Treaſon*. But, I do not ſay, that theſe words, amount to that; And therefore, let me open them, truly, to your *Lordſhips*; And, therein, open alſo, (it may be,) the Eyes, of the *Offender* Himſelf, how far they reach.

My *Lords*, a Mans Allegeance, muſt be Independant, not proviſionall, and conditionall. *Elizabeth Barton*, that was called, the *Holy Maid of Kent*, affirmed; *That if K. H. 8. Did not take*, Katherine *of* Spain, *again, to his Wife, within a twelve moneth, he ſhould be no King*; And this was judged *Treaſon*. For though this Act, be Contingent, and Future; yet *Treaſon*, of *compaſſing*, and imagining, the *Kings* Deſtruction, is preſent.

And in like manner, if a Man ſhould, voluntarily publiſh, or maintain; That whenſoever a *Bull*, or *Deprivation*, ſhall come forth againſt the *King*, that from thenceforth, he is no longer

*King*;

*King:* This is of like Nature: But with this, I do not charge you neither: But this, is the true *Latitude* of your *Words*; That if the *Doctrine*, touching the *Killing* of *Kings*, be *Matter* of *Faith*, that you ſubmit your ſelf, to the Judgement, of the *Catholick Roman Church:* So as now, (to do you right,) your *Allegeance*, doth not depend ſimply, upon a *Sentence*, of the *Popes Deprivation*, againſt the *King*; But upon another point alſo; If theſe *Doctrines* be already, or ſhall be declared, to be Matter of *Faith*. But my *Lords*, there is little won in this: There may be ſome Difference, to the guiltineſſe, of the Party; But there is little, to the Danger of the *King*. For the ſame *Pope of Rome*, may with the ſame breath, declare both. So as ſtill, upon the matter, the King is made, but *Tennant at will*, of his *Life*, and *Kingdomes*; And the *Allegiance* of his *Subjects*, is pinn'd upon the *Popes Act*. And Certainly, it is Time, to ſtop the *Current* of this Opinion, of Acknowledgement of the *Popes* power, *in Temporalibus*; Or elſe, it will ſupplant, the Seat of *Kings*. And let it not be miſtaken, that Mr. *Talbots* Offence, ſhould be no more, then the Refuſing the *Oath of Allegiance*. For it is one thing to be ſilent, and another thing to affirm. As for the Point of *Matter* of *Faith*, or not of *Faith*; To tell your *Lordſhips* plain, it would aſtoniſh a Man, to ſee the Gulf of this implyed *Beliefe*. Is nothing excepted from it? If a Man ſhould ask Mr. *Talbot*, whether he do condemn *Murther*, or *Adultery*, or *Rape*, or the *Doctrine* of *Mahomet*, or of *Arius*, in ſtead of *Zuarius*; Muſt the Anſwer be, with this exception, that if the Queſtion concern matter of Faith, (as no queſtion, it doth, for the Moral Law is matter of *Faith*) That therein, he will ſubmit himſelf, to what the *Church* ſhall determine? And no doubt, the *Murther* of *Princes*, is more then *Simple Murther*. But to conclude, (*Talbot*,) I will do you this Right; and I will not be reſerved in this, but to declare that, that is true; That you came afterwards to a better mind; Wherein, if you had been conſtant, the *King*, out of his great goodneſſe, was reſolved, not to have proceeded with you, in Courſe of Juſtice: But then again, you *Started aſide, like a Broken Bow*. So that, by your Variety, and *Vacillation*, you loſt, the acceptable time, of the firſt Grace; which was, Not to have convented you.

Nay, I will go farther with you. Your laſt *Submiſſion*, I conceive to be *Satisfactory* and *Compleat*; But then it was too late; The *Kings Honour* was upon it; It was publiſhed, and the *Day* appointed, for *Hearing:* Yet, what preparation, that may be, to the Second Grace of *Pardon*; that I know not: But I know, my *Lords*, out of their accuſtomed favour, will admit you, not only to your Defence, concerning that, that hath been *Charged*; But to extenuate, your Fault, by any *Submiſſion*, that now, *God* ſhall put, into your mind, to make.

## The Charge *given, by* S^r. Francis Bacon, his Majeſties Atturney Generall, *againſt* M^r. *I. S. for Scandalizing, and Traducing, in the publick* Seſſions, *Letters ſent, from the* Lords *of the* Councell, *touching the* Benevolence.

MY *Lord^s*, I ſhall inform you, *ore tenus*, againſt this Gentleman, Mr. *I. S.* A Gentleman, (as it ſeems) of an ancient *Houſe*, and *Name*; But for the preſent, I can think of him, by no other Name, then the Name of a grear *Offender*. The *Nature*, and *Quality*, of his *Offence*, in ſum, is this. This *Gentleman*, hath, upon advice, not ſuddenly, by his *Pen*; Nor by the *Slip* of his *Tongue*; Not privatly, or in a Corner, but publickly; As it were, to the face of the *Kings Miniſters*, and *Juſtices*; Slandered and Traduced; The *King*, our *Soveraign*; The *Law* of the Land; The *Parliament*; And infinite *Particulars*, of his *Majeſties* worthy, and loving *Subjects*. Nay, the Slander is, of that Nature, that it may ſeem, to intereſt, the *People*, in Grief, and Diſcontent, againſt the *State*; whence mought have enſued, Matter of Murmur, and Sedition. So that it is not a Simple *Slander*, but a Seditious *Slander*; like to that, the *Poet* ſpeaketh of; —— *Calamoſq; armare Veneno*.

A *Venemous Dart*, that hath both *Iron*, and *Poyſon*.

To open, to your *Lordſhips*, the true State, of this *Offence*, I will ſet before you; Firſt, the Occaſion, whereupon Mr. *I. S.* wrought: Then the *Offence*, it ſelf, in his own words: And laſtly, the *Points*, of his *Charge*.

My *Lords*, you may remember, that there was the laſt *Parliament*, an Expectation, to have had the *King*, ſupplied, with Treaſure, although the Event failed. Herein, it is not fit for me to give opinion, of an *Houſe* of *Parliament*: But I will give teſtimony of *Truth*, in all places. I ſerved, in the *Lower Houſe*, and I obſerved ſomewhat. This I do affirm; That I never could perceive, but that there was, in that *Houſe*, a generall Diſpoſition to give; And to give, largely. The *Clocks* in the *Houſe*, perchance, might differ; Some went too faſt, ſome went too ſlow: But the Diſpoſition to *give*, was generall; So that I think, I may truly ſay; *Solo tempore lapſus Amor*.

This Accident, happening thus, beſides expectation: It ſtirred up, and awaked, in divers of his *Majeſties* worthy *Servants*, and *Subjects*; of the *Clergy*, the *Nobility*, the *Court*, and others here near at hand, an Affection loving, and cheerfull; To preſent the *King*, ſome with *Plate*, ſome with *Money*, as a *Freewill offering*; (A Thing, that *God Almighty* loves; A *Cheerfull Giver*; what an *Evill Eye* doth, I know not.) And (my *Lords*) let me ſpeak it, plainly

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unto you; God forbid, any Body ſhould be ſo wretched, as to think, that the Obligation of Love, and Duty, from the *Subject*, to the King, ſhould be Joynt, and not ſeverall: No, my *Lords* it is both. The *Subject* petitioneth, to the *King*, in *Parliament*. He Petitioneth likewiſe, out of *Parliament*. The *King*, on the other ſide, gives *Graces*, to the *Subjects*, in *Parliament*: He gives them likewiſe, and poureth them, upon his *People*, out of *Parliament*: And ſo, no doubt, the *Subject*, may give, to the *King*, in *Parliament*, and out of *Parliament*. It is true, the *Parliament*, is *Intercurſus Magnus*; The great *Intercourſe*, and main *Current*, of *Graces*, and Donatives, from the *King*, to the *People*; from the *People*, to the *King*: But *Parliaments* are held, but at certain times: Whereas the Paſſages, are alwayes open, for Particulars: Even as you ſee, great *Rivers*, have their *Tides*; But particular *Springs*, and *Fountains*, run continually.

To proceed therefore; As the Occaſion, (which was the failing of Supply, by *Parliament*,) did awake the Love, and Benevolence, of thoſe, that were at hand, to give: So it was apprehended, and thought fit, by my *Lords* of the *Councell*, to make a proof, whether the occaſion, and Example both, would not awake, thoſe in the Country, of the better ſort, to follow. Whereupon, their *Lordſhips* deviſed, and directed *Letters*, unto the *Sheriffs*, and *Juſtices*, which declared what was done here above, and wiſhed, that the Country might be moved, eſpecially Men of value.

Now, *My Lords*, I beſeech you, give me favour, and attention, to ſet forth, and obſerve, unto you, five *Points*: (I will number them, becauſe other Men may note them; And I will but touch them, becauſe they ſhall not be drowned, or loſt in diſcourſe;) which I hold worthy, the obſervation, for the *Honour* of the *State*, and *Confuſion* of *Slanders*: Whereby, it will appear, moſt evidently; What care was taken, that that, which was then done, might not have the effect, no nor the ſhew, no nor ſo much as the ſhadow, of a *Tax*: And that it was, ſo far, from breeding, or bringing in, any ill preſident, or Example, As, contrary wiſe, it is a *Corrective*, that doth *correct*, and *allay*, the Harſhneſs, and Danger, of former *Examples*.

The firſt is; That what was done, was done, immediately after ſuch a *Parliament*, as made generall Profeſſion to give, and was interrupted by Accident; So as, you may truly, and juſtly eſteem it; *Tanquàm Poſthuma Proles Parliamenti*; As an *After Child* of the *Parliament*; And in purſuit, (in ſome ſmall meaſure,) of the firm Intent, of a *Parliament* paſt. You may take it alſo, if you will, as an Advance, or Proviſionall Help, untill a Future *Parliament*: Or, as a Gratification ſimply, without any Relation, to a *Parliament*; you can, no wayes, take it amiſſe.

The Second is, That it wrought, upon Example; As a Thing, not deviſed; Or projected; Or required; No, nor ſo much as recommended, untill many, that were never moved, nor dealt with,

with, *Ex mero motu*, had freely and frankly, ſent in their preſents. So that, the *Letters*, were rather like *Letters* of Newes, what was done at *London*, then otherwiſe: And we know, *Exempla ducunt, non trahunt*; *Examples, they do but Lead, they do not Draw, nor Drive.*

The Third is, That it was not done, by *Commiſſion*, under the *Great Seal*; A Thing warranted, by a Multitude of Preſidents, both ancient, and of late time, as you ſhall hear anon; And no doubt, warranted by *Law*; So that, the *Commiſſions*, be of that *Stile*, and Tenour, as that they be to move, and not to levy: But this was done, by *Letters* of the *Councell*, and no higher Hand, or Form.

The Fourth is, That theſe *Letters*, had no manner of Shew, of any *Binding Act*, of *State*. For they contain, not any ſpeciall Frame of Direction, how the *Buſineſſe* ſhould be Mannaged; But were written, as upon truſt; Leaving the matter, wholy, to the Induſtry, and Confidence, of thoſe in the *Country*; So that it was, an *abſque Compoto*; Such a form of Letter, as no Man could, fitly, be called to accompt upon.

The Fift, and laſt *Point* is; That the whole *Carriage* of the *Buſineſs*, had no Circumſtance *compulſory*. There was no Proportion, Or Rate, ſet down, not ſo much as by way of a *Wiſh*: There was no Menace of any that ſhould deny: No Reproof of any that did deny, No certifying, of the *Names* of any, that had denied. Indeed, if Men could not content themſelves to deny, but that they muſt cenſure, and inveigh; Nor to excuſe themſelves, but they muſt accuſe the *State*, that is another *Caſe*. But, I ſay, for Denying, no Man was apprehended, no nor noted. So that, I verily think, that there is none ſo ſubtill a Diſputer, in the *Controverſie* of *Liberum Arbitrium*, that can, with all his Diſtinctions, faſten, or carp, upon the *Act*, but that there was *Free Will*, in it.

I conclude therefore, (My *Lords*,) that this was a *True*, and *pure*, *Benevolence*; Not an *Impoſition*, called a *Benevelence*, which the *Statute* ſpeaks of; As you ſhall hear, by one of my *Fellows*. There is a great Difference, I tell you, (though *Pilate* would not ſee it,) between *Rex Judæorum*, and *ſe dicens Regem Judæorum*; And there is a great difference, between a *Benevolence*, and an *Exaction*, called a *Benevolence*, which the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, ſpeaks of, in his *Oration* to the *Citty*: And defineth it, to be, not what the Subject, of his good will, would give, but what the *King*, of his good will, would take. But this, I ſay, was a *Benevolence*, wherein every man, had a *Princes Prerogative*; A *Negative Voyce*: And this word, (*Excuſe moy*,) was a *Plea peremptory*. And therefore, I do wonder, how Mr. *I. S.* could foul, or trouble, ſo clear a Fountain; Certainly, it was but his own Bitterneſs, and unſound Humours.

Now to the particular *Charge*. Amongſt other *Countries*, theſe Letters, of the *Lords*, came to the *Juſtices* of *D——ſhire*, Who ſignified, the Contents thereof; And gave Directions, and Appoint-

pointments, for meetings, concerning the Buſineſs, to ſeverall *Towns*, & Places, within that *County*: And amongſt the reſt, notice was given, unto the Town, of *A*: The *Majour* of *A*; conceiving, that this Mr. *I. S.* (being a Principall Perſon, and a *Dweller*, in that *Town*;) was a Man, likely to give, both money, and good Example: Dealt with him, to know his mind. He, intending, (as it ſeems,) to play prizes, would give no Anſwer, to the *Majour*, in private, but would take Time. The next day then, being an Appointment of the *Juſtices* to meet, he takes occaſion, or pretends occaſion, to be abſent, becauſe he would bring his *Papers*, upon the *Stage*: And thereupon, takes Pen in hand, and, in ſtead, of excuſing himſelf, ſets down, and contriveth, a ſeditious, and libellous, Accuſation, againſt the *King*, and *State*; which your *Lordſhips* ſhall now hear; And ſends it to the *Majour*: And withall, becauſe the Feather of his Quill, might fly abroad, he gives authority, to the *Majour*, to impart it to the *Juſtices*, if he ſo thought good. And now, my *Lords*, becauſe I will not miſtake, or miſ-repeat, you ſhall hear the *Seditious Libell*, in the proper termes, and words thereof.

*Here the Papers were read.*

MY *Lords*, I know, this *Paper*, offends your Ears, much, and the Eares of any good *ſubject*: And ſorry I am, that the Times, ſhould produce Offences, of this nature: But ſince they do, I would be more ſorry, they ſhould be paſſed, without ſevere puniſhment: *Non tradite factum*, (as the *Verſe* ſayes, altered a little;) *Aut ſi tradatis, Facti quoque tradite pœnam.* If any man, have a mind, to diſcourſe, of the Fact; let him likewiſe, diſcourſe, of the puniſhment, of the Fact.

In this *Writing*, (*my Lords*,) there appears, a *Monſter*, with four *Heads*; Of the progeny, of him, that is the *Father of* Lies, and takes, his *Name*, from *Slander*.

The firſt is, a wicked, and ſeditious, Slander; Or, (if I ſhall uſe the *Scripture* phraſe,) a Blaſpheming, of the *King* himſelf; Setting him forth, for a *Prince*, perjured, in the great, and ſolemne, Oath, of his *Coronation*; which is, as it were, the *Knot* of the *Diademe*: A *Prince*, that ſhould be a *Violatour*, and *Infringer*, of the *Liberties*, *Lawes*, and *Cuſtomes*, of the *Kingdome*: A mark, for an *H.* the 4th. A Match, for a *R.* the 2d.

The Second is, a *Slander*, and *Falſification*, and *wreſting*, of the Law, of the *Land*, groſſe, and palpable: It is truly ſaid, by a Civilian; *Tortura Legum peſſima*: The *Torture* of *Lawes*, is worſe, then the *Torture* of *Men*. &c.

The Third is, a ſlander, and falſe charge, of the *Parliament*; That they had denied, to give to the *King*: A Point, of notorious untruth.

And the laſt is, a Slander, and *Taunting*, of an infinite Number, of

of the *Kings* loving *Subjects*, that have given, towards this *Benevolence*, and *free Contribution:* Charging them, as Acceſſary, and Coadjutours, to the *Kings* Perjury. Nay, you leave us not there; But you take, upon you, a *Pontificall Habite*; And couple, your *Slander*, with a *Curſe:* But thanks be to *God*, we have learned ſufficiently, out of the *Scripture*; That, *as the Bird flies away, ſo the cauſeleſſe Curſe ſhall not come.*

For the firſt of theſe, which concerns the *King*, I have taken to my ſelf, the opening, and Aggravation, thereof: The other three, I have diſtributed, to my *Fellows.*

My *Lords*, I cannot, but enter, into this part, with ſome Wonder and Aſtoniſhment; How it ſhould come, into the Heart, of a *Subject*, of *England* to vapour forth, ſuch a wicked and venemous *ſlander* againſt the *King*; whoſe Goodneſs, & Grace, is comparable (if not incomparable,) unto any the *Kings*, his *Progenitors.* This therefore, gives me a Juſt, & neceſſary, occaſion, to do two things. The one to make, ſome Repreſentation, of his *Majeſty*; Such as truly he is found to be, in his Government, which Mr. *I. S.* chargeth, with Violation of *Lawes*, and *Liberties.* The other, to ſearch, and open the Depth of Mr. *I. S.* his Offence. Both which, I will do briefly; Becauſe, the one, I cannot expreſſe, ſufficiently; And the other, I will not preſſe, too far.

My *Lords*, I mean to make, no *Panegyrick*, or *Laudative:* The *Kings* delights not in it, neither am I fit for it: But if it were, but a *Councellor*, or *Noble-man*, whoſe Name had ſuffered, and were to receive, ſome kind of Reparation, in this *High Court*, I would do him that Duty, as not to paſs his Merits, and juſt Attributes, (eſpecially, ſuch as are limitted with the preſent Caſe) in ſilence: For, it is fit, to burn Incenſe, where evill Odours, have been caſt, and raiſed. Is it ſo, that *King James* ſhall be ſaid to be a Violater, of the *Liberties*, *Lawes*, and *Cuſtomes* of his *Kingdomes*? Or is he not, rather, a noble, and Conſtant, *Protector*, and *Conſervator*, of them all? I conceive, this conſiſteth, in maintaining *Religion*, and the *true Church*; In maintaining the *Lawes* of the *Kingdom* which is the *Subjects Birth-right*; In *temperate uſe*, of the *Prerogative*; In due, and free, *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*; And Conſervation, of the *Peace*, of the *Land.*

For *Religion*, we muſt ever acknowledge, in firſt place, that we have a *King*, that is, the *Principall Conſervator* of true *Religion*, through the *Chriſtian World.* He hath maintained it, not only, with *Scepter* and *Sword*; But likewiſe by his *Pen*, wherein alſo he is *Potent.*

He hath Awaked, and Reauthorized, the whole *Party*, of the *Reformed Religion*, throughout *Europe*; which through the Inſolency, and diverſe Artifices, and Inchantments, of the advers part, was grown, a little Dull, and Dejected. He hath ſummoned, the *Fraternity* of *Kings*, to infranchiſe Themſelves, from the Uſurpation, of the *ſee of Rome.* He hath made himſelf a *Mark, of Contradiction for it.*

Neither

Neither can I omit, when I speak of *Religion*, to remember, that excellent *Act* of his *Majesty*; which though it were done, in a *Forraign Country*, yet the *Church* of *God* is one; And the *Contagion* of these things, will soon pass Seas, and Lands: I mean, in his constant, and holy, proceeding against the *Heretick Vorstius*; whom, (being ready, to enter into the *Chair*, and there to have authorized, one of the most *pestilent*, and *Heathenish Heresies*, that ever was begun;) His *Majesty*, by his constant opposition, dismounted, and pulled down. And I am perswaded, there sits, in this *Court* one, whom *God* doth the rather blesse, for being his *Majesties Instrument*, in that Service.

I cannot remember *Religion*, and the *Church*, but I must think, of the *seed-plots* of the same, which are the *Universities*. His *Majesty*, as for Learning amongst *Kings*, he is incomparable, in his Person; So likewise, hath he been in his Government, a benign, or benevolent *planet*, towards *Learning*. By whose influence, those Nurseries, and Gardens of Learning, (the *Universities*) were never, more in Flower, nor Fruit.

For the *Maintaining*, of the *Lawes*, which is the Hedge, and Fence, about the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, I may truly affirm, it was never in better repair. He doth concur, with the Votes, of the *Nobles*; *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*. He is an Enemy of *Innovation*. Neither doth the Universality, of his own Knowledge, carry him, to neglect, or pass over, the very *Formes* of the *Lawes*, of the *Land*. Neither was there ever *King*, (I am perswaded) that did consult, so oft, with his *Judges*; As my *Lords*, that sit here, know well. The *Judges*, are a kind of *Councell*, of the *Kings*, by *Oath*, and ancient *Institution*; But he useth them so indeed. He confers regularly, with them, upon their Retnrnes, from their *Visitations*, and *Circuits*. He gives them Liberty, both to enform him, and to debate matters with him; And in the Fall, and Conclusion, commonly, relyeth, on their Opinions.

As for the use, of the *Prerogative*, it runs within the ancient *Channels*, and *Banks*; Some Things, that were conceived, to be in some Proclamations, Commissions, and Pattents, as Overflowes, have been, by his Wisedom, and Care, reduced; whereby, no doubt, the Main *Channell*, of his *Prerogative*, is so much the stronger. For evermore, *Overflowes*, do hurt the *Channell*.

As for *Administration* of *Justice*, between Party and Party, I pray observe these points. There is no Newes, of *Great Seal*, or *Signet*, that flies abroad, for Countenance, or Delay of Causes: *Protections* rarely granted, and only upon great Ground, or by Consent: My *Lords*, here of the *Councell*, and the *King* himself, meddle not, (as hath been used in former times) with Matters, of *Meum*, and *Tuum*; except they have apparent mixture, with Matters of *Estate*, but leave them to the *Kings Courts* of *Law*, or *Equity*. And for *Mercy*, and *Grace*, (without which, there is no standing,

before *Juſtice*;) we ſee, the *King* now hath raigned 12. years, in his *White Robe*, without, almoſt, any Aſperſion, of the *Crimſen Die*, of *Blood*. There ſits my *Lord Hobert*, that ſerved Atturney ſeven years. I ſerved with him. We were ſo happy, as there paſſed not, through our hands, any one *Arraignment* for *Treaſon*; And but one, for any *Capitall Offence*; which was that, of the *Lord Sanquier*; The *Nobleſt piece* of *Juſtice*, (one of them) that ever came forth in any *Kings* Times.

As for *Penall Lawes*, which lie, as Snares, upon the *Subjects*: And which were, as a *Nemo ſcit*, to *King Henry* 7. It yeelds a Revenue, that will ſcarce pay, for the Parchment, of the *Kings Records*, at *Weſtminſter*.

And laſtly for *Peace*; we ſee, manifeſtly, his *Majeſty*, bears ſome Reſemblance, of that great Name; *A Prince of Peace*: He hath preſerved his *Subjects*, during his *Raign*, in *Peace*, both within, and without. For the *Peace*, with States abroad, We have it, *uſque ad Satietatem*: And for *Peace*, in the *Lawyers phraſe*, which count *Treſpaſſes*, and *Forces*, and *Riots*, to be *Contra pacem*; Let me give your Lordſhips, this Token, or Taſt; That this *Court*, where they ſhould appear, had never leſſe to do. And certainly, there is no better Sign, of *Omnia benè*, then when this *Court*, is in a Still.

But, (my *Lords*,) this is a Sea of Matter; And therefore, I muſt give it over, and conclude; That there was never *King*, raigned, in this *Nation*, that did better keep Covenant, in preſerving the Liberties, and procuring the Good, of his People. So that, I muſt needs ſay, for the *Subjects* of *England*; *O Fortunatos nimiùm, ſua ſi bona nôrint*: As, no doubt, they do, both know, and acknowledge it: Whatſoever, a few turbulent Diſcourſers, may, through the Lenity of the time, take Boldneſs to ſpeak.

And as for this particular, touching the *Benevolence*, wherein, Mr. *I. S.* doth aſſign, this breach of Covenant; I leave it, to others, to tell you; what the *King* may do; Or what other *Kings*, have done: But I have told you, what our *King*, and my *Lords*, have done: Which, I ſay, and ſay again, is ſo far, from introducing, a new Preſident; As it doth, rather, correct, and mollifie, and qualifie, former preſidents.

Now, (Mr. *I. S.*) let me tell you your fault in few words; For that, I am perſwaded, you ſee it already; Though I wooe no Mans Repentance; But I ſhall, as much as in me is, cheriſh it, where I find it. Your *Offence* hath three parts knit together,

Your *Slander*;
Your *Menace*; and
Your *Compariſon*.

For your *Slander*, it is no leſſe, then that the *King* is perjured, in his *Coronation Oath*. No greater *Offence* then *Perjury*: No greater

ter *Oath*, then that of a *Coronation*. I leave it; It is too great to aggravate.

Your *Menace*, that if there were a *Bulling-broke*, or I cannot tell what, there were Matter for him, is a very ſeditious Paſſage. You know well, that howſoever *Henry the fourths* Act, by a ſecret Providence of God, prevailed, yet it was but an *Uſurpation*: And, if it were poſſible, for ſuch a one, to be, this day, (wherewith, it ſeemes, your *Dreames* are troubled,) I do not doubt, his End would be upon the *Block*; And that he would, ſooner, have the *Ravens*, ſit upon his *Head*, at *London Bridge*, then the *Crown* at *Weſtminſter*. And it is not your interlacing, of your (*God forbid*,) that will ſalve theſe ſeditious Speeches; Neither could it be a *Fore-warning*, becauſe the Matter was paſt, and not revocable; But, a very Stirring up, and Incenſing, of the People. If I ſhould ſay to you, (for Example,) if theſe times, were like ſome former times, of *King H.* 8; Or ſome other times, which God forbid, Mr. *I. S*, it would coſt you your life. I am ſure, you would not think this, to be a gentle warning, but rather, that I incenſed the *Court* againſt you.

And for your *Compariſon*, with *R.* the 2. I ſee you follow the Example of them, that brought him upon the Stage, and into Print, in *Queen Elizabeths* time; A moſt prudent, and admirable, *Queen*; But let me entreat you, that when you will ſpeak, of *Queen Elizabeth*, or *King James*; you would compare them to *K. H.* the 7th, or *K. Ed.* 1. Or ſome other *Paralels*, to which they are like. And this I would wiſh, both you, and all, to take heed of; How you ſpeak ſeditious Matter, in *Parables*, or by *Tropes*, or *Examples*. There is a thing, in an *Indictment*, called an *Innuendo*; You muſt beware, how you becken, or make Signs upon the *King*, in a Dangerous ſenſe: But I will contain my ſelf, and Preſs this no further: I may hold you, for Turbulent, or Preſumptuous, but I hope you are not Diſloyall: You are graciouſly, and mercifully, dealt with. And therefore having now opened to my *Lords*, and, (as I think,) to your own Heart, and Conſcience, the principall part of your *Offence*, which concerns the *King*; I leave the reſt, which concerns the *Law*, *Parliament*, and the *Subjects* that have given, to Mr. *Serjeants*, and Mr. *Solliciteur*.

## *The* Charge *of* Owen, *indicted of High* Treaſon, *in the* Kings Bench, *by* Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, *his* Majeſties Atturney Generall.

THe *Treaſon*, wherewith, this *Man* ſtandeth Charged, is, for the Kind, and Nature, of it, Ancient; As Ancient, as there is, any *Law* of *England*: But, in the particular, Late, and Upſtart:

And again, in the Manner, and Boldneſs, of the preſent Caſe, New, and almoſt unheard of, till this *Man*. Of what mind he is now, I know not, but I take him as he was, and as he ſtandeth charged. For *High* Treaſon, is not written in Ice; That when the *Body* relenteth, the *Impreſſion* ſhould go away.

In this Cauſe, the *Evidence* it ſelf, will ſpend little Time: Time therefore, will be beſt ſpent, in opening, fully, the Nature of this *Treaſon*, with the Circumſtances thereof; Becauſe the *Example*, is more then the *Man*. I think good, therefore, by way of Inducement, and Declaration, in this Cauſe, to open unto the *Court*, *Jury*, and *Hearers*, five Things.

The firſt is, the Clemency, of the *King*; Becauſe, it is Newes, and a kind of Rarety, to have a proceeding, in this place, upon *Treaſon*: And perhaps, it may be marvelled by ſome, why after, ſo long an Intermiſſion, it ſhould light upon this *Fellow*: Being a perſon, but contemptible; A kind of venemous fly; And a Hang by of the Seminaries.

The Second is, the Nature of this *Treaſon*, as concerning the *Fact*; which, of all kinds, of compaſſing the *Kings* Death, I hold to be the moſt perillous; And as much differing from other Conſpiracies, as the lifting up of a 1000 Hands, againſt the *King*, (like the *Giant Briareus*,) differs, from lifting up one, or a few Hands.

The Third Point, that I will ſpeak unto, is, the *Doctrine*, or *Opinion*; Which is the Ground of this *Treaſon*; Wherein, I will not argue, or ſpeak, like a Divine, or Scholler; But, as a Man, bred, in a Civill Life: And to ſpeak plainly, *I* hold the Opinion to be ſuch, that deſerveth, rather, Deteſtation, then Conteſtation.

The Fourth Point, is the *Degree*, of this Mans *Offence*; which is more preſumptuous, then I have known, any other, to have fallen into, in this kind: And hath, a greater Overflow, of *Malice*, and *Treaſon*.

And Fifthly, I will remove ſomewhat, that may ſeem to qualifie, and extenuate, this *Mans Offence*; in that, he hath not affirmed, ſimply; That it is lawfull to kill the King, but conditionally; that if the *King* be *Excommunicate*, it is lawfull to kill him; which maketh little Difference, either in Law, or Perill.

For the *Kings Clemency*, I have ſaid it, of late, upon a good Occaſion; And I ſtill ſpeak it, with comfort: I have now, ſerved his *Majeſtie*, *Solliciter*, and *Atturney*, eight years, and better: yet, this is the firſt time, that ever I gave in Evidence, againſt a *Traytor*, at this *Barr*, or any other. There hath not wanted Matter, in that Party, of the *Subjects*, whence this kind of *Offence* floweth, to irritate the *King*: He hath been irritated, by the *Powder Treaſon*, which might have turned Judgement, into Fury: He hath been irritated, by wicked, and monſtrous, *Libels*; Irritated, by a generall Inſolency, and preſumption, in the *Papiſts*, throughout the Land; And yet, I ſee, his *Majeſty* keepeth *Cæſars* Rule: *Nil malo*,

*malo, quam eos esse similes sui, & meinei.* *He leaveth them, to be like themselves*; And he remaineth, like Himself; And striveth, to overcome Evill, with Goodness. A strange thing, Bloudy Opinions, Bloudy Doctrines, Bloudy Examples, and yet the *Government*, still, unstained with *Bloud*. As for this *Owen*, that is brought in question, though his Person be, in his Condition, contemptible; yet we see, by miserable *Examples*; That these Wretches, which are but the Scum of the Earth, have been able, to stir *Earth-quakes*, by *Murthering* of *Princes*: And, if it were, in case of Contagion; (As this is a Contagion, of the Heart, and Soul;) A Raskall, may bring in a Plague, into the *Citty*, as well as a *great Man*: So it is not the *Person*, but the *Matter*, that is to be considered.

For the *Treason* it self, which is the second Point, my Desire is, to open it, in the Depth thereof, if it were possible, But it is bottomelesse: And so the *Civill Law* saith: *Conjurationes, omnium proditionum, odiosissimæ, & perniciosissimæ.* Against Hostile Invasions, and the Adherence of *Subjects*, to *Enemies*, *Kings* can arm: *Rebellions*, must go over, the Bodies, of many good *Subjects*, before they can hurt the *King*: but *Conspiracies*, against the *Persons* of *Kings* are like *Thunder-bolts*, that strike upon the suddain, hardly to be avoyded: *Major metus à singulis*, (saith he,) *quam ab universis.* There is no *Preparation* against them. And that *Preparation*, which may be, of Guard, or Custody, is a perpetuall Misery. And therefore, they that have written, of the *Priviledges* of *Ambassadours*, and of the *Amplitude* of *Safe-Conducts*, have defined; That if an *Ambassadour*, or a Man, that commeth in, upon the highest *safe-Conducts*, do practise, Matter of *Sedition*, in a *State*, yet, by the *Law* of *Nations*, he ought to be remanded: But, if he *conspire*, against the *Life* of a *Prince*, by violence, or Poyson, he is to be justiced: *Quia odium est omni Privilegio Majus.* Nay, even amongst Enemies, and in the most deadly Wars, yet, nevertheless, Conspiracy, and Assassinate of Princes, hath been accounted villanous, and execrable.

The *Manners*, of *Conspiring*, and *compassing* the *Kings Death*, are many: But it is most apparent, that amongst all the rest, this surmounteth. First, becaus it is grounded, upon pretenced *Religion*; which is a *Trumpet*, that enflameth the *Heart*, and *Powers* of a Man, with Daring, and Resolution, more than any Thing else. Secondly, it is the Hardest to be avoided; For when a particular *Conspiracy*, is plotted, or Attempted, against a *King*, by some one, or some few *Conspiratours*, it meets with a Number of Impediments. Commonly, he that hath the *Head* to devise it, hath not the *Heart* to undertake it: And the *Person*, that is used, sometime faileth in *Courage*, sometime faileth in *Opportunity*, sometimes is touched with *Remorce*. But to publish, and maintain, that it may be lawfull, for any Man living, to attempt the Life of a *King*; this Doctrine, is a Venomous Sop; Or, as a *Legion* of *Malign Spirits*;

*rits*; Or an univerſall Temptation; Doth enter, at once, into the Hearts of all, that are any way prepared, or of any Prediſpoſition, to be *Traytors*: So that whatſoever faileth in any one, is ſupplied in Many: If one *Man* faint, another will dare: If one man hath not the Opportunity, another hath: If one *Man* Relent, another will be Deſperate. And Thirdly, particular *Conſpiracies*, have their *Periods* of *Time*; within which, if they be not taken, they vaniſh. But this is endleſs, and importeth, Perpetuity, of ſpringing Conſpiracies. And ſo much, concerning the *Nature*, of the *Fact*.

For the *Third Point*, which is the *Doctrine*; That upon an *Excommunication* of the *Pope*, with *ſentence* of *Depoſing*; A *King* by any *Son* of *Adam*, may be ſlaughtered; And that, it is *Juſtice*, and no *Murther*; And that their *Subjects*, are abſolved, of their *Allegeance*; And the *Kings* themſelves, expoſed to *ſpoyl* and *Prey*. I ſaid before, that I would not argue, the ſubtilty of the *Queſtion*: It is rather, to be ſpoken too, by way of Accuſation of the Opinion, as Impious; then by way of Diſpute of it, as Doubtfull. Nay, I ſay, it deſerveth, rather, ſome *Holy-war*, or *League*, amongſt all *Chriſtian Princes*, of either *Religion*; for the Extirpating and Razing of the Opinion, and the Authors thereof, from the face of the Earth; Then the Stile of Pen, or Speech. Therefore in this kind I will ſpeak to it, a few words and not otherwiſe. Nay, I proteſt, if I were a *Papiſt*, I ſhould ſay as much. Nay, I ſhould ſpeak it, perhaps with more Indignation, and Feeling. For this *Horrible Opinion*, is our Advantage; And it is their Reproach; And will be their Ruine.

This *Monſter* of *Opinion*, is to be accuſed, of Three moſt evident, and moſt miſerable *Slanders*.

Firſt, of the Slander, it bringeth, to the *Chriſtian Faith*; Being a plain plantation, of *Irreligion and Atheiſm*.

Secondly, the *Subverſion*, which it introduceth, into all Pollicy, and Government.

Thirdly, the great Calamity, it bringeth, upon *Papiſts* themſelves; Of which, the more Moderate ſort, as Men miſled, are to be pitied.

For the Firſt, if a Man doth viſit, the foul, and polluted Opinions, Cuſtomes, or Practiſes, of *Heatheniſm*, *Mahometiſm*, and *Hereſie*, he ſhall find they do not attain to this *Height*. Take the Examples of damnable Memory, amongſt the *Heathen*. The Proſcriptions, in *Rome*, of *Sylla*; And afterwards of the *Triumvirs*, what were they? They were, but of a finite Number of Perſons, and thoſe not many, that were expoſed, unto any Mans Sword. But what is that, to the proſcribing of a *King*, and all that ſhall take his Part? And what was the Reward of a *Souldier* that amongſt them, killed one of the proſcribed? A ſmall *piece* of *Money*: But what is now the reward of one, that ſhall kill a *King*? The *Kingdom*, of *Heaven*. The Cuſtome, among the *Heathen*, that

was

was moſt ſcandalized was, that ſometimes the *Prieſt* ſacrificed *Men*; But yet, you ſhall not read, of any *Prieſthood*, that ſacrificed *Kings*.

The *Mahometans*, make it, a part of their *Religion*, to propagate their *Sect*, by the *Sword*: But yet ſtill, by *Honourable Wars*, never by Villanies, and ſecret Murthers. Nay, I find, that the *Saracen Prince*, of whom the Name, of the *Aſſaſſins*, is derived; which had divers Votaries at Commandement; which he ſent, and imployed, to the Killing, of divers Princes, in the Eaſt; (By one of whom, *Amurath* the Firſt was ſlain; And *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, was wounded;) was put down, and rooted out, by common Conſent, of the *Mahometan Princes*.

The *Anabaptiſts* (it is true) come neareſt. For they profeſſe, the pulling down of *Magiſtrates*; And they can chaunt, the Pſalm; *To bind their Kings in Chaines, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron*. This is, the Glory of the *Saints*, much like, the *Temporall Authority*, that the *Pope* Challengeth over *Princes*. But this is the difference; That that is a Furious, and Fanaticall, Fury; And this is a ſad, and ſolemn Miſchief. *He imagineth Miſchief as a Law*; A Law-like Miſchief.

As for the *Defence*, which they do make, it doth aggravate the ſin; And turneth it from a *Cruelty* towards *Man*, to a *Blaſphemy* towards *God*. For to ſay, that all this, is, *in ordine ad ſpirituale*; And to a *good End*; And for the *ſalvation of Soules*; It is, directly, to make *God, Author of Evill*; And to draw him, into the likeneſſe, of the *Prince*, of *Darkneſſe*; And to ſay with thoſe, that *Saint Paul* ſpeaketh of; *Let us do Evill, that good may come thereof*. Of whom, the *Apoſtle* ſaith definitively; *That their damnation is juſt*.

For the *Deſtroying* of *Government*, univerſally, it is moſt evident; That it is not the Caſe, of *Proteſtant Princes*, onely, But of *Catholick Princes* likewiſe: As the *King* hath excellently ſet forth. Nay, it is not the Caſe of *Princes* onely, but of all *Subjects*, and private Perſons. For touching *Princes*, let Hiſtory be peruſed, what hath been the Cauſes of *Excommunication*; And namely, this Tumour of it; (the *Depoſing* of *Kings*;) It hath not been for *Hereſie*, and *Schiſm*, alone, but for *Collation*, and *Inveſtitures*, of *Biſhopricks*, and *Benefices*, *Intruding* upon *Eccleſiaſticall Poſſeſſions*, *violating* of any *Eccleſiaſticall Perſon*, or *Liberty*. Nay, generally, they maintain it, that it may be for any ſin: So that, the Difference, wherein their Doctors vary; That ſome hold; That the *Pope*, hath his *Temporall power*, *immediatly*; And others, but *in ordine ad ſpirituale*, is but a Deluſion, and an Abuſe. For all commeth to one. What is there, that may not be made, ſpirituall, by Conſequence? ſpecially, when He, that giveth the Sentence, may make the Caſe? And accordingly, hath the miſerable Experience followed. For this *Murthering* of *Kings*, hath been put in practiſe, as well againſt *Papiſt Kings*, as *Proteſtants*. Save that, it hath pleaſed *God*, ſo to guide it by his admirable providence; As the Attempts, upon *Papiſt Princes*,

*Princes*, have been executed, And the Attempts, upon *Proteſtant Princes*, have failed: Except that of the *Prince Aurange*. And not that neither, untill ſuch time, as he had joyned, too faſt, with the *Duke of Anjou*, and the *Papiſts*.

The reſt is wanting.

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## *The* Charge, *of Sir* Francis Bacon, *the* Kings Atturney Generall, *againſt* M. *L. S. W. and H. I. for Scandall, and Traducing, of the* Kings Juſtice, *in the proceedings againſt* Weſton: *In the* Star-Chamber, 10. Novemb. 1615.

THe *Offence*, wherewith I ſhall charge, the three *Offenders*, at the *Bar*, is a *Miſdemeanour*, of a High Nature; Tending, to the Defacing, and Scandall, of *Juſtice*, in a great *Cauſe Capitall*. The particular *Charge* is this.

The *King*, amongſt many his Princely vertues, is known, to excell, in that proper vertue, of the *Imperiall Throne*, which is *Juſtice*. It is a *Royall Vertue*, which doth employ, the other three *Cardinall Vertues*, in her Service. *Wiſdome*, to diſcover, and *diſcern*, Nocent, or Innocent: *Fortitude*, to proſecute, and execute: *Temperance*, ſo to carry *Juſtice*, as it be not paſſionate, in the purſuit, nor confuſed, in involving *perſons*, upon light ſuſpicion; Nor precipitate in time. For this his *Majeſties* Vertue of *Juſtice*, *God* hath of late raiſed an occaſion, and erected, as it were, a Stage, or Theater, much to his Honour, for him to ſhew it, and act it, in the purſuit, of the untimely Death of *Sir Thomas Overbury*; And therein cleanſing the *Land* from *Bloud*. For, (*my Lords*) if *Bloud* ſpilt, Pure, doth cry to *Heaven*, in *Gods* Eares, much more *Bloud defiled* with *Poyſon*.

This Great Work, of his *Majeſties Juſtice*, the more excellent it is, your *Lordſhips* will ſoon conclude, the greater is the *Offence* of any, that have ſought, to Affront it, or Traduce it. And therefore, before I deſcend, unto the *Charge*, of theſe *Offenders*, I will ſet, before your *Lordſhips*, the weight of that, which they have ſought to impeach: Speaking ſomewhat of the generall *Crime* of *Impoyſonment*; And then, of the particular *Circumſtances*, of this *Fact*, upon *Overbury*: And thirdly, and chiefly, of the *Kings* great, and worthy, Care, and Carriage, in this Buſineſs.

This *Offence* of *Impoyſonment*, is moſt truly figured, in that Deviſe, or Deſcription, which was made, of the Nature, of one, of the *Roman Tyrants*; That he was *Lutum Sanguine maceratum*; *Mire, mingled, or cymented, with Bloud*: For, as it is, one of the higheſt *Offences*, in *Guiltineſs*; So it is, the Baſeſt, of all others, in the *Mind* of the *Offenders*. Treaſons, *Magnum aliquid ſpectant*: They aym at great things; But this, is vile, and baſe. I tell your *Lordſhips*, what

wh at I have noted; That in all *Gods* Book, (both of the *Old*, and *New Teſtament*,) I find Examples, of all other *Offences*, and *Offendours*, in the *world*, but not any one, of an *Impoyſonment*, or an *Impoyſoner*. I find mention, of Fear, of caſuall *Impoyſonment*, when the *Wild Vine*, was ſhred, into the Pot, they came complaining, in a fearfull manner; *Maiſter*; *Mors in ollâ*. And, I find mention, of Poyſons, of Beaſts, and Serpents; *The Poyſon of Aſpes is under their Lips*. But I find no Example, in the *Book* of *God*, of *Impoyſonment*. I have, ſometime, thought, of the *Words*, in the *Pſalm*; *Let their Table be made a Snare*: Which certainly, is moſt True of *Impoyſonment*: For the *Table*, the *Daily Bread*, for which we pray, is turned to a deadly Snare: But I think rather, that that was meant, of the *Treachery* of *Friends*, that were participant, of the ſame *Table*.

But let us go on. It is an *Offence*, (*my Lords*,) that hath the two *Spurs*, of *Offending*: *Spes Perficiendi*, and *Spes Celandi*. It is eaſily *committed*, and eaſily *concealed*.

It is an *Offence*, that is, *Tanquam Sagitta nocte volans*; It is the *Arrow* that *flies by Night*. It diſcerns not, whom it hits: For, many times, the *Poyſon* is laid for one, and the other takes it: As in *Sanders* Caſe, where the *Poyſoned Apple* was laid for the *Mother*, and was taken up by the *Child*, and killed the *Child*. And ſo, in that notorious caſe, whereupon the *Statute*, of 22 *H.* 8, *Cap.* 9°, was made; where the Intent, being to poyſon, but one, or two; Poyſon was put, into a little Veſſell, of Barm, that ſtood, in the Kitchin, of the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſters Houſe*; Of which Barm, Pottage, or Gruell, was made, wherewith 17, of the *Biſhops Family* were *Poyſoned*: Nay, Divers of the *Poor*, that came to the *Biſhops Gate*, and had the broken Pottage, in Alms, were likewiſe Poyſoned; And therefore, if any Man, will comfort himſelf, or think with himſelf, Here is great Talk of *Impoyſonment*, I hope I am ſafe, For I have no Enemies; Nor, I have nothing, that any Body, ſhould long for; why? that is all one, For he may ſit, at *Table*, by one, for whom *Poyſon* is prepared, and have a *Drench*, of his *Cup*, or of his *Pottage*. And ſo, as the *Poet* ſaith; *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere*; He may die another Mans Death. And therefore, it was moſt, gravely, and judiciouſly, and properly, provided by that *Statute*; That *Impoyſonment* ſhould be *High Treaſon*; Becauſe, whatſoever *Offence*, tendeth, to the utter Subverſion, and Diſſolution, of Human Society, is, in the nature, of *High Treaſon*.

Laſtly, it is an *Offence*, that I may truly ſay of it; *Non eſt noſtri Generis, nec Sanguinis*. It is, (Thanks be to *God*,) rare, in the *Iſle* of *Brittanny*: It is neither of our *Country*, nor of our *Church*; you may find it, in *Rome*, or *Italy*. There is a *Region*, or perhaps a *Religion*, for it: And if it ſhould come amongſt us, certainly, it were better living in a *Wilderneſſe*, than in a *Court*.

For the particular *Fact*, upon *Overbury*. Firſt for the *Perſon*, of Sir *Thomas Overbury*: I knew the Gentleman. It is true, his Mind

was great, but it moved not, in any good Order; yet, certainly, it did, commonly, fly, at good Things. And the greateſt Fault, that I ever heard by him, was, that he made, his *Friend*, his *Idoll*. But I leave him, as Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

But then, take him, as he was the *Kings Priſoner*, in the *Tower*; And then ſee, how the Caſe ſtands. In that place, the *State* is, as it were, Reſpondent; to make good, the *Body*, of a *Priſoner*: And, if any thing, happen to him there, it may, (though not in this Caſe, yet in ſome others,) make an Aſperſion, and a Reflexion, upon the *State* it ſelf. For the *Perſon* is utterly out of his own Defence; His own Care, and Providence, can ſerve him nothing. He is in Cuſtody, and Preſervation, of *Law*. And, we have a *Maxime*, in our *Law*, (as my *Lords*, the *Judges*, know,) that when a *State* is, in preſervation of *Law*, nothing can deſtroy it, or hurt it. And *God* forbid, but the like ſhould be; for the *Perſons* of thoſe, that are in *Cuſtody*, of *Law*; And therefore, this was a *Circumſtance*, of great *Aggravation*.

Laſtly, to have a Man, chaced to Death, in ſuch manner, (as it appears now by Matter of *Record*; For other Privacy, of the Cauſe, I know not;) By *Poyſon* after *Poyſon*; firſt *Roſeaker*, then *Arſenick*, then *Mercury Sublimate*, then *Sublimate* again; It is a Thing, would aſtoniſh, Mans Nature, to hear it. The *Poets* faign, that the *Furies* had whips, and that they were corded, with *Poyſonous Snakes*; And a Man would think, that this were the very Caſe; To have a Man, tied to a Poaſt, and to ſcourge him to Death, with *Snakes*: For ſo, may truly be termed, *Diverſity* of *Poyſons*.

Now, I will come unto that, which is the *Principall*; That is, his *Majeſties Princely*, yea, and as I may truly term it, *Sacred* proceeding, in this Cauſe. Wherein, I will firſt Speak, of the *Temper* of his *Juſtice*, and then of the *Strength* thereof.

Firſt, it pleaſed my *Lord Chief Juſtice*, to let me know; (That, which I heard, with great Comfort;) Which was, the *Charge*, that his *Majeſty* gave to Himſelf firſt; And afterwards, to the *Commiſſioners*, in this Caſe; worthy, certainly, to be written in *Letters* of *Gold*; wherein, his *Majeſty* did fore-rank, and make it his prime Direction, that it ſhould be carried, without touch, to any, that was innocent. Nay more, not onely without *Impeachment*, but without *Aſperſion*: which was a moſt *Noble*, and *Princely* Caution, from his *Majeſty*: For Mens Reputations, are tender Things; And ought to be, like *Chriſts Coat*, without *Seam*. And it was, the more to be reſpected, in this Caſe, becauſe it met, with two great *Perſons*; A *Noble Man*, that his *Majeſty*, had favoured, and advanced; And his *Lady*, being of a Great, and Honourable Houſe: Though, I think it be true, that the Writers ſay, that there is no *Pomgranate*, ſo fair, or ſo ſound, but may have a periſhed *Kernell*. Nay, I ſee plainly, that in thoſe excellent *Papers*, of his *Majeſties*, own Hand writing; Being, as ſo many

ny Beams of *Justice*, issuing from that Vertue, which doth shine in him; I say, I see it was so evenly carried, without prejudice; (whither it were a true Accusation, of the one part, or a Practise, of a false Accusation on the other;) As shewed plainly, that his Majesties, Judgement, was *tanquam Tabula Rasa*, as a clean pair of *Tables*; And his Ear, *tanquam Janua aperta*; As a Gate, not side open, but wide open, to Truth, as it should be, by little and little, discovered. Nay I see plainly, that at the first, (till further Light did break forth,) his *Majesty*, was little moved, with the First *Tale*; which he vouchsafeth not so much, as the Name of a *Tale*; But calleth it a *Rumour*, which is an *Headless Tale*.

As for the Strength, or Resolution, of his *Majesties Justice*, I must tell your *Lordships* plainly. I do not marveil, to see *Kings*, thunder out *Justice*, in Cases of *Treason*, when they are touched Themselves; And that, they are *Vindices Doloris Proprij:* But that a *King*, should, *pro Amore Justitiæ*, onely; Contrary to the *Tide* of his own *Affection*, for the preservation of his *People*, take such Care of a Cause of *Justice*; That is rare, and worthy, to be celebrated, far, and near. For, I think, I may truly affirm, that there was never, in this *Kingdome*, nor in any other *Kingdome*, the *Bloud* of a private Gentleman, vindicated, *Cum tanto Motu Regni*; or to say better, *Cum tanto Plausu Regni*. If it had concerned, the *King*, or *Prince*, there could not have been, Greater, nor Better, *Commissioners*, to examine it. The *Term*, hath been, almost, turned, into a *Justitium*, or *Vacancy:* The *People* themselves, being more willing, to be Lookers on, in this Business, then to follow their own. There hath been, no Care of *Discovery* omitted, no *Moment* of *Time* lost. And therefore, I will conclude this Part, with the Saying of *Salomon*; *Gloria Dei celare rem, & gloria Regis Scrutari rem.* And his *Majesties* Honour, is much the greater, for that, he hath shewed, to the World, in this Businesse, as it hath Relation to my *Lord of Sommerset*; (whose Case, in no sort I do prejudge, being ignorant of the Secrets, of the Cause, but taking him, as the Law takes him, hitherto, for a *Suspect*;) I say, the *King* hath, to his great Honour, shewed; That were any Man, in such a Case of Bloud, as the *Signet upon his Right Hand*, (as the *Scripture* sayes,) yet would He put him off.

Now will I come, to the particular *Charge*, of these Gentlemen, whose *Qualities*, and *Persons*, I respect, and love: For they are all my particular Friends: But now, I can only do, this Duty, of a Friend, to them, to make them know, their Fault to the full.

And therefore first, I will, by way of *Narrative*, declare to your *Lordships*, the *Fact*, with the occasion of it; Then you shall have their *Confessions* read, upon which you are to proceed; Together, with some *Collaterall Testimonies*, by way of Aggravation: And lastly, I will note, and observe to your *Lordships*, the *Materiall*

*points*, which I do inſiſt upon, for their *Charge*; And ſo leave them to their *Anſwer*. And this I will doe, very briefly, for the Caſe is not perplexed.

That wretched Man *Weſton*, who was the *Actor*, or *Mechanicall Party*, in this *Impoyſonment*, at the firſt day, being indicted, by a very ſubſtantiall *Jury*, of Selected *Cittizens*, to the number of 19. who found *Billa vera*; yet nevertheleſſe, at the firſt, ſtood mute. But, after ſome dayes Intermiſſion, it pleaſed *God*, to *caſt out the Dumb Devill*; And that he did put himſelf, upon his Tryall; And was, by a Jury alſo, of great Value, upon his Confeſſion, and other Teſtimonies, *found guilty*. So as 31. ſufficient *Jurours*, have paſſed upon him; whereupon Judgement, and Execution, was awarded againſt him. After this, being in preparation for another *World*, he ſent for Sr. *Thomas Overburies Father*, and falling down upon his knees, with great Remorce, and Compunction, asked him forgiveneſſe. Afterwards, againe, of his own Motion, deſired, to have his like prayer of forgiveneſſe, recommended to his *Mother*, who was abſent. And at both times, out of the *abundance of his Heart*, Confeſſed that he was to die juſtly, and that he was worthy of *Death*. And after again, at his Execution (which is a kind, of ſealing time, of Confeſſions) even at the point of *Death*; (Although there were Tempters about him, as you ſhall hear by and by) yet he did again, confirm publickly, that his *Examinations* were true; And that, he had been, juſtly, and honourably, dealt with. Here is the Narrative, which enduceth the *Charge*. The *Charge* it ſelf is this.

*M. L.* Whoſe Offence ſtands alone ſingle, (the *Offence* of the other two, being in conſort; And yet, all three, meeting, in their End, and Center, which was to interrupt, or deface, this Excellent piece of *Juſtice*) M. *L.* (I ſay) mean while, between *Weſtons* ſtanding mute, and his Tryall; Takes upon him, to make a moſt Falſe, Odious, and Libellous, Relation; Containing, as many Untruths, as Lines; And ſets it down, in writing, with his own Hand; And delivers it, to Mr. *Henry Gibb*, of the *Bed-chamber*, to be put into the *Kings* Hand. In which writing, he doth falſifie, and pervert, all that was done, the firſt day, at the *Arraignment* of *Weſton*; Turning the Pike, and Point, of his Imputations, principally, upon my *Lord Chief Juſtice* of *England*. Whoſe Name, (thus occurring) I cannot paſs by, And yet, I can, not skill to flatter. But this I will ſay of him, and I would ſay as much to Ages, if I ſhould write a Story: *That never Mans Perſon, and his place, were better met, in a Buſineſſe, then my Lord* Cooke, *and my Lord Chief Juſtice, in the Cauſe of* Overbury.

Now, *My Lords*, in this *Offence*, of *M. L*; For the particulars, of theſe *ſlanderous Articles*, I will obſerve them unto you, when the *Writings*, and *Examinations*, are read, For, I do not love, to ſet the *Gloſs*, before the Text. But, in generall, I note to your *Lordſhips*; Firſt the *Perſon* of *M. L.* I know, he is a *Scottiſh Gentleman*

*man*, and thereby, more ignorant, of our *Lawes*, and *Formes*. But, I cannot tell, whither this doth extenuate his *Fault*, in reſpect of *Ignorance*; Or aggravate it much, in reſpect of *Preſumption*; That he would meddle in that, that he underſtood not: But I doubt, it came not out, of his Quiver; Some other Mans *Cunning* wrought upon this Mans *Boldneſſe*. Secondly, I may note unto you, the Greatneſſe of the *Cauſe*; Wherein, he being a private mean Gentleman, did preſume to deal. M. *L.* could not but know, to what great, and grave *Commiſſioners*, the *King* had committed this *Cauſe*: And that, his *Majeſty*, in his Wiſedom, would expect, return of all things, from them, to whoſe truſt he had committed this *Buſineſſe*. For it is the part of *Commiſſioners*, as well to report the Buſineſſe, as to mannage the Buſineſſe; And then his *Majeſty*, mought have been ſure, to have had, all things well weighed, and truly informed: And therefore, it ſhould have been far from M. *L.* to have preſumed, to have put forth his Hand, to ſo high, and tender a Buſineſſe; which was not to be touched, but by Employed Hands. Thirdly, I note to your *Lordſhips*, that this *Infuſion*, of a *Slander*, into a *Kings* Ear, is, of all *Formes* of *Libells*, and *Slanders*, the worſt. It is true, that *Kings* may keep ſecret their Informations, and then no Man ought to enquire after them, while they are ſhrined in their Breaſt. But where a *King* is pleaſed, that a Man ſhall anſwer, for his falſe *Information*; There, I ſay, the falſe *Information*, to a *King*; exceeds in Offence, the falſe Information, of any other kind; Being a kind (ſince we are in matter of *Poyſon*,) of *Impoyſonment*, of a *Kings* Ear. And thus much, for the *Offence*, of M. *L.*

For the *Offence*, of *S. W.* and *H. I.* which I ſaid was in conſort, it was ſhortly this. At the *Time*, and *Place*, of the *Execution* of *Weſton*; To ſupplant his *Chriſtian Reſolution*, and to *Scandalize* the *Juſtice*, already paſt; & perhaps, to cut off the thred of that, which is to come; Theſe Gentlemen, with others, came mounted on Horſeback; And in a Ruffling, and Facing manner, put themſelves forward to re-examine *Weſton*, upon *Queſtions*; And what *Queſtions*? Directly, croſſe to that, that had been tryed, and judged: For what was the point tried? That *Weſton* had *poyſoned Overbury*: What was *S. W. Queſtion*; *Whether Weſton, did poyſon Overbury or no?* A *Contradictory* directly: *Weſton* anſwered only, *that he did him wrong*: And turning to the *Sheriffe*, ſaid; You promiſed me, I *ſhould not be troubled, at this time*. Nevertheleſſe, He preſſed him to anſwer; ſaying; *He deſired to know it, that he mought pray with him*. I know not that *S. W.* is an *Eccleſiaſtick*, that he ſhould cut any Man, from Communion of Prayer: And yet, for all this vexing, of the Spirit, of a poor Man, now in the Gates of Death; *Weſton*, nevertheleſſe, ſtood conſtant, and ſaid; *I die not unworthily: My Lord Chief Juſtice, hath my mind, under my hand, and he is an Honourable and juſt Judge*. This is *S. W.* his Offence.

For *H. I.* he was not ſo much a *Queſtioniſt*; but wrought upon the

the others *Queſtions*; And like a kind of *Confeſſor*, wiſhed him to diſcharge his Conſcience, and to ſatisfie the *World*. What *World* I marvaile? It was ſure the *World* at *Tyburn*: For the *World* at *Guild-Hall*, and the *World* at *London* was ſatisfied before; *Teſte* the *Bells* that rang: But men have a got faſhion, now a dayes, that two or three buſie Bodies, will take upon them the Name of the *World*; And broach their own Conceits, as if it were, a general Opinion: Well, what more? When they could not work upon *Weſton*, then *H. I.* in an Indignation, turned abont his Horſe, (when the other, was turning over the Ladder;) And ſaid, he was ſorry of ſuch a Concluſion: That was, to have the *State*, honoured, or juſtified; But others took, and reported his words, in another degree: But that I leave, ſeeeing it is not *Confeſſed*.

*H. I.* his *Offence*, had another *Appendix*, before this, in time; which was, that, at the day, of the *Verdict* given up, by the *Jury*; He alſo, would needs give his *Verdict*; Saying openly that if he were of the *Jury*, he would doubt what to do. Marry (he ſaith,) he cannot tell well, whether he ſpake this, before the Jury, had given up the *Verdict*, or after; Wherein there is little gained. For whether, *H. I.* were a Pre-Jurour, or a Poſt-Jurour; The one was as to *prejudge* the *Jury*, the other, as to taint them.

Of the *Offence*, of theſe two Gentlemen, in generall, your *Lordſhips* muſt give me leave, to ſay, that it is an *Offence*, greater, and more dangerous, then is conceived. I know well, that as we have no *Spaniſh Inquiſitions*, nor *Juſtice* in a *Corner*; So we have, no *Gagging*, of Mens *Mouths*, at their *Death*; But that they may ſpeak freely, at the laſt Hour; But then, it muſt come, from the free Motion, of the *Party*, not by Temptation of *Queſtions*. The *Queſtions*, that are to be asked, ought to tend, to further Revealing, of their own, or others *Guiltineſs*; But to uſe, a *Queſtion*, in the Nature, of a falſe *Interrogatory*, to falſifie that, which is *Res Judicata*, is intollerable. For that were, to erect a *Court*, or *Commiſſion*, of *Review*, at *Tyburn*, againſt the *Kings Bench*, at *Weſtminſter*. And beſides, it is a Thing, vain, and idle: For if they anſwer, according to the *Judgement* paſt, it adds no Credit; Nor if it be contrary, it derogateth nothing. But yet, it ſubjecteth, the *Majeſty* of *Juſtice*, to popular, and vulgar Talk, and opinion.

My *Lords*, theſe are great, and dangerous, Offences; For if we do not maintain *Juſtice*, *Juſtice* will not maintain us.

But now, your *Lordſhips* ſhall hear, the *Examinations* themſelves; upon which, I ſhall have occaſion, to note, ſome particular Things, &c.

## *The Effect of that, which was ſpoken, by the* Lord Keeper, *of the* Great Seal of England, *at the taking, of his place, in* Chancery; *In performance of the* Charge, *his* Majeſty *had given him, when he received the* Seal, 1617.

BEfore I enter, into the *Buſineſs*, of the *Court*, I ſhall take advantage, of ſo many *Honourable witneſſes*, to publiſh, and make known, ſummarily, what *charge* the *Kings* moſt excellent *Majeſty*, gave me, when I received the *Seal*; And what Orders, and Reſolutions, my Self have taken, in Conformity, to that *charge*; That the *King* may have, the Honour of Direction; And I the part of Obedience: Whereby, *Your Lordſhips*, and the Reſt, of the *Preſence*, ſhall ſee, the whole Time, of my ſitting in the *Chancery*, (which may be, longer, or ſhorter, as pleaſe *God*, and the *King*;) contracted into one Houre. And this I do, for three Cauſes.

Firſt, to give Account, to *the King*, of his *Commandement*.

Secondly, that I may be a *Guard*, and *Cuſtody*, to my ſelf, and mine own Doings; That I do not ſwerve, or recede, from any Thing, that I have profeſſed, in ſo *Noble Company*.

And thirdly, that all men, that have to do, with the *Chancery*, or the *Seal*, may know, what they ſhall expect; And both ſet their Hearts, and my Ears, at reſt; Not moving me, to any Thing, againſt theſe *Rules*: Knowing, that my Anſwer, is now turned, from a *Nolumus*, into a *Non poſſumus*. It is no more, *I will not*; But, *I cannot*; After this Declaration.

And this, I do alſo, under three *Cautions*.

The firſt is, that there be ſome Things, of a more Secret, and Counſell like, Nature, which are rather, to be *Acted*, then *Publiſhed*. But theſe Things, which I ſhall ſpeak of, to day, are of a more *publick* Nature.

The ſecond is, that I will not trouble this *Preſence*, with every Particular; which would be too long; But ſelect, thoſe Things, which are of greateſt efficacy, and conduce moſt, *ad ſummas Rerum*: Leaving many other Particulars, to be ſet down, in a *Publick Table*; According, to the good Example, of my laſt *Predeceſſour*, in his *Beginning*.

And laſtly, that theſe *Imperatives*, which I have made, but to my Self, and my Times, be without prejudice, to the *Authority* of the *Court*, or *Wiſer Men*, that may ſucceed me: And chiefly, that they are wholy ſubmitted, unto the great Wiſdom, of my *Soveraign*; (The abſoluteſt *Prince*, in *Judicature*, that hath been, in the *Chriſtian World*:) For if any of theſe Things, which I intend, to be *Subordinate*, to his Directions, ſhall be thought by his *Majeſty*, to be *Inordinate*, I ſhall be, moſt ready, to reform them. Theſe things, are but, *tanquam Album Prætoris*; For ſo did the

*Roman*

*Roman Prætors*; (which have the greatest Affinity, with the *Jurisdiction*, of the *Chancellor* here;) who used to set down, at their Entrance, how they would use their *Jurisdiction*. And this I shall do, (*my Lords*,) in *verbis Masculis*; No flourishing, or Painted, *Words*, but such, as are fit, to go before *Deeds*.

## *The* Kings Charge, *which is my* Lanthorn, *rested upon four* Heads.

THe first was, that I should contain, the *Jurisdiction* of the *Court*, within his true, and due, *Limits*, without *Swelling*, or *Excesse*.

The second, that I should think, the putting, of the *Great Seal* to *Letters Patents*, was not a Matter of *Course* after precedent *Warrants*; But that I should take it to be, the *Maturity*, and *Fulness*, of the *Kings* Intentions: And therefore, that it was one, of the greatest Parts, of my Trust, if I saw, any Scruple, or Cause of stay, that I should acquaint him; Concluding with a, *Quod dubites, ne feceris*.

The third was, that I should retrench, all unnecessary delayes; That the *Subject* mought find, that he did enjoy, that same *Remedy*, against the Fainting of the *Seal*, and against the Consumption of the Means, and estate; which was *speedy Justice*. *Bis dat, qui citò dat*.

The fourth was, that *Justice* might passe, with as easie charge, as mought be: And that those same *Brambles*, that grow about *Justice*, of needlesse Charge, and Expence; And all manner, of *Exactions*, mought be rooted out, so far as mought be.

These *Commandements*, (my Lords,) are *Righteous*; And, (as I may term them,) *Sacred*; And therefore, to use a *Sacred Form*: I pray *God*, blesse the *King*, for his great care, over the *Justice* of the *Land*; And give me, his poor Servant, Grace, and Power, to observe his *Precepts*.

Now for a Beginning towards it, I have set down, and applied, particular Orders, to every one of these four Generall *Heads*.

For the *Excesse*, or *Tumour*, of this *Court* of *Chancery*, I shall divide it, into five Natures.

The first is, when the *Court*, doth embrace, or retain, *Causes*, both in Matter, and Circumstance, meerly Determinable, and Fit, for the *Common Law*. For, (my Lords,) the *Chancery*, is ordained, to *supply* the *Law*, and not to *subvert* the *Law*. Now to describe unto you, or delineate, what those Causes are, (and upon what differences,) that are fit for the *Court*, were too long a Lecture. But I will tell you, what Remedy, I have prepared. I will keep the *Keyes* of the *Court*, my self, and I will never refer, any Demurrer, or Plea, (tending to discharge, or dismisse the *Court*,

*Court*, of the *Cause*,) to any *Mr.* of the *Chancery*; But judge of it, my self, or, at least, the *Mr.* of the *Rowles*. Nay further, I will appoint regularly, that on the *Tuesday*, in every week; (which is the *Day* of *Orders*,) first to hear all *Motions*, of that Nature, before any other; That the Subject, may have his *Vale*, at first, without further attending; And that the *Court*, do not keep, and accumulate, a Miscellany, and Confusion, of *Causes*, of all Natures.

The second Point, concerneth the time of the Complaint; And the late Commers into the *Chancery*: which stay, till a *Judgement* be passed against them, at the *Common Law*, and then complain: Wherein your *Lordships*, may have heard, a great *Rattle*, and a *Noyse*, of a *Premunire*, and I cannot tell what. But that *Question* the *King* hath setled, according to the ancient presidents, in all times continued. And this I will say, that the Opinion, not to relieve any Case, after *Judgement* would be a guilty *Opinion*: Guilty, of the *Ruine*, and *Naufrage*, and *perishing*, of infinite *Subjects*: And as the *King* found it well out; why should a Man fly, into the *Chancery*, before he be *Hurt? The whole need not the Physician, but the sick*. But (My *Lords*,) the *Power* would be preserved, but then, the *Practise* would be moderate. My *Rule*, shall be, therefore, that in Case of *Complaints*, after *Judgement*; (except the *Judgements* be upon *Nihil dicit*, which are but *Disguises* of Judgement; Obtained, in Contempt, of a preceding Order, of this Court;) yea, and after *Verdicts* also, I will have the *Party Complainant*, enter into good Bond, to prove his Suggestion: So that if he will be relieved, against a *Judgement*, at *Common Law*, upon *Matter* of *Equity*; He shall do it, *Tanquam in Vinculis*, at his *Perill*.

The Third *Point* of *Excesse*, may be, the over *Frequent*, and *Facile Granting* of *Injunctions* for the staying of the *Common Lawes*; Or the *Altering Possessions*; wherein these shall be my *Rules*.

I will grant no *Injunction*, mereely, upon, *Priority* of *suit*: That is to say; Because this *Court*, was first possessed: A Thing, that was well reformed in the late *Lord Chancellers* time, but used in *Chancellor Broomeleyes* time; Insomuch, as I remember, that Mr. *Dalton*, the *Councellor* at *Law*, put a *Pasquill* upon the *Court*, in Nature of a *Bill*; For seeing it was no more, but, *My Lord*, the *Bill* came in on *Munday*, and the *Arrest* at *Common Law*, was on *Tuesday*; I pray the *Injunction*, upon *Priority* of *Suite*; He caused his *Client*, that had a *Loose Debter*, to put a *Bill* into the *Chancery*, before the *Bond*, due to him, was *forfeited*, to desire an *Order*, that he might have his *Money*, at the *Day*; Because he would be sure, to be before the other. I do not mean, to make it, a Matter of an *Horse-Race*, or Poasting, who shall be first, in *Chancery*, or in *Courts* of *Law*.

Neither will I grant an *Injunction*, upon *Matter*, contained, in the *Bill* only, be it never so smooth, and Specious: But upon Matter confessed, in the *Defendants Answer*; Or *Matter pregnant*

*in Writing*, or of *Record*; Or upon *Contempt*, of the *Defendant*, in not *Appearing*, or not *Answering*, or *Trifling*, with the *Court* by *insufficient Answering*. For then, it may be thought, the Defendant stands out, upon purpose, to get the start, at the *Common Law*; And so, take Advantage of his own *Contempt*, which may not be suffered.

As for *Injunctions* for *possession*, I shall maintaine *possessions*, as they were, at the time, of the *Bill*, exhibited; And for the space, of a year before: Except the *possession*, were gotten by *Force*, or by any *Trick*.

Neither will I alter *Possession*, upon *Interlocutory Orders*, untill a *Decree*: Except, upon Matter, plainly confessed, in the *Defendants Answer*, joyned, with a plain *Disability*, and *Insolvency* of the *Defendants* to *answer* the *Profits*.

As for taking the Possession away, in respect of *Contempts*, I will have all the proceedings of the *Court*, spent first, and a *Sequestration* of the *Profits*, before I come to an *Injunction*.

The Fourth Part of *Excesse*, is, concerning the *Communicating* of the *Authority*, of the *Chancellor* too far; And making, upen the matter, too many *Chancellors*, by relying too much, upon *Reports* of the *Masters of the Chancery*, as concludent. I know, my *Lords*, the *Masters of the Chancery*, are *Reverend Men*; And the great Mass, of Businesse, of the *Court*, cannot be sped, without them; And it is a Thing, *the Chancellor* may soon fall into, for his own Ease, to rely too much upon them. But the Course, that I will take, generally, shall be this: That I will make no Binding *Order*, upon any report of the *Masters*, without giving a seven nights day, at the least, to shew cause, against the Report; (which nevertheless, I will have done modestly, & with due reverence, towards them:) And again, I must utterly discontinue, the Making, of an *Hypothetical*, or *Conditionall Order*; That if a *Master of the Chancery*, do certifie thus, that then it is *Ordered*, without further Motion: For that is a Surprise, and gives no time, for Contradiction.

The last *Point* of *Excesse*, is: If a *Chancellor*, shall be so much of himself, as he should neglect, Assistance of *Reverend Judges*, in Cases of Difficulty, (especially if they touch upon *Law*:) or Calling them, shall do it, but *Pro formâ tantùm*, and give no due respect, to their Opinions: Wherein, (my *Lords*) preserving the Dignity, and *Majesty*, of the *Court*; (which I count, rather increased, then diminished, by grave, and due Assistance) I shall never be found so Soveraign, or abundant, in mine own sense, but I shall both desire, and make true use, of *Assistants*. Nay I assure, your *Lordships*, if I should find, any main Diversity of Opinion, of my *Assistants*, from mine own; Though I know well the *Judicature*, wholy resides in my self; yet, I think, I should have Recourse, to the *Oracle* of the *Kings* own Judgement, before I should pronounce. And so much, for the temperate use, of the Authority, of this *Court*; wherein, the Health of the *Court*, doth much consist, As that of the *Body*, consists in *Temperance*.

For

For the Second *Commandement* of his *Majesty*, touching *staying of Grants*, at the *Great Seale*: There may be just Cause of Stay: Either, in the *Matter* of the *Grant:* Or, in the *Manner* of *passing* the same. Out of both which, I extract, these 6. *principall Cases*, which I will now make known. All which, nevertheless, I understand, to be wholly submitted, to his *Majesties* Will, and Pleasure, after by me, he shall have been informed? For if *Iteratum Mandatum* do come, *Obedience is better then sacrifice.*

The First *Case* is, where any Matter of *Revenew*, or *Treasure*, or *Profit*, passeth from his *Majesty*; My First Duty shall be, to examine, whether the *Grant*, hath passed, in the due, and naturall Course, by the *Great Officers* of the *Revenew*; (*The Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of the Exchequer*;) And with their privity: which if I find it not to be, I must presume it, to have passed, in the dark, and by a kind of surreption; And will make stay of it, till his *Majesties* pleasure, be further known.

Secondly, if it be a *Grant*, that is not meerly vulgar, And hath not, of Course, passed at the *Signet*, by a *Fac Simile*; But needeth Science, my Duty shall be, to examine, whether it hath passed, by *the Learned Counsell*; and had their *Dockets*: which is that, which his *Majesty* reades, and that leades him. And if I find it otherwise, (although the Matter, were not, in it self inconvenient) yet I hold it, Just *Cause of Stay*, (for *Presidents* sake,) to keep Men, in the right way.

Thirdly, if it be a *Grant*, which I conceive, (out of my little knowledge) to be against the *Law*; Of which nature, *Theodosius* was wont to say, when he was pressed; *I said it, but I granted it not, if it be unlawfull*: I will call the *learned Counsell* to it; (As well him, that drew the Book, as the Rest) or some of them; And if we find cause, I will enform his *Majesty*, of our Opinion, either by my self, or some of them. For as for the *Iudges*, they are *Iudges* of *Grants past*, but not of *Grants to come*, except the *King* call them.

Fourthly, if the *Grants* be against the *Kings Booke*, of *Bounty*; I am expressly Commanded, to stay them; untill the *King*, either Revise his *Booke* in Generall, or give Direction in the particular.

Fiftly, if as a *Counseller* of *Estate*, I do foresee inconvenience, to ensue by the *Grant*, in reason of *Estate*, in respect of the *Kings Honour*, Or Discontent, or Murmur of the People; I will not trust mine own Judgement, but I will either acquaint his *Majesty* with it, or the *Counsell Table*, or some such of my *Lords* as I shall think fit.

Lastly, for *Matter* of *Pardons*; If it be of *Treason*, *Misprision* of *Treason*, *Murther*, either expressed, or involute, by a *non Obstante*; Or of a Pyracy, or *Premunire*, or of *Fines*, Or *Exemplary punishment*, in *Star-Chamber*; Or of some other natures; I shall, by the grace of *God* stay them, untill his *Majesty*, (who is the *Fountain* of *Grace*)

may resolve, between *God*, and him, (understanding the Case,) how far *Grace* shall abound, or superabound.

And if it be of *Persons*, attainted, and Convicted, of *Robbery*, *Burglary*, &c. Then will I examin, whether the *Pardons*, passed the Hand, of any Justice of Assise; Or other *Commissioners*, before whom the *Triall* was made; And if not, I think it my duty, also, to stay them.

Thus your *Lordships* see, in this *Matter of the Seal*, agreeable to the Commandement, I have received, I mean to walk in the Light; So that Men, may know, where to find me; And this publishing, thereof, plainly, I hope, will save the *King*, from a great deal of Abuse; And Me from a great deal of Envy; When Men shall see that no particular Turn, or end, leades me, but a *Generall Rule*.

For the Third *Generall Head*, of *his Majesties Precepts*, concerning *Speedy Justice*, I am resolved, that my *Decree*, shall come speedily, (if not instantly) after the *Hearing*; And my signed *Decree* pronounced. For it hath been a Manner, much used of late in my last *Lords time* (of whom, I learn much to *Imitate*; and with due reverence, to his memory, let me speak it, Much to avoid; ) That upon the Solemn, & *Full*, *Hearing*, of a *Cause*, nothing is pronounced in *Court*; But *Breviates*, are required to be made: Which I do not dislike, in it self, in *Causes* perplexed. For I confess, I have somwhat of the *Cunctative*; And I am of Opinion, that whosoever is not wiser, upon *Advice*, then upon the suddain; The same Man, is no wiser at 50. yeares old, then he was at 30. *And* it was my *Fathers* ordinary *Word*; *You must give me time.* But yet I find, that when such *Breviates* were taken, the Cause was, sometimes, forgotten, a Terme or two; And then set down, for a *New hearing*, or a *Rehearing*, three or four *Termes* after. Of which kind, of Intermission, I see no Use; And therefore I will promise, regularly, to pronounce my *Decree*, within few dayes, after my *Hearing*; And to sign my *Decree*, at least, in the Vacation, after the pronouncing. For fresh *Justice*, is the sweetest. And besides *Justice* ought not to be delayed; And it will also avoid, all *Meanes-making*, or *Labouring*; For there ought to be, no *Labouring* in *Causes*, but the *Labouring* of the *Counsell*, at the *Barr*.

Again, because *Justice* is a *Sacred Thing*; And the end, for which I am called, to this place; And therefore is my way to *Heaven*; (And if it be shorter, it is never a whit the worse,) I shall by the grace of *God*, (as far as *God* will give me strength) add the Afternoon, to the Forenoon; And some *Fourth night*, of the *Vacation*, to the *Term*; For the expediting, and clearing, of the *Causes*, of the *Court*: Only, the depth of the Three long Vacations, I would reserve, in some measure, free, for *Business* of *Estate*; And for *Studies* of *Artes* and *Sciences*, to which, in my Nature, I am most inclined.

There is another *Point*, of *true Expedition*, which resteth much in

in *Myself*; And that is, in the *Manner* of giving *Orders*. For I have seen, an Affectation of *Dispatch*, turn utterly to *Delay*, and *Length*: For the manner of it, is, to take the Tale, out of the *Counsellor*, at Bar, his Mouth, and to give a Cursory *Order*; nothing tending, or conducing, to the end, of the *Businesse*. It makes me remember, what I heard one say, of a Judge, that sate in the *Chancery*; That he would make, 80. *Orders*, in a Morning, out of the way; And it was out of the way, indeed; For it was nothing, to the *End* of the *Businesse*; And this is that, which makes 60, 80, 100. *Orders*, in a *Cause*, too and fro, begetting one another; and like, *Penelopes Web*, doing and undoing. But, I mean not, to purchase, the *Praise*, of *Expeditive*, in that kind: But as one, that have a *Feeling* of my Duty, and of the Case of others, my Endeavour shall be, to hear patiently; And to cast my *Order*, into such a mould, as may soonest bring the *Subject* to the End of his *Journey*.

As for such *Delayes*, as may concern Others; the great *Abuse* is, that if the *Plaintiffe* have got an *Injunction*, to stay Sutes at *Common Law*, then he will Spin on his *Cause*, at length. But, by the grace of *God*, I will make Injunctions, an *hard Pillow*, to sleep on: For if I find, that he prosecutes not with effect, he may hap, when he is awake, find, not onely his *Injunction dissolved*, but his *Cause dismissed*.

There be other *particular Orders*, I mean to take, *for Non Prosecution, or faint Prosecution*, wherewith I will not trouble you now, Because, *Summa sequar Fastigia Rerum*. And so much for *Matter* of *Expedition*.

Now for the fouth, and last Point, of the *Kings Commandement*; For the cutting off, of *unnecessary charge*, of the *Subject*; A great part of it, is fulfilled, in the precedent *Article*, touching *Expedition*: For it is, the *Length* of Suits, that doth multiply *Charge*, chiefly: But yet, there are some other Remedies, that conduce thereunto.

First therefore, I shall maintain strictly, and with Severity, the *Former Orders*, which I find, made, by my *Lord Chanceller*, for the immoderate, and needles prolixity, and length of *Bills*, and *Answers*, and so forth; As well in *punishing* the *party*, as *fining* the *Counsell*, whose hand I shall find, at such *Bills*, *Answers*, &c.

Secondly, for all the *Examinations*, taken in the *Court*, I do give charge, unto the *Examiners*, (upon perill of their places,) that they do not, use idle *Repetitions*, or needless *Circumstances*, in setting down, the *Depositions*, taken by them; And I would, I could help it, likewise, in *Commissions*, in the *Countrey*; But that is almost unpossible.

Thirdly, I shall take a diligent Survey, of the *Coppies* in *Chancery*; That they have their just number of Lines, and without open, or wastfull, writing.

Fourthly, I shall be carefull, that there be no *Exaction*, of any new

new *Fees*, but according, as they have been, heretofore, set, and Tabled.

As for *Lawyers Fees*, I must leave, to the Conscience, and Merit, of the *Lawyer*; And the Estimation, and Gratitude, of the *Client*; But yet this I can do. I know, there have used to attend this *Barr*, a Number of *Lawyers*, that have not been heard, sometimes, scarce once, or twice, in a *Term*; And that, makes the *Client*, seek to Great *Counsell*, and *Favourites*, (as they call them: A Term, fitter for *Kings*, then *Judges*;) And that, for every *Order*, that a mean *Lawyer* mought dispatch, and as well. Therefore, to help the *Generality* of *Lawyers*; And therein, to ease the Client; I will, constantly, observe, that every *Tuesday*, and other Dayes of *Orders*, after nine a Clock strucken, I will hear the *Bar*, untill 11, or half an Hour, after 10, at the least. And since, we are upon the point, whom I will hear, your *Lordships* will give me leave, to tell you a Fancy. It falls out, that there be three of us, the *Kings servants*, in great place, that are *Lawyers* by *Descent*: Mr. *Atturney*, Son of a *Judge*; Mr. *Solliciter*, likewise, Son of a *Judge*: And my self, a *Chancellers* Son.

Now because, the *Law*, roots so well, in my time, I will water it at the Root, thus far; As besides these great Ones, I will hear any *Judges Sonn*, before a *Sergeant*, And any *Sergeants Sonn*, before a *Reader*.

Lastly, for the better *Ease*, of the *Subjects*; And the *Brideling* of *contentious Sutes*, I shall give better, (that is greater,) *Costs*, where the *Suggestions* are not proved, then hath been hitherto used.

There be divers other *Orders*, for the better *Reiglement*, of this *Court*; And for *Granting* of *Writs*; And for *Granting* of *Benefices*; And other Things, which I shall set down in a *Table*. But I will deal with no other, to day, but such, as have a proper Relation, to his *Majesties Commandement*: It being my Comfort, that I serve such a *Master*, that I shall need to be but a *Conduit*, for the *conveying* onely, of his *Goodness*, to his *People*. And it is true, that I do affect, and aspire, to make good that Saying; That *Optimus Magistratus præstat optimæ Legi*; which is true in his *Majesty*. But for my self, I doubt, I shall not attain it. But yet, I have, a *Domesticall Example*, to follow. *My Lords*, I have no more to say, but now, I will go on, to the *Business*, of the *Court*.

## *The* Speech, *which was used, by the* Lord Keeper *of* the Great Seal, *in the Star-Chamber, before the Summer Circuits, the* King *being then in* Scotland, 1617.

THe King, by his perfect *Declaration*, published in this place, concerning *Judges*, and *Justices*; Hath made the *Speech* of his *Chanceller*, accustomed before the *Circuits*, rather of *Ceremony*, than of *use*. For, as in his *Book* to his *Son*, he hath set forth a true *Character*, and *Platform*, of a King; So, in this his *Speech*, he hath done, the like, of a *Judge*, and *Justice*: Which sheweth, that as his *Majesty*, is excellently able, to *Govern*, in *chief*; So, he is likewise well seen, and skilfull, in the inferiour Offices, and *Stages*, of Justice, and Government: which is a Thing, very rare in *Kings*.

Yet, nevertheless, somewhat must be said, to fulfill an old *Observance*; But yet, upon the *Kings Grounds*, and very briefly: For as *Salomon* saith, in another *Case*; *In these things, who is he, that can come, after the King.*

First, you that are the *Judges* of *Circuits*, are, as it were, the *Planets* of the *Kingdome*; (I do you no Dishonor, in giving you that name;) And, no doubt, you have a great stroak, in the Frame, of this Government; As the other have, in the great *Frame*, of the *World*. Do therefore, as they do; Move alwayes and be carried, with the *Motion* of your first *Mover*, which is your *Soveraign*. A *popular Judge* is a Deformed Thing: And *Plaudite's*, are fitter for *Players*, then for *Magistrates*. Do good to the people; Love them, and give them Justice. But let it be, as the *Psalm* saith, *Nihil inde Expectantes*; Looking for nothing, neither Praise, nor Profit.

Yet my Meaning is not, when I wish you, to take heed of Popularity, that you should be imperious, and Strange, to the *Gentlemen*, of the *Countrey*: You are, above them, in Power, but your Rank is not much unequall: And learn this; That Power, is ever of greatest strength, when it is civilly carried.

Secondly, you must remember, that besides your ordinary *Administration*, of *Justice*, you do carry the two *Glasses*, or, *Mirrours*, of the *State*: For it is your Duty, in these your Visitations; *To represent, to the people, the Graces, and Care, of the King.* And again, upon your Return; *To present, to the King, the Distastes, and Griefs, of the People.*

Mark, what the *King* sayes, in his Book: *Procure reverence to the King and the Law: Inform my people truly of me*; (which we know is, hard to do, according to the *Excellency* of his *Merit*, but yet Endeavour it;) *How zealous I am for Religion*; *How I desire, Law may*

be

*be maintained, and flouriſh; That every Court, ſhould have his Juriſdiction; That every Subject, ſhould ſubmit himſelf, to the Law.* And of this, you have had, of late, no ſmall Occaſion of Notice, and Remembrance, by the great, and ſtrait Charge, that the *King* hath given me, as *Keeper of his Seal*, for the *Governing* of the *Chancery*, without *Tumour*, or *Exceſſe*.

Again, *è re nata*, you, at this preſent, ought to make the *People* know, and conſider, the *Kings* Bleſſed Care, and Providence, in governing this Realm, in his Abſence. So that, ſitting at the Helm, of another *Kingdom*; Not without great Affairs, and Buſineſs; yet, he governs all things, here, by his Letters, and Directions, as punctually, and perfectly, as if he were preſent.

I aſſure you, my *Lords* of the *Counſell* and I, do much admire, the *Extention*, and *Latitude* of his *Care*, in all Things.

In the *High Commiſſion*, he did conceive, a *Sinnew* of *Govetnment*, was a little ſhrunk; He recommended the care of it.

He hath called, for the Accounts, of the laſt *Circuit*, from the Judges, to be tranſmitted unto him, into *Scotland*.

Touching the *Infeſtation* of *Pyrates*, he hath been carefull, and is, and hath put things, in way.

All things that concern the Reformation, or the *Plantation*, of *Ireland*; He hath given, in them, punctuall, and reſolute, Directions. All this in Abſence.

I give but a few *Inſtances*, of a *publique Nature*; The *Secrets* of *Counſell*, I may not enter into; Though, his *Diſpatches* into *France*, *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries*, now in his abſence, are alſo Notorious, as to the outward ſending. So that, I muſt conclude, that his Majeſty, wants but more *Kingdomes*; For I ſee, he could ſuffice, to all.

As for the other *Glaſſe*, I told you of; Of repreſenting to the *King*, the *Griefs*, of his *People*; without doubt, it is properly your Part: For the King, ought to be informed, of any thing, amiſſe in the ſtate, of his *Countries*, from the *Obſervations*, and *Relations*, of the *Judges*; (That, indeed, know the Pulſe of the Country;) Rather then from *Diſcourſe*. But for this *Glaſſe*, (thanks be to *God*,) I do hear, from you all; That there was never greater Peace, Obedience, and Contentment, in the *Country*: Though the beſt *Governments*, be, alwayes, like the faireſt *Cryſtals*; wherin, every little *Iſicle*, or *Grain*, is ſeen; which in a *Fouler Stone*, is never perceived.

Now to ſome *Particulars*, and not Many. Of all other things, I muſt begin, as the King begins; That is, with the Cauſe of Religion; And eſpecially, the *Hollow Church Papiſt*. Saint *Aug.* hath a good Compariſon, of ſuch Men, affirming; That they are like the *Roots* of *Nettles*, which themſelves ſting not, but yet they bear all the Stinging Leaves. Let me know of ſuch *Roots*, and I will root them, out of the Country.

Next, for the *Matter* of *Religion*: In the principall place, I recom-

commend, both to you, and the *Justices*, the *Countenancing*, of *Godly*, and *Zealous*, *Preachers*. I mean, not *Sectaries*, or *Novellists*; But those, which are sound, and conform; But yet pious, and Reverend. For there will be a perpetuall Defection, except you keep Men in, by *Preaching*, as well as Law doth, by *punishing*: And commonly, *Spirituall Diseases*, are not Cured, but by *Spirituall Remedies*.

Next, let me commend unto you, the Repressing, (as much as may be,) of Faction in the Countrys; of which ensue, infinite Inconveniences, and perturbations, of all good Order; And Crossing, of all good Service, in Court, or Country, or whersoever. *Cicero*, when he was *Consul*, had devised, a fine Remedy; (A Milde one, but an effectuall, and an apt one;) For he saith, *Eos qui otium perturbant, reddam otiosos*. *Those, that trouble, others* Quiet, *I will give them Quiet*; They shall have nothing to do; Nor no Authority, shall be put into their Hands. If I may know, from you, of any who are in the Country, that are Heads, or Hands, of Faction; Or Men, of turbulent Spirits; I shall give them *Cicero's* Reward, as much as in me is.

To conclude; study the *Kings Book*; And study your selves, how you profit by it; And all shall be well. And you, the *Justices of Peace*, in particular; Let me say this to you; Never *King*, of this Realm, did you so much Honour, as the *King* hath done you, in his *Speech*; By being, your immediate Directors; And by sorting you, and your service, with the Service of *Ambassadours*, and of his neareſt *Attendants*. Nay more, it seems his *Majesty*, is willing to do, the state of *Justice* of *Peace*, Honour, actively also; By bringing in, with time, the like Form of *Commission*, into the *Government* of *Scotland*, As that Glorious *King*, *Edward the third*, did plant this *Commission*, here in this *Kingdome*. And therefore, you are not fit to be *Coppies*, except you be *Fair Written*, without *Blots*, or *Blurs*, or any thing, unworthy your Authority. And so, I will trouble you no longer, for this time.

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## *The* Speech, *used by* Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper, *of the* Great Seal of England, *to Sir* William Jones, *upon his calling, to be* Lord Chief Justice, *of* Ireland. 1617.

Sir *WILLIAM JONES*,

THe *Kings* most *Excellent Majesty*, being duly informed, of your sufficiency, every way; Hath called you, by his Writ, now returned, to the State, and Degree, of a *Serjeant*, at *Law*;

But not to ſtay there, but being ſo qualified, to ſerve him, as his *Chief Iuſtice*, of his *Kings Bench*, in his *Realm* of *Ireland*. And therefore, that which I ſhall ſay to you, muſt be applied, not to your *Serjeants* place, (which you take but in paſſage,) But to that great place, where you are to ſettle; And becauſe, I will not ſpend Time, to the Delay, of the Buſineſſe, of *Cauſes*, of the *Court*, I will lead you the *ſhort Journey by Examples*, and not the *Long by Precepts*.

The *Place*, that you ſhall now ſerve in, hath been fortunate, to be well ſerved in, four ſucceſſions before you. Do but take unto you, the Conſtancy, and integrity, of *Sir Robert Gardiner*: The Gravity, Temper, and Direction, of *Sir James Lea*: The Quickneſſe, Induſtry, and Diſpatch, of *Sir Humphry Winch*: The Care, and Affection, to the *Common-wealth*, and the Prudent, and Politick Adminiſtration, of *Sir Iohn Denham*; And you ſhall need no other Leſſons. They were all *Lincolns Inn Men*, as you are; You have known them, as well in their *Beginnings*, as in their *Advancement*.

But becauſe, you are to be there, not only *Chief Iuſtice*, but a *Counſeller* of *Eſtate*, I will put you in mind, of the great Work, now in hand; that you may raiſe your thoughtes, according unto it. *Ireland* is the laſt, *Ex Filiis Europæ*, which hath been reclaimed, from Deſolation, and a Deſert, (in many parts,) to Population, and Plantation; And from Savage, and Barbarous, Cuſtomes, to Humanity, and Civility. This is the *Kings* Work in chief. It is his *Garland*, of *Heroicall Vertue*, and *Felicity*; Denied to his Progenitors, and Reſerved to his Times. The Work, is not yet conducted, to perfection, but is in fair Advance. And this I will ſay confidently, that if *God* bleſſe this *Kingdom* with Peace, and Iuſtice; No Uſurer, is ſo ſure, in ſeven years ſpace, to double his *Principall* with *Intereſt*; And *Intereſt* upon *Intereſt*; As that Kingdom is, within the ſame time, to double the ſtock, both of Wealth, and People. So as that *Kingdom*, which once within theſe Twenty years, *Wiſe men* were wont to doubt, whether they ſhould wiſh it, to be in a *Poole*; Is like now to become, almoſt a *Garden*; And *younger Siſter*, to *Great Britain*. And therefore, you muſt ſet down with your ſelf, to be, not only a iuſt *Governer*, and a good *Chief Iuſtice* (as if it were in *England*;) But under the *King*, and the *Deputy*, you are to be a *Maſter Builder*, and a *Maſter Planter*, and *Reducer*, of *Ireland*. To which end, I will trouble you, at this time, but with Three Directions.

1. The Firſt is, that you have ſpeciall care, of the Three *Plantations*. That of the *North*, which is in part acted: That of *Weſtford*, which is now in Diſtribution: And that of *Longford*, and *Letrim*, which is now in ſurvey. And take this from me; That the Bane, of a Plantation, is, when the *Undertakers*, or *Planters*, make ſuch haſt, to a little *Mechanicall preſent profit*, as diſturbeth the whole *Frame*, and nobleneſſe of the work, for Times to come. Therefore, hold them to their *Covenants*, and the ſtrict *Ordinances* of *Plantation*.

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The Second is, that you be carefull, of the *Kings Revenew*; And by little and little, constitute him, a good *Demeasn*, if it may be; Which hitherto is little, or none. For the *Kings* Case is hard, when every Mans Land, shall be improved, in value, with increase manifold; And the *King* shall be tied, to his *Dry Rent*.

My last Direction, (though first in weight,) is, that you do all good Endeavours, to proceed resolutely, and constantly (and yet with due Temparance, and Equality) in *Matters* of *Religion*; least *Ireland Civill*, become more dangerous to us, then *Ireland Savage*. So *God* give you Comfort of your *Place*.

After Sir *William Jones Speech*.

I had forgotten one Thing, which was this. You may take, exceeding great Comfort, that you shall serve, with such a *Deputy*: One, that (I think) is a Man, ordain'd of *God*, to do great *Good*, to that *Kingdome*. And this, I think good, to say to you; That the true Temper, of a *Chief Justice*, towards a *Deputy*, is; Neither servilly to second him, nor factiously to oppose him.

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## The Lord Keepers Speech, *in the Exchecquer*; *to* Sir John Denham; *when he was called to be one of the* Barons *of the* Exchecquer.

SIR *John Denham*; the *King*, of his grace, and favour, hath made choice of you, to be one of the *Barons*, of the Exchecquer; To succeed, to one of the graveſt, and most Reverend *Judges*, of this *Kingdome*; For so I hold *Baron Altham was*. The *King* takes you not upon Credit, but Proof, and great Proof of your former Service; And that, in both those kinds, wherein you are now to serve: For as you have shewed your self a good *Judge* beween party and party; so you have shewed your self a good *Administer*, of the *Revenue*; Both when you were *Chief Baron*; And since as *Counseller* of *Estate*, there in *Ireland*; where the *Counsell* (as you know) doth in great part, mannage, and messuage, the *Revenew*.

And to both these Parts, I will apply some *Admonitions*; But not vulgar, or discursive; But apt for the Times, and in few words: For they are best remembred.

First therefore, above all, you ought to maintain, the *Kings Prerogative*, And to set down with your self that the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Law*, are not two Things; But the *Kings Prerogative is Law*; And the Principall *Part* of the *Law*: The *First-Born*, or *Pars Prima*, of the *Law*: And therefore, in conserving, or maintaining that, you conserve and maintain, the *Law*. There is not, in the *Body* of *Man*, one Law of the Head, and another of the Body, but all is one Entire *Law*.

The next *Point*, that I would now advise you, is, that you acquaint your self, diligently, with the *Revenew*; And also with

the Ancient *Records*, and *Presidents*, of this *Court:* When the famous Case, of the *Copper Mines*, was argued in this *Court*; And judged for the *King*; It was not, upon the fine Reasons, of *Witt*; As that, the *Kings Prerogative*, drew to it, the chief, *in quaque specie:* The *Lion* is the chief of *Beasts*; The *Eagle* the chief of *Birds*; The Whale, the chief of *Fishes*; And so Copper, the chief of Minerals; For these are but *Dalliances* of *Law*, & *Ornaments*; But it was the grave *Records*, and *Presidents*, that grounded, the *Judgement*, of that *Cause:* And therefore, I would have you, both guide, and arm, your self with them, against these Vapours, and Fumes, of Law; which are extracted, out of Mens Inventions, and Conceits.

The third *Advice*, I will give you, hath a large Extent: It is, that you do your Endeavour, in your place, so to manage the *Kings Justice*, and *Revenue*, as the *King* may have most *Profit*, and the *Subject*, least *vexation:* For when there is much *vexation* to the *Subject*, and *little Benefit* to the *King* then the *Exchecquer* is Sick: And when there is, *Much Benefit* to the *King*, with lesse *Trouble*, and *vexation*, to the *Subject*, then the *Exchecquer* is found: As for *Example*; If there shall be much *Racking*, for the *Kings* old Debts; And the more *Fresh*, and *Late Debts* shall be, either more negligently called upon, or over easily discharged, or over indulgently stalled: Or if the *Number* of *Informations* be many; and the *Kings Part*, or *Fines* for *Compositions*, a Trifle: Or if there be, much ado, to get the *King new Land*, upon *Concealments*, and that which he hath already, be not well *known*, and *surveyed*; Nor the woods preserved; (I could put you many other *Cases*,) this fals within that, which I term, the *sick Estate* of the *Exchecquer*. And this is that, which makes every Man ready, with their Undertakings, and their Projects, to disturb, the ancient *Frame* of the *Exchecquer*; (Then the which, I am perswaded, there is not a better;) This being the *Burthen* of the *Song*; That much goeth out of the *Subjects Purse*; And little commeth, to the *Kings Purse*. Therefore, give them not, that Advantage, so to say. Sure I am, that besides your own Associates, the *Barons*; you serve, with two superiour, *Great Officers*, that have Honourable, and true, *Ends*; And desire, to serve the *King*, and right the *Subject*.

There resteth, that I deliver you, your *Patent*.

## *His* Lordships Speech, *in the* Common Pleas, *to* Justice Hutton, *when he was called, to be one of the* Judges, *of the* Common Pleas.

Mr. *Serjeant Hutton*;

THe *Kings most Excellent Majesty*, being duly enformed, of your Learning, Integrity, Discretion, Experience, Meanes, and Reputation in your Countrey; Hath thought fit not to leave you these *Talents*, to be employed upon your self onely; But to call you, to serve *Himself*, and his *People*, in the place, of one of his *Justices*, of the *Court*, of *Common Pleas*.

This *Court*, where you are to serve, is the *Locall Center*, and *Heart*, of the *Laws*, of this *Realm*: Here the *Subject* hath his assurance, By *Fines*, and *Recoveries*: Here he hath his Fixed, and Invariable, *Remedies* by *Precipes*, and *Writs* of *Right*: Here *Justice* opens not, by a *By-gate* of *Priviledge*, but by the *great Gate* of the *Kings originall Writs*, out of the *Chancery*. Here issues Processe of Utlawry; If men will not answer *Law*, in this *Center* of *Law*, they shall be cast out. And therefore, it is proper for you, by all means, with your Wisdome, and Fortitude, to maintain, the *Laws* of the *Realm*: Wherein, nevertheless, I would not have you *Head-strong*, but *Heart-strong*; And to weigh, and remember, with your self, that the 12. *Judges*, of the *Realm*, are, as the 12. *Lions*, under *Salomons Throne*; They must shew their *Stoutnesse*, in *Elevating*, and *Bearing* up the *Throne*. To represent unto you, the *Lines*, and *Portraitures*, of a Good *Judge*.

The 1. is, That you should draw your *Learning*, out of your *Books*, not out of your *Brain*.

2. That you, should mix well, the *Freedom*, of your *own Opinion*, with the *Reverence*, of the *Opinion*, of your *Fellows*.

3. That you should continue, the *Studying* of your *Books*, and not to *spend on*, upon the *old Stock*.

4. That you should fear no *Mans Face*; And yet, not turn *Stoutnesse*, into *Bravery*.

5. That you should be *truly Impartiall*, and not so, as Men may see *Affection*, through fine *Carriage*.

6. That you be a *Light*, to *Jurours*, to *open* their *Eyes*; But not a *Guid*, to *Lead* them, by the *Noses*.

7. That you affect not, the *Opinion*, of Pregnancy, and *Expedition*, by an impatient, and Catching, Hearing, of the *Counsellours* at the *Barre*.

8. That your Speech, be *with Gravity*, as one of the *Sages* of the *Law*; And not *Talkative*, nor with impertinent *Flying out*, to shew *Learning*.

9. That your *Hands*, and the *Hands* of your *Hands*; (I mean, those about you,) Be *Clean*, and *Uncorrupt*, from *Gifts*; From *Medling*

*Medling* in *Titles*; And from *Serving* of *Turns*; Be they, of Great Ones, or Small Ones.

10. That you contain, the *Jurisdiction* of the *Court*, within the ancient *Meere-stones*, without Removing the *Mark*.

11. Lastly, that you carry such a *Hand*, over your *Ministers*, and *Clarks*, as that they may rather be in awe of you, then presume upon you.

These, and the like Points, of the *Duty*, of a *Judge*, I forbear to enlarge; For the *longer*, I have lived with you, the shorter shall my speech be to you; Knowing, that you come so Furnished, and Prepared, with these *Good Vertues*, as whatsoever I shall say, cannot be *New* unto you. And therefore, I will say no more unto you, at this time, but deliver you your *Patent*.

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## *His* Lordships Speech, *in the* Parliament, *being* Lord Chancellor, *To the* Speakers Excuse.

Mr. *Serjeant Richardson*;

THe *King* hath heard, and observed, your grave, and decent, *Speech*; Tending, to the Excuse, and Disablement, of your self, for the place of *Speaker*. In answer whereof, his *Majesty*, hath commanded me, to say to you; That he doth, in no sort, admit of the same.

First, because, if the *Parties* own *Judgement*, should be admitted, in case of *Elections*, Touching himself, it would follow, that the most confident, and over-weening, Persons, would be received; And the most considerate Men, and those that understand themselves best, should be rejected.

Secondly, his *Majesty*, doth so much rely, upon the Wisdomes, and Discretions, of those, of the *House* of *Commons*, that have chosen you, with an unanimous consent, that his *Majesty* thinks not good, to swerve, from their Opinion, in that, wherein themselves, are principally interessed.

Thirdly, you have disabled your Self, in so good, and decent, a Fashion; As the *Manner*, of your *Speech*, hath destroyed, the *Matter* of it.

And therefore, the *King*, doth allow of the *Election*, and admits you for *Speaker*.

### To the *Speakers Oration*.

Mr. *Speaker*;

THe *King* hath heard, and observed, your eloquent Discourse, containing, much good Matter, and much good Will:

will: Wherein, you muſt expect from me, ſuch an Anſwer, onely, as is pertinent to the *Occaſion*, and compaſſed, by due reſpect of *Time*.

I may divide, that which you have ſaid, into four parts.

The firſt was, a *Commendation*, or *Laudative*, of *Monarchy*.

The ſecond was, indeed, a large *Field*; Containing, a thankfull *Acknowledgement*, of his *Majeſties*, *Benefits*, *Attributes*, and *Acts* of *Government*.

The third was, ſome *Paſſages*, touching the *Inſtitution*, and *Uſe* of *Parliaments*.

The fourth, and laſt was, certain *Petitions*, to his *Majeſty*; on the behalf, of the *Houſe*, and your *ſelf*.

For your *Commendation* of *Monarchy*, and preferring it, before other *Eſtates*, it needs no *Anſwer*. The *Schools* may diſpute it; But *Time* hath tryed it; And we find it to be the Beſt. Other *States*, have curious Frames, ſoon put out of order; And they, that are made fit to laſt, are not, commonly, fit to grow, or ſpread: And contrarywiſe, thoſe that are made fit to ſpread, and enlarge, are not fit, to continue, and endure. But *Monarchy*, is like a *Work* of *Nature*, well compoſed, both to grow, and to continue. From this I paſſe. 1. Part.

For the ſecond part, of your *Speech*, wherein you did, with no leſſe Truth, then Affection, acknowledge, the great Felicity, which we enjoy, by his *Majeſties Reign*, and *Government*; His *Majeſtie*, hath commanded me, to ſay unto you: That *Praiſes*, and *Thanks-givings*, he knoweth, to be the true Oblations, of Hearts, and loving Affections: But that, which you offer him, he will joyn with you, in offering it up to *God*, who is the *Authour* of all *Good*; who knoweth alſo, the *uprightneſs*, of his *Heart*; who, He hopeth, will continue, and encreaſe, his *Bleſſings*, both upon *Himſelf*, and his *Poſterity*; And likewiſe, upon his *Kingdomes*, and the *Generations* of them. 2. Part.

But I, for my part, muſt ſay unto you, as the *Grecian Orator* ſaid, long ſince, in the like caſe: *Solus dignus harum rerum Laudator Tempus*. *Time*, is the onely *Commender*, and *Encomiaſtique*, worthy of his *Majeſty*, and his *Government*.

Why *Time*? For that, in the Revolution, of ſo many years, and Ages, as have paſſed over this *Kingdome*; Notwithſtanding, many Noble, and excellent, Effects, were never produced, untill his *Majeſtys* dayes; But have been reſerved, as proper, and peculiar, unto them.

And becauſe, this is no part of a *Panegyrick*, but meerly *Story*, and that they be, ſo many *Articles* of *Honour*, fit to be recorded, I will onely mention them; extracting part of them, out of that, you, Mr. *Speaker*, have ſaid. They be, in Number, Eight.

1. His *Majeſty*, is the firſt, (as you noted it well,) that hath laid *Lapis Angularis*, the *Corner Stone*, of theſe two mighty *Kingdomes*, of *England*, and *Scotland*; And taken away, the *Wall* of *Separation*: Whereby

Whereby his *Majeſty*, is become, the *Monarch*, of the moſt puiſſant, and Militar, *Nations*, of the *World*: And if one, of the Ancient wiſe Men, was not deceived, *Iron commands Gold.*

2. Secondly, the *Plantation*, and *Reduction*, to *Civility*, of *Ireland*, (the ſecond *Iſland*, of the *Ocean Atlantique*,) did, by *Gods* Providence, wait, for his *Majeſties* Times: Being a work, reſembling, indeed, the *Workes* of the ancient *Heroes*: No new piece, of that kind, in *Modern Times.*

3. Thirdly, this *Kingdom*, now firſt, in his *Majeſties Times*, hath gotten a *Lot*, or *Portion*, in the New *World*, by the *Plantation* of *Virginia*, and the *Summer Iſlands.* And certainly, it is with the *Kingdomes* on *Earth*, as it is, in the *Kingdom* of *Heaven.* Sometimes, a *Grain* of *Muſtardſeed*, proves a great *Tree.* Who can tell?

4. Fourthly, his *Majeſty*, hath made that Truth, which was before Titulary; In that he hath verified the *Stile*, of *Defender of the Faith*; Wherein, his *Majeſties Pen*, hath been ſo happy, as though, the *Deaf Adder*, will not *hear*, yet he is *charmed*, that he doth not *Hiſs.* I mean, in the graver ſort of thoſe, that have anſwered, his *Majeſties Writings.*

5. Fiftly, it is moſt certain, that ſince the *Conqueſt*, yee cannot aſſign Twenty years, (which is the Time, that his *Majeſties Raign*, now drawes faſt upon,) of Inward, and Outward Peace. Inſomuch, as the Time of *Queen Eliz.* of happy memory; And alwaies magnified, for a peaceable *Raign*, was, nevertheleſs, interrupted, the firſt Twenty years, with a *Rebellion*, in *England.* And both firſt, and laſt, Twenty years, with *Rebellions*, in *Ireland.* And yet, I know, that his *Majeſty* will make good, both his *Words*; As well that, of *Nemo me laſceſſet impunè*; As that other, of *Beati pacifici.*

6. Sixthly, that true, and primitive, *Office*, of *Kings*, which is, to *ſit* in the *Gate*, and to *judge* the *People*, was never performed, in like perfection, by any of the *Kings Progenitors*: Whereby, his *Majeſty* hath ſhewed himſelf, to be *Lex loquens*; And to ſit upon the *Throne*, not as a *dumb ſtatua*, but as a *Speaking Oracle.*

7. Seventhly, for his *Majeſties Mercy*, (as you noted it well,) ſhew me a time, wherein a *King*, of this *Realm*, hath *Reigned*, almoſt 20. years, (as I ſaid,) in his *White Robes*, without the *Blood*, of any *Peer*, of this *Kingdom*: The *Axe*, turned, once or twice, towards a *Peere*, but never ſtrook.

8. Laſtly: The *Flouriſhing*, of *Arts*, and *Sciences*, recreated by his *Majeſties* Countenance, and Bounty, was never in that Heighth; eſpecially, that *Art* of *Arts*, *Divinity*: For that, we may, truly, to *Gods* great glory, confeſs; That ſince the *Primitive times*, there were never, ſo many *Stars*, (for ſo the *Scripture* calleth them,) in that *Firmament.*

Theſe Things, Mr. *Speaker*, I have, partly, choſen, out of your Heap; and are ſo far, from being vulgar, as they are, in effect, ſingular, and proper, to his *Majeſty*, and his *Times.* So that, I have made good, as I take it, my firſt *Aſſertion*; *That the only worthy*

*thy Commender of his Majeſty is Time:* Which hath ſo ſet off, his *Majeſties Merits*, by the *Shadowes* of *Compariſon*, as it paſſeth the *Luſtre*, or *Commendation*, of *Words*.

How then ſhall I conclude? Shall I ſay, *O Fortunatos nimium ſua ſi Bona norint:* No, For I ſee, ye are happy, in injoying them, and happy again, in knowing them. But, I will conclude, this part, with that *Saying*, turned to the Right Hand; *Si gratum dixeris, omnia dixeris.* Your gratitude containes, in a word, all that I can ſay to you, touching this *Parliament*.

Touching the Third *Point*, of your *Speech*, concerning *Parliaments*, I ſhall need to ſay little: For there was never, that Honour done, to the *Inſtitution* of *Parliament*, that his *Majeſty* did it, in his laſt Speech; making it, in effect, the *perfection* of *Monarchy:* For that, although *Monarchy*, was the more Ancient, and be independant; yet by the Advice, and Aſſiſtance of *Parliament*, it is the ſtronger, and the ſurer built. 3. Part.

And therefore, I ſhall ſay no more, of this *Point*, but as you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) did well note: That when the *King* ſits in *Parliament*, and his *Prelates*, *Peeres*, and *Commons*, attend him, he is in the *Exaltation* of his *Orb:* So, I wiſh things, may be ſo carried, that he may be then, in greateſt *Serenity*, and *Benignity*, of *Aſpect*; ſhining upon his *People*, both in *Glory*, and *Grace*. Now you know well, that that the *ſhining* of the *ſun*, fair upon the *ground*, whereby all things exhilarate, and do fructifie; is either hindered by *Clouds* above, or *Miſts* below; perhaps by *Brambles*, and *Briars*, that grow upon the *Ground* it ſelf. All which, I hope, at this time, will be diſpelled, and removed.

I come now, to the laſt part of your *Speech*, concerning the *Petitions:* But before, I deliver, his *Majeſties* Anſwer, reſpectively, in particular; I am to ſpeak unto you, ſome few words in generall: Wherein, in effect, I ſhall but glean; His *Majeſty*, having ſo excellently, and fully, expreſſed himſelf. 4. Part.

For that, that can be ſpoken, pertinently, muſt be, either touching the *Subject*, or *Matter*, of *Parliament Buſineſſe*; Or of the *Manner*, and *Carriage* of the ſame; Or laſtly, of the *Time*, and the *Husbanding*, and *Marſhalling*, of *Time*.

For the *Matters*, to be handled, in *Parliament*, they are, either of *Church*, *State*, *Lawes*, or *Grievances*.

For the Firſt two, concerning *Church*, or *State*, ye have heard, the *King* himſelf ſpeak, and as the *Scripture* ſaith; *Who is he, that in ſuch things ſhall come after the King?* For the other two, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat, but very ſhortly.

For *Lawes*, they are Things proper, for your own Element: And therefore therein, ye are rather to lead, then to be led. Only, it is not amiſſe, to put you in mind, of two Things: The one, that you do not *multiply*, or *accumulate*, *Lawes*, more then ye need. There is a Wiſe, and Learned, *Civilian*, that applies, the *Curſe* of the *Prophet*, *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos*, *To Multiplicity* of *Lawes*; For

they do but enſnare, and entangle the *People*. I wiſh rather, that ye ſhould either revive good *Lawes*, that are fallen, and diſcontinued; Or provide, againſt the ſlack execution, of *Lawes*, which are already in Force; Or meet, with the ſubtile Evaſions, from *Lawes*, which *Time*, and *Craft*, hath undermined; then to make, *Novas Creaturas Legum*, *Lawes upon a new Mould*.

The other *Point*, touching *Lawes*, is; That ye buſie not your ſelves, too much, in private *Bills*; except it be in *Caſes*, wherein the Help, and Arm, of ordinary *Juſtice*, is too ſhort.

For *Grievances*, his *Majeſty*, hath, with great Grace, and Benignity, opened himſelf. Nevertheleſſe, the Limitations, which may make up your *Grievances*, not to beat the Air only, but to ſort, to a deſired effect, are, principally, two. The one, (to uſe his *Majeſties* term,) that ye do not *Hunt* after *Grievances*; Such as may ſeem, rather, to be ſtirred here, when ye are met, then to have ſprung, from the deſires of the Country: Ye are to *repreſent* the *People*; ye are not to *perſonate* them.

The other, that ye do not, heap up *Grievances*, as if *Numbers*, ſhould make a *ſhew*, where the *Weight* is ſmall; Or as if, all things amiſs, (like *Plato's Common wealth*,) ſhould be remedied at once. It is certain, that the beſt *Governments*, yea and the beſt *Men*, are like the beſt *precious Stones*, wherein every Flaw, or Iſickle, or Grain, are ſeen, and noted more, then in thoſe, that are, generally, foul, and corrupted.

Therefore, contain, your ſelves, within that Moderation, as may appear to bend, rather to the Effectuall Eaſe of the *People*, then to a Diſcurſive Envy, or ſcandall upon the *State*.

As for the *Manner*, of *Carriage*, of *Parliament Buſineſſe*, ye muſt know, that ye deal with a *King*, that hath been longer *King*, then any of you, have been *Parliament Men*; And a *King*, that is no leſſe ſenſible, of *Formes*, then of *Matter*; And is as far, from induring Diminution, of *Majeſty*, as from regarding *Flattery*, or *Vain Glory*; And a *King*, that underſtandeth, as well, the Pulſe, of the Hearts, of People, as his own Orb. And therefore, both let your Grievances, have a decent, and Reverent Form, and Stile; And (to uſe the words of former *Parliaments*,) let them be, *Tanquam Gemitus Columbæ*, without Pique, or Harſhneſſe; And on the other ſide, in that ye do for the *King*, Let it have a Mark, of *Unity*, *Alacrity*, and *Affection*; which will be of this Force; That whatſoever ye do, in ſubſtance, will be doubled in Reputation abroad, as in a Cryſtall Glaſs.

For the *Time*, if ever *Parliament* was to be meaſured by the Houre-glaſs, it is this; In regard of the inſtant Occaſion, flying away irrecoverably. Therefore let your *Speeches*, in the *Houſe*, be the *Speeches* of *Counſellors*, and not of *Orators*: Let your *Committees*, tend to diſpatch, not to diſpute; And ſo marſhall the *Times*, as the publique Buſineſſe, eſpecially the proper Buſineſſe, of the *Parliament* be put firſt; And private *Bills* be put laſt, as time

ſhall

ſhall give leave, or within the ſpaces, of the *Publique.*

For the Foure *Petitions*, his *Majeſty* is pleaſed to grant them all, as liberally, as the Ancient, and true Cuſtom, of *Parliament*, doth warrant; And with the cautions, that have ever gon with them; That is to ſay; That the *priviledge*, be not uſed, for Defrauding of Creditours, and Defeating of ordinary Juſtice: That *Liberty* of *Speech*, turn not into Licenſe; but be joyned, with that Gravity, and Diſcretion, as may taſt of Duty, and Love, to your *Soveraign*, Reverence to your own *Aſſembly*, and Reſpect to the *Matters* ye handle. That your *Acceſſes*, be at ſuch fit Times, as may ſtand beſt with his *Majeſties* pleaſure, and Occaſions. That *Miſtakings*, and *Miſunderſtandings*, be rather avoided, and prevented, (as much as may be,) then ſalved, or cleared.

# CERTAIN TREATISES VVritten, or Referring TO Queen Elizabeths TIMES: BEING OBSERVATIONS UPON A LIBELL,

Published in *Anno*, 1592.

A trúe Report of Doctour *LOPEZ* his TREASON.

An Advertisement, touching the Controversies, of the Church of ENGLAND.

A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen *ELIZABETH*.

By the Right Honourable
*FRANCIS BACON*,
Baron of *Verulam*, Viscount St. *Alban*.

*LONDON*,
Printed by *S. Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Fleetstreet*, at the signe of the Turks-head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.

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UPON A

# LIBELL,

Publiſhed this preſent year, 1592.

INTITULED; A

# DECLARATION

Of the *TRVE CAVSES*,

OF THE

*GREAT TROVBLES*,

Preſuppoſed to be intended, againſt the *REALM*, of *ENGLAND*.

IT were Juſt, and Honourable, for *Princes*, being in *Warrs* together, that howſoever, they proſecute their *Quarrels*, and *Debates*, by *Arms*, and *Acts* of *Hoſtility*; yea, though the *Warrs* be ſuch, as they pretend the utter Ruine, and Overthrow, of the *Forces*, and *States*, one of another; yet they ſo limit their *Paſſions*, as they preſerve, two Things, Sacred, and Inviolable; That is, The *Life*, and *good Name*, each of other. For the *Warrs*, are no *Maſſacres*, and *Confuſions*; But they are, the Higheſt *Trials* of *Right*; when *Princes*, and *States*, that acknowledge no Superior upon Earth, ſhall put themſelves, upon the *Juſtice* of *God*, for the Deciding of their Controverſies, by ſuch Succeſſe, as it ſhall pleaſe him, to give, on either ſide. And as, in the Proceſſe,

ceſſe, of particular Pleas, between private Men, all things, ought to be ordered, by the Rules, of *Civill Lawes*: So, in the Proceedings, of the *Warre*, nothing ought to be done, againſt the *Law* of *Nations*, or the *Law* of *Honour*; Which *Lawes*, have ever pronounced, thoſe two *Sorts*, of *Men*; The one, *Conſpiratours*, againſt the *Perſons* of *Princes*; The other, *Libellers*, againſt their *good Fame*, to be ſuch Enemies, of common Society, as are not to be cheriſhed, no not by *Enemies*. For, in the Examples, of Times, which were leſſe corrupted, we find, that when, in the greateſt Heats, and Extremities of *Warrs*, there have been made Offers of *Murderous*, and *Traiterous*, *Attempts*, againſt the *Perſon*, of a *Prince*, to the *Enemy*, they have been, not onely *Rejected*, but alſo *Revealed*. And, in like manner, when *Diſhonourable Mention*, hath been made, of a *Prince*, before an *Enemy Prince*, by ſome, that have thought, therein, to pleaſe his Humour, he hath ſhewed himſelf, contrarywiſe, utterly diſtaſted therewith, and been ready, to conteſt, for the *Honour*, of an *Enemy*.

According to which Noble, and Magnanimous, Kind of Proceeding, it will be found, that, in the whole Courſe, of her *Majeſties* Proceeding, with the *King* of *Spain*; ſince the Amity interrupted; There was never any project, by *her Majeſty*, or any of her *Miniſters*, either moved, or aſſented unto, for the Taking away, of the *Life*, of the ſaid *King*: Neither, hath there been, any *Declaration*, or *Writing*, of *Eſtate*; No, nor *Book allowed*, wherein his *Honour*, hath been touched, or taxed, otherwiſe then for his *Ambition*; A point, which is, neceſſarily, interlaced, with her *Majeſties*, own Juſtification. So that no Man, needeth to doubt, but that thoſe *Warrs*, are grounded, upon her *Majeſties* part, upon juſt, and Honourable Cauſes, which have ſo Juſt, and Honourable, a proſecution; Conſidering, it is a much harder Matter, when a *Prince* is entred into *Warrs*, to hold reſpect then, and not to be tranſported with *Paſſion*; than, to make *Moderate*, and *Juſt Reſolutions*, in the *Beginnings*.

But now, if a Man look, on the other part, it will appear, that rather, as it is to be thought, by the Solicitation of *Traiterous Subjects*, (which is the onely Poyſon, and Corruption, of all Honourable *Warr*, between Forrainers;) Or by the Preſumption of his *Agents*, and *Miniſters*, then, by the proper Inclination, of that *King*, there hath been, if not plotted, and practiſed, yet, at the leaſt, comforted, Conſpiracies, againſt her *Majeſties Sacred Perſon*; which, nevertheleſſe, *Gods Goodneſſe*, hath uſed, and turned, to ſhew by ſuch miraculous Diſcoveries, into how near, and precious, Care, and Cuſtody, it hath pleaſed him, to receive her *Majeſties Life*, and *Preſervation*. But, in the other Point, it is ſtrange; what a number, of *Libellous*, and *Defamatory*, *Bookes*, and *Writings*, and in what Variety, with what Art, and cunning, handled, have been allowed to paſs through the *World*, in all *Languages*, againſt her *Majeſty*, and her *Government*; Sometimes, pretending, the

*Gravity*,

*Gravity*, and *Authority*, of *Church Stories*, to move *Belief*; sometimes, formed into *Remonstrances*, and *Advertisements* of *Estate*, to move *Regard*; Sometimes, presented, as it were, in *Tragedies*, of the *Persecutions* of *Catholicks*, to move *Pitty*; Sometimes, contrived, into pleasant *Pasquils* and *Satyres*, to move sport: So as, there is no shape, whereinto, these Fellowes, have not transformed themselves; Nor no Humor, nor affection, in the mind of Man, to which they have not applyed themselves; Thereby, to insinuate, their Untruths, and abuses, to the *World*. And, indeed, let a Man look into them, and he shall find them, the only *Triumphant Lies*, that ever were confuted, by *Circumstances*, of *Time*, and *Place*; Confuted by *Contrariety*, in themselves; Confuted, by the Witness, of infinite Persons, that live yet, and have had, particular Knowledge, of the Matters: But yet avouched, with such Asseveration, as if, either they were fallen, into that strange Disease of the Mind, which a Wise *Writer*, describeth, in these words; *Fingunt simul creduntque*; Or as if, they had received it, as a principall *Precept*, and *Ordinance*, of their *Seminaries*; *Audacter calumniare, semper aliquid hæret*; Or as if, they were of the Race, which in old time, were wont, to help themselves, with Miraculous Lies; But, when the *Cause* of this, is entred into; Namely, that there passeth over, out of this *Realm*, a number of Eager, and Unquiet, *Schollers*, whom, their own Turbulent, and Humourous, Nature, presseth out, to seek their Adventures abroad; And that, on the other side, they are nourished, rather in Listening after News, and Intelligences, and in Whisperings, then in any Commendable Learning; And after a time, when either their Necessitous Estate, or their Ambitious Appetites, importune them, they fall on devising, how to do, some acceptable service, to that side, which maintaineth them; So as ever, when their Credit, waxeth Cold, with Forrain *Princes*; Or that their Pensions, are ill pay'd; Or some Preferment, is in sight, at which they levell; Straitwayes, out commeth a *Libell*, pretending thereby, to keep in life the party, which within the Realm, is contrary to the State: (Wherein, they are as wise, as he, that thinketh, to kindle a Fire, by blowing the dead Ashes;) When, I say, a man looketh into the *Cause*, and *Ground*, of this plentifull yield of *Libells*, he will cease, to marvaile, considering the Concurrence, which is, as well, in the Nature of the seed, as in the travell of Tilling, and dressing; yea, and in the Fitnesse, of the Season, for the Bringing up of those infectious weeds.

But, to verefie, the Saying, of our *Saviour*, *Non est Discipulus super Magistrum*; As they have sought to deprave, her *Majesties Government*, in her self; So, have they not forgotten, to do the same, in her principall *Servants*, and *Counsellers*; Thinking belike, that as the *Immediate Invectives*, against her *Majesty*, do best satisfie, the Malice, of the *Forreiner*; So the slander, and Calumniation, of her *principall Counsellours*, agreed best, with the Humours, of some

*Male-contents*, within the *Realm*; Imagining alſo, that it was like, they ſhould be more ſcattered here, and freelier diſperſed; And alſo ſhould be leſſe odious, to thoſe *Forrainers*, which were not meerely partiall, and paſſionate; who have, for the moſt part, in deteſtation, the *Traiterous Libellings*, of *Subjects*, directly againſt their *Naturall Prince*.

Amongſt the Reſt, in this kind, there hath been publiſhed, this preſent year, of 1592. a *Libel*, that giveth place, to none of the Reſt, in *Malice*, and *untruths*; Though inferior, to moſt of them, in penning, and Stile; The *Authour*, having choſen, the vaine of a *Lucianiſt*; And yet, being a Counterfeit, even in that kind. This *Libell*, is intituled; *A Declaration, of the true Cauſes, of the great Troubles, preſuppoſed to be intended, againſt the Realm of* England. And hath a Semblance, as if it were bent, againſt the Doings, of her *Majeſties*, Ancient, and *Worthy Counſellor*, the *Lord Burghley*; Whoſe Carefulneſs, and Paines, her *Majeſty*, hath uſed, in her *Counſells*, and *Actions*, of this *Realm*, for theſe 34. years ſpace, in all dangerous Times; And amidſt many, and mighty, practiſes; And with ſuch ſucceſſe, as our Enemies, are put ſtill, to their *Paper-ſhot*, of ſuch *Libels*, as theſe: The memory, of whom, will remain, in this *Land*, when all theſe *Libels*, ſhall be extinct, and forgotten; According to the *Scripture*; *Memoria Juſti cum laudibus, at Impiorum Nomen putreſcet*. But it is more then evident, by the parts of the ſame *Book*, that the *Authors Malice*, was to her *Majeſty*, and her *Government*; As may eſpecially appear, in this, That he charged not, his *Lordſhip*, with any particular *Actions*, of his private Life; (Such power had Truth;) whereas, the *Libels*, made againſt other *Counſellors*, have, principally, inſiſted upon that part: But hath only, wreſted, and detorted, ſuch *Actions* of *Sate*, as in Times, of his Service, have been Mannaged; And depraving them, hath aſcribed, and imputed to him, the Effects, that have followed; Indeed, to the *Good* of the *Realm*, and the *Honour* of her *Majeſty*; Though, ſometimes, to the *Provoking* of the *Malice*, but *Abridging* of the *Power*, and *Meanes*, of Deſperate, and Incorrigible, *Subjects*.

All which *Slanders*, as his *Lordſhip*, might juſtly deſpiſe; Both, for their Manifeſt *Untruths*, and for the *Baſeneſſe*, and *Obſcurity*, of the *Authour*; So nevertheleſſe, according to the Moderation, which his *Lordſhip* uſeth, in all Things; Never claiming the Priviledge, of his Authority, when it is Queſtion, of ſatisfying the *World*; He hath been content, that they be not paſſed over, altogether, in Silence: Whereupon, I have, in particular Duty, to his *Lordſhip*, amongſt others, that do Honour, and Love, his *Lordſhip*; And that have, diligently, obſerved his Actions; And in *Zeal* of *Truth*, collected, upon the *Reading*, of the ſaid *Libell*, certain *Obſervations*; Not in Form, of a juſt Anſwer, leſt, I ſhould fall into the Error, whereof *Salomon*, ſpeaketh thus; *Anſwer not a Foole, in his own kind, leaſt thou alſo be like him*; But only,

to

to diſcover the Malice, & to reprove, and convict the Untruths, thereof.

The Points, that I have obſerved, upon the *Reading*, of this *Libell*, are theſe following.

1. Of the *Scope*, or *Drift*, of the *Libeller*.
2. Of the preſent *Eſtate*, of this *Realm*, of *England*; whether it may be, truly avouched, to be *Proſperous*, or *Afflicted*.
3. Of the *Proceedings*, againſt the pretended *Catholiques*, whether they have been *Violent*; or Moderate, and neceſſary.
4. Of the *Diſturbance*, of the *Quiet*, of *Chriſtendom*; And to what *Cauſes*, it may be, juſtly, imputed.
5. Of the *Cunning*, of the *Libeller*, in *Palliation*, of his Malicious *Invective*, againſt her *Majeſty*, and the *State*, with pretence, of taxing onely, the Actions, of the *Lord Burleigh*.
6. Certain true Generall Notes, upon the *Actions*, of the *Lord Burleigh*.
7. Of diverſe *particular Untruhs*, and *Abuſes*, diſperſed through the *Libell*.
8. Of the *Height*, of *Impudency*, that theſe Men, are grown unto, in *Publiſhing*, and *Avouching*, *Untruths*; with *particular Recitall*, of ſome of them, for an *Aſſay*.

1. Of the *Scope*, or *Drift* of the *Libeller*.

It is good Advice, in dealing, with Cautelous, and Malicious, perſons; Whoſe Speech, is ever at diſtance, with their Meanings; *Non quid dixerint, ſed quò ſpectârint, videndum:* A Man, is not to regard, what they affirm, or what they hold; But, what they would convey, under their pretended Diſcovery, and what turn they would ſerve. It ſoundeth ſtrangely, in the Eares, of an *Engliſh Man*; That the Miſeries, of the *preſent State*, of *England*, exceed them, of former times, whatſoever. One would, ſtrait-way, think with himſelf; Doth this Man beleeve what he ſaith? Or not beleeving it, doth he think it poſſible, to make us beleeve it? Surely, in my conceit, neither of both; But his End, no doubt, was, to round the *Pope*, and the *King* of *Spain*, in the Eare, by ſeeming, to tell a Tale, to the *People* of *England*. For ſuch Bookes, are ever wont, to be tranſlated, into diverſe *Languages*: And, no doubt, the Man, was not ſo ſimple, as to think, he could perſwade, the *People* of *England*, the Contrary, of what they taſt, and feele. But he thought, he might better abuſe, the States, abroad, if he directed his Speech to them, who could beſt convict him, and diſprove him, if he ſaid untrue: So that, as *Livy* ſaith, in the like caſe; *Ætolos, magis, coram quibus verba facerent, quam ad quos, penſi habere: That the* Ætolians, *in their Tale, did more reſpect thoſe, which did over-hear them, then thoſe, to whom they directed their Speech:* So, in this matter, this Fellow, cared not, to be counted a *Lier*, by all

*Engliſh*, upon Price, of Deceiving, of *Spain*, and *Italy*: For it muſt be underſtood, that it hath been, the generall Practiſe, of this kind of Men, many years, of the one ſide, to abuſe, the forraine Eſtates, by making them believe, that all is out of Joynt, and Ruinous, here in *England*. And that, there is a great part ready, to joyn with the *Invader*: And, on the other ſide, to make, the *Evill Subjects*, of *England*, believe, of great *Preparations abroad*, and in great readineſſe, to be put in Act; And ſo to deceive, on both ſides: And this, I take to be, his *Principall Drift*. So again, it is an extravagant, and incredible, Conceit, to Imagine, that all the *Concluſions*, and *Actions*, of *Eſtate*, which have paſſed, during her *Majeſties Raign*, ſhould be aſcribed, to one *Counſeller* alone; And to ſuch an one, as was never noted, for an *Imperious*, or *Overruling*, Man: And to ſay, that though, He carried them, not by Violence, yet he compaſſed, them by Deviſe; There is no Man of *Judgement*, that looketh into the Nature of theſe Times, but will eaſily deſcry, that the Wits, of theſe Dayes, are too much refined, for any Man, to walk Inviſible: Or to make, all the World, his Inſtruments; And therefore, no not in this point, aſſuredly, the *Libeller* ſpake, as he thought; But this he foreſaw; That the *Imputation*, of *Cunning*, doth breed *Suſpicion*; And the *Imputation*, of *Greatneſſe*, and *Sway*, doth breed *Envy*: And therefore, finding, where he was moſt wrung, and by whoſe pollicy, and Experience, their plots were moſt croſſed, the mark he ſhot at, was to ſee, whether he could heave, at his *Lordſhips Authority*, by making him ſuſpected, to the *Queen*; or generally odious, to the Realm: Knowing well enough, for the one point, that there are not only *Jealouſies*, but certain *Revolutions*, in *Princes Minds*: So that, it is a rare Vertue, in the *Rareſt Princes*, to continue conſtant to the End, in their Favours, and Employments. And knowing, for the other point, that Envy, ever accompanieth *Greatneſs*, though never ſo well deſerved: And that his *Lordſhip*, hath alwaies marched, a Round, and a Reall Courſe, in ſervice: And as, he hath not moved *Envy*, by *Pomp*, and *Oſtentation*; ſo, hath he never extinguiſhed it, by any *Popular*, or *Inſinuative*, *Carriage* of Himſelf: And this, no doubt, was his *Second Drift*,

A Third *Drift*, was, to aſſay, if he could ſupplant, and weaken, (by this violent kind of *Libelling*, and turning the whole *Imputation*, upon his *Lordſhip*,) his Reſolution, and Courage; And to make him proceed more cautelouſly, and not ſo throughly, and ſtrongly, againſt them; Knowing his *Lordſhip*, to be a *Politick Man*, and one, that hath, a *great Stake* to *leeſe*.

Laſtly, leaſt while I diſcover *Cunning*, and *Art*, of this Fellow, I ſhould make him wiſer then he was, I think, a great part of this *Book*, was Paſſion; *Difficile eſt tacere, cùm doleat*. The *Humours*, of theſe *Men* being, of themſelves, eager, and Fierce, have, by the Abort, and Blaſting, of their Hopes; been blinded and enraged. And ſurely, this *Book*, is, of all that Sort, that have been written

written, of the meaneſt work-man-ſhip; Being fraughted, with ſundry *baſe Scoffs*, and *cold Amplifications*, and other *Characters*, of Deſpite; But void, of all *Judgement*, or *Ornament*.

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2. *Of the preſent* Eſtate, *of this* Realm, *of* England; *whether it may be, truly, avouched, to be* proſperous, *or* Afflicted.

THe *Benefits*, of *Almighty God*, upon this *Land*, ſince the time, that in his ſingular providence, he led, as it were, by the hand, and placed, in the *Kingdome*, his *Servant*, our *Queen Elizabeth*, are ſuch, as not in Boaſting, or in Confidence of our ſelves, but in praiſe of his *Holy Name*, are worthy, to be, both conſidered, and confeſſed; yea, and regiſtred, in perpetuall Memory: Notwithſtanding, I mean not, after the manner of a *Panegyrique*, to *Extoll* the *preſent Time*. It ſhall ſuffice onely, that thoſe *Men*, that through the Gall, and Bitterneſs, of their own Heart, have loſt their *Taſt*, and *Judgement*; And would, deprive *God*, of his *Glory*, and *us*, of our *ſences*, in affirming our *Condition*, to be *Miſerable*, and full of Tokens, of the *Wrath*, and *Indignation* of *God*, be reproved.

If then, it be true, that, *Nemo eſt Miſer, aut Felix, niſi comparatus*; Whether we ſhall, (keeping our ſelves, within the Compaſſe, of our own *Iſland*,) look, into the *Memories*, of *Times paſt*; Or, at this preſent time, take a view, of other *States*, abroad, in *Europe*; We ſhall find, that we need not give place, to the *Happineſſe*, either of *Anceſtours*, or *Neighbours*. For, if a Man weigh well, all the *Parts*, of *State*, and *Religion*, *Lawes*, *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*, *Pollicy* of *Government*, *Manners*, *Civility*, *Learning* and *Liberall Sciences*, *Induſtry* and *Manuall Arts*, *Armes* and *Proviſions* of *Wars*, for *Sea*, and *Land*, *Treaſure*, *Traffique*, *Improvement* of the *Soyle*, *Population*, *Honour* and *Reputation*: It will appear, that taking, one part, with Another, the *State*, of this *Nation*, was never more Flouriſhing.

It is eaſie, to call to *Remembrance*, out of *Hiſtories*, the *Kings*, of *England*, which have, in more ancient times, enjoyed greateſt *Happineſſe*; Beſides her *Majeſties Father*, and *Grand father*, that raigned in rare *Felicity*, as is freſh in Memory. They have been, *K. Henry* 1. *K. Hen* 2. *K. Hen.* 3. *King Edw.* the 1. *K. Edw.* the 3. *K. Henry* the 5. All which, have been *Princes*, of Royall Vertue, Great Felicity, and Famous Memory. But it may be truly affirmed, without derogation, to any of theſe worthy *Princes*, that whatſoever we find in *Libels*, there is not to be found, in the

the *English Chronicles*, a *King*, that hath, in all respects, laid together, raigned with such Felicity, as her *Majesty* hath done. For as for the *First* 3. *Henries*; The *First*, came in, too soon, after a *Conqueſt*: The *Second*, too soon, after an *Vsurpation*; And the *Third*, too soon, after a *League*, or *Barons War*; To raign, with *Security*, and Contentation. *King H.* 1. also, had unnaturall Wars, with his *Brother Robert*, wherein much *Nobility* was consumed: He had therewithall, tedious Wars, in *Wales*; And was not, without some other Seditions, and Troubles; As namely, the great Contestation, of his *Prelates*. *King Henry* 2. his *Happineſſe*, was much deformed, by the *Revolt* of his son *Henry*, after he had associated him, and of his other *Sonnes*. *King Hen.* 3. besides his continuall Wars, in *Wales*, was after 44. years raign, unquieted, with Intricate Commotions, of his *Barons*; As may appear, by the *Mad Parliament*, held at *Oxford*, and the *Acts* thereupon ensuing. His Son, *King Ed.* 1. had a more flouriſhing Time, then any of the other; Came to his Kingdom, at ripe years, and with great Reputation, after his voyage, into the *Holy Land*; And was much loved, and obeyed; contrived his Wars, with great Judgement; First, having *reclaimed Wales*, to a setled Allegeance; And being, upon the point, of *Uniting Scotland*. But yet, I suppose, it was more honour, for her *Majesty*, to have, so important a piece of *Scotland*, in her hand; And the same, with such Justice, to render up; Then it was, for that worthy *King*, to have advanced, in such Forwardneſſe, the *Conqueſt*, of that Nation. And for *King Edward* 3. his *Raign* was visited, with much *Sickneſſe*, and *Mortality*, So as they reckoned, in his dayes, 3. severall *Mortalities*: One in the 22. year: Another in the 35. year: And the last, in the 43. year, of his *Raign*: And being otherwise, Victorious, and in Prosperity, was by that onely *Crosse*, more afflicted, then he was, by the other *Prosperities*, comforted. Besides, he entred hardly: And again, according to the Verse; *Cedebant ultima primis*: His *Latter Times*, were not so *prosperous*. And for *King Henry* 5. as his Succeſſe was wonderfull, so he wanted Continuance; Being extinguished, after 10. years *Raign*, in the *Prime*, of his *Fortunes*.

1. Continuance

Now for her *Majesty*, we will, first, speak, of the *Blessing* of *Continuance*, as that, which wanted, in the *Happiest*, of these *Kings*: And is not only, a *great favour* of *God*, unto the *Prince*, but also, a singular *Benefit*, unto the *People*: For that *Sentence* of the *Scripture*: *Misera Natio, cùm multi sunt principes eius*: is interpreted, not only, to extend, to *Divisions*, and *Distractions*, in *Government*, but also, to *Frequent Changes*, in *Succession*: Considering, that the *Change* of a *Prince*, bringeth in, many *Charges*, which are *Harsh*, and *Unpleasant*, to a great part of *Subjects*. It appeareth then, that of the Line, of Five hundred, and foure-score years, and more, containing the Number of 22. *Kings*, God hath already prolonged, her *Majesties* Raign, to exceed *six-*

*teen*

*teen*, of the ſaid *Two and Twenty*: And, by the end, of this preſent year, (which *God proſper*,) ſhe ſhall attain, to be equall, with *two more*: During which time, there have deceaſed, *four Emperours*; As many *French Kings*; Twice ſo many *Biſhops* of *Rome*: Yea, every *State*, in *Chriſtendome*, except *Spain*, have received ſundry *Succeſſions*: And, for the *King of Spain*, he is waxed ſo infirm, and thereby ſo Retired, as the *Report* of his *Death*, ſerveth for every years News: whereas her *Majeſty*, (Thanks be given to *God*,) being nothing decayed, in vigor of *Health*, and *ſtrength*, was never more able, to ſupply, and ſuſtain, the weight of her Affairs; And is, as far as ſtandeth, with the Dignity, of her *Majeſties Royall State*, continually to be *Seen*, to the great comfort, and Hearty Eaſe, of her *People*.

Secondly, we will mention, the *Bleſſing* of *Health*: I mean, generally, of the *People*, which was wanting, in the *Raign*, of another of theſe *Kings*: which elſe deſerved, to have the ſecond place, in *Happineſſe*; which is one, of the great *Favours*, of *God*, towards any *Nation*. For, as there be three, *Scourges* of *God*, *War*, *Famine*, and *Peſtilence*; ſo are there three *Benedictions*, *Peace*, *Plenty*, and *Health*. Whereas therefore, this *Realm*, hath been viſited, in times paſt, with ſundry kinds of *Mortalities*; (as *Peſtilences*, *Sweats*, and other *Contagious Diſeaſes*;) it is ſo, that in her *Majeſties* Times, being of the continuance, aforeſaid, there was only, towards the *Beginning* of her *Raign*, ſome *Sickneſſe*, between *June*, and *February*, in the *Citty*, but not diſperſed, into any other part, of the *Realm*, as was noted; which we call yet, the *Great Plague*; Becauſe, that though it was nothing ſo Grievous, and ſo Sweeping, as it hath been, ſundry times heretofore; yet it was great, in reſpect of the *Health*, which hath followed ſince; Which hath been ſuch, (eſpecially of late years,) as we began to diſpute, and move Queſtions, of the *Cauſes*, whereunto it ſhould be aſcribed; Untill ſuch time, as it pleaſed *God* to teach us, that we ought, to aſcribe it, onely to his *Mercy*; By touching us, a little, this preſent year; but with a very Gentle Hand; And ſuch, as it hath pleaſed him, ſince, to remove. But certain it is, for ſo many years together, notwithſtanding, the great *Peſtering* of people, in *Houſes*; The great *Multitude* of *Strangers*, and the *ſundry Voiages* by *Seas*; (*All* which, have been noted, to be *Cauſes* of *Peſtilence*.) The *Health Univerſall*, of the *People*, was never ſo good. 2. Health.

The third *Bleſſing* is that, which all the *Politick*, and *Fortunate* Kings, before recited, have wanted; That is, *Peace*: For there was never Forreiner, ſince her *Majeſties Raign*, by *Invaſion*, or *Incurſion* of *Moment*, that took any footing, within the *Realm* of *England*. One *Rebellion*, there hath been onely, but ſuch an one, as was repreſſed, within the ſpace, of ſeven weeks; And did not waſt, *the Realm*, ſo much, as by the Deſtruction, or Depopulation, of one *poor* Town. And for *wars* abroad, taking in 3. Peace.

thoſe

those of *Leeth*, those of *New-Haven*, the second *Expedition into Scotland*, the *wars* of *Spain*, which I reckon, from the year 86, or 87; (before which time, neither had the *King of Spain*, withdrawn his *Embassadours*, here residing; neither had her *Majesty*, received into protection, the *united Provinces*, of the *Low Countries*;) And the *Aid* of *France*; They have not occupied, in time, a third part of her *Majesties Raign*; Nor consumed, past two, of any *Noble House*; whereof *France* took one, and *Flanders* another: And very few, besides, of *Quality*, or *Appearance*. They have scarce, mowed down, the overcharge of the *People*, within the *Realm*. It is therefore true, that the *Kings* aforesaid, and others her *Majesties Progenitours*, have been *Victorious*, in their *Wars*; And have made, many *Famous*, and *Memorable*, *Voyages*, and *Expeditions*, into *sundry parts*; And that her *Majesty*, contrarywise, from the bginning, put on, a firm Resolution, to content her self, within those *Limits* of her *Dominions*, which she received; And to entertain *Peace*, with her *Neighbour princes*; which Resolution, she hath ever since, (notwithstanding, she hath had *Rare Opportunities*, *Just Claims*, *and pretences*, and *great*, *and mighty Means*,) sought to continue. But if, this be objected, to be the lesse *Honourable Fortune*; I answer, that ever, amongst the *Heathen*, who held not, the Expence of *Blood*, so precious, as *Christians* ought to do; The peaceable Government of *Augustus Cæsar*, was ever, as highly esteemed, as the *Victories*, of *Julius*, his Uncle; and that the Name, of *Pater Patriæ*, was ever as *Honourable*, as that of *propagator Imperii*. And this, I adde further, that during this inward Peace of so many years, in the Actions of *War*, before mentioned, which her *Majesty*, either in her own *Defence*, or in *Just*, and *Honourable Aides*, hath undertaken; The *Service* hath been such, as hath carried, no Note, of a *People*, whose *Militia*, were degenerated, through *Long Peace*; But hath, every way, answered, the ancient *Reputation*, of the *English Arms*.

4. Plenty and Wealth. 1. The fourth *Blessing*, is *Plenty*, and *Abundance*: And first, for *Grain*, and all *Victualls*, there cannot be, more evident Proof, of the *Plenty*, then this. That, whereas *England*, was wont, to be fed, by other *Countries*, from the *East*, it sufficeth now, to feed, other *Countries*. So as we do, many times, transport, and serve, sundry Forrain *Countries*; And yet, there was never, the like *Multitude* of *People*, to eat it, within the *Realm*. Another *evident Proof* thereof, may be, that the good yields of *Corn*, which have been, together with some *Tolleration* of *Vent*, hath, of late time, invited, and enticed Men, to break up more *Ground*, and to convert it to *Tillage*, then all the *Penal Laws*, for that purpose, made, and enacted, could ever, by Compulsion, effect. A third Proof may be, that the *Prices* of *Grain*, and *Victuall*, were never, of late years, more *Reasonable*. Now for Arguments of the great *wealth*, in all other Respects, let the *Points* following be considered.

2. There was never, the like Number, of fair, and Stately *Houses*,

*ses*, as have been built, and set up, from the Ground, since her *Majesties Raign*: Insomuch, that there have been reckoned, in one *Shire*, that is not great, to the Number of 33; Which have been all, new built, within that time: And whereof the Meanest, was never built, for *two Thousand pounds*.

3 There were never, the like Pleasures, of goodly *Gardens*, and *Orchards*, *Walks*, *Pooles*, and *Parks*, as do adorn, almost, every *Mansion House*.

4. There was never, the like Number, of Beautifull, and Costly, *Tombes*, and *Monuments*, which are erected, in sundry *Churches*, in *Honourable Memory*, of the *Dead*.

5. There was never, the like Quantity of *Plate*, *Jewels*, *Sumptuous Moveables*, and *Stuff*, as is now, within the *Realm*.

6. There was never, the like Quantity, of *Wast*, and *unprofitable Ground*, *Inned*, *Reclaimed*, and *Improved*.

7. There was never, the like *Husbanding*, of all Sorts of *Grounds*, by *Fencing*, *Manuring*, and all kinds, of good *Husbandry*.

8. The *Towns*, were never better built, nor peopled; Nor the principall *Faires*, and *Markets*, never better customed, nor frequented.

9. The Commodities, and Ease, of *Rivers*, cut by hand, and brought into a new *Channell*; Of *Peeres*, that have been built; Of *Waters*, that have been forced, and brought, against the *Ground*, were never so many.

10. There was never, so many excellent *Artificers*, nor so many new *Handy-Crafts*, used, and exercised; Nor new *Commodities*, made within the *Realm*; *Sugar*; *Paper*; *Glasse*; *Copper*; divers *Silks*; and the like.

11. There was never, such Compleat, and Honourable Provision, of *Horse*; *Armour*, *Weapons*, *Ordnance* of the *Warr*.

5. Increase o People. The Fifth *Blessing*, hath been, the great *Population*, and *Multitude*, of *Families*, encreased within her *Majesties* dayes: For which Point, I refer my Self, to the *Proclamations*, of *Restraint*, of *Building*, in *London*; The *Inhibition*, of *Inmates*, of sundry *Citties*; The *Restraint*, of *Cottages*, by *Act* of *Parliament*; And sundry other *Tokens*, of *Record*, of the *Surcharge*, of *People*.

6. Reformation in Religion. Besides these parts of a *Government*, blessed from *God*, wherein, the *Condition* of the *People*, hath been more happy, in her *Majesties* Times, then in the Times, of her *Progenitours*; There are certain Singularities, and Particulars, of her *Majesties Raign*, wherein, I do not say, that we have enjoyed them, in a more ample Degree, and Proportion, then in former Ages; (As it hath fallen out, in the Points, before mentioned;) But such, as were, in Effect, unknown, and untasted, heretofore. As first, the *Purity of Religion*, which is a *Benefit Inestimable*; And was, in the time, of all former *Princes*, untill the dayes, of her *Majesties Father*, of *Famous Memory*, unheard of. Out of which *Purity* of *Religion*, have since ensued, beside the principall Effect, of the true *Knowledge*,

1. The speciall Benefits established among us by the purity of Religion.

*ledge*, and *Worship* of *God*, three *Points*, of great *Consequence*, unto the *Civill Estate*.

2. One, the stay of a mighty *Treasure*, within the *Realm*, which, in foretimes, was drawn forth, to *Rome*. Another, the *Dispersing*, and *Distribution*, of those *Revenues*; (Amounting, to a *Third part*, of the *Land*, of the *Realm*;) And that, of the goodliest, and the richest sort, which heretofore, was unprofitably spent, in *Monasteries*; Into such Hands, as by whom, the *Realm*, receiveth, at this day, *Service*, and *Strength*; And many Great *Houses*, have been set up, and augmented.

3. The Third, the *Mannaging*, and *Enfranchising*, of the *Regall Dignity*, from the *Recognition*, of a *Foraign Superior*: All which *Points*, though begun by her *Father*, and continued by her *Brother*, were yet, nevertheless, after an Eclipse, or Intermission, Restored, and Reestablished, by her *Majesties Self*.

Fineneſſe of Money.

Secondly, the *Fineness* of *Money*: For as the Purging away, of the *Drosse* of *Religion*, the *Heavenly Treasure*, was common to her *Majesty*, with her *Father*, and her *Brother*: So the Purging, of the *Base Money*, the *Earthly Treasure*, hath been, altogether, proper, to her *Majesties* own Times; Whereby our *Moneys*, bearing the *Naturall Estimation*, of the *Stamp*, or Mark, both every Man resteth assured of his own vallew, and free from the losses, and Deceits, which fall out in other places, upon the Rising, and Falling, of *Moneys*.

The Might of the Navy.

Thirdly, the *Might* of the *Navy*, and *Augmentation*, of the *Shipping*, of the *Realm*: which, by politique *Constitutions*, for *Maintenance* of *Fishing*; And the *Encouragement*, and *Assistance*, given, to the *undertakers*, of *New Discoveries*, and *Trades* by *Sea*, is so advanced, as this *Island* is become, (as the Naturall *Scite* thereof deserveth,) the *Lady of the Sea*.

Now to passe, from the *Comparison*, of *Time*, to the *Comparison*, of *place*; We may find, in the States abroad; Cause of *Pitty*, and *Compassion* in some; But of *Envy*, or *Emulation*, in none; Our Condition being, by the good Favour of *God*, not *Inferiour* to any.

Comparison of the state of England with the states abroad.

The *Kingdome* of *France*, which, by reason, of the *Seat* of the *Empire*, of the *West*, was wont, to have the precedence, of the *Kingdomes* of *Europe*, is now fallen, into those Calamities, that as the *Prophet* saith; *From the Crown of the Head, to the Soal of the Foot, there is no whole place.*

Afflicted in France.

The *Divisions*, are so many, and so intricate, of *Protestants*, and *Catholicks*; *Royalists, and Leaguers*; *Burbonists, and Lorainists*; *Patriots, and Spanish*; As it seemeth, *God* hath some great Work, to bring to passe, upon that *Nation*: yea, the *Nobility* divided, from the *Third Estate*; And the *Towns*, from the *Field*: All which *Miseries*, truly to speak, have been wrought by *Spain*, and the *Spanish Faction*.

Low-Countries.

The *Low-Countries*, which were, within the *Age* of a *young Man*, the Richest, the best Peopled, and the best Built, Plots of

*Europe*,

*Europe*, are in such Estate, as a *Countrey* is like to be in, that hath been the Seat, of thirty years *War*; And although, the *Sea-Provinces*, be rather encreased, in *Wealth*, and *Shipping*, then otherwise; yet, they cannot but mourn, for their *Distraction*, from the rest of their *Body*.

Portugall. The *Kingdome* of *Portugall*, which, of late times, through their Merchandizing, and places in the *East Indies*, was grown, to be an Opulent *Kingdome*, is, now at the last, after the unfortunate journey of *Affrick*, in that *State*, as a *Countrey* is like to be, that is reduced, under a *Forreiner*, by *Conqueſt*; And such a *Forreiner*, as hath his *Competitour* in *Title*, being a *Naturall Portugall*, and no *Stranger*; And having been once in possession, yet in Life: whereby his *Jealousie*, must necessarily be encreased, and through his Jealousie, their Oppression: which is apparent, by the Carrying, of many *Noble Families*, out of their *Naturall Countries*, to live in Exile: And by putting to Death, a great Number of *Noble-Men*, naturally born, to have been *principall Governers*, of their *Countries*. These are three *Afflicted*, *parts* of *Christendome*; The Rest of the States, enjoy, either *Prosperity*, or tolerable *Condition*.

Prosperous as Scotland. The *Kingdome* of *Scotland*, though at this present, by the good *Regiment*, and wise proceeding, of the *King*, they enjoy good quiet; yet, since our Peace, it hath passed, through no small *Troubles*; And remaineth, full of *Boyling*, and *Swelling*, Humours; But like, by the Maturity, of the said *King*, every day encreasing, to be represſed.

Poland. The *Kingdome* of *Poland*, is newly recovered, out of great *Wars*, about an *Ambiguous Election*. And besides, is a *State*, of that Composition, that their *King* being *Elective*, they do, commonly, chuse, rather a *Stranger*, then one of their own *Countrey*. A great Exception, to the Flourishing Estate, of any *Kingdome*.

Sweden. The *Kingdome* of Swedeland, besides their Forrain *Warrs*, upon their *Cousins*, the *Muscovites*, and the *Danes*; Hath been, also, subject, to divers Intestine Tumults, and Mutations, as their *Stories* do record.

Denmark. The *Kingdome* of *Denmark*, hath had good Times, specially, by the *good Government*, of the late *King*, who maintained, the profession, of the *Gospell*; But yet, greatly, giveth place, to the *Kingdome* of *England*, in *Climate*, *Wealth*, *Fertility*, and many other Points, both of Honour, and Strength.

Italy. The *Estates* of *Italy*, which are not, under the *Dominion* of *Spain*, have had peace, equall in continuance with ours; Except, in regard of that, which hath passed between them, and the *Turk*; Which hath sorted, to their Honour, and Commendation: But yet, they are so brideled, and over-awed, by the *Spaniard*, that possesseth the two principall *Members* thereof; And that, in the two extream parts, as they be like *Quillets* of *Freehold*, being intermixed, in the midst, of a great *Honour* or Lordship. So as their *Quiet*, is intermingled, not with *Jealousie* alone, but with *Restraint*.

Germany, The *States* of *Germany*, have had, for the moſt part, peaceable Times; But yet they yeeld, to the *State* of *England*; Not only, in the great Honour, of a great *Kingdome*, (they being, of a mean *Stile*, and Dignity,) but alſo in many other Reſpects, both of *Wealth*, and *Pollicy*.

Savoy. The *State* of *Savoy*, having been, in the old *Dukes* Time, governed, in good Proſperity, hath ſince, notwithſtanding, their new great Alliance, with *Spain*, whereupon they waxed inſolent, to deſign, to ſnatch up, ſome piece of *France*; After the diſhonourable Repulſe, from the *Seige* of *Geneva*; deen often diſtreſſed, by a *particular Gentleman* of *Daulpheny*; And at this preſent day, the *Duke* feeleth, even in *Piedmont*, beyond the Mountaines, of the weight, of the ſame Enemy: Who hath lately ſhut up his *Gates*, and common *Entries*, between *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*.

So as hitherto, I do not ſee, but that we are, as much bound, to the *Mercies* of *God*, as any other *Nation*; Conſidering, that the Fires of Diſſention, and Oppreſſion, in ſome *Parts* of *Chriſtendom*, may ſerve us, for *Lights*; to ſhew us our *Happineſſe*: And the good *Eſtates*, of other *places*, which we do congratulate with them for, is ſuch, nevertheleſſe, as doth not ſtain, and exceed ours: But rather, doth ſtill leave ſomewhat, wherein we may acknowledge, an ordinary *Benediction*, of *God*.

Spain Laſtly, we do not much emulate, the *Greatneſſe*, and *Glory*, of the *Spaniards*; Who, having not only *Excluded*, the *Purity* of *Religion*, but alſo *Fortified* againſt it, by their *Deviſe*, of the *Inquiſition*; which is *a Bulwark*, againſt the *Entrance*, of the *Truth* of *God*: Having, in recompence, of their new *Purchaſe* of *Portugal*, loſt, a great part, of their ancient *Patrimonies*, of the *Low-Countries*; (Being of far greater *Commodity*, and *Valew*;) or, at the leaſt, holding part thereof, in ſuch ſort, as moſt of their other Revenewes, are ſpent there, upon their own: Having lately, with much Difficulty, rather ſmoothed, and skinned over, then Healed, and extinguiſhed, the *Commotions* of *Arragon*; Having rather ſowed *Troubles* in *France*, then reaped Aſſured *Fruit* thereof, unto themſelves: Having, from the *Attempt*, of *England*, received *Scorn*, and *Diſreputation*; Being, at this time, with the *States* of *Italy*, rather ſuſpected, then either Loved, or Feared: Having, in *Germany*, and elſe where, rather much *practiſe*, then any *Sound intelligence*, or *Amity*: Having no ſuch *clear ſucceſſion*, as they need object, and Reproach, the *Incertainty* thereof, unto another Nation: Have, in the end, won a Reputation, rather of *Ambition*, then *Juſtice*; And in the purſuit, of their *Ambition*, rather of *Much Enterpriſing*, then of *Fortunate Atchieving*; And, in their *Enterpriſing*, rather, of Doing Things, by *Treaſure*, and *Expence*, then by *Forces*, and *Valour*.

Now, that I have given the *Reader*, a Taſt of *England*, reſpectively, and in Compariſon, of the *Times paſt*, and of the *States abroad*;

*abroad*; I will descend, to examine, the *Libellers*, own *Divisions*; Whereupon, let the *World* judge, how easily, and clean, this *Inke*, which he hath cast in our faces, is washed off.

The First *Branch*, of the *pretended Calamities*, of *England*, is the great, and wonderfull, *Confusion*, which, he saith, is in the *State*, of the *Church*; which is subdivided, again, into two parts: The one, the *Prosecutions*, againg the *Catholicks*; The other, the *Discords*, and *Controversies*, *amongst our selves*: The former, of which 2. parts, I have made, an *Article* by it self; Wherein, I have set down, a clear, and simple, *Narration*, of the *proceedings*, of *State*, against that sort of *Subjects*; Adding this by the way: That there are 2. *Extremities*, in *State*, concerning the *Causes*, of *Faith*, and *Religion*: That is to say, the *Permission*, of the *Exercises*, of more *Religions*, then one, which is a dangerous *Indulgence*, and *Toleration*; the other, is the *Entring*, and *Sifting*, into *Mens Consciences*, when no *Overt Scandall* is given; which is *Rigorous*, and *Straineable*, *Inquisition*: And I avouch, the proceedings, towards the intended *Catholicks*, to have been a *Mean*, between these two *Extremities*; Referring, the Demonstration thereof, unto the aforesaid *Narration*, in the Articles following.

Concerning the Controversies in our Church.

Touching the *Divisions*, in our *Church*, the *Libeller* affirmeth, that the *Protestanticall Calvinism*, (For so it pleaseth him, with very good grace, to term the *Religion*, with us established;) is grown, *Contemptible*, and *Detected*, of *Idolatry*, *Heresie*, and many other *superstitious Abuses*, by a *Purified sort* of *Professors*, of the *same Gospell*. And this *Contention* is yet grown, to be more intricate, by reason of a Third Kind, of *Gospellers*, called Brownists. Who, being directed, by the great *Fervour*, of the *Unholy Ghost*, do expresly affirm, that the *Protestanticall Church* of *England*, is not gathered, in the name of *Christ*, but of *Antichrist*: And that, if the *Prince*, or *Magistrate*, under her, do refuse, or defer, to reform the *Church*, the people may, without her Consent, take the *Reformation*, into their own Hands: And hereto, he addeth, the *Fanaticall Pageant* of *Hacket*: And this is the Effect, of this *Accusation*, in this point.

For *Answer* whereunto; First, it must be remembred, that the *Church* of *God*, hath been, in all Ages, subject to *Contentions*, and *Schismes*. The *Tares* were not *sown*, but where the *Wheat* was *sown* before. Our *Saviour Christ*, delivereth it, for an *Ill Note*, to have *Outward Peace*, Saying; *When a strong Man, is in possession, of the House*, (*meaning the* Devill,) *all Things are in Peace*. It is the *Condition*, of the *Church*, to be, ever, under *Trials*: And there are, but Two *Trials*: The one, of *Persecution*; The other, of *Scandall*, and *Contention*: And when the One ceaseth, the other succeedeth: Nay, there is scarce, any one *Epistle*, of St. *Pauls*, unto the *Churches*, but containeth, some *Reprehension*, of *unnecessary*, & *Schismaticall*, *Controversies*. So likewise, in the *Raign*, of *Constantine the Great*, after the time, that the *Church*, had obtained *Peace*, from *persecution*.

*on*, strait entred, sundry *Questions*, and *Controversies*, about no lesse Matters, then the *Essentiall Parts*, of the *Faith*, and the High *Mysteries* of the *Trinity*. But Reason teacheth us, that in *Ignorance*, and *Implyed Belief*, it is easie, to agree, as Colours agree in the Dark: Or if any *Countrey* decline into *Atheism*, then *Controversies*, wax dainty, because Men do think *Religion*, scarce worth, the *Falling* out for: So as, it is weak *Divinity*, to account *Controversies*, an ill *Sign*, in the *Church*.

It is true, that certain Men, moved with an inconsiderate *Detestation*, of all *Ceremonies*, or *Orders*, which were in use, in the time, of the *Roman Religion*; (As if, they were, without difference, superstitious, or polluted;) And led, with an affectionate Imitation, of the *Government*, of some *Protestant Churches*, in *Forrain States*; Have sought, by *Bookes*, and *Preaching*, indiscreetly, and sometimes undutifully, to bring in, an *Alteration*, in the *Extern Rites*, and *Pollicy*, of the *Church*; But neither, have the *Grounds*, of the *Controversies*, extended unto any *Point* of *Faith*; Neither hath the *Pressing*, and *Prosecution*, exceeded, in the generality, the *Nature* of some Inferiour *Contempts*; So as, they have been, farr from *Heresie*, and *Sedition*; And therefore, rather *Offensive*, then *Dangerous*, to the *Church*, or *State*.

And as for Those, which we call *Brownists*, being, when they were at the most, a very small Number, of very silly, and base, people, here and there, in Corners, dispersed; They are now, (thanks be to *God*,) by the good Remedies, that have been used, suppressed, and worn out; So as, there is scarce, any Newes of them. Neither, had they been, much known, at all, had not *Brown*, their *Leader*, *Written* a *Pamphlet*; Wherein, as it came into his Head, he inveighed more, against *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*, then against the *State*, of the *Church*; (which *Writing* was much read;) And had not, also, one *Barrow*, (being a Gentleman, of a good *House*, but one that lived in *London*, at *Ordinaries*; And there learned, to argue, in *Table-Talk*; And so, was very much known, in the *Citty*, and *abroad*;) made a Leap, from a vain, and Libertine, youth, to a precisenes, in the Highest Degree; The strangenes, of which Alteration, made him very much spoken off; The Matter, might long before, have breathed out. And here I note, an *Honesty*, and *Discretion*, in the *Libeller*, which I note, no where else; In that, he did forbear, to lay, to our charge, the Sect, of the *Family* of *Love*: For about 12. years since, there was creeping, in some secret places, of the *Realm*, indeed, a very great *Heresie*, derived from the *Dutch*, and named, as before was said: which since, by the good *Blessing* of *God*, & by the good strength, of our *Church*, is banished, and Extinct. But so much we see, that the *Diseases*, wherewith our *Church* hath been visited, whatsoever these *Men* say, have, either, not been, *Maligne*, and *Dangerous*; Or else, they have been as *Blisters*, in some small Ignoble part of the *Body*, which have soon after fallen, and gone away.

For

For such also, was the *Phrenetical*, and *Fanatical*, (For I mean not to determine it,) *Attempt* of *Hackett*; Who must needs have been thought, a very Dangerous *Heretick*, that could never get, but two *Disciples*; And those, as it should seem, perished in their Brain; And a *Dangerous Commotioner*, that in so great, and populous, a *Citty*, as *London* is, could draw, but those same two *Fellows*, whom the *People*, rather laughed at, as a *May-game*, then took any heed, of what they did, or said: So as it was very true, that an honest *Poor Woman* said, when she saw *Hackett*, out of a Window, passe to his *Execution*: Said she to her Self; *It was foretold, that, in the latter dayes, there should come those, that have deceived many; but, in faith, thou hast deceived, but a Few.*

But it is manifest *Untruth*, which the *Libeller*, setteth down, that there hath been no *Punishment*, done upon those, which, in any, of the foresaid kinds, have broken the *Lawes*, and disturbed, the *Church*, and *State*; And that the *Edge* of the *Law*, hath been, onely, turned, upon the *pretended Catholicks*: For the *Examples* are very many, where, according to the *Nature*, and *Degree*, of the *Offence*, the *Correction* of such *Offenders*, hath not been neglected.

These be the great *Confusions*, whereof he hath accused our *Church*; which I refer, to the Judgement, of an indifferent, and understanding, *person*, how true they be: My Meaning is not, to blanch, or excuse, any *Fault* of our *Church*; Nor, on the other side, to enter into Commemoration, how flourishing it is, in *Great*, and *Learned Divines*; or painfull, and excellent *Preachers*: *Let Man, have the Reproof, of that, which is amisse, and God, the Glory, of that, which is good.* And so *much*, for the *First Branch.*

In the *Second Branch*, He maketh great *Musters*, and *Shewes*, of the *strength*, and *Multitude*, of the *Enemies*, of this *State*; Declaring, in what evill Termes, and Correspondence, we stand, with *Forraign States*; And how desolate, and destitute, we are, of *Friends*, and *Confederates*; Doubting, belike, how he should be able, to prove, and justifie his *Assertion*, touching the *present Miseries*: And therefore, endeavouring, at the least, to maintain; That the good Estate, which we enjoy, is yet, made somewhat bitter, by reason, of many *Terrours*, and *Feares*. Whereupon, entring into *Consideration*, of the *Security*, wherein, not by our own *Pollicy*, but by the good *Providence*, and *Protection*, of *God*, we stand at this Time; I do find it, to be a *Security*, of that *Nature*, and *Kind*, which *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, did commend; who being, a *Commissioner*, to treat, with the *State* of *Sparta*, upon *Conditions* of *Peace*; And hearing, the other side, make many Propositions, touching *Security*; Interrupted them, and told them; *There was but one maner of Security, whereupon the Athenians could rest; which was, if the Deputies of the Lacedemonians, could make it plain unto them, that after these and these things parted withall, the Lacedemonians should not be able, to hurt them, though they would.* So it is with us; As we have

Concerning the Forrain Enemies of this State.

have not, justly provoked, the *Hatred*, or *Enmity*, of any other *State*; so, howsoever that be, I know not, at this time, the *Enemy*, that hath the *Power*, to offend us, though he had the *Will*.

And whether, we have given, just Cause of *Quarrell*, or *Offence*, it shall be afterwards touched, in the *fourth Article*; *Touching the true Causes, of the Disturbance of the Quiet, of Christendome*; As far, as it is fit, to justifie the Actions, of so *High* a *Prince*, upon the Occasion, of such a *Libell*, as this. But now, concerning the *Power*, and *Forces*, of any *Enemy*, I do find, that *England*, hath sometimes apprehended with Jealousie, the Confederation, between *France* and *Scotland:* The one, being upon the same *Continent* that we are, and breeding, a *Souldier*, of *Puissance*, and *Courage*, not much differing from the *English*; The other, a *Kingdom* very *Opulent*, and thereby able, to sustain Wars, though at very great Charge; And having a *brave Nobility*; And being a *Near Neighbour*. And yet, of this *Conjunction*, there never came, any *Offence*, of *Moment*. But *Scotland*, was ever, rather used by *France*, as a Diversion, of an *English Invasion*, upon *France*, then as a *Commodity*, of a *French Invasion*, upon *England*. I confesse also, that since the *Unions*, of the *Kingdom* of *Spain*: and during the time, the *Kingdom* of *France*, was in his Entire; A *Conjunction*, of those two *potent Kingdoms*, against us, might have been, of some *Terrour* to us. But now it is evident, that the State of *France* is such, as both those *Conjunctions*, are become *Impossible*: It resteth, that either *Spain*, with *Scotland*, should offend us, or *Spain* alone; For *Scotland*, (thanks be to God,) the *Amity*, and *Intelligence*, is so sound, and secret, between the the two *Crowns*; Being strengthened, by *Consent* in *Religion*, *Nearnesse* of *Blood*, and *Continuall good Offices*, reciprocally, on *either side*; as the *Spaniard* himself, in his own *Plot*, thinketh it easier, to alter, and overthrow, the present *State of Scotland*, then to remove, and divide it, from the *Amity* of *England*. So, as it must be, *Spain* alone, that we should fear: which should seem, by reason, of his *Spacious Dominions*, to be, a *great Overmatch*. The Conceit whereof, maketh me call to mind, the Resemblance, of an *Ancient writer*, in *Physick*; who labouring, to perswade, that a *Physician*, should not doubt, sometimes, to purge his *Patient*, though he see him very *weak*; Entreth into a Distinction, of *Weakness*, and saith; there is a *Weakness* of *Spirit*; and a *Weakness* of *Body*: The latter whereof, he compareth, unto a man, that were otherwise very strong, but had a great pack on his Neck: So great, as made him double again; So as one, might thrust him down, with his Finger: Which Similitude, and Distinction, both, may be fitly applyed, to matter of State: For some *States*, are Weak, through want of Means; and some *Weak*, through *Excesse* of *Burthen:* In which rank, I do place, the *State* of *Spain*, which having, outcompassed it self in embracing too much; And being, it self, but a *barren Seed-plot* of *Souldiers*; And much

much *Decayed*, and *Exhausted*, of Men, by the *Indies*, and by *continuall wars*: and, as to the *State* of their *Treasure*, being *endebted*, and *engaged*, before such times, as they waged, so great *Forces* in *France*; (And therefore, much more since;) Is not, in brief, an *Enemy* to be feared, by a *Nation*, *Seated*, *Manned*, *Furnished*, and *Pollyced*, as is *England*.

Neither, is this spoken by guesse; For the *Experience*, was *Substantiall* enough, and of Fresh Memory, in the late *Enterprise* of *Spain*, upon *England*: What Time, all that *Goodly Shipping*, which, in that *Voyage*, was consumed, was Compleat; what Time, his *Forces*, in the *Low Countries*, was also full, and Entire, which now, are wasted, to a fourth part: What time also, he was not entangled, with the *Matters* of *France*; But was, rather like to receive *Assistance*, then *Impediment*, from his *Friends* there; In respect, of the great Vigour, wherein the *League*, then was, (while the *Duke* of *Guise* then lived: and yet, nevertheless, this great *preparation*, passed away like a *Dream*. The *Invincible Navy*, neither took, any one *Barque* of ours; Neither yet, once offered, to land; But after, they had been well *Beaten*, and *Chased*, made a *Perambulation*, about the *Northern* Seas; Ennobling, many *Coasts*, with *VVracks*, of *Mighty ships*; and so, returned home, with greater *Derision*, then they set forth, with *Expectation*.

So as, we shall not need, much *Confederacies*, and *Succours*; (which, he saith, we want, for the breaking, of the *Spanish Invasion*;) No, though the *Spaniard*, should nestle in *Brittain*, and supplant the *French*, and get some *Port-Townes* into their hands there, (which is yet far off;) yet, shall he, never, be, so commodiously seated, to annoy us, as if he had kept, the *Low-Countries*; And we shall rather fear Him, as a *wrangling Neighbour*, that may Trespass, now and then, upon some *Straggling ships* of ours, then as an *Invader*. And as for our *Confederacies*, *God* hath given us, both *Meanes*, and *Minds*, to tender, and relieve, the States, of others. And therefore, our *Confederacies*, are rather of Honour, then such as we depend upon. And yet, nevertheless, the *Apostata's*, and *Huguonets*, of *France*, on the one part; (For so he termeth, the whole *Nobility*, in a manner, of *France*; Among the which, a great part, is of his own *Religion*; which maintain the clear, and unblemished *Title*, of their *Lawfull*, and *Naturall King*, against the seditious popular;) And the *Beere-Brewers*, and *Basket-Makers*, of *Holland*, and *Zealand*, (As he also termes them) on the other, have, almost, banded away, between them, all the *Duke of Parma's Forces*: And, I suppose, the very *Mines*, of the *Indies*, will go low, or ever the one be Ruined, or the other recovered. Neither, again, desire we, better *Confederacies*, and *Leagues*, then *Spain* it self, hath provided for us: *Non enim verbis fœdera confirmantur, sed iisdem utilitatibus*: We know, to how many *States*, the *King* of *Spain*, is odious, and suspected; And for our selves, we have incensed none, by our *Injuries*; Nor made, any Jealous, of our

*Ambition:* These are, in *Rules* of *Pollicy*, the Firmest *Contracts*.

Let thus much be said, in *Answer*, of the *Second Branch*, concerning the Number, of *Exteriour Enemies:* Wherein, my *Meaning*, is nothing lesse, then to attribute, our *Felicity*, to our *Pollicy*; Or to nourish our selves, in the *Humour* of *Security*. But, I hope, we shall depend upon *God*, and be vigilant; And then, it will be seen, to what end, these *False Alarums* will come.

In the *Third Branch*, of the *Miseries* of *England*, he taketh upon him, to play the Prophet, as he hath, in all the rest, play'd the *Poet*: And will needes Divine, or *Prognosticate*, the great Troubles, whreunto this *Realm* shall fall, after her *Majesties* Times: As if he, that hath so *singular* a *Gift*, in *Lying*, of the *present Time*, and *Times past*, had, nevertheless, an extra-ordinary Grace, in telling Truth, of the *Time to come*: Or as if, the Effect, of the *Popes Curses*, of *England*, were, upon better Ad-vise, adjourned, to those dayes. It is true, it will be *Misery* enough, for this Realm, (whensoever it shall be,) to leese, such a *Soveraign:* But for the rest, we must repose our selves, upon the good pleasure, of *God:* So it is, an unjust *Charge*, in the *Libeller*, to impute, an *Accident* of *State*, to the *Fault*, of the *Government*.

It pleaeth *God*, sometimes, to the end, to make Men depend, upon him, the more, to hide, from them, the clear sight, of future *Events*; And to make them, think, that full of *Uncertainties*, which proveth, *Certain*, and *Clear*: And, sometimes, on the other side, to crosse Mens expectations, and to make them, full of Difficulty, and *Perplexity*, in that, which they thought, to be Easie, and Assured. Neither is it, any New Thing, for the *Titles*, of *Succession*, in *Monarchies*, to be, at Times, lesse, or more declared. *King Sebastian*, of *Portugall*, before his Journey into *Affrick*, declared no *Successor*. The *Cardinall*, though he were of extream Age, and were much importuned, by the *King* of *Spain*, and knew, directly, of 6. or 7. *Competitours*, to that *Crown*; yet he rather established, I know not, what *Interims*, then decided the *Titles*, or designed any certain *Successor*. The *Dukedome* of *Ferrara*, is, at this Day, after the *Death*, of the *Prince*, that now liveth, uncertain, in the point of *Succession:* The *Kingdom* of *Scotland*, hath declared no *Successor*. Nay, it is very rare, in *Hereditary Monarchies*, by any *Act* of *State*, or any *Recognition*, or *Oath* of the *People*, in the *Collaterall Line*, to establish a *Successor*. The *Duke* of *Orleans*, succeeded, *Charles* the 8th. of *France*, but was never declared, *Successor*, in his time. *Monsieur d' Angoulesme*, also succeeded him, but without any *Designation*. *Sonnes* of *Kings*, themselves, oftentimes, through desire to raign, and to prevent their Time, wax dangerous to their *Parents*: How much more, *Cousens*, in a more *Remote Degree?* It is lawfull, no doubt, and Honourable, if the Case require, for *Princes*, to make an establishment. But, as it was said, it is rarely practised, in the *Collaterall Line*. *Trajan*, the best *Emperor*

*peror* of *Rome*, of an *Heathen*, that ever was; At what time, the *Emperours*, did use, to design *Successours*; Not so much, to avoid, the *Uncertainty* of *Succession*, as to the end, to have *Participes Curarum*, for the present Time, because their *Empire*, was so vast; At what Time also, *Adoptions* were in *use*, and himself had been *Adopted*, yet never designed a *Successour*, but by his *Last Will*, and *Testament*; Which also, was thought, to be suborned by his *Wife Plotina*, in the Favour, of her *Lover*, *Adrian*.

You may be sure; That nothing hath been done, to *prejudice* the *Right*; And there can be, but *one Right*. But one thing, I am perswaded of, that no *King of Spain*; nor *Bishop* of *Rome*, shall umpire, nor promote, any *Beneficiary*, or *Feodatory*, *King*, as as they designed to do; Even when the *Scottish Queen* lived, whom they pretended to cherish. I will not retort, the matter of *Succession* upon *Spain*, but use that *Modesty*, and *Reverence*, that belongeth, to the *Majesty*, of so great a *King*, though an *Enemy*. And so much, for this *Third Branch*.

The *Fourth Branch*, he maketh to be, touching the *Overthrow*, of the *Nobility*; And the *Oppression*, of the *People*: wherein, though he may, percase, abuse, the *Simplicity*, of any *Forreiner*; yet to an *English Man*, or any, that heareth, of the present *Condition*, of *England*, he will appear, to be a Man, of singular *Audacity*, and worthy to be employed, in the defence of any *Paradox*. And surely, if he would needs, have defaced, the *generall State of England*, at this time, he should, in wisdome, rather have made, some *Friarly Declamation*, against the *Excesse* of *Superfluity*, and *Delicacy* of our Times; then to have insisted, upon the *Misery*, and *Poverty*, and *Depopulation*, of the *Land*; as may sufficiently appear, by that which hath been said.

But nevertheless, to follow this Man, in his own steps: First, concerning the *Nobility*: It is true, that there have been, in Ages past, *Noblemen*, (as I take it,) both of greater *Possessions*, and of greater *Command*, and *Sway*, then any are, at this day. One *Reason*, why the possessions are lesse, I conceive to be, because certain *Sumptuous Veins*, and *Humours* of *Expence*; (As *Apparell*, *Gaming*, *Maintaining* of a kind of *Followers*, and the like;) Do raign, more, then they did, in times past. Another *Reason* is, because *Noblemen*, now a dayes, do deal better, with their *younger Sons*, then they were accustomed to do, heretofore; whereby, the *principall House*, receiveth many *Abatements*. Touching the *Command*, which is not, indeed, so great, as it hath been, I take it, rather, to be a *Commendation* of the *Time*, then otherwise: For Men, were wont, factiously, to Depend upon *Noblemen*; whereof ensued, many *Partialities*, and *Divisions*, besides much *Interruption* of *Justice*, while the great Ones, did seek to bear out Those, that did depend upon them. So as the Kings of this *Realm*, finding, long since, that kind of *Commandement*, in *Noblemen*, *Unsafe* unto their *Crown*, and *Inconvenient* unto their *People*, thought

Concerning the State of the Nobility.

thought meet, to restrain the same, by Provision of *Lawes:* whereupon grew the *Statute* of *Reteiners:* So as men, now, depend upon the *Prince*, and the *Lawes*, and upon no other: A Matter, which hath also a *Congruity*, with the *Nature* of the *Time*; As may be seen in other *Countries*; Namely in *Spain*, where their *Grandees*, are nothing so Potent, and so Absolute, as they have been, in Times past. But otherwise, it may be truly affirmed, that the *Rights*, and *preheminences*, of the *Nobility*, were, never, more duly, and exactly, preserved unto them, then they have been, in her *Majesties Times*; The *Precedence* of *Knights*, given to the *younger Sons of Barons*; No *Subpena's*, awarded against the *Nobility*, out of the *Chancery*, but *Letters*; No *Answer* upon *Oath*, but upon *Honour*; Besides, a *Number* of other *Priviledges*, in *Parliament*, *Court*, and *Countrey*. So likewise, for the *Countenance* of her *Majesty*, and the *State*, in *Lieutenancies*, *Commissions*, *Offices*, and the like, there was never, a more Honourable, and Gracefull, Regard, *had* of the *Nobility*; Neither was there, ever, a more Faithfull *Remembrancer*, and exacter, of all these *particular preheminences*, unto them; Nor a more Diligent Searcher, and Register, of their *Pedegrees*, *Alliances*, and all *Memorialls*, of *Honour*, then that MAN, whom he chargeth, to have overthrown the *Nobility*; Because, a few of them, by immoderate *Expence*, are decayed, according to the Humor of the time, which he hath not been able, to resist, no not, in his own *House*. And as for *Attainders*, there have been, in 35 years, but Five, of any of the *Nobility*, whereof, but Two, came to *Execution*, and one of them, was accompanied, with *Restitution* of *Blood*, in the *Children*: Yea, all of them, except *Westmerland*, were such, as whether it were, by *Favour* of *Law*, or *Government*, their *Heirs* have, or are like to have, a great Part of their *Possession*. And so much, for the *Nobility*.

Concerning the State of the Common subject.

Touching the *Oppression*, of the *People*, he mentioneth four points. 1. The *Consumption*, of *People*, in the *Wars*. 2. The *Interruption*, of *Traffick*. 3. The *Corruption*, of *Justice*. 4. The *Multitude*, of Taxations: Unto all which points, there needeth no long Speech. For the first, (thanks be to God;) the *Benediction* of *Crescite and Multiplicamini*, is not so weak, upon this *Realm* of *England*, but The *Population* thereof, may afford, such *Losse* of Men, as were sufficient, for the *Making* our late *Wars*; and were, in a perpetuity, without being seen, either in *City*, or *Countrey*. We read, that when the *Romans*, did take *Cense*, of their *People*, whereby the *Citizens*, were numbred, by the *Poll*, in the beginning of a great *War*, and afterwards, again, at the ending, there, sometimes, wanted a *Third Part*, of the Number: But let our *Muster Books* be perused, (those, I say, that certifie, the *Number*, of all *Fighting* Men, in every *Shire*,) of *vicesimo* of the *Queen*; At what time, except a Handfull of *Souldiers*, in the *Low Countries*, we expended no Men in the *Wars*; And now again, at this

this present time, & there will appear, small Diminution. There be many *Tokens*, in this *Realm*, rather of *Presse*, and *Surcharge*, of *People*, then of *Want*, and *Depopulation*, which were before recited. Besides, it is a better *Condition*, of *Inward Peace*, to be accompanied, with some *Exercise*, of no *Dangerous Warr*, in *Forrain parts*, then to be, utterly, without *Apprentisage*, of *Warr*; whereby, *People* grow *Effeminate*, and *unpractised*, when Occasion shall be. And it is, no small strength, unto the *Realm*, that in these *Warrs* of *Exercise*, and not of *Perill*, so many of our *People*, are *trained*; And so many, of our *Nobility*, and *Gentlemen*, have been made, *Excellent Leaders*, both by *Sea*, and *Land*. As for that he objecteth, we have no *Provision*, for *Souldiers*, at their *Return*; Though that *Point*, hath not been, altogether neglected; yet I wish, with all my Heart, that it were more *Ample*, then it is; Though, I have read, and heard, that in all Estates, upon *Cashiering*, and *Disbanding*, of *Souldiers*, many have endured *Necessity*.

For the *Stopping* of *Traffique*, as I referred my Self, to the *Muster-Books*, for the First; So I refer my Self, to the *Custome-Books*, upon this; which will not lye; And do make *Demonstration*, of no *Abatement*, at all, in these last years, but rather of *Rising*, and *Encrease*. We know, of many in *London*, and other places, that are, within a small time, greatly come up, and made Rich, by *Merchandizing*: And a Man, may speak, within his Compasse, and affirm; That our *Prizes*, by *Sea*, have countervailed, any *Prizes*, upon us.

And as to the *Justice*, of this *Realm*, it is true, that *Cunning*, and *Wealth*, have bred, many *Sutes*, and *Debates*, in *Law*: But let those *Points* be considered: The *Integrity*, and *Sufficiency*, of those, which supply, the *Judiciall places*, in the *Queens Courts*; The good *Lawes*, that have been made, in her *Majesties* time, against *Informers*, and *Promoters*; And for the bettering of *Trialls*; The Example, of Severity, which is used, in the *Star-chamber*, in oppressing *Forces*, and *Fraudes*; The *Diligence*, and *Stoutnes*, that is used, by *Justices* of *Assises*, in Encountring, all *Countenancing*, and *Bearing* of *Causes*, in the *Countrey*, by their *Authorities*, and *Wisedome*; The great *Favours*, that have been used, towards *Copy-holders*, and *Customary Tenants*, which were, in ancient times, meerly, at the *Discretion*, and *Mercy*, of the *Lord*; And are now, continually, relieved, from hard Dealing, in *Chancery*, and other *Courts* of *Equity*: I say, let these, and many other *Points*, be considered; and Men will, worthily, conceive, an Honourable Opinion, of the *Justice*, of *England*.

Now to the *Points*, of *Levies*, and *Distributions*, of Money, which he calleth *Exactions*. First, very coldly, he is not abashed, to bring in, the Gathering, for *Paules Steeple*, and the *Lottery Trifles*: Whereof, the former, being but a *Voluntary Collection*, of that, Men were freely disposed, to give, never grew, to so great a Sum, as was sufficient, to finish the *Work*, for which it was appointed:

And

And ſo, I imagine, it was converted, into ſome other uſe; like to that Gathering, which was, for the *Fortifications* of *Paris*, ſave that, the Gathering, for *Paris*, came, to a much greater, though, (as I have heard,) no competent Sum. And for the *Lottery*, it was but a *Novelty*, *deviſed*, and *followed*, by ſome *particular perſons*, and onely allowed by the *State*, being as a *Gain* of *Hazzard*: Wherein, if any Gain was, it was, becauſe many Men, thought Scorn, after they had fallen, from their greater hopes, to fetch their *odd Money*. Then he mentioneth *Loanes*, and *Privy Seales*; Wherein, he ſheweth great Ignorance, and Indiſcretion, conſidering the *Payments*, back again, have been, very *Good*, and *Certain*; And *much*, for her *Majeſties Honour*. Indeed, in other *Princes Times*, it was not wont, to be ſo: And therefore, though the *Name*, be not ſo *pleaſant*, yet the *Uſe* of them, in our Times, have been, with ſmall Grievance. He reckoneth alſo, *new Cuſtomes* upon *Cloathes*, and *new Impoſt upon Wines*. In that of *Cloathes*, he is deceived; For the ancient Rate of *Cuſtome*, upon *Cloathes* was not raiſed, by her *Majeſty*, but by *Queen Mary*, a *Catholique Queen*: And hath been, commonly, continued by her *Majeſty*; Except, he mean, the Computation, of the odd yards, which, in ſtrict Duty, was ever anſwerable; Though the Error, were but lately, looked into, or rather, the *Tolleration*, taken away. And to that of *Wines*, being a *Forrain Merchandize*, and but a *Delicacy*, and of thoſe which might be forborn, there hath been, ſome *Encreaſe* of *Impoſition*, which can rather make, the *Price* of *Wine Higher*, then the *Merchant poorer*. Laſtly, touching the *Number* of *Subſidies*, it is true, that her *Majeſty*, in reſpect, of her great *Charges*, of her *Warrs*, both by *Sea*, and *Land*, againſt ſuch a *Lord* of *Treaſure*, as is the *King of Spain*: Having, for her part, no *Indies*, nor *Mines*; And the *Revenues*, of the *Crown*, of *England*, being ſuch, as they leſſe grate, upon the *People*, then the *Revenues*, of any *Crown*, or State in *Europe*; Hath, by the *Aſſent*, of *Parliament*, according to the ancient *Cuſtomes*, of this *Realm*, received, divers *Subſidies*, of her *People*; which, as they have been employed, upon the Defence, and preſervation, of the *Subject*; Not upon *Exceſſive Buildings*, nor upon *Immoderate Donatives*, Nor upon *Triumphs* and Pleaſures; Or any the like veines, of *Diſſipation*, of *Treaſure*; which have been Familiar, to many Kings: So have they been yielded, with great good will, and cheerfulneſs; As may appear, by other kinds of *Benevolence*, preſented to her, likewiſe, in *Parliament*; which her *Majeſty*, nevertheleſſe, hath not put in Ure. They have been Taxed alſo, and Aſſeiſſed, with a very *Light*, and Gentle Hand; And they have been ſpared, as much, as may be; As may appear, in that, her *Majeſty*, now twice, to ſpare the *Subject*, hath ſold, of her own *Lands*. But he, that ſhall look, into other *Countries*, and conſider the *Taxes*, and *Tallages*, and *Impoſitions*, and *Aſſiſes*, and the like, that are every where in uſe; Will find, that the *Engliſh Man*, is the moſt *Maſter*, of his own Valuation, and the leaſt bitten

ten in his *Purſe*, of any *Nation*, of *Europe*. Nay, even at this Inſtant, in the *Kingdome* of *Spain*, notwithſtanding the *Pioners*, do ſtill work, in the *Indian Mines*, the *Jeſuites*, moſt, play the *Pioners*, and *Mine*, into the *Spaniards Purſes*; And under the Colour, of a *Ghoſtly* Exhortation, contrive the greateſt Exaction, that ever was, in any *Realm*.

Thus much, in *Anſwer*, of theſe *Calumniations*, I have thought good to note, touching the *preſent ſtate*, of *England*: which *ſtate* is ſuch, that whoſoever, hath been, an *Architect*, in the *Frame* thereof, under the *Bleſſing* of *God*, and the *Vertues* of our *Soveraign*, needed not, to be aſhamed, of his *Work*.

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## 3. *Of the* Proceedings, *againſt the* pretended Catholiques; *Whether they have been* Violent, *or* Moderate, *and* Neceſſary.

I Find, her *Majeſties Proceedings*, generally, to have been grounded, upon two *Principles*: The one;

That *Conſciences*, are not to be *Forced*, but to be *Wonn*, and *reduced*, by the *Force* of *Truth*, by the *Aide* of *Time*, and the *Uſe*, of all good *Meanes*, of *Inſtruction*, or *Perſwaſion*.

The other;

That *Cauſes* of *Conſcience*, when they exceed their *Bounds*, and prove to be *Matter* of *Faction*, leeſe their *Nature*; And that *Soveraign Princes*, ought, diſtinctly, to puniſh the *Practiſe*, or *Contempt*, though coloured, with the *Pretences*, of *Conſcience*, and *Religion*.

According to theſe two *Principles*, her *Majeſty*, at her *Comming*, to the *Crown*, utterly diſliking, of the *Tyranny*, of the *Church* of *Rome*, which had uſed, by *Terrour*, and *Rigour*, to ſeek *Commandement*, over *Mens Faiths*, and *Conſciences*; Although, as a *Prince*, of great *Wiſdome*, and *Magnanimity*, ſhe ſuffered, but the *Exerciſe* of one *Religion*, yet her *Proceedings*, towards the *Papiſts*, was with great *Lenity*; Expecting the good Effects, which Time might work in them.

And therefore, her *Majeſty*, revived not the *Lawes*, made in 28°, and 35°, of her *Fathers Raign*; Whereby, the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, mought have been, offered, at the *Kings Pleaſure*, to any *Subject*, though he kept his *Conſcience*, never ſo modeſtly to himſelf; And the *Refuſall*, to take the ſame *Oath*, without Further Circumſtance, was made *Treaſon*: But, contrariwiſe, her *Majeſty*, not liking, to make *Windowes*, into Mens *Hearts*, and *Secret Thoughts* Except the *Abundance* of them, did overflow, into *Ouvert*, and *Expreſſe*, *Acts*, and *Affirmations*; Tempered her *Law* ſo, as it re-

reſtraineth, only manifeſt *Diſobedience*, in impugning, and impeaching, adviſedly, and ambitiouſly, her *Majeſties ſupream power*; And *Maintaining*, and *Extolling*, a *Forrain Juriſdiction*. And as for the *Oath*, it was altred, by her *Majeſty*, into a more gratefull Form; the *Harſhneſſe*, of the *Name*, and *Appellation*, of *Supream Head* was removed; And the *Penalty*, of the *Refuſall* thereof, turned, into a *Diſablement*, to take any *Promotion*, or to *exerciſe any charge*; And yet that, with a *Liberty*, of being *Reveſted*, therein, if any Man ſhall accept thereof, during his *Life*.

But after many years *Toleration*, of a *Multitude*, of *Factious Papiſts*; When *Pius Quintus*, had *Excommunicated* her *Majeſty*; And the *Bill*, of *Excommunication*, was publiſhed in *London*; Whereby, her *Majeſty*, was, in a ſort, proſcribed, and all her *Subjects*, drawn, upon pain of *Damnation*, from her *Obedience*; And that, thereupon, as upon a Principall *Motive*, or *Preparative*, followed, the *Rebellion*, in the *North*; yet, notwithſtanding, becauſe many, of thoſe Evill Humours, were, by that *Rebellion*, partly, *purged*; And that ſhe feared, at that time, no *Forrain Invaſion*; And much leſs, the *Attempts*, of any, within the *Realm*, not backed, by ſome *Forrain Succours*, from without; ſhe contented her ſelf, to make a *Law*, againſt that *ſpeciall Caſe*, of *Bringing* in, or *publiſhing*, of *Bulls*, or the like *Inſtruments*: Whereunto was added, a *Prohibition*, not upon *Pain* of *Treaſon*, but of an Inferiour *Degree* of *Puniſhment*, againſt bringing in, of *Agnus Dei's*, *Hallowed Beades*, and ſuch other *Merchandiſe*, of *Rome*; As are well known, not to be any *Eſſentiall* Part of the *Roman Religion*; but only to be uſed, in practiſe, as *Love-Tokens*, to enchant, and bewitch, the peoples Affections, from their *Allegeance*, to their *Naturall Soveraign*. In all other *Points*, her *Majeſty* continued, her former *Lenity*.

But, when about the 20th. year of her *Raign*, ſhe had diſcovered, in the *King* of *Spain*, a[n] *Intention*, to *Invade* her *Dominions*; And that a principall *Point*, of the *Plot*, was, to prepare, a Party, within the *Realm*, that mought adhere to the *Forrainer*: And that the *Seminaries*, began to *bloſſome*, and to ſend forth, dayly, *Prieſts*, and *profeſſed Men*, who ſhould, by *vow*, taken at Shrift, reconcile her *Subjects*, from her *Obedience*; yea, and bind, many of them, to attempt, againſt her *Majeſties*, *Sacred Perſon*; And that, by the Poyſon they ſpred, the Humours, of moſt *Papiſts*, were altred; And that, they were no more *Papiſts* in *Cuſtome*, but *Papiſts*, in *Treaſonable Faction*: Then were there, New *Lawes* made, for the puniſhment of ſuch, as ſhould ſubmit themſelves, to *Reconcilements*, or *Renunciations*, of *Obedience*. For it is to be underſtood, that this *Manner* of *Reconcilement*, in *Confeſſion*, is of the ſame *Nature*, and *Operation*, that the *Bull*, it ſelf, was of, with this onely difference; That whereas, the *Bull*, aſſoyled the *Subjects*, from their *Obedience*, at once, the other doth it, one by one. And therefore it is, both more *Secret*, & more *Inſinuative*, into the *Conſcience*, being joyned with no leſſe Matter, then an *Abſolution*, from

from *Mortall Sin.* And becauſe, it was a *Treaſon, carried in the Cloudes*, and in *wonderfull Secreſie*, and came ſeldome to *Light*; And that there was no Preſumption, thereof ſo great, as the Recuſants, to come to *Divine Service*, becauſe it was ſet down, by their Decrees; *That to come to Church, before Reconcilement, was to live in Schiſm; but to come to Church, after Reconcilement, was, abſolutely, Hereticall, and Damnable.* Therefore there were added new *Lawes*, containing a *Puniſhment pecuniary*, againſt the *Recuſants*; Not to enforce *Conſciences*, but to *Enfeeble thoſe*, of whom it reſted Indifferent, and Ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or no? For there is no doubt, but if the *Law*, of *Recuſancy*, (which is challenged, to be ſo *Extream*, and Rigorous,) were thus qualified; *That any Recuſant, that ſhall, voluntarily, come in, and take his Oath, that He, or She, were never reconciled, ſhould*, immediatly, be diſcharged, of the *Penalty*, and *Forfeiture*, of the *Law*; They would be ſo far, from liking well, of that Mitigation, as they would cry out, it was made to entrap them. And when, notwithſtanding, all this proviſion, this Poyſon was diſperſed ſo ſecretly, as that there was no Meanes to ſtay it, but to reſtrain the *Merchants*, that brought it in; Then was there laſtly added, a *Law*, whereby ſuch *Seditious Prieſts*, of the *New Erection*, were exiled; And thoſe, that were, at that time, within the *Land*, ſhipped over; And ſo commanded, to keep hence, upon *Pain*, of *Treaſon.*

This hath been the *Proceeding*, with that *Sort*, though intermingled, not onely, with ſundry *Examples*, of her *Majeſties* Grace, towards ſuch, as, in her wiſdome, ſhe knew to be *Papiſts*, in *Conſcience*, and not in *Faction*; But, alſo, with an extraordinary *Mitigation*, towards the *Offenders*, in the *Higheſt Degree*, convicted by *Law*, if they would proteſt: *That, in Caſe, this Realm, ſhould be invaded, with a Forrain Army, by the Popes Authority, for the* Catholick *Cauſe*, (*as they term it*,) *they would, take part, with her Majeſty, and not adhere, to her enemies.*

And whereas he ſaith, no *Prieſt* dealt in matter of State, (*Ballard* onely excepted,) it appeareth by the *Records*, of the *Confeſſion*, of the ſaid *Ballard*, and ſundry other *Prieſts*; That all *Prieſts*, at that time, generally, were made acquainted, with the *Invaſion* then intended, and afterwards put in Act; And had received Inſtructions, not onely, to move an Expectation, in the People, of a *Change*; But alſo, to take their *Vows*, and *Promiſes*, in *Shrift*, to adhere to the Forrainer. Inſomuch, that one, of their *Principall Heads*, vaunted himſelf, in a *Letter*, of the Deviſe, ſaying: That it was a *Point*, the *Counſell* of *England*, would never dream of; Who would imagine, that they ſhould practiſe, with ſome *Noble-Man*, to make him *Head*, of their *Faction*; whereas they took a Courſe, onely, to deal, with the People; And them, ſo ſeverally, as any One *apprehended*, ſhould be able to appeal, no more then Himſelf, except the

*Priests*; who, he knew, would reveal nothing, that was uttered in *Confession*. So Innocent, was this *Princely*, *Priestly*, *Function*, which this Man taketh, to be, but a *matter* of *Conscience*; and thinketh it Reason, it should have free *Exercise*, throughout the *Land*.

## 4. *Of the* Disturbance, *of the* Quiet, *of* Christendom; *And, to what* Causes, *it may be justly assigned.*

IT is indeed a Question, (which those, that look into *Matters of State*, do well know, to fall out very often; though this *Libeller*, seemeth to be more ignorant thereof;) whether the *Ambition* of the more *Mighty State*, or the *Jealousie*, of the *Lesse Mighty State*, be to be charged, with *Breach* of *Amity*. Hereof, as there be many *Examples*, so there is one, so proper, unto the present *Matter*; As though it were, many years since, yet it seemeth, to be a *Parable*, of these Times; and namely, of the Proceedings, of *Spain*, and *England*.

The *States*, Then, which answered, to these two, Now, were *Macedon*, and *Athens*. Consider therefore the Resemblance, between the two *Philips*, of *Macedon*, and *Spain*. He of *Macedon*, aspired, to the *Monarchy*, of *Greece*, as He of *Spain*, doth, of *Europe*: But more apparently then the First; Because, that Design, was discovered in his *Father*, *Charles* the *fifth*, and so left him by Descent: whereas *Philip* of *Macedon*, was the first, of the Kings, of that *Nation*, which fixed, so great Conceits, in his Breast. The Course, which this King, of *Macedon*, held, was not, so much, by great *Armies*, and *Invasions*; (Though these wanted not, when the Case required;) But by *Practise*; By *sowing*, of *Factions*, in *States*, and by *Obliging*, sundry *particular persons*, of *Greatnesse*. The *State*, of *Opposition*, against his Ambitious proceedings, was onely the *State* of *Athens*, as now is, the *State* of *England*, against *Spain*. For *Lacedemon* and *Thebes*, were both low, as *France* is now; And the rest, of the *States* of *Greece*, were, in Power, and Territories, far inferiour. The *People* of *Athens*, were exceedingly, affected to Peace; And weary of Expence. But the Point, which I chiefly make the Comparison, was, that of the *Oratours*, which were, as *Counsellours*, to a *Popular State*; Such as were sharpest sighted, and looked deepest, into the *Projects*, and and *spreading*, of the *Macedonians*, (doubting still, that the Fire, after it licked up, the *Neighbour States*, and made it self Opportunity to passe, would at last, take hold, of the *Dominions*, of *Athens*, with so great *Advantages*, as they should not be able to remedy it;) were ever charged, both by the *Declarations*, of the *King* of *Macedon*, and by the *Imputation*, of such *Athenians*, as were

were corrupted, to be of his *Faction*, as the *Kindlers* of *Troubles*, and *Disturbers*, of the *Peace*, and *Leagues*: But, as that Party, was, in *Athens*, too Mighty, so as it discountenanced, the true *Counsels*, of the *Orators*; And so bred, the Ruine, of that *State*; And accomplished, the Ends, of that *Philip*: So, it is to be hoped, that in a *Monarchy*, where there are, commonly, better Intelligences, and Resolutions, then in a *popular State*, those *Plots*, as they are detected already, So they will be resisted, and made Frustrate.

But, to follow the *Libeller*, in his own *Course*, the *Sum*, of that, which he delivereth, concerning the *Imputation*; As well, of the *Interruption*, of the *Amity*, between the *Crowns*, of *England*, and of *Spain*; As the *Disturbance*, of the generall Peace, of *Christendome*; Unto the *English Proceedings*, and not, to the *Ambitious Appetites* of *Spain*, may be reduced, into Three *Points*.

1. Touching the Proceeding, of *Spain*, and *England*, towards their *Neighbour States*.
2. Touching the Proceeding, of *Spain*, and *England*, *between themselves*.
3. Touching the *Articles*, and *Conditions*, which it pleaseth him, as it were, in the behalf of *England*, to Pen, and propose, for the treating, and Concluding, of an *Universall* Peace.

In the First, he discovereth, how the *King*, of *Spain*, never offered Molestation; Neither, unto the *States* of *Italy*, upon which he confineth, by *Naples*, and *Millaine*; Neither, unto the *States* of *Germany*, unto whom he confineth, by a part of *Burgundy*, and the *Low-Countries*; Nor unto *Portugall*, till it was devolved, to him, in *Title*, upon which he confineth, by *Spain*: But, contrariwise, as one, that had, in precious regard, the *Peace* of *Christendom*, he designed, from the beginning, to turn his whole *Forces*, upon the *Turk*. Onely, he confesseth, that agreeable to his *Devotion*, which apprehended, as well the purging of *Christendom*, from Heresies, as the Enlarging thereof, upon the *Infidels*; He was ever ready, to give Succours, unto the *French Kings*, against the *Hugonotts*, especially being their own Subjects; Whereas, on the other side, *England*, (as he affirmeth,) hath not only sowed, *Troubles*, and Dissentions, in *France*, and *Scotland*; (The one, their *Neighbour*, upon the *Continent*; The other, divided, onely, by the *Narrow Seas*;) But also, hath actually invaded both *Kingdomes*. For, as for the Matters, of the *Low-Countries*, they belong to the *Dealings*, which have passed by *Spain*.

In Answer whereof, it is worthy the Consideration, how it pleased *God*, in that *King*, to cross, one *Passion*, by another; And namely, that *Passion*, which mought have proved dangerous, unto all *Europe* (which was his Ambition,) by another, which was only hurtfull to himself, and his own; Which was, Wrath, and *Indignation*, towards his *Subjects*, the *Netherlands*. For after that, he was setled in his *Kingdom*, and freed from some Fear of

the *Turk*; Revolving his *Fathers designe*, in aspiring to a *Monarchy of Europe*; casting his Eye, principally, upon the two Potent *Kingdomes*, of *France*, and *England*; And remembring, how his *Father*, had once promised unto himself, the Conquest of the one; And how himself, by *Marriage*, had, lately, had some Possession of the other; And seeing, that *Diversity*, of *Religion*, was entered, into both these *Realmes*; And that *France*, was fallen unto *Princes* weak, and in *Minority*; And *England*, unto the *Government* of a *Lady*, In whom, he did not expect, that *Pollicy*, of *Government*, *Magnanimity*, & *Felicity*, which since he hath proved; Concluded, (as the *Spaniards* are great Waiters upon Time, & ground their Plots deep;) upon two *Points*: The one, to profess an extraordinary *Patronage*, & *Defence*, of the *Roman Religion*; making account thereby, to have *Factions*, in both *Kingdoms*; (In *England*, a *Faction*, directly against the State; In *France*, a *Faction*, that did consent, indeed in *Religion*, with the *King*, and therefore, at first shew, should seem unproper, to make a Party for a *Forreiner*. But he foresaw well enough, that the *King* of *France*, should be forced, (to the end, to retain *Peace*, and *Obedience*,) to yeeld, in some things, to those of the *Religion*; which would, undoubtedly, alienate, the Fiery, and more violent, sort of *Papists*: Which Preparation, in the *People*, added, to the *Ambition*, of the *Family*, of *Guise*, (which he nourished for an Instrument,) would, in the end, make a Party for him against, the *State*, as since, it proved, and mought well have done, long before: As may well appear, by the *Mention*, of *League*, and *Associations*, which is above 25. years old in *France*.

The other *Point*, he concluded upon, was; That his *Low-Countries*, was the apteſt place, both for *Ports* and *Shipping*; in respect of *England*; And for *Scituation*, in respect of *France*; having goodly *Frontier Townes*, upon that *Realm*; And joyning, also, upon *Germany*, whereby they might receive in, at Peasure, any *Forces*, of *Almaines*; To annoy, and offend, either *Kingdom*. The *Impediment* was, the *Inclination* of the *People*; which receiving, a wonderfull *Commodity*, of *Trades*, out of both *Realmes*, especially of *England*; And having been, in ancient *League*, and *Confederacy*, with our Nation; And having been, also, *Homagers* unto *France*; He knew, would be, in no wise, disposed, to either *War*. Whereupon, he resolved, to reduce them, to a Martiall *Government*; Like unto that, which he had established in *Naples*, and *Millain*; upon which suppression of their *Liberties*, ensued the *Defection*, of those *Provinces*. And about the same time, the *Reformed Religion*, found entrance, in the same *Countries*; So as the *King*, enflamed, with the *Resistance*, he found, in the first Part, of his *Plots*; And also, because, he mought not dispense, with his other *Principle*, in yielding, to any *Toleration*, of *Religion*; And withall, expecting, a shorter work of it, then he found; Became, passionatly bent, to *Reconquer* those *Countries*; Wherein, he hath, consumed, infinite *Treasure*, and *Forces*. And this is the true

*Cause*,

*Cauſe*, if a Man will look into it, that hath made the *King* of *Spain* ſo good a *Neighbour*; Namely, that he was ſo entangled, with the *Wars*, of the *Low-Countries*, as he could not intend, any other *Enterpriſe*. Beſides, in Enterprizing upon *Italy*, he doubted, firſt, the Diſpleaſure, of the *See* of *Rome*; with whom, he meant, to run, a Courſe, of ſtrait Conjunction: Alſo, he doubted, it might invite, the *Turk*, to return. And for *Germany*, he had a freſh *Example*, of his *Father*; who, when he had annexed, unto the *Dominions*, which he now poſſeſſeth, the *Empire* of *Almaign*, nevertheleſſe, ſunck in that *Enterprize*: whereby, he perceived, that the *Nation*, was, of too ſtrong a Compoſition, for him, to deal withall: Though, not long ſince, by practiſe, he could have been contented, to ſnatch up, in the *Eaſt*, the *Countrey* of *Emden*. For *Portugal*, firſt, the *Kings* thereof, were good *Sons*, to the *See* of *Rome*; Next, he had no *Colour*, of *Quarrel*, or *pretence*; Thirdly, they were Officious unto him: yet, if you will believe, the *Genueſe*, (who, otherwiſe, writeth, much to the Honour, and Advantage, of the *Kings* of *Spain*;) It ſeemeth, he had a good mind, to make himſelf a way, into that *Kingdom*; ſeeing that, for that purpoſe, (as he reporteth,) he did, artificially, nouriſh, the *yong King Sebaſtian*, in the *Voyage* of *Affrick*, expecting that overthrow wch followed.

As for his *Intention*, to warr upon the *Infidels*, and *Turks*, it maketh me think, what *Francis Guicciardine*, a wiſe writer of *Hiſtory*, ſpeaketh, of his great *Grand-Father*; Making, a Judgement of him, as *Hiſtoriographers* uſe: That he did, alwayes, *maſk*, and *vail*, his *Appetites*, with a *Demonſtration*, of a *Devout*, and *Holy*, *Intention*, to the Advancement, of the *Church*, and the *Publick Good*. His *Father*, alſo, when he received Advertiſement, of the taking of the *French King*, prohibited, all Ringings, and Bonfires, and other Tokens of Joy, and ſaid; *Thoſe were to be reſerved, for Victories, upon Infidels*; On whom, he meant, never, to warre. Many a *Cruzada*, hath the *Biſhop of Rome*, granted to him, and his *Predeceſſours*, upon that Colour; Which all, have been ſpent, upon the Effuſion, of *Chriſtian Bloud*: And now, this year, the *Levies* of *Germans*, which ſhould have been made, under hand, for *France*, were coloured, with the pretence, of *Warr*, upon the *Turk*; Which the *Princes* of *Germany*, deſcrying, not onely brake the *Levies*, but threatned the *Commiſſioners*, to hang the next, that ſhould offer, the like Abuſe: So that this Form, of *Diſſembling*, is Familiar, and, as it were, *Hereditary*, to the *King* of *Spain*.

And as for his *Succours*, given to the *French King*, againſt the *Proteſtants*, he could not chuſe, but accompany the *Pernicious Counſels*, which ſtill he gave to the *French Kings*, of breaking their *Edicts*, and admitting of no *Pacification*, but purſuing their *Subjects* with *Mortall Warre*, with ſome Offer of *Aides*; which having promiſed, he could not, but in ſome ſmall Degree, perform; whereby alſo, the *Subject* of *France*, (namely, the *violent Papiſt*,) was enured, to depend upon *Spain*. And ſo much, for the *King of Spaines*, *proceedings*, towards other *States*.

Now

Now for ours, And first, touching the *Point*, wherein, he chargeth us, to be the *Authours*, of *Troubles*, in *Scotland*, and *France*: It will appear to any, that have been well enformed, of the Memories, of these Affaires; That the *Troubles*, of those *Kingdomes*, were, indeed, chiefly kindled, by one, and the same *Family*, of the *Guise*: A *Family*, (as was partly touched before,) as particularly devoted, now for many years together, to *Spain*, as the *Order*, of the *Jesuites*, is. This *House* of *Guise*, having, of late years, extraordinarily flourished, in the eminent *Vertue*, of a few Persons, whose *Ambition*, nevertheless, was nothing inferiour to their *vertue*; But being of a *House*, notwithstanding, which the *Princes*, of the *Bloud*, of *France*, reckoned but as strangers; Aspired, to a Greatness, more then *Civill*, and proportionable to their *Cause*, wheresoever they had *Authority*: And accordingly, under *Colour* of *Consanguinity*, and *Religion*, they brought into *Scotland*, in the year 1559, and in the Absence, of the *King*, and *Queen*, *French Forces*, in great numbers: whereupon, the *Ancient Nobility*, of that *Realm*, seeing the imminent danger, of Reducing that *Kingdome*, under the Tyranny of Strangers, did pray, (according to the good Intelligence, between the two Crowns,) *her Majesties Neighbourly Forces*. And so it is true, that the Action, being very Just, & Honourable, her *Majesty* undertook it, expelled the *Strangers*, and restored the *Nobility*, to their *Degrees*, and the *State to Peace*.

After, when Certain *Noble-Men* of *Scotland*, of the same *Faction* of *Guise*; had, during the *Minority* of the *King*, possessed themselves, of his Person, to the end, to abuse his Authority, many wayes; And namely, to make a Breach, between *Scotland*, and *England*, her *Majesties Forces*, were again, in the year, 1582. by the *Kings* best, and truest Servants, sought, and required; And, with the Forces of her *Majesty*, prevailed so far, as to be possessed, of the *Castle* of *Edenborough*, the principall part of that *Kingdome*; which, nevertheless, her Majesty, incontinently, with all Honour, and Sincerity, restored; After she had put the *King*, into good, and faithfull, Hands; And so, ever since, in all the Occasions, of *Intestine Troubles*, whereunto that *Nation* hath been ever subject, she hath performed unto the *King*, all possible good Offices, and such, as he doth, with all good Affection, acknowledge.

The same *House* of *Guise*, under Colour of *Alliance*, during the *Raign*, of *Francis* the *second*, and by the *Support*, and *practise*, of the *Queen Mother*; who desiring, to retain the *Regency*, under her own Hands, during the Minority of *Charles the ninth*, used those of *Guise* as a Counterpoise, to the *Princes*, of the *Bloud*; obtained also, great *Authority*, in the *Kingdome*, of *France*; whereupon, having raised, and moved, *Civill Warrs*, under pretence of *Religion*; But indeed, to enfeeble, and depresse, the *Ancient Nobility*, of that *Realm*; The contrary Part, being compounded, of the *Bloud Royall*, and the Greatest *Officers*, of the *Crown*; opposed themselves, onely,

onely, against their Insolency; And, to their *Aides*, called in, her *Majesties Forces*, giving them, for security, the Town of New-Haven: which nevertheless, when as afterwards, having by the *Reputation*, of her *Majesties Confederation*, made their Peace, in Effect, as they would themselves; They would, without observing any Conditions, that had passed, have had it back again; Then, indeed, it was held by force, and so had been long, but for the great *Mortality*, which it pleased *God*, to send amongst our Men. After which time, so far was her *Majesty*, from seeking, to sowe, or kindle, New *Troubles*; As continually, by the Sollicitation, of her *Embassadours*, she still perswaded, with the *Kings*, both *Charles the* 9th, and *Hen. the* 3d, to keep, and observe, their *Edicts of Pacification*, and to preserve their *Authority*, by the *Union*, of their *Subjects*: which Counsell, if it had been as happily followed, as it was prudently, and sincerely, given, *France*, had been, at this day, a most *Flourishing Kingdome*, which is now, a *Theater* of *Misery*. And now, in the end, after that the *Ambitious Practises*, of the same *House*, of *Guise*, had grown to that Ripeness, that gathering further strength, upon the weakness, and Misgovernment, of the said *King Hen.* 3d; He was fain, to execute, the *Duke of Guise*, without *Ceremony*, at *Bloys*: And yet, nevertheless, so many Men were embarqued, and engaged, in that *Conspiracy*, as the Flame thereof, was nothing asswaged; But, contrarywise, that *King Hen.* grew distressed, so as he was enforced, to implore, the Succours of *England*, from her *Majesty*; Though no way, interessed, in that *Quarrell*; Nor, any way, obliged, for any good offices, she had received of that *King*; yet she accorded the same. Before the *Arrivall* of which *Forces*, the *King*, being, by a *sacrilegious Jacobine*, murthered, in his *Camp*, near *Paris*, yet they went on, and came, in good time, for the *Assistance*, of the *King*, which now *raigneth*; The Justice of whose Quarrell, together with the long continued Amity, and good Intelligence, which her *Majesty* had with him, hath moved her *Majesty*, from time to time, to supply with great *Aides*; And yet, she never, by any Demand, urged upon him, the putting into her Hands, of any *Town*, or *Place*. So as, upon this, that hath been said, let the *Reader* judge, whether hath been, the more Just, and Honourable, Proceeding; And the more free, from *Ambition*, and *Passion*, towards other *States*; That of *Spain*, or that of *England*? Now, let us examine the proceedings, reciproque, between themselves.

Her *Majesty*, at her *Comming* to the *Crown*, found her *Realm*, entangled, with the *Wars* of *France*, and *Scotland*, her neareſt *Neighbours*: which *Wars* were grounded, onely, upon the *Spaniards Quarrell*; But, in the pursuit of them, had lost *England*, the Town of *Calice*. Which, from the 21. year, of *King Edward* 3, had been possessed, by the *Kings of England*. There was a meeting near *Burdeaux*, towards the end, of *Queen Maries Raign*, between the *Commissioners*, of *France*, *Spain*, and *England*; and some Overture, of

of *Peace* was made; But broke off, upon the *Article*, of the *Restitution*, of *Callice*. After *Queen Maries* Death, the *King* of *Spain*, thinking himself, discharged, of that Difficulty, (though in honour, he was no lesse bound to it, then before,) renewed the like *Treaty*, wherein her *Majesty* concurred: so as the *Commissioners*, for the said *Princes*, met at *Chasteau Cambrasi*, near *Cambray*. In the proceedings, of which Treaty, it is true, that at the first, the *Commissioners*, of *Spain*, for form, and in Demonstration onely, pretended to stand firm, upon the *Demand* of *Callice*; but it was discerned, indeed, that the *Kings* Meaning was, after some Ceremonies, and perfunctory Insisting thereupon, to grow, apart, to a *Peace*, with the *French*, excluding her *Majesty*; And so to leave her, to make her own Peace, after her *People*, Had made his *Wars*. Which Covert Dealing, being politickly looked into, her *Majesty* had reason, being newly invested in her *Kingdom*; And, of her own Inclination, being affected to *Peace*; To conclude the same, with such Conditions as she mought: And yet, the *King of Spain*, in his Dissimulation, had so much Advantage, as she was fain, to do it, in a *Treaty*, apart, with the *French*; whereby to one, that is not informed, of the *Counsels*, and *Treaties* of *State*, as they passed, it should seem to be, a *voluntary Agreement*, of *her Majesty*, whereto the *King of Spain*, would not be party, whereas, indeed, he left her no other choice. And this was the first *Assay*, or *Earnest penny*, of that *Kings*, good affection, to her *Majesty*.

About the same time, when the *King* was sollicited, to renew, such *Treaties*, and *Leagues*, as had passed, between the two *Crowns*, of *Spain*, and *England*, by the Lord *Cobham*, sent unto him, to acquaint him, with the *Death of Queen* Mary; And afterwards, by Sir *Thomas* Challenor, and Sir *Thomas* Chamberlain, successively, *Embassadours*, *Resident* in his *Low Countries*; Who had order; divers times, during their Charge, to make Overtures thereof, both unto the *King*, and certain *principall persons* about him, And lastly, those former Motions, taking no effect; By *Viscount Montacute*, and Sir *Thomas Chamberlain*, sent unto *Spain*, in the year 1560; no other *Answer*, could be had, or obtained, of the *King*, but that, the *Treaties* did stand, in as good Force, to all Intents, as new *Ratification*, could make them. An *Answer* strange at that time, but very conformable, to his *Proceedings* since; which belike, even then, were closely smothered, in his own Breast. For had he not, at that time, some hidden Alienation, of Mind, and Design, of an Enemy, towards her *Majesty*; So wise *a King*, could not be ignorant; That the *Renewing*, and *Ratifying*, of *Treaties*, between *Princes*, and *States*, do adde great *Life*, and *Force*, both of *Assurance*, to the *parties* themselves, and *Countenance*, and *Reputation* to the *World* besides; And have, for that cause, been commonly, and necessarily, used, and practised.

In

In the Meſſage, of *Viſcount Montacute*, it was alſo contained, that he ſhould crave, the *Kings* Counſell, and Aſſiſtance, according to Amity, and good *Intelligence*, upon a Diſcovery, of certain *pernicious Plots*, of the *Houſe* of *Guiſe*, to annoy this *Realm*, by the way of *Scotland:* whereunto the *Kings Anſwer*, was ſo Dark, and ſo cold, as Nothing could be made of it; Till he had made, an Expoſition of it, himſelf, by effects, in the expreſſe *Reſtraint*, of *Munition*, to be carried, out of the *Low-Countries*, unto the *Siege* of *Leith*; Becauſe our *Nation*, was to have ſupply, thereof, from thence. So as, in all the *Negotiations*, that paſſed, with that *King*, ſtill, *her Majeſty*, received no ſatisfaction, but more and more ſuſpitious, and Bad Tokens, of evill affection.

Soon after, when upon that *Project*, which was diſcloſed, before the *King* had reſolved, to diſannull the *Liberties*, and *Priviledges*, unto his *Subjects*, the *Netherlands*, anciently belonging; And to eſtabliſh amongſt them, a *Marſhall Government*; which the *People*, being very *Wealthy*; And inhabiting *Townes*, very *ſtrong*, and *Defenſible*, by *Fortifications*, both of *Nature*, and the Hand, could not endure; there followed the *Deſection*, and *revolt*, of thoſe *Countries*. In which *Action*, being the greateſt, of all thoſe, which have paſſed, between *Spain*, and *England*, the *Proceeding*, of her *Majeſty*, hath been ſo Juſt, and mingled, with ſo many *Honourable* Regards, as Nothing, doth ſo much clear, and acquite, her *Majeſty*, not only from *Paſſion*, bnt alſo, from all *Diſhonourable Pollicy*. For firſt, at the beginning of the *Troubles*, ſhe did impart, unto Him, faithfull, and ſincere, Adviſe, of the Courſe, that was to be taken, for the quietting, and appeaſing them; And, expreſſly, forewarned, both himſelf, and ſuch as were, in principall Charge, in thoſe *Countries*, during the *Wars*, of the danger like to enſue, if he held, ſo heavy a Hand, over that *People*; leſt, they ſhould caſt themſelves, into the *Arms*, of a *Stranger*. But finding, the *Kings* Mind, ſo exulcerate, as he rejected all Counſell, that tended, to Mild, and Gracious, proceeding, her *Majeſty*, nevertheleſſe, gave not over her *Honourable Reſolution*; (which was, if it were poſſible, to reduce, and reconcile, thoſe *Countries*, unto the obedience, of their *Naturall Soveraign*, the *King* of *Spain:* And if that, mought not be, yet to preſerve them, from alienating themſelves, to a *Ferrain Lord*; As namely, unto the *French*, with whom they much treated; And amongſt whom the *Enterpriſe* of *Flanders*, was ever propounded, as a Mene to unite, their own Civill Diſſenſions;) Bnt, patiently, temporizing, expected the good effect, which Time mought breed: And whenſoever, the *States* grew, into Extremities, of Deſpair, and thereby ready, to embrace the Offer, of any *Forrainer*; Then would her *Majeſty*, yield them, ſome *Relief* of *Money*, or permit, ſome *Supply* of *Forces*, to go over unto them; To the end, to interrupt, ſuch *violent Reſolution:* And ſtill continued, to mediate, unto the *King*, ſome Juſt, and Ho-

nourable, Capitulations, of *Grace*, and *Accord*; Such, as whereby, alwayes, should have been preserved, unto him, such *Interest*, and *Authority*, as He, in *Justice*, could claim; Or a *Prince*, moderately minded, would seek to have. And this *Course* she held, interchangeably, seeking to mitigate, the *Wrath* of the *King*, and the *Despair* of the *Countries*; Till such Time, as, after the Death, of the Duke of *Anjou*; (Into whose Hands, according to her *Majesties* prediction, but against her good liking, they had put themselves;) The *Enemy* pressing them, the *united Provinces*, were received, into her *Majesties* Protection: which was, after such Time, as the *King of Spain*, had discovered himself, not onely an *Implacable Lord* to them, but also, a *professed Enemy*, unto her *Majesty*; having, actually, invaded *Ireland*, and designed the *Invasion* of *England*. For it is to be noted, that the like Offers, which were then made unto her *Majesty*; had been made to her, long before; but as long, as her *Majesty* conceived, any Hope, either of Making, their Peace; Or entertaining her own, with *Spain*, she would never hearken thereunto. And yet now, even at last, her *Majesty* retained, a singular, and evident Proof, to the *World*, of her Justice, and Moderation; In that, she refused, the *Inheritance*, and *Soveraignty*, of those *Goodly Provinces*; which by the States, with much Instance, was pressed upon her; and being accepted, would have wrought, greater *Contentment*, and *Satisfaction*, both to her *People*, and theirs; Being *Countries*, for the *Scite*; *Wealth*; *Commodity* of *Traffick*; Affection to our Nation; *Obedience* of the *Subjects*, (well used,) most convenient, to have been annexed, to the *Crown* of *England*; And withall, one Charge, Danger, and Offence of *Spain*; onely, took upon her, the *Defence*, and *Protection*, of their Liberties: Which *Liberties*, and *Priviledges*, are of that Nature, as they may justly, esteem themselves, but *Conditionall Subjects*, to the *King* of *Spain*; More justly then *Aragon*: And may make her *Majesty*, as justly esteem, the ancient *Confederacies*, and *Treaties*, with *Burgundy*, to be, of Force, rather, with the *People*, and *Nation*, then, with the *Line*, of the *Duke*; becaus it was, never, an *Absolute Monarchy*. So as, to summe up, her *Majesties Proceedings*, in this great *Action*, they have but this; That, they have sought, first, to restore them to *Spain*; Then, to keep them from *Strangers*; And never, to purchase them, to *Her Self*.

But during all that time, the *King* of *Spain*, kept one tenour, in his Proceedings, towards her *Majesty*; Breaking forth, more and more, into *Injuries*, and *Contempts*: Her *Subjects*, trading into *Spain*, have been, many of them, Burned; Some cast into the *Gallies*; Others have died in *Prison*, without any other Crimes committed, but upon Quarrells, pickt upon them, for ther *Religion*, here at home. Her *Merchants*, at the Sack of *Antwerpe*, were, diverse of them, spoyled, and put to their *Ransomes*

though

though they could not be charged, with any Part-taking: Neither, upon the Complaint, of *Doctor Wilson*, and *Sir Edward Horsey*, could any *Redresse* be had. A generall *Arrest*, was made, by the *Duke*, of *Alva*, of *Englisb mens*, both *Goods*, and *Persons*, upon pretence, that certain Ships, stayed in this *Realm*, laden with *Goods*, and *Money*, of certain *Merchants*, of *Genoa*, belonged to that *King*: which *Money*, and *Goods*, was, afterwards, to the uttermost value, restored, and payed back: Whereas our Men, were far, from receiving, the like *Justice*, on their side. *Doctor Man*, her *Majesties Embassadour*, received, during his *Legation*, sundry Indignities, himself, being *Removed*, out of *Madrid*, and *Lodged*, in a *Village*; As they are accustomed, to use, the *Embassadours* of *Moores*: His *Sonn*, and *Steward*, forced, to assist, at a *Mass*, with *Tapers* in their Hands; Besides sundry other *Contumelies*, and *Reproaches*. But the *Spoyling*, or *Damnifying*, of a *Merchant*; Vexation, of a *Common Subject*; *Dishonour* of an *Embassadour*; Were rather, but Demonstrations of ill Disposition, then Effects; If they be compared, with Actions of *State*; Wherein He, and his *Ministers*, have sought the *Overthrow*, of this *Government*: As in the year 1569. when the Rebellion, in the North part of *England*, brake forth; Who but the *Duke* of *Alva*, (then the *Kings Lievetenant*, in the *Low-Countries*,) and *Don Guerres*, of *Espes*, then his *Embassador Lieger* here, were discovered, to be chief *Instruments*, and *Practisers*; Having complotted, with the *Duke* of *Norfolk*, at the same time; As was proved, at the same *Dukes Condemnation*, that an *Army*, of 20000. Men, should have landed at *Harwich*, in aid of that Part, which the said *Duke* had made, within the *Realm*; And the said *Duke*, having spent, and imployed, 150000. *Crownes*, in that *Preparation*.

Not contented thus, to have consorted, and assisted, her *Majesties Rebells*, in *England*; He procured, a *Rebellion*, in *Ireland*: Arming, and Sending thither, in the year 1579, an *Arch-Rebell*, of that *Country*, *James Fitz Morrice*, which before was fled: And truly to speak, the whole course of Molestation, which her *Majesty* hath received, in that *Realm*, by the *Rising*, and Keeping on, of the *Irish*, hath been nourished, and fomented, from *Spain*. but afterwards, most apparently, in the year, 1580, he invaded, the same *Ireland*, , with *Spanish* Forces, under an *Italian Colonell*, By Name *San-Josopho*, being but the Fore-runners, of a greater Power; Which, by Treaty, between *Him*, and the *Pope*, should have followed: But that, by the speedy Defeat, of those former, they were discouraged, to pursue the *Action*: Which *Invasion*, was proved, to be done, by the *Kings*, own *Orders*; both by the *Letters*, of *Secretary Escouedo*, and of *Guerres*, to the *King*: And also, by divers other *Letters*, wherein, the particular Conferences, were set down, concerning this *Enterprise*, between *Cardinall Riario*, the *Popes Legate*, and the *Kings Deputy* in *Spain*; Touching the *Generall*, the *Number of Men*, the *Contribution* of *Mo-*

ey, and the *Manner*, of the *Prosecuting*, of the *Action*; And by the *Confession*, of some of the *Chiefest*, of those, that were taken *Prisoners*, at the *Fort*: Which *Act*, being an *Act*, of *Apparent Hostility*, added, unto all the Injuries, aforesaid; And accompanied, with a continuall *Receit*, *Comfort*, and *Countenance*, by *Audiences*, *Pensions*, and *Employments*, which he gave to *Traytours*, and *Fugitives*, both *English*, and *Irish*; As *Westmerland*, *Paget*, *Englefield*, *Baltinglasse*, and Numbers of others; Did, sufficiently, justifie, and warrant, that pursuit of Revenge, which, (either in the *Spoyl* of *Carthagena*, and *San Domingo*, in the *Indies*, by *Mr Drake*; Or, in the undertaking, the protection, of the *Low-Countreys*, when the *Earl* of *Leicester* was sent over;) afterwards followed. For before that time, her *Majesty*, though she stood upon her Guard, in respect, of the just Cause of Jealousie, which, the Sundry Injuries of that *King*, gave her, yet had entred, into no *Offensive Action*, against Him. For both, the *Voluntary Forces*, which *Don Antonio*, had collected, in this *Realm*, were, by expres commandement, restrained; And Offer was made, of Restitution, to the *Spanish Embassadour*, of such *Treasure*, as had been brought, into this *Realm*; upon Proof, that it had been taken by wrong; And the *Duke* of *Anjou*, was, (as much as could stand, with the near *Treaty*, of a *Marriage*, which then, was very forward, between her *Majesty*, and the said *Duke*;) Diverted, from the *Enterprise*, of *Flanders*.

But to conclude this *Point*; when that, some yeares after; the *Invasion*, and *Conquest*, of this *Land*; *Intended* long before, but through many Crosses, and Impediments, which the *King of Spain*, found in his Plots, *deferred*; Was, in the year 1588, attempted; Her *Majesty*, not forgetting her own Nature, was content, at the same Instant, to *Treat* of a *Peace*; Not ignorantly, as a *Prince*, that knew not, in what forwardnes, his preparations were; (For she had discovered them long before;) Nor fearfully, as may appear, by the *Articles*, whereupon her *Majesty*, in that *Treaty*, stood; which were not, the Demands, of a *Prince* afraid; But onely, to spare the *shedding*, of *Christian Blood*; And to shew, her constant Desire, to make her *Raign Renowned*, rather by *Peace*, then *victories*: which *Peace*, was, on her part, treated sincerely; But, on his part, (as it should seem,) was but an *Abuse*; Thinking thereby, to have taken us more unprovided: So that the *Duke* of *Parma*, not liking, to be used as an *Instrument*, in such a Case, in regard of his particular Honour, would, sometimes, in *Treating*, interlace; *That the King, his Master, ment to make his Peace, With his Sword in his Hand*; Let it then be tried, upon an indifferent view, of the *proceedings*, of *England*, and *Spain*; Who it is, that *Fisheth*, *in Troubled Waters*; And hath disturbed, the *Peace*, of *Christendome*; And hath written, and described, all his *Plots*, in *Bloud*.

There follow the *Articles*, of an *Universall Peace*, which the *Libeller*,

*beller*, as a *Commissioner*, for the *Estate* of *England*, hath propounded, and are these:

First, that the *King* of *Spain*; should recall such Forces, as of great compassion, to the Naturall People of *France*, he hath sent thither, to defend them, against a *Relapsed Huguonott*.

Secondly, that he suffer, his *Rebells*, *of Holland* and *Zeland*, quietly, to possesse the places, they hold; And to take unto them, all the Rest, of the *Low-Countries also*; Conditionally, that the *Englisb*, may still keep, the possession, of such *Port-Towns*, as they have, and have some half a dozen more, annexed unto them.

Thirdly, that the *Englisb Rovers*, *nought*, peaceably, go, to his *Indies*; And there, take away his *Treasure*, and his *Indies* also.

And these *Articles*, being *accorded*, (he saith,) might follow that *Peace*, which *passeth all understanding*; As he calleth it, in a scurrile, and prophane Mockery, of the *Peace*, which *Christians*, enjoy with *God*, by the Attonement, which is made, by the *Blood of Christ*; whereof the *Apostle* saith; *That it passeth all understanding:* But these his *Articles*, are, sure, mistaken; And indeed corrected, are briefly these:

1. That the *King of France*, be not impeached, in *Reducing* his *Rebels*, to obedience.
2. That the *Netherlands*, be suffered, to enjoy their Ancient *Liberties*, and *Priviledges*; And so *Forces* of *Strangers*, to be with-drawn, both *Englisb*, and *Spanisb*.
3. That all *Nations*, may trade, into the *East*, and *West*, *Indies*; yea discover, and occupy, such parts, as the *Spaniard*, doth not actually possesse; And are not, under *Civill Government*, notwithstanding any *Donation*, of the *Pope*.

## 5. *Of the* Cunning, *of the* Libeller, *in* Palliation, *of his* malicious Invectives, *against her* Majesty, *and the* State, *with pretence, of* Taxing, *onely the Actions, of the* Lord Burghley.

I Cannot, rightly, call this *Point*, *Cunning*, in the *Libeller*, but rather, good will to be *Cunning*, without skill, indeed, or Judgement: For finding, that it had been, the Usuall, and Ready, practise, of *Seditious Subjects*, to plant, and bend their Invectives, and Clamours; Not against the *Soveraigns* themselves, but against some such, as had *Grace* with them, and *Authorities* under *them*; He put, in ure, his Learning, in a wrong, and unproper, *Case*. For this hath some Appearance, to cover undutifull *Invectives*, when it is used, against *Favourites*, or *New Upstarts*, and suddain-risen *Counsellours*: But, when it shall be practised, against One, that

that hath been *Counsellour*, before her *Majesties* Time; And hath continued longer *Counsellour*, then any other *Counsellour* in *Europe*; One, that must needs have, been Great, if it were but by Surviving alone, though he had no other *Excellency*; One, that hath passed the *Degrees* of *Honour*, with great *Travell*, and *long Time*, which quencheth alwayes *Envy*, except it be joyned, with extreme Malice; Then, it appeareth, manifestly, to be but a *Brick wall*, at *Tennis*, to make the *Defamation*, and *Hatred rebound*, from the *Counsellour*, upon the *Prince*. And assuredly, they be very simple, to think, to abuse the *World*, with those Shifts; Since, every *Child*, can tell the *Fable*; *That the Wolfs Malice, was not to the Shepherd, but to his Dog.* It is true, that these Men, have altred their *Tune*, twice, or thrice: when the *Match*, was in *Treating*, with the Duke, of *Anjou*, they spake *Honey*, as to her *Majesty*: All the *Gall* was uttered, against the *Earl of Leicester*. But, when they had gotten *Heart*, upon the Expectation, of the *Invasion*, they changed stile, and disclosed, all the *Venome* in the *World*, immediately, against her *Majesty*: what New Hope, hath made them return, their *Sinons Note*, in teaching *Troy*, *how* to save it self; I cannot tell. But, in the mean time, they do his *Lordship*, much *Honour*: For, the more despitefully, they inveigh, against his *Lordship*, the more Reason, hath her *Majesty*, to trust him, and the *Realm* to honour him. It was wont, to be a Token, of scarce a good *Liedgeman*, when the *Enemy*, spoiled the *Countrey*, and left, any particular Mens *Houses*, or *Fields*, unwasted.

## 6. *Certain true generall Notes upon the Actions of the Lord Burleigh.*

BUT above all the rest, it is a strange Fancy, in the *Libeller*, that he maketh his *Lordship*, to be, the *Primum Mobile*, in every Action, without Distinction. That to him, her *Majesty* is *Accomptant*, of her *Resolutions*. That to him, the *Earl of Leicester*, and Mr. *Secretary Walsingham*, both Men, of great Power, and of great wit, and understanding, were but as *Instruments*; whereas, it is well knownn, that as to her *Majesty*, there was never a *Counseller*, of his *Lordships* long Continuance, that was so applyable, to her *Majesties*, *Princely Resolutions*; Endeavouring, alwayes, after *Faithfull Propositions*, and *Remonstrances*, and these in the *best words*, and the most *Gratefull Manner*; to rest upon such *Conclusions*, as her *Majesty*, in her own wisdome, determineth, and them to execute to the best: So far, hath he been, from *Contestation*, or drawing her *Majesty*, into any his own *Courses*. And as, for the Forenamed *Counsellours*, and others, with whom his *Lordship*, hath consorted, in her *Majesties service*; It is rather true, that his *Lordship*, out of the Greatnesse, of his *Experience*, and

and *Wiſdome*; And, out of the *Coldneſſe*, of his *Nature*, hath qualified, generally, all *Hard*, and *Extreame*, *Courſes*, as far, as the *Service* of her *Majeſty*, and the *Safety*, of the *State*, & the *Making* himſelf, *compatible*, with thoſe, with whom he ſerved, would permit. So far, hath his *Lordſhip* been, from inciting others, or running a full Courſe with them, in that kind. But yet, it is more ſtrange, that this Man, ſhould be ſo abſurdly *Malitious*, as he ſhould charge his *Lordſhip*, not onely, with all *Actions* of *State*, but alſo, with all the *Faults*, and *Vices*, of the Times; As if *Curioſity*, and *Emulation*, have bred ſome *Controverſies*, in the *Church*; Though, (thanks be to God,) they extend, but to outward Things; As if *Wealth*, and the *Cunning* of *Wits*, have brought forth, *Multitudes of Suits*, in *Law*; As If, *Exceſſe* in *Pleaſures*, and in *Magnificence*, joyned with the *unfaithfulneſſe* of *Servants*, and the *Greedineſſe* of *Monied Men*, have decayed, the *Patrimony*, of many Noble Men, and others; That all theſe, and ſuch like, *Conditions* of the Time, ſhould be put, on his *Lordſhips* accompt; who hath been, as far, as to his *Place*, appertaineth, a moſt *Religious*, and Wiſe, *Moderator* in *Church Matters*, to have *Unity* kept; who with great *Juſtice*, hath diſpatched, infinite *Cauſes* in *Law*, that have *orderly*, been brought before him; And, for his own *Example*, may ſay that, which few Men can ſay, but was ſometime ſaid, by *Cephalus*, the Athenian, ſo much Renowned, in *Plato's Works*; who having lived, near to the age, of an 100 years; And in continuall, Affairs, and Buſineſſe, was wont to ſay of Himſelf; *That he never ſued any, neither had been ſued by any*: Who by reaſon, of his *Office*, hath preſerved, many *Great Houſes*, from *Overthrow*, by relieving ſundry *Extremities*, towards ſuch, as in their *Minority*, have been *circumvented*; And towards all ſuch, as his *Lordſhip*, might adviſe, did ever perſwade, *Sober*, and *Limited*, *Expence*. Nay, to make Proof, further, of his *Contented Manner* of *Life*, free from *Suits*, and *Covetouſneſſe*; as he never *ſued*, any *Man*, ſo did he never *raiſe*, any *Rent*, or put out, any *Tenant*, of his own; Nor ever gave conſent, to have the like done, to any of the *Queens Tenants*; Matters, ſingularly, to be noted, in this *Age*.

But however, by this *Fellow*, as in a Falſe, *Artificiall*, *Glaſſe*, which is able, to make the beſt Face Deformed, his *Lordſhips Doings* be ſet forth; yet, let his Proceedings, (which be indeed his own,) be indifferently weighed, and conſidered; And let Men call to Mind, that his *Lordſhip* was never a *violent*, and *Tranſported Man*, in Matters of *State*, but ever Reſpective, and Moderate; That he was never Man, in his particular, a *Breaker* of *Necks*, no heavy *Enemy*, but ever Placable, and Mild; That he was never a *Brewer*, of *Holy water* in *Court*, no *Dallier*, no *Abuſer*, but ever *Reall*, and Certain; That he was never, a *Bearing* Man, nor *Carrier* of *Cauſes*, But ever gave way, to *Juſtice*, and *Courſe* of *Law*; That he was never, a *Glorious*, *Wilfull*, *Proud* Man, but ever

ever *Civill*, and *Familiar*, and good to deal withall; That in the *Course*, of his *Service*, he hath, rather, sustained the *Burthen*, then sought the *Fruition*, of *Honour*, or *Profit*; Scarcely sparing any time, from his *Cares*, and *Travailes*, to the *Sustentation* of his *Health*; That he never had, nor sought to have, for Himself, and his *Children*, any Penny-worth of *Lands*, or *Goods*, that appertained to any, attainted, of any *Treason*, *Felony*, or otherwise; That he never had, or sought, any kind of *Benefit*, by any *Forfeiture*, to her *Majesty*; That he was never, a *Factious Commender*, of Men, as he, that intended, any waies, to besiege Her, by bringing in, Men at his Devotion; But was ever, a true Reporter, unto her *Majesty*, of every Mans *Deserts*, and *Abilities*; That he never took the Course, to unquiet, or offend, no nor exasperate her *Majesty*, but to content her mind, and mitigate her Displeasure; That he ever bare Himself *reverently*, and without *Scandall*, in Matters of *Religion*, and without blemish in his *Private Course*, of *Life*; Let Men, I say, without Passionate Mallice, call to mind, these Things; And they will think it Reason, that, though he be not *canonized* for a *Saint*, in *Rome*, yet he is, worthily, celebrated, as *Pater Patriæ*, in *England*; And though he be *Libelled* against, by *Fugitives*, yet he is prayed for, by a Multitude, of good *Subjects*: Aud lastly, though he be envied, whilest he liveth, yet he shall be deeply wanted, when he is gone. And assuredly, many Princes, have had, many Servants of *Trust*, *Name*, and *Sufficiency*; But where there have been great parts, there hath often wanted, *Temper* of *Affection*; Where there have beeu, both *Ability*, and *Moderation*, there have wanted, *Diligence*, and *Love* of *Travaile*; Where all Three have been, there have, sometimes, wanted, *Faith*, and *Sincerity*; Where some few, have had, all these Four, yet they have wanted *Time*, and *Experience*: But where there is a *Concurrence*, of all these, there is no marvaile, though a *Prince* of *Judgement*, be constant, in the *Employment*, and *Trust*, of such a *Servant*.

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## 7. *Of divers particular* Untruths, *and* Abuses, dispersed *thrugh the* Libel.

THE *Order* which this Man keepeth, in his *Libell* is such, as it may appear, that he meant but to empty some *Note Booke*, of the *Matters* of *England*; To bring in, (whatsoever came of it,) a Number of Idle Jests: which he thought might fly abroad; And intended nothing lesse, then to clear the Matters, be handled, by the *Linht* of *Order*, and *Distinct Writing*

*ting*. Having therefore, in the *Principall Points*, namely the Second, Third, and Fourth, Articles, ranged his Scattering, and wandering, Discourse, into some *Order*, such as may help, the Judgement of the *Reader*, I am now content, to gather up, some of his By-Matters, and Stragling Untruths, and very briefly, to censure them.

Page 9. he saith; *That his Lordships could, neither by the Greatness, of his Beades; creeping to the* Crosse; *Nor exteriour shew of Devotion, before the High Altar; find his entrance, into high Dignity, in Queen* Maries *Time*. All which, is a meer *Fiction*, at Pleasure: For *Queen Mary*, bare that Respect unto him, in regard, of his constant standing, for her *Title*; As she desired to continue his *Service*; The *Refusall* thereof, growing from his own Part: He enjoyed, nevertheless, all other *Liberties*, & *Favours*, of the time; Save only, that it was put, into the *Queens* Head, that it was dangerous, to permit him, to go beyond the Sea, because he had a great Wit of *Action*, and had served, in so Principall a Place; Which nevertheless, after, with *Cardinall Poole*, he was suffered to do

Pag. *Eadem*, he saith; *Sir Nich. Bacon*, that was *Lord Keeper*, was a *Man* of *exceeding crafty wit*; Which sheweth, that this *Fellow*, in his *Slanders*, is no good Marks-Man; But throweth out his Words, of *Defaming*, without all *Levell*. For all the *World*, noted, *Sir Nich. Bacon*, to be a Man, Plain, Direct, and Constant, without all Fineneſſe, and Doubleneſſe; And one that was, of the mind, that a Man, in his private Proceedings, and Estate, and in the Proceedings, of State, should rest, upon the *Soundnesse*, and *Strength*, of his own *Courses*, and not upon Practise, to *Circumvent* others; According, to the *Sentence* of *Salomon*; *Vir Prudens aduertit ad Gressus suos, stultus autem divertit ad Dolos*: Insomuch, that the *Bishop* of *Rosse*, a Subtile, and Observing, Man, said of him; *That he could fasten, no words upon him*, and that *it was impossible to come within him, because he offered no play*. And *Queen Mother* of *France*, a very *politick Princesse*, said of him; *That he should have been, of the Councell of* Spain, *because he despised the Occurrents, and rested upon the First Plot*; So that, if He were *Crafty*, it is hard to say, who is wise.

Pag. 10. he saith; That the *Lord Burleigh*, in the *Establishment*, of *Religion*, in the *Beginning* of the *Queens Time*, prescribed a *Composition*, of his own *Invention*; Whereas the same *Form*, not fully six years before, had been received, in this *Realm*, in *King Edwards Time*: So as his *Lordship*, being a *Christian*, *Politick*, *Counseller*, thought it better, to follow a *President*, then to innovate; And chose the President, rather at *Home*, then *Abroad*.

Pag. 41. he saith; That *Catholicks*, never attempted, to murther, any principall person, of her *Majesties Court*, as did *Burchew*, (whom he calleth a *Puritan*) In wounding, of a Gentleman, instead, of *Sir Christopher Hatten*; But by their great *Vertue*, *Modesty*, and *Patience*, do manifest, in themselves, a far different *Spirit*,

from the other Sort. For *Burchew*, it is certain he was Mad; As appeareth, not only by his Mad Mistaking, but by the violence, that he effed after, to his *Keeper*; And most evidently, by his Behaviour, at his *Execution*: But of *Catholicks*, (I mean, the *Traiterus sort*, of them, a Man may say, as *Cato*, said, sometimes, of *Cæsar*; *Eum ad everrendam Remp. sobrium accessisse*: *They came sober, and well advised, to their Treasons and Conspiracies*; And commonly, they look not so low, as the *Counsellers*, but have bent, their murderour Attempts, immediatly, against her *Majesties sacred Person*; (Which *God* have in his precious Custody;) As may appear, by the *Conspiracy*, of *Sommerville*, *Parry*, *Savadge*, the *Six*, and others; Nay, they have defended it, in *Thesi*, to be a *Lawfull Act*.

Pag. 43. he saith; That his *Lordship*, whom he calleth the *Arch-Politick*, hath fraudulently provided, that when any *Priest*, is arraigned, the *Indictment*, is enforced, with many odious Matters: Wherein he sheweth great *Ignorance*, if it be not *Mallice*: For the *Law*, permitteth not, the *Ancient Formes of Indictments*, to be altered; Like as in an *Action of Trespass*, although a Man, take away anothers Goods, in the peaceablest manner, in the *World*, yet the *Writ* hath; *Quare vi, & Armis*; And if a Man enter, upon anothers Ground, and do no more, the *Plantife* mentioneth; *Quod Herbam suam ibidem crescentem, cum Equis, Bobus, porcis, & Bidentibus, depastus sit, conculcavit, & consumpsit*. Neither is this any Absurdity; For, in the Practise, of all *Law*, the *Formularies*, have been *Few*, and *Certain*; And not varied, according to every *Particular Case*. And in *Indictments*, also, of *Treason*, it is not so far fetched, as in that of *Trespass*; For the *Law*, ever presumeth in *Treason*, an Intention, of *subverting* the *State*, and Impeaching, the *Majesty Royall*.

Pag. 45. and in other places, speaking of the *persecuting*, of *Catholicks*, he still mentioneth, *Bowellings*, and *Consuming* Mens *Entrailes*, by *Fire*; As if this, were a *Torture*, newly devised; Wherein he doth *Cautelously*, and *Maliciously*, suppresse, that the *Law*, and *Custom*, of this *Land*, from all *Antiquity*, hath ordained that Punishment, in *Case* of *Treason*, and permitteth no other. And a *Punishment*, surely, it is, though of great Terrour, yet by reason, of the quick *Dispatching*, of lesse, Torment far, then either the *Wheele*, or *Forcipation*, yea, then *Simple Burning*.

Pag. 48. he saith; *England*, is confederate, with the *Great Turk*. Wherein, if he mean it, because the *Merchants*, have an *Agent*, in *Constantinople*; How will he answer, for all the *Kings*, of *France*, since *Francis* the First, which were good *Catholicks*? For the *Emperour*? for the *King* of *Spain*, Himself? for the *Senate* of *Venice*, and other *States*, that have had, long time, *Embassadours Liedgers*, in that *Court*? If he mean it, because the *Turk*, hath done, some speciall Honour, to our *Embassadour*, (if he be so to be termed,) we are beholding, to the *King* of *Spain for that*; For that, the Honour, we have won upon Him, by Opposition, hath given us,

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Reputation, through the *World:* If he mean it, becauſe the *Turk*, ſeemeth to affect us, for the Aboliſhing of *Images*; Let him conſider then, what a Scandall, the Matter of *Images*, hath been, in the *Church*: As having been, one of the principall Branches, whereby *Mahumetiſme* entred.

Page 65. he ſaith; *Cardinall Allen*, was, of late, very near, to have been elected *Pope*. Whereby, he would put, the *Catholicks* here, in ſome hope, that once, within Five or Six years, (For a *Pope*, commonly, ſitteth no longer,) he may obtain that, which he miſſed narrowly. This is a direct *Abuſe*; For it is certain, in all the *Conclaves*, ſince *Sixtus Quintus*, who gave him his *Hat*, he was never in poſſibility: Nay, the *King* of *Spain*, that hath patronized, the *Church* of *Rome*, ſo long, as he is become a right Patron of it; In that, he ſeeketh to preſent, to that *See*, whom he liketh; yet never durſt, ſtrain, his Credit, to ſo deſperate a Point, as once, to make a Canvaſs, for him: No, he never nominated him, in his *Incluſive Narration*. And thoſe that know any Thing, of the *Reſpects*, of *Conclaves*, know, that he is not *Papable*; Firſt, becauſe he is, an *Vltramontane*, of which ſort, there hath been none, theſe Fifty years: Next, becauſe he is a *Cardinall*, of *Almes*, of *Spain*, and wholly, at the *Devotion*, of that *King*: Thirdly, becauſe he is like to employ, the *Treaſure*, and *Favours*, of the *Popedom*, upon the *Enterpriſes* of *England*; And the *Relief*, and *Advancement*, of *Engliſh Fugitives*, his *Neceſſitous Country men*; So as, he preſumed much, upon the *Simplicity*, of the *Reader*, in this point, as in many more.

Page 55. and again Page 70. he ſaith; His *Lordſhip*, (Meaning the *Lord Burleigh*,) Intendeth to match, his *Grandchild*, *Mr. William Cecill*, with the *Lady Arbella*. Which being a meer *Imagination*, without any *Circumſtance* at all, to enduce it; More then that, they are both *unmarried*; And that their years, agree well; Needeth no *Anſwer*. It is true, that his *Lordſhip*, being no *Stoicall*, *Vnnaturall* Man, but loving towards his *Children*; For *Charitas Reip. incipit à Familiâ*;) Hath been glad, to match them into *Honourable*, and *Good Bloud*; And yet not ſo, but, that, a private *Gentleman*, of *Northampton ſhire*, that lived altogether, in the Country, was able to beſtow his *Daughters*, higher, then his *Lord*. hath done. But yet, it is not ſeen by any Thing paſt, that his *Lordſhip*, ever thought, or affected, to match his *Children*, in the *Bloud Royall*: His *Lordſhips Wiſedom*, which hath been ſo long of Gathering, teacheth him, to leave to his *Poſterity*, rather *Surety*, then *Danger*. And, I marvaile, where be the Combinations, which have been, with Great Men; And the Popular, and Plauſible, *Courſes*, which ever accompany ſuch deſignes, as the *Libeller* ſpeaketh of: And therefore, this *Match*, is but like unto that, which the ſame *Fellow*, concluded, between the ſame *Lady Arbella*, and the *Earl of Leiceſters Son*, when he was, but a Twelve-Moneth old.

Pag. 70, he ſaith; He laboureth, inceſſantly, with the *Queen*,

to make, his *Eldest Son*, *Deputy* of *Ireland*. As if, that were such a Catch; Considering, all the *Deputies*, since her *Majesties* time, (except the *Earl* of *Sussex*, and the *Lord Grey*,) have been persons, of meaner Degree, then Sir *Thomas Cecill is*: And the most, that is gotten, by that place, is but the Saving, and putting up, of a Mans own Revenue's, during those years, that he serveth their; And this perhaps, to be saved, with some *Displeasure*, at his *Return*.

Pag. *eadem*, he saith; He hath brought in, his *Second Son*, Sir *Robert Cecill*, to be of the *Counsell*, who hath, neither *Wit*, nor *Experience*. Which Speech, is as notorious an untruth, as is, in all the *Libell*: For it is confessed, by all Men, that know the *Gentleman*, that he hath one, of the Rarest, and most *Excellent*, *Wits*, of *England*; with a singular Delivery, and Application, of the same; whether it be, to use a Continued Speech, Or to Negotiate, Or to touch in Writing, or to make Report, Or discreetly to consider, of the Circumstances, And aptly, to draw Things, to a Point; And all this, joyned, with a very good Nature, and a great Respect to all Men, as is daily, more and more, revealed. And for his *Experience*, it is easie to think, that his *Trayning*, and *Helps*, hath made it already such, as many, that have served, *long prentisshood* for it, have not attained the like: So as, if that be true; *Qui Beneficium Digno dat, omnes obligat*; Not his *Father* onely, but the *State*, is bound unto her *Majesty*, for the choice, and Employment, of so *sufficient*, and *worthy*, a *Gentleman*.

There be many other *Follies*, and Absurdities, in the *Book*: which, if an *Eloquent Scholler*, had it in Hand, he would take Advantage thereof, and justly make the *Authour*, not onely Odious, but Ridiculous, and Contemptible, to the *World*. But I passe them over, and even this, which hath been said, hath been vouchsafed, to the vallue, and *Worth* of the Matter, and not the *worth*, of the *Writer*; who hath handled a *Theam*, above his *Compasse*.

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## 8. *Of the* Heigth, *of* Impudency, *that these* Men, *are grown unto, in publishing, and Avouching*, untruths; *with a* particular Recitall *of some of them, for an* Assay.

THese *Men*, are grown, to a singular Spirit, and Faculty, in Lying, and Abusing the world; such, as it seemeth, although they are, to purchase a particular *Dispensation*, for all other *Sins*; yet they have a *Dispensation Dormant*, to *lie*, for the *Catholique Cause*; which moveth me, to give the *Reader*, a Tast, of their

their *Untruths*, such as are written, and are not meerly grosse, and palpable; Desiring him, out of their own *Writings*, when any shall fall, into his *Hands*, to encrease the *Rowle*, at least, in his own *Memory*.

We retain, in our *Calenders*, no other *Holy-dayes*, but such, as have their *Memorials*, in the *Scriptures*: And therefore, in the *Honour* of the *Blessed Virgin*, we onely receive, the *Feasts*, of the *Annunciation*, and the *Purification*; Omitting the other, of the *Conception*, and the *Nativity*; Which *Nativity*, was used to be celebrated, upon the 8th. of *Septemb*; the *Vigill* whereof, hapned to be, the *Nativity* of our *Queen*: which though we keep not *Holy*, yet we use therein, certain *Civill Customes*, of *Joy*, and *Gratulation*; As *Ringing of Bells*, *Bonfires*, and such like; And likewise, make a *Memoriall*, of the same *Day*, in our *Calender*: whereupon they have published; *That we have expunged, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and put in stead thereof, the Nativity of our Queen.* And further, that we sing, certain *Hymnes*, unto her, used to be sung, unto our *Lady*:

It hapned, that upon some *Bloud-shed*, in the *Church* of *Paules*, according to the *Canon Law*, yet with us in force, the said *Church* was *interdicted*, and so, the *Gates* shut up, for some few Dayes; whereupon, they published, that, because the same *Church*, is a place, where *People* use to meet, to walk and confer, the *Queens Majestie*, after the manner, of the Ancient *Tyrants*, had forbidden, all Assemblies, and Meetings, of People, together; And for that Reason, upon extreme Jealousie, did cause, *Paules Gates*, to be shut up.

The *Gate* of *London*, called *Lud-Gate*, being in decay, was pulled down; And built anew: And on the one side, was set up, the Image, of *King Lud*, and his two *Sons*; who, according to the Name, was thought, to be the First *Founder*, of that *Gate*: And, on the other side, the *Image* of her *Majesty*, in whose time, it was reedified: whereupon, they published, that her *Majesty*, after all the *Images*, of the *Saints*, were long beaten down, had now, at last, set up her own *Image*, upon the Principall *Gate*, of *London*, to be adored; And that all Men, were forced, to do reverence to it, as they passed by; And a watch, there placed, for that purpose.

Mr. *Jewell*, the *Bishop of Salisbury*, who, according to his Life, died most godly, and patiently; At the Point of *Death*, used, the Versicle, of *the Hymne*, *Te Deum*; *Oh Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded*; Whereupon, suppressing the rest, they published, that the principall *Champion*, of the *Hereticks*, in his very last words, cryed, he was confounded.

In the *Act*; of *Recognition*, of *primo*, whereby, the *Right*, of the *Crown*, is acknowledged, by *Parliament*, to be in her *Majesty*; (The like whereof, was used, in *Queen Maries* time; ) The words, of *Limitation*, are; In the *Queens Majesty, and the Naturall Heires, of her*

*her Body, and her lawfull Successours.* Upon which word, (*Naturall,*) they do, maliciously, and indeed villanously, glosse; That it was, the Intention, of the *Parliament*, in a Cloud, to convey the *Crown*, to any Issue, of her *Majesties*, that were *Illegitimate*; Whereas the word, (Heire,) doth, with us, so necessarily, and pregnantly, import *Lawfulnes*; As it had been, *Indecorum* and *uncivill speaking*, of the *Issues*, of a *Prince*, to have expressed it.

They set forth, in the year a *Book*, with *Tables*, and *Pictures*, of the *Persecutions*, against *Catholiques*; Wherein, they have, not onely stories, of 50. years old, to supply their *Pages*; But also, taken all the *persecutions*, of the *Primitive Church*, under the Heathen, and translated them, to the practise of *England*. As that, of *Worrowing Priests*, under the *Skins*, of *Bears*, by *Doggs*, and the like.

I conclude then, that I know not, what to make, of this Excesse, in *Avouching untruths*, save this; That they may truly *Chaunt*, in their *Quires*; *Linguam nostram magnificabimus, Labia nostra nobis sunt:* And that they, that have long ago, forsaken, the *Truth* of *God*, which is the *Touch-stone*, must now hold by the *Whet-stone*; And that their *Ancient Pillar*, of *Lying wonders*, being decayed, they must now hold, by *Lying Slaunders*; And make, *their Libells*, Successours to their *Legend*.

A

A TRUE

# REPORT,

Of the deteſtable

# TREASON,

INTENDED,

By Doctor *RODERIGO LOPEZ*,

A Phyſician, attending upon the Perſon of the *QVEENES MAJESTY*,

Whom He, for a Sum of Money, promiſed, to be paid him, by the *King of Spain*, did undertake, to have deſtroyed, by *Poyſon*; with certain *Circumſtances*, both of the *Plotting*, and *Detecting*, of the ſame *TREASON*.

Penned, during the Queens Life.

THe *King* of *Spain*, having found, by the *Enterpriſe* of 88. the Difficulty, of an *Invaſion*, of *England*; And having alſo, ſince that time, embraced the Matters of *France*; (Being a Deſſigne, of a more eaſie nature, and better prepared, to his Hand;) Hath, of neceſſity, for a time, layed aſide, the Proſecution of his Attempts, againſt this *Realm*, by open Forces; As knowing, his Meanes unable, to wield both Actions, at once; As well, that of *England*, as that of *France*. And therefore, caſting at the Faireſt, hath, (in a manner,) bent his whole ſtrength, upon *France*, making, in the mean time, onely a *Defenſive War*, upon the *Low-Countries*. But finding again, that the Supports, and Aides, which her *Majeſty* hath continued, to the *French King*, are

a principall Impediment,& Retardation,to his prevailing there, according to his Ends;He hath now,of late, by all means,projected,to *trouble the Waters*,here,& to cut us out,some work at home; That by practise, without *Diverting*, and *Employing*, any great *Forces*,he mought,nevertheless,divert, our *Succours* from *France*.

According to which purpose, he first proved, to move some *Innovation* in *Scotland*; Not so much, in hope, to alienate *the King*, from the Amity, of her *Majesty*, as practizing, to make a Party, there, against the *King* himself; Whereby,he should be compelled, to use her *Majesties Forces*,for his Assistance. Then,he sollicited a Subject, within this *Realm*, (being a *Person* of great *Nobility*,) to rise in Arms, and levy War, against her *Majesty*; which practise was, by the same *Nobleman*, loyally,and prudently, revealed. And lastly, (rather (as it is to be thought) by the Instigation,of our Traiterous *Fugitives*, in Forrain parts; And the corrupter Sort, of his Counsellours, and Ministers; then of his own nature, and Inclination;) either of himself, or his said Counsellours, and Ministers, using his name, have descended to to a course, against all Honour; All Society, and Humanity; Odious to *God*, and Man; Detested by the *Heathen* themselves; which is, to take away the Life, of her *Majesty*, (which *God* have in his precious Custody,) by violence, or poyson. A Matter,which mought be proved to be,not onely against all *Christianity*, and *Religion*, but against *Nature*, the *Law of Nations*, the *Honour of Arms*, The *Civil* Law, The *Rules* of *Morality*, and *Pollicy*: Finally, to be the most Condemned, Barbarous, and Ferine, Act, that can be imagined: yea, (supposing the Quarrells, and Hostility,between the *Princes*, to be never so Declared, and so Mortal,) yet, were it not, that it would be a very Reproach, unto the Age, that the Matter should be once disputed, or called in question; it could never be defended. And therefore, I leave it to the Censure, which *Titus Livius* giveth, in the like case, upon *Perseus*, the last *King* of the *Macedons*, afterwards overthrown,taken with his *Children*,& led in Triumph by the *Romans*; *Quem,non justũ Bellum gerere, Regio Animo,sed per omnia clandestina grassari scelera,Latrocinioru̇,ac veneficiorum, cernebant.*

But to proceed, certain it is, that even about this present time, there have been suborned, and sent, into this *Realm*, divers *persons*, some *English*, some *Irish*, corrupted by Money, and Promises; And resolved, and Conjured, by *Priests*, in *Confession*, to haAe executed, that most wretched, and horrible Fact: Of which Number certain have been Taken,and some have suffered, and some are spared, because they have, with great sorrow, confessed these Attempts, and detested their Suborners. And, if I should conjecture, what the reason is, why this cursed enterprise, was at this time so hotly,and with such diligence, pursued; I take it to be, chiefly because the *Matters of France*, waxe ripe; And the *King* of *Spain*, made himself ready, to unmask

mask himself, and to reap that in *France*, which he had been long in sowing; In regard, that there being like to be, a Divulsion, in the *League*, by the *Reconciliation*, of some of the *Heads*, to the *King*; the more passionate Sort, being destituted by their Associates, were like, to cast themselves, wholly, into the *King of Spains* Arms; And to dismember, some important Piece, of that *Crown*; Though now, upon this fresh Accident, of Receiving the *King* into *Paris*, it is to be thought, that both the worst affected, of the *League*, will submit themselves, upon any tolerable Conditions, to their *Naturall King*, thus advanced, in strength, and Reputation; And the *King* of *Spain*, will take take a second Advise, ere he embarque himself too far, in any new Attempt, against *France*. But taking the Affairs, as they then stood, before this Accident unexpected; Especially, of the *Councell* of *Spain*, during this his supposed *Harvest* in *France*; His Counsell had reason, to wish, that there were no Disturbance from hence; Where they make account, that if her *Majesty*, were removed, (upon whose person, *God* continue, his extraordinary Watch, and Providence;) here would be nothing but *Confusion*; Which they do not doubt, but with some, no great Treasure, and Forces, from without may be nourished, till they can more fully, intend the *Ruine*, of this *State*, according to their ancient malice.

But howsoever that be, amongst the Number of these execrable Undertakers, there was none, so much built, and relied upon, by the Great Ones, of the other side, as was this *Physician Lopez*; Nor, (indeed,) None so dangerous: whether you consider the Aptnesse of the Instrument; Or the subtilty, and secrecy, of those, that practised with him; Or the Shift, and Evasion, which he had provided, for a Colour of his Doings, if they should happen, to come into Question. For first, whereas others were to find, and encounter, infinite Difficulties, in the very obtaining, of an Opportunity, to execute this Horrible Act; And besides, cannot but see, present, and most assured Death, before their eyes; And therefore must be, (as it were,) *damnable Votaries*, if they undertake it; This Man, in regard of his Faculty, and of his private Accesse, to her *Majesty*, had both *Means*, to perpetrate, and *Means* to conceal; whereby, he mought reap the fruit, of his wicked *Treason*, without evident *perill*. And for his *Complices*, that practised with him, being *Portugeses*, and of the Retinue of *King Antonio*, the *King of Spains* Mortall Enemy, they were Men, thereby freed, and discharged from Suspicion; And mought send Letters, and receive Letters, out of *Spain*, without Jealousie; As those, which were thought, to entertain, Intelligences there, for the good of their *Master*: And for the Evasion, and *Masque*, that *Lopez* had prepared, for this *Treason*, if it had not been searched, and sifted to the bottome, It was, that he did intend, but to cousin the King of *Spain*, without ill Meaning: somewhat in the nature, of that Strata-

gem, which *Parry*, a most Cunning, and Artificiall *Traytour*, had provided for Himself.

Nevertheless, this Matter, by the great Goodnesse of *God*, falling into good Hands, of those Honourable, and sufficient, persons, which dealt therein; Was, by their great, and worthy, Industry, so handled, and followed; As this *Proteus* of a disguised, and Transformed, *Treason*, did at last, appear, in his own Likenesse, and Colours; which were as Foul, and Monstrous, as have been known, in the world. For some of her *Majesties Councell*, long since, entred into consideration; That the Retinew of *King Antonio*, (I mean some of them,) were not unlike, to hatch, these kinds of Treasons; In regard, they were Needy Strangers, entred into despair of their *Masters* Fortune, and like enough, to aspire, to make their Peace at home, by some such wicked Services, as these. And therefore grew, to have, an extraordinary vigilant Eye upon them. Which Prudent, and Discreet, Presumption, or Conjecture; Joyned with some Advertisements, of Espialls abroad, and some other Industry; Was, the first Cause, (next under the great Benediction of *God*, which giveth unto *Princes*, zealous Counsellours; And giveth to Counsellours, Policy, and Discerning Thoughts;) of the Revealing, and Discovering, of these *Treasons*, which were contrived, in Order, and Form, as hereafter is set down.

This *Lopez*, of *Nation*, a *Portugeze*, and suspected, to be in sect, secretly, a *Jew*; (Though here he conformed Himself, to the Rites of *Christian Religion*;) For a long time, professed physick in this *Land*; By occasion whereof, (being withall a Man very Observant, and Officious, and of a pleasing, and applyable, behaviour; In that regard, rather then for any great Learning, in his Faculty;) He grew known, & favoured in *Court*; And was, some years since, sworn Physician, of her *Majesties Houshold*; And by her *Majesties* Bounty, of whom he had received, divers *Gifts*, of good commodity, was grown, to good Estate of Wealth.

This Man, had insinuated himself, greatly, (in regard he was of the same *Nation*,) with the *King Antonio*; Whose Causes, he pretended, to sollicit at the *Court*; Especially while he supposed, there was any Appearance, of his Fortune: of whom also, he had obtained, (as one that reserved all his doings to Gain,) an Assignation of 50000 *Crowns*, to be levied, in *Portugall*. But being a Person, wholly, of a Corrupt, and Mercenary, Nature; And finding his Hopes cold, from that part; He cast his Eyes, upon a more able Paymaster; And secretly, made offer, long since, of his service, to the *King of Spain*: And accordingly, gave sundry Intelligences, of that which passed here, and imported most, for the *King of Spain* to know; Having no small Means, in regard of his continuall Attendance at *Court*, Nearnesse, and Accesse, to learn, many particulars, of great weight. Which *Intelligences*, he maintained, with *Bernardine Mendoza*, *Antonio Vega*, *Roderigo Marquez*, and divers others.

In

In the Conveyance, of which his *Intelligences*, and in the making known of his Diſpoſition, to do the *King of Spain* ſervice, he had, (amongſt others,) one *Manuel Andrada*, a *Portugeze*, revolted from *Don Antonio*, to the *King of Spain*: One, that was diſcovered, to have practiſed the Death, of the ſaid *Don Antonio*, and to have betrayed him, to *Bernardine Mendoza*. This Man coming hither, was, for the ſame his practiſe, appearing by Letters, intercepted, apprehended, and committed to Priſon. Before which time alſo, there had been, by good diligence, intercepted, other Letters; whereby, the ſaid *Andrada*, advertiſed *Mendoza*, that he had won, Dr. *Lopez*, to the *Kings* ſervice: But *Lopez*, having underſtanding thereof; And finding means, to have ſecret conference, with *Andrada*, before his examination; Perſwaded with him, to take the Matter upon himſelf, as if he had invented, that Advertiſement, touching *Lopez*, onely to procure himſelf credit, with *Mendoza*; And to make him conceive well, of his Induſtry, and Service. And to move him hereunto, *Lopez* ſet before *Andrada*, that if he did excuſe him, he ſhould have credit, to work his Deliverie; Whereas, if he did impeach him, he was not like, to find, any other Means, of Favour. By which ſubtil perſwaſion, *Andrada*, when he came to be examined, anſwered, according to the Direction, and Leſſoning, which *Lopez* had given him. And having thus acquitted himſelf of this ſuſpicion, became Suitour, for *Andrada's* Delivery, craftily ſuggeſting, that he was to do, ſome notable Service, to *Don Antonio*: In which his ſuit, he accordingly prevailed. When *Lopez* had thus got *Andrada*, out of priſon, he was ſuffered, to go out of the *Realm*, into *Spain*: In pretence, (as was ſaid,) to do ſome ſervice to *Don Antonio*; But, in truth, to continue *Lopez Negotiation*, and *Intelligences*, with the *King of Spain*: which he handled ſo well, as at his Return hither, for the comforting of the ſaid *Lopez*, he brought to him, from the *King*, beſides thanks, and words of encouragement, and an *Abrazo*, (which is the Complement of Favour,) a very good Jewell, garniſhed, with ſundry ſtones, of good value. This Jewell, when *Lopez* had accepted, he cunningly caſt with himſelf; That if he ſhould offer it, to her *Majeſty*, firſt, He was aſſured, ſhe would not take it; Next, that thereby, he ſhould lay her aſleep, and make her Secure of him, for greater Matters; According to the ſaying; *Fraus ſibi fidem in parvis præſtruit, ut in magnis opprimat*; which accordingly he did, with Proteſtations of his Fidelity: And her *Majeſty*, as a *Princeſſe* of Magnanimity, not apt to fear, or ſuſpicion, returned it to him, with Gracious words.

After *Lopez*, had thus abuſed her *Majeſty*, and had theſe Trialls of the Fidelity of *Andrada*; they fell in conference, (the matter being firſt moved by *Andrada*, as he that came freſhly out of *Spain*,) touching the *empoyſoning* of the *Queen*. Which *Lopez*; (who ſaw that Matter of Intelligence, without ſome ſuch par-

ticular ſervice, would draw no great Reward, from the *King of Spain*: ſuch as a Man, that was not Needy, but wealthy, as he was, could find any Taſt in;) aſſented unto. And to that purpoſe, procured again this *Andrada*, to be ſent over; As well, to advertiſe, and aſſure, this Matter, to *the King of Spain*, and his Miniſters; (Namely, to the *Count de Fuentes*, *Aſſiſtant* to the *Generall*, of the *King of Spains Forces*, in the *Low Countries*; as alſo, to capitulate, and contract, with him, about the Certainty of his Reward. *Andrada*, (having received thoſe Inſtructions, and being furniſhed with money, by *Lopez* procurement, from *Don Antonio*, about whoſe ſervice, his Employment, was believed to be; Went over to *Calais*; Where he remained, to be near unto *England*, and *Flanders*; Having a *Boy*, that ordinarily paſſed to and fro, between him and *Lopez*; By whom he did alſo, (the better to colour his Employment,) write to *Lopez*, Intelligence, as it was agreed he ſhould, between him, and *Lopez*; Who bad him, ſend ſuch News, as he ſhould take up, in the Streets. From *Calais*, he writeth, to *Count de Fuentes*, of *Lopez* Promiſe, and Demands. Upon the Receipt of which *Letters*, after ſome Time taken, to advertiſe this Propoſition, into *Spain*; And to receive direction thereupon; The *Count de Fuentes*, aſſociated with *Stephano Ibarra*, *Secretary* of the *Councell* of the *Wars*, in the *Low Countries*, calleth to him, one, *Manuel Louys Tinoco*, a *Portugeſe*, who had alſo followed *King Antonio*; and, of whoſe good Devotion, he had had Experience, in that he had conveyed unto him, two ſeverall Packets, wherewith he was truſted, by the *King Antonio*, for *France*. Of this *Louys*, they firſt received a *Corporall Oath*, with ſolemn *Ceremony*, taking his Hands between their Hands, that he ſhould keep ſecret, that which ſhould be imparted to him; And never reveal the ſame, though he ſhould be apprehended, and queſtioned, here. This done, they acquaint him, with the *Letters*, of *Andrada*, with whom, they charge him, to conferre at *Calais*, in his way, and to paſſe to *Lopez*, into *England*; Addreſſing, him further, to *Stephano Ferrera de Gama*; And ſignifying unto the ſaid *Lopez*, withall, (as from the *King*,) that he gave no great credence to *Andrada*, as a perſon, too ſleight, to be uſed, in a Cauſe, of ſo great weight: And therefore marvelled much, that he heard nothing, from *Ferrera*, of this Matter; From whom, he had, in former time, been advertiſed, in generality, of *Lopez* good affection, to do him ſervice. This *Ferrera*, had been, ſometimes a Man, of great Livelyhood, and wealth in *Portugall*, which he did forego, in adhering to *Don Antonio*; And appeareth, to be a Man, of a Capacity, and practiſe; But hath, ſome, years ſince, been ſecretly won, to the ſervice, of the *King of Spain*; not travelling, nevertheleſſe, too and fro, but reſiding, as his Leiger, in *England*.

*Manuel Louys*, diſpatched with theſe Inſtructions, and with all affectionate commendations, from the *Count* to *Lopez*; And with

with Letters to *Ferrera*; Took his Journey, first to *Calais*, where he conferred with *Andrada*; Of whom, receiving more ample Information, together with a short Ticket of Credence, to *Lopez*, that he was a Person, whom he mought trust, without scruple, came over into *England*; And, first, repaired to *Ferrera*, and acquainted him, with the State of the *Business*, who had, before that time, given some Light, unto *Lopez*, that he was not a stranger, unto the *Practise*, between him, and *Andrada*; wherewith, (indeed,) *Andrada*, had (in a sort,) acquainted him. And now, upon this new Dispatch, and Knowledge, given to *Lopez*, of the choise of *Ferrera*, to continue that, which *Andrada*, had begun; He, to conform himself the better, to the satisfaction, of the *King* of *Spain*: and his *Ministers* abroad, was content more fully, to communicate, with *Ferrera*, with whom, from that time forward, he meant, singly, and apertly to deal; And therefore, cunningly forbare, to speak with *Manuel Louys* himself, but concluded, that *Ferrera* should be his only *Trunk*, and all his Dealings, should pass through his Hands, thinking thereby to have gone *Invisible*.

Whereupon he cast with Himself, that it was not safe, to use, the Mediation, of *Manuel Louys*, who had been made privy to the matter, as some base carrier, of Letters; which Letters, also, should be written, in a *Cyphar*; Not of *Alphabet*, but of *Words*; Such as mought, if they were opened, import no vehement suspicion. And therefore, *Manuel Louys*, was sent back, with a short Answer. And *Lopez* purveied himself, of a base Fellow, a *Portugeze*, called *Gomes d' Avila*, dwelling hard by *Lopez* House, to convey his Letters. After this Messenger provided, it was agreed, between *Lopez*, and *Ferrera*, that Letters should be sent to the *Count de Fuentes*, and *Secretary Juarra*, written, and signed, by *Ferrera* (for *Lopez*, cautelously, did forbear, to write himself,) but directed, and (indeed,) dictated word by word, by *Lopez* himself. The *Contents* thereof were; That *Lopez* was ready, to execute that Service, to the *King*, which before had been treated, but required, for his Recompence, the sum of 50000. *Crowns*, and assurance for the same.

These *Letters* were written obscurely, (as was touched,) in Termes of *Merchandise*; To which Obscurity, when *Ferrera* excepted, *Lopez* answered; They knew his meaning, by that, which had passed before. *Ferrera* wrote also, to *Manuel Louys*, but charged this *Gomez*, to deliver the same Letters, unto him, in the presence of *Juarra*; As also, the Letter to *Juarra*, in the presence of *Manuel Louys*. And these Letters, were delivered to *Gomez d' Avila*, to be carried to *Bruxells*; And a Pasport procured, and his charges defrayed, by *Lopez*. And *Ferrera*, the more to approve his Industry, writ *Letters* two severall times; The one conveyed by *Emanuel Palacios*, with the privity of *Lopez*, to

*Christophero*

*Christofero Moro*, a principall *Counseller*, of the *King* of *Spain*, in *Spain*: Signifying, that *Lopez*, was won, to the *King* of *Spain*: And that, he was ready to receive his Commandement; And received a *Letter*, from the same *Christophero Moro*, in answer to one of these, which he shewed unto *Lopez*. In the mean time, *Lopez*, though a Man (in semblance,) of a heavy wit, yet, indeed, subtile of himself, as one trained in Practise; And besides, as wily, as Fear, and Covetousnesse, could make him; Thought to provide for himself, (as was partly touched before,) as many starting Holes, and Evasions, as he could devise; If any of these Matters, should come to Light. And first, he took his time, to cast forth, some generall words, a far off, to her *Majesty*, as asking her the Question; *Whether a Deceiver might not be deceived?* Whereof her *Majesty*, (not imagining these words, tended to such end, as to warrant him, colourably, in this wretched *Conspiracy*; But, otherwise, of her own naturall Disposition, bent to integrity, and Sincerity,) uttered Dislike, and Disallowance. Next he thought, he had wrought a great Mystery, in demanding the precise sum of 50000. *Crowns*, agreeing just, with the sum, of Assignation, or Donation, from *Don Antonio*; Idly, and in that, grossely, imagining; That if afterwards, he should accept the same sum, he mought excuse it, as made good by the *King* of *Spain*, in regard, he desisted, to follow, and favour, *Don Antonio*: Whereupon, the *King* of *Spain*, was, in honour, tied, not to see him a Looser. Thirdly, in his Conferrences, with *Ferrera*, when he was apposed, upon the particular manner, how he would poyson her *Majesty*, he purposely, named unto him, a *Syrop*; Knowing, that her *Majesty*, never useth *Syrop*; And therefore, thinking, that would prove an high point, for his Justification, if Things should come in any Question.

But, all this while, desirous after his prey, which he had in hope devoured, He did instantly importune *Ferrera*, for the answering, of his last *Dispatch*; Finding the Delay strange, and reiterating, the Protestations, of his Readinesse, to do the Service, if he were assured of his *Money*.

Now before the Return, of *Gomez d' Avila*, into *England*, this *Steven Ferrera*, was discovered, to have Intelligence, with the Enemy; But so, as the particular, of his Traffique, and Overtures, appeared not. Onely it seemed, there was great account made, of that he managed; And thereupon, he was committed to Prison. Soon after, arrived *Gomez d' Avila*, and brought *Letters*, onely, from *Manuel Louys*, by the Name, of *Francesco de Thores*; Because, (as it seemeth,) the great persons, on the other side, had a contrary disposition, to *Lopez*; And liked not, to write, by so base a Messenger, but continued their Course, to trust, and employ *Manuel Louys* himself, who, in likelyhood, was retained, till they mought receive, a full Conclusion, from *Spain*; Which was not, till about two moneths, after. This *Gomez*, was apprehended,

at

at his Landing; And about him, were found the *Letters* aforesaid, written in *Jargon*, or *Verball Cyphar*, but yet somewhat suspicious, in these words; *This Bearer will tell you, the price, in which your Pearles are esteemed, and in what resolution, we rest, about a little Musk, and Amber, which I am determined to buy.* Which Words, the said *Manuel Louys*, afterwards, voluntarily confessed, to be desciphered, in this sort; That by the *Allowance* of the *Pearles*, he meant, that the *Count de Fuentes*, and the *Secretary*, did gladly accept, the Offer of *Lopez*, to *poyson the Queen*, signified by *Ferrera's* Letter; And for the Provision, of *Amber*, and *Musk*, it was meant, that the *Count*, looked shortly, for a Resolution from the *King of Spain*: concerning a Matter of importance; Which was, For *Burning* of the *Queens Ships*, and another Point, tending to the satisfaction, of their Vindicative Humour.

But while the sense, of this former *Letter*, rested ambiguous; And that, no direct particular, was confessed, by *Ferrera*; Nor sufficient Light given, to ground, any rigorous examination, of him; Cometh over *Manuel Louys*, with the Resolution from *Spain*: Who first understanding, of *Ferrera's* Restraint; and therefore doubting, how far things were discovered, to shadow the matter, like a cunning Companion, gave advertisement, of an Intent he had, to do service, and hereupon obtained a Pasport. But after his comming in, he made no hast, to reveal any thing, but thought to dally, and abuse, in some other sort. And while the Light was thus in the Clouds, there was also intercepted, a little *Ticket*, which *Ferrera*, in Prison, had found meanes, to write, in care to conceale *Lopez*, and to keep him out of danger, to give a Caveat of staying all further Answers, and Advertisements, in these Causes. Whereupon, *Lopez* was first called in Question.

But in Conclusion, this matter being with all Assiduity, and Pollicy, more and more, pierced, and mined into; First, there was won, from *Manuel Louys*, his *Letters*, from the *Count de Fuentes*, and *Secretary Juara*, to *Ferrera*; In both which, mention is made, of the *Queens Death*. In that of the *Counts*, under the Term, of a *Commission*; And in that of the *Secretaries*, under the Term, of the *Great Service*, whereof should arise, an universall *Benefit*, to the *whole World*. Also the *Letters* of *Credit*, written by *Gonzalo Gomez*; One to *Pedro de Carrera*; And the other, to *Juan Pallacio*, to take up, a sum of Money, by *Emanuel Louys*, by the foresaid false Name, of *Fr. de Thores*; *Letters* so large, and in a manner, without Limitation, as any sum, by vertue thereof, mought be taken up. Which *Letters*, were delivered, to *Louys*, by the *Count de Fuentes* own hands, with directions, to shew them to *Lopez*, for his assurance. A matter, of Gods secret working, in staying the same; For thereupon, rested only, the Execution, of the Fact of *Lopez*. Upon so narrow a point, consisted the safety, of her *Majesties* Life; already, sold by Avarice, to Mallice,

Mallice and Ambition; But extraordinarily, preserved, by that *Watchman, which never slumbreth.* This same *Emanuel Louys*, and *Steven Ferrera* also; Whereof the one, mannaged the Matter abroad; And the other, resided here, to give correspondence, never meeting, after *Emanuel* had returned, severally examined, without Torture, or Threatning, did, in the end, voluntarily, and clearly, confesse the Matters, above mentioned: And in their Confessions, fully consent, and concur; Not only in substance, but in all points, particularities, and Circumstances: Which Confessions, appear expressed, in their own Naturall Language, testified, and subscribed, with their own Hands; And in open Assembly, at the *Arraignment* of *Lopez*, in the *Guild hall*, were, by them confirmed, and avouched, to *Lopez* his face; And therewithall are extant, undefaced, the Originall *Letters*, from *Count de Fuente*, *Secretary Juara*, and the Rest.

And *Lopez* himself, at his first Apprehension, and Examination, did indeed deny; And deny, with deep, and terrible Oathes, and Execrations, the very Conferences, and Treaties, with *Ferrera*, or *Andrada*, about the *Empoysonment.* And being demanded, if they were proved against him, what he would say? He answered; *That he would yield himself guilty, of the Fact intended.* Nevertheless, being afterwards confronted by *Ferrera*, who constantly maintained to him, all that he said; Reducing him, to the Times, and places, of the said *Conferences*, he confessed the Matter; As by his *Confession*, in writing, signed with his own Hand, appeareth. But then he fell, to that slender Evasion, as his last Refuge; That he meant, onely, to couzen the *King of Spain*, of the Money; And in that he continued, at his *Arraignment*; when, notwithstanding, at the first, he did retract his own *Confession*; And yet, being asked, whither he was drawn, either by Mean of Torture, or promise of Life, to make the same *Confession*, he did openly testifie, that no such Means, was used towards him.

But the Falshood of this Excuse, being an Allegation, that any *Traytour* may use, and provide for himself, is convicted, by three notable *Proofes.* The first, That he never opened this Matter, neither unto her *Majesty*, unto whom he had ordinary Accesse; Nor to any *Counseller* of *State*, to have permission, to toll on, and inveagle these Parties, with whom he did treat, if it had been thought so convenient. Wherein, percase, he had opportunity, to have done, some good service, for the further Discovery, of their secret Machinations, against her *Majesties Life.* The second, that he came, too late, to this shift; Having first bewrayed, his guilty Conscience, in denying those Treaties, and Conferences, till they were, evidently, and manifestly, proved to his Face. The third, that in conferring, with *Ferrera*, about the manner, of his assurance, he thought it better, to have the Money, in the Hands, of such *Merchants*, as he should name in *Antwerp*;

*werp*; then to have brought it into *England*: Declaring his purpose to be, after the Fact done, speedily to fly to *Antwerp*; And there, to tarry some time, and so to convey himself, to *Constantinople*; where it is affirmed, that *Don Salomon*, a Jew, in good credit, is *Lopez* his near *Kinsman*; And that, he is greatly favoured, by the said *Don Salomon*; whereby, it is evident, that *Lopez*, had cast his Reckonings, upon the supposition, of the Fact done.

Thus may appear, both, how justly, this *Lopez* is condemned, for the Highest *Treason*; that can be imagined; And how, by *Gods* marvellous Goodness, her *Majesty*, hath been preserved. And surely, if a Man do truly consider, it is hard to say; Whither *God*, hath done greater things, *By* her *Majesty*, or *For* Her: If you observe on the one side, how *God* hath ordained her Government, to break, and crosse, the unjust Ambition, of the Two *Mighty Potentates*, the *King of Spain*; and the *Bishop of Rome*, never so straitly, between themselves, combined; And, on the other side, how mightily *God* hath protected her, both against forrain *Invasion*, and *Inward Troubles*; And singularly, against the many secret Conspiracies, that have been made against her Life: Thereby declaring, to the world, that he will indeed *preserve* that *Instrument*, which *he* hath *magnified*. But the Corruptions, of these Times, are wonderfull, when that Warrs, which are the highest Trialls of Right, between *Princes*, (that acknowledge no superiour Jurisdiction;) And ought to be prosecuted, with all Honour, shall be stained, and infamed, with such Foul, and Inhumane Practises. Wherein, if so great a *King* hath been named, the *Rule* of the *Civill Law*, (which is a *Rule* of *Common Reason*;) Must be remembred; *Frustra Legis auxilium implorat, qui in Legem Committit.* He that hath sought, to violate, the *Majesty Royall*, in the Highest Degree, cannot claim, the preheminence thereof, to be exempted, from just Imputation.

# AN ADVERTISEMENT, TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES, OF THE CHURCH, OF ENGLAND.

IT is but Ignorance, if any Man find it ſtrange, that the *State* of *Religion*, (eſpecially, in the Dayes of *Peace*,) ſhould be exerciſed, and troubled, with *Controverſies*: For as it is, the Condition, of the *Church Militant*, to be ever under *Trials*; So it commeth to paſſe, that when the *Fiery Triall*, of *Perſecution*, ceaſeth, there ſucceedeth another *Triall*, which, (as it were,) by contrary Blaſts of *Doctrine*, doth ſift, and winnowe, Mens *Faith*; And proveth, whether they *Know God* aright; Even as that other, of Afflictions, diſcovereth, whether they *Love* him, better, then the *World*. Accordingly, was it foretold, by *Chriſt*, ſaying; *That in the latter times, it ſhould be ſaid; Lo here, loe there is Chriſt*: Which is to be underſtood, not as if the very *Perſon* of *Chriſt*, ſhould be aſſumed, and counterfeitted; But his Authority, and preheminence, (which is to be Truth it ſelf,) ſhould be challenged, and pretended. Thus have we read, and ſeen, to be fulfilled, that which followeth, *Ecce in Deſerto; Ecce in Penetralibus*: While ſome have ſought the Truth, in the *Conventicles*, and *Conciliables*, of *Hereticks*, and Sectaries; others, in the *Externe Face*, and *Repreſentation*, of the *Church*; And both Sorts have been ſeduced. Were it then, that the *Controverſies*,

verſies, of the *Church*, of *England*, were ſuch, as they did Divide, the *Vnity* of the *Spirit*; And not onely ſuch, as do *unſwath* her, of her *Bands*, (the *Bands* of *Peace*;) yet could it be no Occaſion, for any *pretended Catholick*, to judge us; or for any *Irreligious Perſon*, to deſpiſe us: Or if it be, it ſhall but happen to us all, as it hath uſed to do; To them to be *Hardned*, and to us to *Endure*, the good pleaſure of *God*. But now, that our *Contentions*, are ſuch, as we need not, ſo much, that generall *Canon*, and *Sentence*, of *Chriſt*, propounded againſt *Hereticks*; *Erratis, neſcientes Scripturas, & poteſtatem Dei. You do Err, not Knowing the Scripture, & the Power of God*; As we need, the *Admonition*, of *S. James*; *Let every Man be ſwift to hear, ſlow to ſpeak, ſlow to wrath*; And that the Wound, is no way, dangerous, except we poyſon it, with our Remedies: As the Former Sort of Men, have leſſe Reaſon, to make themſelves *Muſick*, in our *Diſcord*; So I have good hope, that Nothing ſhall diſpleaſe our Selves; wch ſhall be ſincerely, & modeſtly propounded, for the appeaſing of theſe *Diſſentions*. For if any ſhall be offended, at this voyce; *Vos eſtis fratres*; *ye are brethren, why ſtrive Ye?* He ſhall give, a great preſumption, againſt himſelf, that he is the Party, that doth his Brethren wrong.

The *Controverſies* themſelves, I will not enter into; As judging, that the Diſeaſe, requireth rather *Reſt*, then any other *Cure*. Thus much we all know, and confeſs, that they be not of the Higheſt Nature: For they are not, touching the high *Myſteries* of *Faith*, ſuch as detained the *Churches*, for many yeares, after their firſt Peace: what time the *Hereticks* moved curious *Queſtions*, and made ſtrange *Anatomies*, of the *Natures*, and *perſon*, of *Chriſt*: And the *Catholick Fathers*, were compelled to follow them, with all Subtilty of Deciſions, and Determinations, to exclude them, from their *Evaſions*, and to take them in their *Labyrinths*: So as it is rightly ſaid; *Illis temporibus, ingenioſa Res fuit, eſſe Chriſtianum: In thoſe dayes, it was an ingenious, and ſubtill thing, to be a Chriſtian.* Neither are they, concerning the great parts, of the *Worſhip of God*; Of which it is true; that, *Non ſervatur unitas in Credendo, niſi eadem ſit in Colendo: There will be kept, no unity in Believing, except it be entertained, in worſhipping*: Such as were the *Controverſies*, of the *Eaſt*, and *Weſt*, *Churches*, touching *Images*: And ſuch, as are many of thoſe, between the *Church* of *Rome*, and *Vs*; As about the *Adoration* of the *Sacrament*, and the like: But we contend, about *Ceremonies*, and *Things Indifferent*; About the *Extern Pollicy*, and *Government* of the *Church*. In which kind, if we would but remember, that the Ancient, and True Bounds, of Unity, are, *One Faith, One Baptiſm*; And not, *One Ceremony, One Pollicy*; If we would obſerve the *League*, amongſt *Chriſtians*, that is penned by our *Saviour*; *He that is not againſt us, is with us*: If we could but comprehend, that Saying; *Differentiæ Rituum commendant unitatem Doctrinæ*; *The Diverſities of Ceremonies, do ſet forth, the unity of Doctrine*; And that, *Habet Religio quæ ſunt Æternitatis, habet quæ ſunt*

*Temporis*; *Religion hath parts, which belong to Eternity, and parts which pertain to Time:* And if we did but know, the vertue of ſilence, and ſlowneſs to ſpeak, commended by Saint *James*; Our *Controverſies*, of themſelves, would cloſe up, and grow together. But moſt eſpecially, if we would leave, the Overweening, and Turbulent Humours, of theſe times; And revive, the bleſſed proceeding, of the *Apoſtles*, and *Fathers*, of the *Primitive Church*; which was, in the like, and greater Caſes, not to enter into *Aſſertions*, and *Poſitions*, but to deliver *Counſels*, and *Adviſes*; we ſhould need no other *Remedy* at all; *Si eadem Conſulis, (frater,) quæ affirmas, conſulenti debetur Reverentia, cum non debeatur Fides affirmanti: Brother, if that which you ſet down, as an Aſſertion, you would deliver, by way of Adviſe; There were Reverence due to your Counſell, whereas Faith is not due to your Affirmation.* Saint *Paul*, was *content*, to ſpeak thus, *Ego, non Dominus*; *I, and not the Lord:* Et, *ſecundum Conſilium meum*; *According to my Counſell*: But now, Men do, *too lightly, ſay*; *Non ego, ſed Dominus*; *Not I, but the Lord:* yea, and bind it, with an Heavy Denunciation of his Judgements, to terrifie the ſimple, which have not ſufficiently underſtood, out of *Salomon*; *That the Cauſeleſſe Curſe ſhall not come.*

Therefore, ſeeing the Accidents are they, which breed the peril, and not the Things themſelves, in their own Nature; It is meet, the *Remedies*, be applyed unto them, by Opening, what it is, on either part, that keepeth the Wound Green; And formalizeth, both ſides, to a further Oppoſition; and worketh, an Indiſpoſition, in Mens minds, to be reunited; wherein no Accuſation is pretended. But I find in *Reaſon*, that *Peace*, is beſt built, upon a Repetition, of wrongs; And in *Example*, that the ſpeeches, which have been made, by the wiſeſt Men, *De Concordia Ordinum*, have not abſtained, from reducing to Memory, the Extremities, uſed on both parts: So as it is true, which is ſaid; *Qui pacem tractat non is repetit Conditionibus Diſſidii, is magis Animos Hominum, dulcedine pacis fallit, quam æquitate componit.*

And Firſt of all, it is more then Time, that there were an End, and ſurſeance, made, of this Immodeſt, and *Deformed*, manner of Writing, lately entertained; whereby, *Matter* of *Religion*, is handled, in the ſtile of the *Stage*. Indeed, bitter, and earneſt, Writing, muſt not haſtily, be condemned; For Men cannot contend Coldly, and without affection, about Things, which they hold Dear, and Precious. A Pollitick Man, may write, from his *Brain*, without Touch, and Senſe, of his Heart; As in a Speculation, that appertaineth not unto him: But, a *Feeling Chriſtian*, will expreſſe, in his words, a *Character*, of Zeal, or Love. The latter of which, as I could wiſh rather embraced, being more proper for theſe Times, yet is the Former warranted alſo, by great *Examples*.

But to leave, all Reverent, and Religious, Compaſſion, towards Evils, or Indignation towards Faults; and to turn, *Religion* in-

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to a Comedy, or Satyre; To search, and rip up wounds, with a *Laughing Countenance*; To intermix, *Scripture*, and *scurrility*, sometime, in one Sentence; Is a thing, far from the devout Reverence, of a *Christian*, and scant beseeming, the honest Regard, of a sober Man. *Non est major Confusio, quam Serii, & Joci. There is no greater Confusion, then the confounding, of Jest and Earnest.* The *Majesty* of *Religion*, and the *Contempt*, and *Deformity*, of things ridiculous, are things as distant, as things may be. Two principall *Causes*, have I ever known, of *Atheisme*; *Curious Controversies, and prophane Scoffing*: Now, that these two, are joyned in one, no doubt, that Sect, will make no small Progression. And here, I do much esteem, the Wisdome, and Religion, of that *Bishop*, which replied, to the first *Pamphlet*, of this kind, who remembred, that a *Fool*, was to be answered, but not, by becomming like unto him; And considered, the *Matter*, which he handled, and not the *Person*, with whom he dealt.

*Job*, speaking of the *Majesty*, and *Gravity* of a *Judge*, in himself saith; *If I did smile, they believed it not*: As if he should have said; If I diverted, or glanced, upon Conceit of Mirth, yet Mens Minds, were so possessed, with a Reverence, of the Action in hand, as they could not receive it. Much more, ought not this to be, amongst *Bishops*, and *Divines*, disputing about *Holy Things*. And therefore, as much, do I mislike, the Invention of him, who, (as it seemeth,) pleased himself in it, as in no mean Pollicy; That these *Men*, are to be dealt withall at their own *Weapons*, and, *pledged* in their own *Cup*. This seemed to him, as profound a Devise, as when the *Cardinall Sansovino*, counselled *Julius the second*, to encounter the *Councell* of *Pisa*, with the *Councell* of *Lateran*; Or as Lawfull a Challenge, as Mr. *Jewell* made, to confute, the *pretended Catholiques*, by the *Fathers*: But those Things, will not excuse, the Imitation, of Evill in another. It should be, contrariwise, with us, as *Cæsar* said; *Nil malo, quam eos similes esse sui, Et me mei*. But now; *Dum de bonis contendimus, de Malis consentimus*: *While we Differ about good things, we Resemble in evill.*

Surely, if I were asked, of these Men, who were the more to be blamed, I should, per case, remember the *Proverb*; *That the second Blow maketh the Fray*; And the saying of an *Obscure Fellow*; *Qui replicat, multiplicat*: *He that replieth, multiplieth*. But, I would determine, the *Question*, with this *Sentence*; *Alter principium Malo dedit, alter Modum abstulit*: *By the ones Means, we have a Beginning, and by the other, we shall have none End.*

And truly, as I do marvell, that some of those *Preachers* which call for *Reformation*; (whom I am far from wronging; so far, as to joyn them, with these Scoffers;) Do not, publish some *Declaration*, whereby they may satisfie the world, that they dislike their Cause, should be thus sollicited; So I hope, assuredly, that my *Lords of the Clergy*, have none Intelligence, with this interlibelling;

ling; But do altogether diſallow, that their Credit ſhould be thus defended. For though, I obſerve, in one of them, many Gloſſes, whereby the Man, would inſinuate himſelf, into their Favours; yet I find it to be ordinary, that many Preſſing, and Fawning Perſons do miſconjecture, of the Humours, of *Men in Authority*; And many times, *Veneri immolant ſuem*; they ſeek to gratifie them, with that, which they moſt diſlike. For I have great Reaſon, to ſatisfie my ſelf, touching the Judgement of my *Lords, the Biſhops*, in this Matter, by that which was written by one of them, which I mentioned before, with honour. Nevertheleſſe I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried, towards theſe *Pamphlets*, as they deſerve; For the one ſort, *flyeth* in the *Dark*, and the other, is *uttered openly*. Wherein, I might adviſe, that ſide, out of a Wiſe writer, who hath ſet it down, *That, punitis Ingeniis gliſcit Authoritas.*

And, indeed, we ſee, it ever falleth out, that the *Forbidden Writing*, is alwaies thought, to be certain ſparks of a Truth, that fly up into the faces of thoſe, that ſeek to choak it, and tread it out; Whereas, a *Booke Authorized* is thought to be, but *Temporis Voces*; The *Language of the Time*. But in plain Truth, I do find, (to mine underſtanding,) theſe *Pamphlets*, as meet to be ſuppreſſed, as the other. Firſt, becauſe, as the former ſort, doth deface, the *Government*, of the *Church*, in the perſons of the *Biſhops*, and *Prelates*; So the other, doth lead into Contempt, the Exerciſes of *Religion*, in the Perſons of ſundry *Preachers*: So as it diſgraceth an higher matter, though in the meaner Perſon.

Next, I find, certain indiſcreet, and dangerous Amplifications, as if the *Civill Government*, it ſelf, of this *State*, had near loſt the Force of her Sinews; And were ready, to enter, into ſome Convulſion, all things being full of Faction, and Diſorder; which is as unjuſtly acknowledged, as untruly affirmed. I kow, his Meaning is, to enforce, this unreverent, and violent Impugning, of the *Government* of *Biſhops*, to be, a ſuſpected *Forerunner*, of a more *generall Contempt*. And I grant, there is *Sympathy*, between the *Eſtates*; But no ſuch matter, in the Civill Pollicy, as deſerveth ſo diſhonourable a Taxation.

To conclude this Point; As it were to be wiſhed, that theſe *Writings*, had been abortive, and never ſeen the Sun; So the next is, ſince they be commen abroad, that they be cenſured, (by all that have Underſtanding, and Conſcience,) as the untemperate Extravagancies, of ſome Light perſons. Yea, further; that Men beware, (except they mean to adventure, to deprive themſelves, of all ſenſe of *Religion*, and to pave their owu Hearts, and make them as the High Way,) how they be converſant in them; And much more, how they delight in that Vein; But rather to turn their *Laughing*, into *Bluſhing*; And to be aſhamed, as of a *ſhort Madneſſe*; That they have, in matters

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of *Religion*, taken their Disport, and Solace. But this, perchance, is of these Faults, which will be sooneſt acknowledged; Though I perceive, nevertheleſſe, that there want not some, who seek to blaunch, and excuſe it.

But to descend, to a sincere View, and Consideration, of the Accidents, and Circumstances, of these *Controversies*, wherein, either part, deserveth Blame, or Imputation; I find, generally, in *Causes* of *Church-matters*, that Men do offend, in some, or all, of these five Points.

The First is, the *Giving Occasion*, unto the *Controversies*; And also, the *Unconsiderate*, and *Ungrounded*, *Taking* of *Occasion*.

The Next is, the *Extending*, and *Multiplying*, the *Controversies*, to a more generall *Opposition*, or *Contradiction*, then appeareth, at the first propounding of them, when Mens Judgements are least partiall.

The Third is, the *Passionate*, and *Unbrotherly Practises*, and *Proceedings*, of both *Parts*, towards the *Persons*, each of others, for their *Discredit*, and *Suppression*.

The Fourth is, the *Courses*, *holden*, *and entertained*, on *either side*, for the *drawing* of their Partizans, to a more straight, *Union* within themselves; Which ever importeth, a further Distraction, of the Entire Body.

The last is, the Undue, and Inconvenient, *Propounding*, *publishing*, and *Debating*, of the *Controversies*. In which Point, the most palpable Error, hath been already spoken of; As that, which through the strangeneſſe, and Freshneſſe of the Abuse, first offereth it self, to the Conceits, of all Men.

Now concerning the *Occasion*, of the *Controversies*; It cannot be denyed, but that the Imperfections, in the *Conversation*, and *Government* of those, which have chief place in the *Church*, have ever been principall *Causes*, and *Motives*, of *Schismes*, and *Divisions*. For whiles the *Bishops*, and *Governers*, of the *Church*, continue full of Knowledge, and good Works; Whiles they *Feed* the *Flock* indeed; Whiles they deal, with the *Secular States*, in all Liberty, and Resolution, according to the *Majesty* of their *Calling*, and the precious care of *Souls*, imposed upon them; So long, the *Church* is *situated*, as it were *upon an Hill*; No Man maketh question of it, or seeketh to depart from it: But when these vertues, in the *Fathers*, and *Leaders*, of the *Church*, have lost their Light; And that they wax worldly, *Lovers* of themselves, and *Pleasers* of Men; Then Men begin, to groap for the *Church*, as in the Dark; They are in doubt, whether they be the *Successours* of the *Apostles*, or of the *Pharises*: yea, howsoever they *sit in* Moses *Chair*, yet they can never speak, *Tanquam Authoritatem habentes*, *as having Authority*, because they have lost their Reputation, in the Consciences of Men, by declining their steps, from the way, which they trace out to others. So as Men, had need

need, continually, have ſounding in their Eares, this ſame; *Nolite Exire: Go not out:* So ready are they, to depart from the *Church*, upon every voice. And therefore, it is truly noted by one, that writeth as a Naturall Man; That the Humility of the *Friars*, did, for a great time, maintain, and bear out, the Irreligion, of *Biſhops*, and *Prelates*.

For this is the Double Pollicy, of the ſpirituall Enemy; either by counterfeit *Holineſſe* of *Life*, to Eſtabliſh, and Authorize Errours; Or by Corruption of Manners, to diſcredit, and draw in queſtion, Truth, and Things Lawfull. This concerneth, my *Lords the Biſhops*, unto whom, I am witneſſe to my ſelf, that I ſtand affected, as I ought: No Contradiction hath ſupplanted, in me, the *Reverence*, that I owe to their *Calling*: Neither hath any Detraction, or Calumny, imbaſed mine Opinion, of their Perſons. I know ſome of them, whoſe Names are moſt pierced, with theſe Accuſations, to be Men of great vertues; Although the Indiſpoſition of the times, and the want of Correſpondence, many wayes, is enough to fruſtrate, the beſt Endeavours, in the *Edifying* of the *Church*. And for the reſt, generally, I can condemn none. I am no Judge of them, that belong, to ſo *High* a *Maſter*; Neither have I *two Witneſſes*. And I know, it is truly ſaid, of *Fame*, that

——*Pariter Facta, atq; Infecta Canebat.*

Their Taxations, ariſe not, all, from one Coaſt; They have many, and different, Enemies; Ready to invent Slaunder, more ready to amplifie it, and moſt ready to beleeve it. And *Magnes Mendacii Credulitas*; *Credulity is the Adamant of Lies*. But if any be, againſt whom, the *ſupream Biſhop*, hath not a few Things, but many Things; If any have *loſt his firſt Love*; If any be *neither Hot, nor Cold*; If any have ſtumbled, too fondly, at the Threſhold, in ſuch ſort, that he cannot ſit well, that entred ill; It is time they return, whence they are fallen, and confirm the Things, that remain.

Great is the Weight of this *Fault*; *Et eorum cauſa abhorrebant à Sacrificio Domini: And For their Cauſe, did Men abhor, the Adoration of God.* But howſoever it be, Thoſe, which have ſought to deface them, and caſt Contempt upon them, are not to be excuſed.

It is the precept of *Salomon*, that the *Rulers* be not *Reproached*; No, not in our *Thought*. But that, we draw, our very Conceit, into a Modeſt Interpretation, of their Doings. The *Holy Angel*, would give no *Sentence* of *Blaſphemy*, againſt the *Common Slaunderer*, but ſaid; *Increpet te Dominus: The Lord Rebuke thee.* The *Apoſtle. Saint Paul*, though againſt him, that did pollute Sacred Juſtice, with Tyrannous Violence, he did juſtly denounce the Judgement of God, ſaying; *Percutiet te Dominus: The Lord will*

*will ſtrike thee*: yet in ſaying, *Paries dealbate*, he thought he had gone too far, and retracted it. Whereupon a *Learned Father* ſaid; *Ipſum, quamvis inane nomen, & umbram Sacerdotis, expavit.*

The ancient *Councels*, and *Synodes*, (as is noted by the *Eccleſiaſticall Story*,) when they deprived any *Biſhop*, never recorded the Offence, but buried it in perpetuall Silence: Only *Cham*, purchaſed, his Curſe, by revealing his *Fathers Diſgrace*. And yet a much greater Fault is it, to aſcend, from their *Perſon*, to their *Calling*, and draw that in queſtion. Many good *Fathers*, ſpake rigourouſly, and ſeverely, of the unworthineſſe of *Biſhops*; As if, preſently, it did forfeit, and ceaſe their Office. One ſaith; *Sacerdotes nominamur, & non ſumus: We are called Prieſts, but Prieſts we are not.* Another ſaith; *Niſi bonum Opus amplecteris, Epiſcopus eſſe non potes*: *Except thou undertake the good work, thou canſt not be a Biſhop*: Yet they meant nothing leſs, then to move doubt, of their *Calling*, or *Ordination*.

The Second *Occaſion*, of *Controverſies*, is the Nature, and Humour, of ſome Men. The *Church* never wanteth, a kind of *Perſons*, which love the Salutation, of *Rabbi*, *Maſter*; Not in Ceremony, or Complement, but in an Inward Authority, which they ſeek, over Mens Minds, in drawing them, to depend, upon their Opinions, and to ſeek *Knowledge*, at *their Lips*. Theſe Men, are the true *Succeſſours*, of *Diotrephes, the Lover of Prehemineence*; And not, *Lord Biſhops*. Such Spirits do light upon another ſort of Natures, which do adhere to theſe Men; *Quorum gloria in Obſequio*; Stiffe Followers, and ſuch, as zeal mervailouſly, for thoſe, whom they have choſen, for their *Maſters*. This latter ſort, for the moſt part, are Men, of young years, and ſuperficiall Underſtanding; Carried away, with partiall reſpects of Perſons; Or with the Enticing Appearance, of Godly Names, and *Pretences: Pauci res ipſas ſequuntur, plures nomina Rerum, plurimi nomina Magiſtrorum. Few follow the things themſelves, more the names of the Things, and moſt the Names of their Maſters.* 2.

About theſe generall Affections, are wreathed, and interlaced, accidentall, and private Emulations, and Diſcontentments; All which, together, break forth into contentions; Such as either violate Truth, Sobriety, or Peace. Theſe generalities apply themſelves. The *Univerſities*, are the Seat, or the Continent, of this Diſeaſe; Whence it hath been, and is derived, into the Reſt of the *Realm*. There Men, will no longer be, *é numero*, of the *Numeber*. There, do others ſide themſelves, before they know, their *Right Hand*, from their *Left*. So it is true, which is ſaid; *Tranſeunt ab Ignorantiâ, ad præjudicium. They skip from Ignorance to a prejudicate Opinion*; And never take, a ſound Judgement, in their way. But, as it is well noted; *Inter Juvenile Judicium, & ſenile præjudicium, omnis veritas corumpitur:* Through want of years, when Men are not indifferent, But partiall, then their Judgement, is weak, and unripe.

And when it groweth, to Strength, and Ripeneſſe, by that time, it is foreſtalled, with ſuch a Number of prejudicate Opinions, as it is made unprofitable: So as, between theſe two, all Truth is corrupted. In the mean while, the Honourable Names, of Sincerity, Reformation, and Diſcipline, are put in the fore Ward; So as, *Contentions*, and *Evill Zeals*, cannot, be touched, except theſe *Holy Things*, be thought firſt to be violated. But howſoever, they ſhall infer, the Sollicitation, for the *Peace*, of the *Church*, to proceed, from *Carnall Senſe*, yet, I will conclude, ever, with the *Apoſtle Paul*; *Cum ſit inter vos, Zelus, & Contentio, nonne carnales eſtis? While there is amongſt you, Zeal, and Contention, are ye not carnall?* And howſoever, they eſteem, the *Compounding* of *Controverſies*, to ſavour of *Mans Wiſedom*, and *Human Pollicy*; And think themſelves led, by the *Wiſedom, which is from above*; yet I ſay with *Saint* James; *Non eſt iſta ſapientia de ſurſum deſcendens; ſed Terrena, Animalis, Diabolica. Ubi enim Zelus, & Contentio, Ibi Inconſtantia, & omne opus pravum.* Of this *Inconſtancy*, it is ſaid by a *Learned Father*; *Procedere volunt, non ad perfectionem, ſed ad permutationem: They ſeek to go forward ſtill, not to perfection, but to change.*

The Third *Occaſion*, of *Controverſies*, I obſerve to be, an Extream and unlimitted, Deteſtation, of ſome former *Hereſie*, or Corruption, of the Church, already acknowledged, and convicted. This was the Cauſe, that produced, the Hereſie of *Arrius*, grounded, eſpecially, upon Deteſtation of *Gentiliſm*; leaſt the Chriſtians, ſhould ſeem, by the Aſſertion, of the equall *Divinity*, of our *Saviour Chriſt*, to approach, unto the Acknowledgement, of more *Gods*, then One. The Deteſtation, of the *Hereſie*, of *Arrius*, produced that of *Sabellius*; who holding for Execrable, the Diſſimilitude, which *Arrius* pretended in the *Trinity*, fled ſo far from him, as he fell upon that other extremity, to deny the *Diſtinction* of Perſons: And to ſay, they were, but onely Names, of ſeverall Offices, and Diſpenſations. Yea, moſt of the *Hereſies*, and *Schiſmes*, of the Church, have ſprung up, of this Root; While Men, have made it, as it were, their Scale, by which, to meaſure the Bounds, of the moſt perfect Religion; Taking it, by the furtheſt diſtance, from the Errour, laſt condemned. Theſe be *Poſthumi Hæreſium Filii*; *Hereſies*, that ariſe, out of the Aſhes, of other *Hereſies*, that are extinct, and amortized.

This Manner of Apprehenſion, doth, in ſome degree, poſſeſſe many in our Times. They think it the true Touchſtone, to try what is good and evill, by meaſuring, what is more, or leſſe, oppoſite, to the *Inſtitutions*, of the *Church*, of *Rome*; Be it *Ceremony*; Be it *Pollicy*, or Government; yea, be it other *Inſtitutions* of greater Weight; That is ever moſt perfect, which is removed, moſt degrees, from that *Church*: And that, is ever polluted, and blemiſhed, which participateth, in any Appearance, with it. This is a ſubtile, and dangerous, Conceit, for Men to entertain; Apt to delude

delude themſelves, more apt to delude the People, and moſt apt of all, to calumniate their Adverſaries. This ſurely, (but that a Notorious Condemnation, of that Poſition, was before our Eyes,) had, long ſince, brought us, to the *Rebaptization* of *Children*, baptized according to the *Pretended Catholick Religion*. For I ſee that, which is a Matter, of much like reaſon; Which is the *re-ordaining* of *Prieſts*, is a Matter, already, reſolutely maintained. It is very meet, that Men beware, how they be abuſed by this Opinion; And that they know, that it is a Conſideration, of much greater Wiſedom, and Sobriety, to be well adviſed; whether, in generall Demolition, of the *Inſtitutions*, of the *Church*, of *Rome*, there were not, (as Mens Actions are imperfect,) ſome Good purged with the Bad; Rather, then to purge the Church as they pretend, every day anew: Which is the way, to make a wound in the Bowels, as is already begun.

The Fourth, and Laſt, *Occaſion*, of theſe *Controverſies*, (a Matter, which did, alſo, trouble the *Church*, in former times,) is the partiall, Affectation, and Imitation, of *Forraign Churches*. For many of our Men, (during the time of perſecution, and ſince,) having been Converſant, in *Churches* abroad; And received, a great Impreſſion, of the form of Government, there ordained, have violently ſought, to intrude the ſame, upon our *Church*. But I anſwer; *Conſentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod receptum eſt: Let us agree in this, that every* Church *do that, which is convenient, for the State, of it ſelf, and not in particular Cuſtomes*: Although their *Churches*, had received, the better Form, yet, many times, it is to be ſought; *Non quod Optimum, ſed é bonis quid Proximum*: *Not that which is Beſt*, but of good Things, which is the Beſt, and Readieſt, to be had. Our *Church* is not now to plant; It is ſetled, and eſtabliſhed. It may be in *Civill States*, a *Republicke*, is a better Pollicy, then a *Kingdom*; Yet *God* forbid, that lawfull *Kingdomes*, ſhould be tyed to innovate, and make Alterations. *Qui mala introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat, revelatam in verbo*; *Qui Nova introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat, revelatam in Rebus. He that bringeth in Evill Cuſtomes, reſiſteth the will of God, revealed in his Word*; *He that bringeth in new Things, reſiſteth the Will of God, revealed in the Things themſelves. Conſule providentiam Dei cum verbo Dei*; Take Counſell, of the Providence of God, as well as of his Word. Neither yet do I admit, that their Form, although it were poſſible, and convenient, is better then ours, if ſome Abuſes were taken away. The *Parity*, and *Equality*, of *Miniſters*, is a Thing, of wonderfull great Confuſion: And ſo is An *Ordinary Government by Synods*; which doth, neceſſarily, enſue upon the other.

It is hard, in all Cauſes, but eſpecially in *Religion*, when *Voyces*, ſhall be *Numbred*, and not *Weighed*: *Equidem*, (ſaith a Wiſe Father,) *ut verè quod res eſt ſcribam, prorſus decrevi fugere omnem Conventum Epiſcoporum; Nullius enim Concilii bonum exitum unquam vidi; Concilia*

*cilia enim non minuunt Mala, ſed augent potiùs. To ſay the truth, I am utterly determined, never to come, to any Councell of Biſhops. For I never yet ſaw, good end, of any Councell; For Councels abate not ill things, but rather encreaſe them.* which is to be underſtood, not ſo much of *Generall Councels*, as of Synods, gathered, for the ordinary Government of the *Church*. As for the *Deprivation* of *Biſhops*, and ſuch like cauſes; This miſchief hath taught the uſe of *Arch Biſhops*, *Patriarchs*, and Primates; as the abuſe of them ſince, hath taught Men to miſlike them.

But it will be ſaid; Look to the Fruits, of the *Churches* abroad, and Ours. To which I ſay, that I beſeech the *Lord*, to multiply his *Bleſſings*, and *Graces*, upon thoſe *Churches*, an hundred fold. But yet, it is not good, that we fall, on the numbring of them. It may be, our peace, hath made us more wanton. It may be alſo, (though I would be loath, to derogate, from the Honour, of thoſe Churches, were it not to remove Scandalls,) that their Fruits, are, as *Torches*, in the Dark, which appear greateſt, afar off. I know, they may have ſome ſtrict Orders, for the repreſſing of ſundry Exceſſes: But when I conſider, of the Cenſures of ſome perſons, as well upon particular Men, as upon Churches; I think on the ſaying of a *Platoniſt*, who ſaith; *Certe vitia Iraſcibilis partis Animæ ſunt gradu praviora, quam concupiſcibilis, tametſi occultiora:* A matter, that appeared much, by the Ancient Contentions, of *Biſhops*. God grant, that we may contend, with other *Churches*, as the *Vine* with the *Olive*, which of us ſhall *bear* the *beſt Fruit*; And not, as the *Briar* with the *Thiſtle*, which of us is moſt unprofitable. And thus much, touching the occaſions of theſe Controverſies.

Now, briefly, to ſet down, the *Growth* and *Progreſſion*, of the *Controverſies*: whereby will be verified, the ſaying of *Salomon*; *That the Courſe of Contention, is to be ſtopped, at the firſt; Being elſe as the waters, which if they gain a Breach, it will hardly ever be recovered.*

It may be remembred, that on that part, which call for Reformation, was, firſt, propounded, ſome Diſlike, of certain *Ceremonies*, ſuppoſed to be *Superſtitious*; ſome complaint of *Dumb Miniſters*, who poſſeſſe *Rich Benefices*; And ſome *Invectives*, againſt the Idle, and *Monaſticall*, Continuance, within the *Univerſities*, by thoſe, who had Livings, to be reſident upon, and ſuch like Abuſes. Thence, they went on, to condemn, the *Government*, of *Biſhops*, as an *Hierarchy*, Remaining to us, of the Corruptions, of the *Romane Church*; And to except, to ſundry *Inſtitutions*, in the *Church*; As not ſufficiently, delivered, from the pollutions, of former Times.

And laſtly, they are advanced, to define, of an onely, and perpetuall *Form*, of *Pollicy*, in the *Church*; which, without Conſideration, of poſſibility, and foreſight of Perill, and perturbation of the Church, and State, muſt be erected, and planted, by the Magiſtrate. Here they ſtay. Others, not able, to keep footing

ing in so steep Ground, descend further; That the same must be entred into, and accepted of the people, at their perill, without the *Attending*, of the *Establishment*, of *Authority*. And, so in the mean time, they refuse to communicate with us, reputing us to have no *Church*. This hath been, the progression, of that side. I mean of the Generality. For I know, some persons, (being of the Nature, not only to love Extremities, but also, to fall to them, without degrees,) were at the highest strain, at the first.

The other Part, which maintaineth, the *present Government*, of *the Church*, hath not kept, one Tenour, neither. First those *Ceremonies*, which were pretended, to be corrupt, they maintained, to be things indifferent; and opposed, the examples, of the good Times, of the *Church*, to that challenge, which was made unto them, because they were used, in the *latter superstitious Times*. Then were they also content, mildly, to acknowledge, many Imperfections, in the *Church*; As *Tares, commen up, amongst the Corn*; which yet, (according to the wisdome, taught by our *Saviour*,) were not, with strife, to be pull'd up, lest it might spoil, and supplant, the good Corn; But to grow on together till the Harvest. After, they grew, to a more absolute Defence, and Maintenance, of all the *Orders*, of the *Church*; And stiffely, to hold, that nothing was to be innovated; partly because it needed not, partly because it would make a Breach, upon the Rest. Hence, (exaspected through *Contentions*,) they are fallen, to a direct Condemnation of the Contrary part, as of a *Sect*. Yea, and some Indiscreet persons, have been bold, in open Preaching, to use dishonourable, and Derogatory, Speech, and censure, of the *Churches abroad*: And that so far, as some of our Men, (as I have heard,) ordained in Forrain parts, have been pronounced, to be no *lawfull Ministers*. Thus we see, the Beginnings were modest, but the Extremes, are violent. So as there is, almost, as great a Distance, now, of either side, from it self, as was, at the first, of one, from the other. And surely, though my Meaning, and Scope, be not, (as I said before,) to enter into the *Controversies* themselves, yet I do admonish, the *Maintainers*, of the alone *Discipline*, to weigh, and consider, seriously, and attentively, how near they are unto them, with whom, I know, they will not joyn. It is very hard to affirm, that the Discipline, which, they say, we want, is one of the essentiall parts, of the *worship of God*; And not, to affirm withall, that the *People* themselves, upon perill of *Salvation*, without staying for the *Magistrate*, are to gather themselves into it. I demand, if a *Civill State*, should receive the *Preaching*, of the *Word*, and *Baptisme*; And interdict, and exclude the *Sacrament* of the Lords *Supper*; were not Men bound, upon danger of their souls, to draw themselves, to Congregations, wherein they might celebrate this *Mystery*? And not to content themselves, with that part of *Gods worship*, which the *Magistrate*, had authorised? This I speak, not to draw them, into the mis-

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like of others, but into a more deep Conſideration, of themſelves: *Fortaſſe non redeunt, quia ſunm progreſſum, non intelligunt.*

Again, to my *Lords*, the *Biſhops*, I ſay; That it is hard, for them, to avoyd Blame, (in the Opinion of an indifferent perſon,) in ſtanding, ſo preciſely, upon Altering nothing. *Leges, novis Legibus, non recreatæ, aceſcunt. Lawes, not refreſhed, with new Lawes; wax ſoure. Qui mala non permutat, in bonis non perſeverat: Without change of Ill, a Man cannot continue the Good.* To take away many Abuſes, Supplanteth not good orders, but eſtabliſheth them. *Moroſa Moris Retentio, Res turbulenta eſt, æque ac Novitas: A contentious Retaining of Cuſtom is a Turbulent Thing, as well as Innovation.* A good Husband, is ever proining in his *Vineyard*, or his *Field*; Not unſeaſonably, indeed, not unskilfully, but lightly he findeth, ever ſomewhat to do. We have heard, of no Offers of the *Biſhops*, of *Bills in Parliament*; which, no doubt, proceeding from them, to whom it properly belongeth, would have every where received Acceptation. Their own *Conſtitutions*, and *Orders*, have reformed them little. Is nothing amiſs? Can any Man defend, the uſe of *Excommunication*, as a Baſe Proceſſe, to lackay up, and down, for Duties, and Fees; It being, a precurſory Judgement, of the latter day?

Is there no Mean, to train, and nurſe up, Miniſters? (For the yield, of the *Univerſities*, will not ſerve, though they were never ſo well governed:) To train them, I ſay, not to Preach, (For that, every Man, confidently, adventureth, to do;) But to preach ſoundly, and to handle the *Scriptures*, with Wiſedom, and Judgment? I know, *Prophecying*, was ſubject to great Abuſe; And would be more abuſed now, becauſe Heat of Contentions, is encreaſed: But I ſay, the only Reaſon, of the Abuſe, was, becauſe, there was admitted to it, a *Popular Auditory*; And it was not contained, within a private *Conference*, of *Miniſters*: Other things, might be ſpoken of. I pray *God*, to inſpire the *Biſhops*, with a fervent Love, and Care, of the People; And that they may not, ſo much, urge Things in Controverſie, as Things out of Controverſie; Which all Men, confeſſe to be Gracious, and Good. And thus much, for the Second Point.

Now as to the Third Point, of *Unbrotherly Proceeding*, on either Part; It is, directly, contrary to my Purpoſe, to amplifie wrongs. It is enough, to note, and number them; Which I do alſo, to move Compaſſion, and Remorſe, on the Offending Side; And not, to animate Challengers, and Complaints, on the other. And this Point, (as Reaſon is,) doth chiefly touch that ſide, which can do moſt: *Injuriæ potentiorum ſunt: Injuries, come from them, that have the upper hand.*

The *Wrongs* of them, which are poſſeſſed, of the *Government*, of the *Church*, towards the other, may, hardly, be diſſembled, or Excuſed. They have charged them, as though, they *denied Tri-*

*but*

*bute to* Cæsar; And with-drew, from the *Civill Magistrate*, the Obedience, which they have ever performed, and taught. They have sorted, and coupled them, with the *Family of Love*, whose *Heresies*, they have laboured, to destroy, and Confute. They have been swift of Credit, to receive Accusations against them, from those, that have quarrelled with them, but for speaking, against Sin, and Vice. Their Accusations, and Inquisitions, have been strict, Swearing Men to *Blanks*, and *Generalities*; Not included within compass of Matter certain; Which the Party, which is to take the *Oath*, may comprehend, to be, a Thing Captious, and Strainable. Their urging of *Subscription*, to their own *Articles*, is but *Lacessere, & irritare, Morbos Ecclesiæ*; Which otherwise, would spend, and exercise, themselves. *Non concessum quærit, sed dissidium, qui, quod factis præstatur, in verbis exigit. He seeketh not unity, but Division, which exacteth that in words, which Men are content to yield in Action.* And it is true, there are some, which, (as I am perswaded,) will not, easily, offend, by Inconformity, who, notwithstanding, make some conscience, to subscribe. For they know, this Note, of *Inconstancy*, and *Defection*, from that, which they have long held, shall disable them, to do that good, wch otherwise they mought do: For such is the weakness of Many, that their *Ministery*, should be thereby discredited. As for their easie *Silencing* of them, in such great scarcety of Preachers, it is to punish the People, and not them. Ought they not, (I mean the *Bishop*,) to keep one Eye open, To looke upon the Good, that the Men do; but to fix them both, upon the Hurt, that they suppose commeth by them? Indeed, such as are intemperate, and Incorrigible, *God* forbid they should be permitted to Preach: But shall every inconsiderate Word, sometimes, captiously watched, and for the most part, hardly enforced, be as a Forfeiture, of their voice, & Gift, in preaching? As for sundry particular Molestations, I take no pleasure to recite them. If a Minister, shall be troubled, for saying in *Baptisme*, *Do you believe*, for, *Dost thou believe?* If another, shall be called in question, for praying for her *Majesty*, without the *Additions*, of her *Stile*; whereas, the very form of Prayer, in the *Book* of *Common Prayer*, hath, Thy *Servant Elizabeth*, & no more: If a Third, shall be accused, upon these words, uttered touching the Controversies, *Tollatur Lex, & fiat Certamen*: (Whereby was meant, that the prejudice, of the Law, removed, either Reasons should be equally compared;) Of calling the People, to Sedition, and Mutiny; As if he had said; *Away with the Law, and try it out with Force*: If these, and other like particulars, be true, which I have, but by Rumour, and cannot affirm; It is to be lamented, that they should labour, amongst us, with so little comfort. I know, *Restrained Governments*, are better, then *Remisse*; And I am, of his mind, that said; *Better is to live where nothing is lawfull, then where all Things are lawfull.* I dislike, that *Lawes* should not be continued

nued, or *Diſturbers* be unpuniſhed: But *Lawes*, are likened to the *Grape*, that being too much preſſed, yields, an hard, and unwholſome, *Wine*. Of theſe Things, I muſt ſay; *Ira Viri non operatur Juſticiam Dei. The Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteouſneſſe of God.*

As for the *Injuries*, of the other Part, they be *Ictus inermes*; As it were, *Headleſſe Arrowes*: They be Fiery, and Eager, *Invectives*; And, (in ſome fond Men,) uncivill, and unreverent, Behaviour, towards their Superiours. This laſt invention alſo, which expoſeth them, to Deriſion, and Obloquy, by *Libels*, chargeth not (as I am perſwaded,) the whole ſide: Neither doth that other, which is yet more odious, practiſed by the worſt ſort of them; which is, to call in, (as it were, to their Aides,) certain *Mercenary Bands*, which impugn *Biſhops*, and other *Eccleſiaſticall Dignities*, to have the ſpoyle, of their *Endowments*, and *Livings*; Of thoſe I cannot ſpeak too hardly. It is an Intelligence, between *Incendiaries*, and *Robbers*; The one to *Fire* the *Houſe*, the other to *Riſle* it.

The Fourth Point, wholly pertaineth to them, which impugn, the preſent *Eccleſiaſticall Government*; who, although, they have not cut Themſelves off from the *Body*, and *Communion*, of the *Church*; yet do they affect, certain *Cognizances* and *Differences*, wherein they ſeek to correſpond amongſt themſelves, and to be ſeperate from others. And it is truly ſaid; *Tam ſunt Mores quidam Schiſmatici, quam Dogmata Schiſmatica*: *There be as well Schiſmaticall Faſhions, as Opinions*. Firſt, they have impropriated, unto themſelves, the *Names* of *Zealous*, *Sincere*, and *Reformed*; As if, all others, were *Cold*, *Minglers* of *Holy Things*, *and Prophane*, and *Friends of Abuſes*: Yea, be a man indued, with great Vertues, and fruitfull in good workes; yet if he concur not with them, they term him, (in Derogation,) a *Civill*, and *Morall*, *Man*; And compare him, to *Socrates*, or ſome *Heathen Philoſopher*: Whereas the *Wiſedom* of the *Scriptures*, teacheth us otherwiſe: Namely, to judge, and denominate Men *Religious*, according to their *Works*, of the *Second Table*: Becauſe they of the *Firſt*, are often *Counterfeit*, and practiſed in *Hypocriſie*. So Saint *John* ſaith; *That a Man, doth vainly boaſt, of Loving God, whom he never ſaw, if he love not his Brother, whom he hath ſeen*. And Saint *James* ſaith; *This is true Religion, to viſite the Fatherleſſe, and the Widow*. So as that, which is, with them, but *Philoſophicall*, and *Morall*, is, in the *Apoſtles* Phraſe, *True Religion, and Chriſtianity*. As in Affection, they challenge, the ſaid *Vertues* of *Zeal*, and the reſt; So in Knowledge, they attribute unto themſelves, *Light*, and *Perfection*. They ſay, the *Church* of *England*, in *King Edwards* time, and in the Beginning of her *Majeſties Raign*, was but in the *Cradle*; And the *Biſhops*, in thoſe times, did ſomewhat, for *Day-Break*; But that, *Maturity*, and *Fulneſſe*, of *Light*, proceeded from themſelves. So *Sabinius*, *Biſhop* of *Heraclea*, a *Macedoniam Heretick*, ſaid; That the *Fathers*, in the *Councell* of *Nice* were but *Infants*, and *Ignorant Men*: That the

Church

Church, was not so perfect in their *Decrees*, as to refuse, that Further Ripeness, of Knowledge, which Time had revealed. And as they censure, *vertuous Names*, by the Names, of *Civill*, and *Morall*; So do they censure *Men*, truly, and godly wise, (who see into the vanity of their Affections,) by the name of *Politicks*: saying, that their Wisdome, is but Carnall, and savouring of Mans Brain. So likewise, if a Preacher, preach with Care, and Meditation; (I speak not, of the vain, Scholasticall, Manner of Preaching; But soundly indeed, ordering the Matter, he handleth, distinctly, for Memory; Deducting, and drawing it down, for Direction; and authorizing it, with strong proofs, and warrants;) They censure it, as a *Form* of *Speaking*, not becomming, the *Simplicity* of the *Gospell*; And refer it, to the *Reprehension*, of *Saint Paul*, speaking, of the *Enticing Speech*, of *Mans Wisdome*.

Now, for their own *Manner* of *Preaching*, what is it? Surely, they exhort well, and work Compunction of Mind; And bring Men well to the Question; *Viri, Fratres, quid faciemus?* But that is not enough; Except they resolve the *Question*. They handle, Matters of *Controversie*, weakly, and *obiter*, and as before a People, that will accept of any Thing. In *Doctrine* of *Manners*, there is little, but *Generality*, and *Repetition*. The *word*, (the *Bread* of *Life*,) they tosse up and down, they break it not: They draw not, their Directions down, *ad Casus Conscientiæ*: That a Man may be warranted, in his perpetuall Actions, whether they be Lawfull, or not. Neither, indeed, are many of them, able, to do it; What through want, of Grounded knowledge; What through want, of Study, and Time. It is a Compendious, and easie Thing, to call for the Observation of the *Sabbath Day*; or to speak against *unlawfull Gaine*: But what *Actions*, and *works*, may be done upon the *Sabbath*, and what not; And what Courses, of *Gain*, are *Lawfull*, and in what *Cases*? To set this down, and to clear the whole Matter, with good Distinctions, and Decisions, is a Matter of great Knowledge, and Labour; And asketh much Meditation, and Conversing, in the Scriptures, and other Helps, which *God* hath provided, and preserved, for *Instruction*.

Again, they carry not, an equall Hand, in Teaching the *People*, their *lawfull Liberty*, as well, as their *Restraints*, and *Prohibitions*: But they think, a Man, cannot go too far, in that, that hath a shew of a *Commandement*.

They forget, that there are *Sins*, on the *Right Hand*, as well as on the *Left*; And that, the *word* is *double edged*, and cutteth on both Sides; As well the Profane Trangressions; as the superstitious Observances. Who doubteth, but that, it is as unlawfull, to shut, where *God* hath opened, as to open, where *God* hath shut: To bind, where *God* hath loosed, as to loose, where *God* hath bound. Amongst Men, it is, commonly, as ill taken, to turn back *Favours*, as to disobey *Commandements*. In this Kind of *Zeal*, (for Example,) they have pronounced, generally, and with-

out difference, all Untruths, unlawfull; Notwithſtanding, that the *Midwives*, are directly reported, to have been bleſſed, for their Excuſe: And *Rahab*, is ſaid, by *Faith*, to have *concealed* the *Spies*: And *Salomons ſelected Judgement*, proceeded upon a *Simulation*: And our *Saviour*, the more to touch the Hearts, of the two *Diſciples*, with an holy Dalliance, made, as if he would have paſſed *Emaus*. Further, I have heard ſome *Sermons* of *Mortification*, which, I think, with very good Meaning, they have preached, out of their own Experience, and Exerciſe; And Things, in private Counſels, not unmeet: But ſurely, no Sound Conceits, Much like to *Parſons Reſolution*, or not ſo good; Apt, to breed in Men, rather weak Opinions, and perplexed Deſpaires, then *Filiall*, and *True Repentance*, which is ſought.

Another Point, of great Inconvenience, and perill, is, to entitle the *People*, to hear *Controverſies*, and all Kinds of *Doctrine*. They ſay, no part, of the Counſell, of God, is to be ſuppreſſed, nor the People defrauded. So as the Difference, which the *Apoſtle* maketh, between *Milk*, and *Strong Meat*, is confounded: And his Precept, that the *weak*, be not admitted, unto *Queſtions*, and *Controverſies*, taketh no place.

But moſt of all is to be ſuſpected, as a Seed of further Inconvenience, their *Manner*, of *Handling* the *Scriptures*. For whileſt, they ſeek expreſſe, *Scripture*, for every Thing; And that they have, in a manner, deprived themſelves, and the *Church*, of a ſpeciall Help, and Support, by Embaſing, the Authority, of the *Fathers*; They reſort to *Naked Examples*, *Conceited Inferences*, and *Forced Alluſions*; ſuch, as do mine, into all *Certainty*, of *Religion*.

Another *Extremity*, is the *Exceſſive Magnifying* of that, which though it be a principall, and moſt holy Inſtitution; yet hath it Limits, as all things elſe have. We ſee, whereſoever, in a manner, they find in the *Scriptures*; *The Word*, ſpoken of, they expound it of *Preaching*. They have made it, in a manner, of the *Eſſence*, of the *Sacrament*, of the *Lords Supper*, to have a *Sermon* precedent. They have, in a ſort, annihilated the uſe of *Liturgies*, and *Formes* of *Divine Service*; Although, the *Houſe of God* be denominated, of the Principall, *Domus Orationis*; *A Houſe of Prayer, and not a Houſe of Preaching*. As for the Life, of the good *Monks*, and *Hermits*, in the *Primitive Church*, I know, they will condemne a Man, as half a *Papiſt*, if he ſhould maintain them, as other then Prophane, becauſe they heard no *Sermons*. In the mean time, what *Preaching* is, and who may be ſaid to *Preach*, they move no *Queſtion*. But, (as far, as I ſee,) every man, that preſumeth to ſpeak in *Chair*, is accounted a *Preacher*. But I am aſſured, that not a few, that call hotly, for a *Preaching Miniſtery*, deſerve to be the Firſt themſelves, that ſhould be expelled. All which Errours, and Miſproceedings, they do fortifie, and intrench, by an addicted Reſpect, to their own Opinions; And an Impatience, to hear Contradiction, or Argument; yea, I know ſome of them, that would

that would think it, a Tempting of God, to hear, or read, what may be ſaid againſt them: As if there could be, A, *Quod bonum eſt, tenete*; without an *Omnia probate*, going before.

This may ſuffice, to offer unto themſelves, a Thought, and Conſideration, whether, in theſe things, they do well, or no? And to correct, and aſſwage, the Partiality, of their *Followers*. For as for any Man, that ſhall, hereby, enter into a Contempt of their *Miniſtery*; it is but his own *Hardneſs* of *Hart*. I know, the work of *Exhortation*, doth chiefly reſt upon theſe Men, and they have Zeal, and Hate, of Sin. But again, let them take Heed, that it be not true, which one of their Adverſaries ſaid; *That they have but two ſmall wants; Knowledge, and Love.* And ſo I conclude this *Point*.

The laſt Point, touching the due *Publiſhing*, and *Debating*, of theſe *Controverſies*, needeth no long Speech. This ſtrange Abuſe, of Antiques, and Paſquils, hath been touched before. So likewiſe, I repeat that, which I ſaid; That a Character of *Love*, is more proper for Debates, of this Nature, then that of *Zeal*: As for all direct, or indirect, Glaunces, or Levels, at Mens *Perſons*, they were ever, in theſe Cauſes, diſallowed.

Laſtly, whatſoever be pretended, the *People* is no meet *Arbitrator*; but rather the quiet, modeſt, and private Aſſemblies, and Conferences, of the *Learned*. *Qui apud Incapacem loquitur, non diſceptat, ſed calumniatur*. The *Preſſe*, and *Pulpit*, would be freed, and diſcharged, of theſe Contentions: Neither Promotion, on the one Side; nor Glory, and Heat, on the other Side, ought to continue thoſe *Challenges*, and *Cartells*, at the *Croſſe*, and other Places. But rather, all Preachers, eſpecially ſuch as be of good temper, and have Wiſdome with Conſcience, ought to inculcate, and beat upon a Peace, Silence, and Surſeance. Neither let them fear *Solons Law*, which compelled, in Factions, every particular Perſon, to range himſelf, on the one ſide; Nor yet, the fond *Calumny of Neutrality*. But let them know, that is true, which is ſaid by a *wiſe Man*; *That Neuters, in Contentions, are either better, or worſe, then either Side.*

Theſe things have I, in all ſincerity, and ſimplicity, ſet down, touching the *Controverſies*, which now trouble, the *Church* of *England*. And that, without all Art, and Inſinuation. And therfore, not like to be gratefull, to either Part. Notwithſtanding, I truſt, what hath been ſaid, ſhall find a Correſpondence, in their minds, which are not embarqued in Partiality; And which love the Whole, better then a Part. Wherefore, I am not, out of hope that it may do good; At the leaſt, I ſhall not repent my ſelf, of the *Meditation*.

*FINIS.*

IN
# HAPPY MEMORY,
OF
# ELIZABETH,
QUEEN of *ENGLAND.*
OR,
# A COLLECTION,
OF THE
# FELICITIES,
OF
# Queen Elizabeth.

Written by his Lordſhip in Latin;
AND
Engliſhed by the Publiſher.

QUeen *Elizabeth*, both in her *Naturall Endowments*, and her *Fortune*, was Admirable amongſt *Women*, and Memorable amongſt *Princes*. But this is no Subject, for the Pen of a meer *Scholler*, or any ſuch *Cloiſtred Writer*. For theſe Men, are eager in their Expreſſions, but ſhallow in their Judgements; And perform the *Schollers* part well, but tranſmit *Things* but unfaithfully to Poſterity. Certainly, it is a Science, belonging to *Statesmen*,

*men*, and to such as sit at the *Helmes* of great *Kingdoms*; and have been acquainted with the weight, and Secrets, of Civil Business; to handle this matter dextrously. Rare, in all Ages, hath been the *Raign* of a *Woman*: More rare, the *Felicity* of a *Woman*, in her *Raign*: But most rare, a *Permanency*, and *Lasting*, joyned with that *Felicity*. As for this *Lady*, she raigned Four and Fourty years, compleat, and yet she did not survive her *Felicity*. Of this *Felicity*, I am purposed to say somewhat; yet without any Excursion into *Praises*. For *Praises* are the Tribute of Men, but *Felicity* the Gift of *God*.

First, I reckon it as a part of her *Felicity*, that she was advanced to the *Regal Throne*, from a Private Fortune. For this is ingenerate, in the Nature, and Opinions, of Men, to ascribe that, to the greatest *Felicity*, which is not counted upon, and cometh unlooked for But this is not that I intend. It is this. *Princes*, that are trained up, in their *Fathers Courts*, and to an immediate, and Apparent, Hope of *Succession*, do get this, by the Tenderness, and remissness, of their *Education*, that they become (commonly) lesse capable, and lesse Temperate, in their Affections. And therefore, you shall find those, to have been the ablest, and most accomplished *Kings*, that were Tutoured, by both Fortunes. Such was with us, *King Henry* the *Seventh*; And with the *French*, *Lewis* the *Twelfth*: Both which, in recent Memory, and, almost, about the same time, obtained their *Crowns*, not onely, from a Private, but also from an Adverse, and Afflicted, Fortune; And did both excell, in their severall wayes; The former in *Prudence*; And the other in *Justice*. Much like was the Condition of this *Princesse*, whose Blossomes, and Hopes, were unequally aspected by Fortune; That afterwards, when she came to the *Crown*, Fortune might prove, towards her, alwayes Mild, and Constant. For *Queen Elizabeth*, soon after she was born, was entituled to the Succession, in the *Crown*; upon the next turn disinherited again; Then layed aside, and slighted: During the *Raign*, of her *Brother*, her Estate, was most Prosperous, and Flourishing; During the *Raign*, of her *Sister*, very Tempestuous, and full of Hazard. Neither yet, did she passe, immediately, from the *Prison*, to the *Crown*; (which sudden Change, might have been enough, to make her cast off all Moderation;) But first she regained her Liberty; Then there budded forth some probable Hopes of *Succession*; And lastly, in a great Still, and Happiness, she was advanced to the *Imperiall Crown*, without either Noise, or *Competitour*. All which I alledge, that it may appear, that the *Divine Providence*, intending to produce, a most exquisite *Princesse*, was pleased, to prepare, and mould Her, by these *Degrees*, of *Discipline*. Neither ought the Misfortune of her *Mother*, justly to stain, the pure *Stream* of her *Blood*; especially, seeing it is very evident, that *King Henry* the eighth did first burn, with new Loves, before he was enflamed, with Indignation, against *Queen Anne*:

Neither

Neither is it unknown, to the Ages, since, that he was a *King*, naturally prone, to Loves, and Jealousies; And not containing himself, in those cases, from the effusion of Blood. Besides, the very *person*, for whom she was suspected, sheweth, the Accusation, to be lesse probable, and built upon weak, and frivolous, Suppositions: Which was, both secretly whispered, in many Mens ears, at that Time; And which, *Queen Anne* her self, testified, by her undaunted courage, and that memorable Speech of hers, at the *Time* of her *Death*. For having gotten, (as she supposed,) a faithfull and friendly, Messenger, in the very Hour before her Death, she delivered him these words, to relate unto the *King*; *That she had ever found the King, very constant and firm, to his purpose of Advancing her; For first, from the estate of a Gentlewoman, onely, and no way pretending to Noble Titles, He raised Her, to the Honour of a Marchioness; Next, he vouchsafed to make her his Consort, both of his Kingdom, and Bed; And now, that there remained no higher earthly Honour, he meant to crown her Innocency, with the Glory of Martyrdome.* But though, the messenger durst not relate these words to the *King*, who was already enflamed with new Loves; yet certain *Tradition*, the *Conserver* of *Truth*, hath conveyed them to Posterity.

Another principall thing, which I cast into *Queen Elizabeths Felicity*, was the *Time*, and *Period* of her *Raign*; Not onely for that it was Long, but also, because it fell, into that season, of her Life, which was most Active, and Fittest, for the swaying of a *Scepter*. For she was fully Five and Twenty years old, (at which age, the Civill Law freeth from a Curatour,) when she came to the *Crown*; And raigned to the Seventieth year of her Life. So that she never suffered, either the Detriments, of *Pupillage*, and Check of an *Over-awing Power*; Or the Inconveniencies, of an Impotent, and unwieldy, *Old-age*. And Old-age, is not, without a competent portion of miseries, even to private men; But to *Kings*, besides the Common Burthen of years, it brings, for the most part, a Declining, in the Estates, they govern, and a Conclusion of their Lives, without Honour. For there hath scarce been known a *King*, that hath lived, to an Extreame, and Impotent Old-age, but he hath suffered some Detriment, in his *Territories*, and gone lesse in his *Reputation*. Of which Thing, there is a most eminent Example, in *Philip* the *Second*, *King* of *Spain*, a most puissant *Prince*, and an Excellent *Governer*; Who, in the last years of his Life, and Impotent Old-age, was sensible of this, whereof we speak; And therefore, with great circumspection, submitted Himself, to Natures Law; Voluntarily surrendred the Territories he had gotten in *France*; Established a Firm Peace in that *Kingdom*; Attempted the like in other Places; That so, He might transmit his *Kingdoms*, Peaceable, and Entire, to his next *Heir*. Contrary-wise, *Queen Elizabeths* Fortune, was so constant, and deeply rooted, that no Disaster

Diſaſter in any of her *Dominions*, accompanied, her indeed declining, but ſtill able, years: Nay further, for an undeniable Token of her *Felicity*, ſhe died not, before the *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, was fortunately decided, and quaſhed, by a *Battel* there; Leaſt otherwiſe, it might have defalked, from the Totall Summe, of her *Glory*. Now the *Condition* alſo, of the *People*, over whom ſhe raigned, I take to be a Matter, worthy our Obſervation. For if her Lot had fallen, amongſt the deſolate *Palmyrens*, or in *Aſia*, a ſoft, and effeminate Race of Men, a *Woman-Prince*, might have been ſufficient, for a *Womaniſh People*; But for the *Engliſh*, a Nation, ſtout, and war-like, to be ruled by the Check of a *Woman*, and to yield ſo humble Obedience to her, is a Thing deſerving the higheſt Admiration.

Neither was this *Diſpoſition* of her *People*, (Hungry of War, and unwillingly bowing to Peace,) any Impediment to her, but that ſhe enjoyed, and maintained, *Peace*, all her Dayes. And this *Deſire*, in her, of *Peace*, together with her fortunate accompliſhment thereof, I reckon to be one, of her chiefeſt Praiſes. For this was Happy for her Times, Comely for her Sex, and Comfortable to her Conſcience. Indeed, about the Tenth year of her *Raign*, there was an *Offer* of a *Commotion*, in the *Northern Parts*; But it was ſoon laid aſleep, and extinguiſhed: But all her *Raign* beſide, was free from the leaſt Breath, or Air, of *Civil Broyles*. Now I judge the *Peace*, maintained by her, to be the more eminent, for two cauſes; Which indeed make nothing for the *Merit* of that *Peace*, but much for the *Honour*. The one, that it was ſet off, and made more conſpicuous, by the Broyls, and Diſſenſions, of *Neighbouring Nations*; As it were, by ſo many Lights, and Torches: The other, that amidſt the Benefits of *Peace*, ſhe loſt not the Honour of *Arms*: Inſomuch, that the Reputation, of the *Engliſh Arms*, was not onely preſerved, but alſo advanced by her, upon many glorious Occaſions. For the *Succours*, ſent into the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Scotland*; The *Expeditions* by *Sea* into both the *Indies*, whereof ſome circled the whole *Globe* of the *Earth*; The *Fleets* ſent into *Portugall* and to annoy the Coaſts of *Spain*; And laſtly, the often Suppreſſions, and Overthrows, of the *Rebells* in *Ireland*; did both ſhew the warlike Proweſſe of our *Nation*, to be no whit diminiſhed; And did much encreaſe the *Renown* of the *Queen*.

There was another Thing, that did greatly advance her Glory: That both by her timely *Succours*, her *Neighbour Kings* were ſettled in their *Right full Thrones*; and the *Suppliant People*, (who by the ill Adviſedneſſe of their *Kings*, were abandoned, and given over, to the Cruelry, of their Miniſters; And to the Fury, of the Multitude; and to all manner, of Butchery, and Deſolation; were relieved by Her; By reaſon whereof, they ſubſiſt unto this Day. Neither was She a *Princeſſe*, leſſe Benigne, and Fortunate in the Influence of her *Counſells*, then of her *Succours*;

As

As being One, that had, oftentimes, interceded to the *King* of *Spain*, to mitigate his wrath, againſt his *Subjects*, in the *Netherlands*, and to reduce them to his Obedience, upon ſome tolerable Conditions; And further, as being one, that did perpetually, and upon all occaſions, repreſent to the *French Kings*, the Obſervation of their own *Edicts*, ſo often declaring, and promiſing, peace to their *Subjects*. I cannot deny, but that theſe good *Counſells* of hers, wanted the Effect: In the former, I verily believe, for the Univerſall good of *Europe*; Leaſt happily, the *Ambition* of *Spain*, being unlooſed from his Fetters, ſhould have poured it ſelf, (as things then ſtood,) upon the other *Kingdoms*, and *States* of *Chriſtendom*: And for the latter, the *Blood* of ſo many *Innocents*, with their Wives, and Children; Slain, within their own Harbours, and Neſts, by the Scumme of the People, (who like ſo many Maſtifes, were let looſe, and heartened, and even ſet upon them, by the State;) would not ſuffer it; which did continually cry unto God for Vengeance, that ſo Blood-ſucking a *Kingdom*, might have her fill thereof, in the inteſtine, Slaughters, and Conſumption, of a *Civill War*. Howſoever ſhe perſiſted, to perform the part of a wiſe, and loving, *Confederate*.

There is another Cauſe alſo, for which we may juſtly admire, this Peace, ſo conſtantly purſued, and maintained, by the *Queen*. And that is, that it did not proceed, from any *Bent*, or *Inclination*, of thoſe *Times*; But from the *Prudency*, of her *Government*, and diſcreet *Carriage* of Things. For whereas, ſhe her ſelf, was not without manifeſt Danger, from an ill affected *Party* at home, for the Cauſe of *Religion*; And that the Strength and Forces of this *Kingdom*, were in the Place of a Bulwark, to all *Europe*, againſt the then dreadfull, and overflowing, Ambition, and Power, of the *King* of *Spain*; She might have apprehended juſt Cauſe of a *War*: But, as ſhe was ſtill ready, with her *Councell*, ſo ſhe was not, behind hand, with her Forces. And this we are taught by an Event, the moſt Memorable, of any in our time, if we look upon the *Felicity* thereof. For when as the *Spaniſh Navy*, (ſet forth with ſuch wonderfull Preparations, in all kinds; the Terrour, and Amazement of all *Europe*; Carried on with almoſt Aſſurance of victory;) came braving upon our *Seas*; It took not ſo much, as one poor Cock-boat of ours, nor fired any one Village, nor landed one Man upon *Engliſh Ground*; But was utterly defeated, and after a ſhamefull Flight, and many ſhipwracks, quite diſperſed; So as the *Peace*, of this *Kingdome*, was never more Firm, and Solid. Neither was her *Felicity* leſſe, in Eſcaping Treacherous *Attempts* at home, then in ſubduing, and Defeating, forrain *Invaſions*. For not a few *Treaſons*, plotted againſt her Life, were, moſt fortunately, diſcovered, and diſappointed. And this was no cauſe, to make her lead, a more fearfull, or diffident, life, then before. No new *Encreaſe* of her *Guard*; No *Immuring* her ſelf within her own Walls, or Forbearing to be

seen abroad; But as one assured, and confident; And that was more mindfull of her *Escape* from *Danger*, then of the *Danger* it self, she was constant, to her former Customes, and Fashions.

Furthermore, it is worth our labour, to consider the *Nature* of the *Times*, in which she *Raigned*. For there are some *Times*, so *Barbarous*, and *Ignorant*, that it is no greater matter, to govern *People*, then to govern a *Flock* of *Sheep*. But this *Queen*, fell upon Times, of singular Learning, and Sufficiency; In which, it was not possible, to be eminent, without admirable Endowments of wit, and a Rare Temper of Vertue. Again, the *Raignes* of *Women*, are, For the most part, obscured by their *Husbands*: Upon whom, all their Praises, and worthy Acts, do reflect: As for those, that continue unmarried, it is they that impropriate, the whole glory, and merit, to themselves. And this was the peculiar Glory of this *Princesse*; That she had no Props, or Supports, of her Government, but those, that were, of her own making. She had no *Brother*, the *Son* of her *Mother*; No *Unckle*; None other of the *Royall Bloud* and *Linage*, that might be *Partner* in her *Cares*, and an *Upholder* of the *Regall Dignity*. And as for those, whom she raised to *Honour*, she carried such a discreet Hand over them, and so enterchanged her Favours, as they all strived in Emulation, and Desire, to please her best, and she her self remained, in all Things, an *Absolute Princesse*. *Childlesse* she was, and left no *Issue* behind Her; which was the Case of many, of the most fortunate *Princes*; *Alexander* the *Great*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Trajan*, and others. And this is a Case, that hath been often controverted, and argued, on both sides; Whilest some hold, the *want* of *Children*, to be a *Diminution*, of our *Happinesse*; As if it should be an Estate, more then Human, to be happy, both in our own *Persons*, and in our *Descendants*: But others, do account, the *want* of *Children*, as an *Addition* to *Earthly Happinesse*; In as much, as that *Happinesse*, may be said, to be compleat, over which *Fortune* hath no Power, when we are gone: Which, if we leave *Children*, cannot be.

She had also many *Outward Gifts* of *Nature*. A tall *Stature*; A comely and strait *Making*; An extraordinary *Majesty* of *Aspect*, joyned with a *Sweetnesse*; A most Happy, and Constant, *Healthfulnesse* of *Body*. Unto which I may add, that in the full *Possession*, both of her *Limms*, and *Spirits*, untill her last Sickness; (Having received no Blow from Fortune, Nor Decay from Old Age;) she obtained that, which *Augustus Cæsar*, so importunately prayed for; *An easie and undistempered passage, out of this World.* Which also is reported of *Antoninus Pius*, that Excellent *Emperour*; Whose *Death*, had the Resemblance, of some soft, and pleasing *Slumber*. So in *Queen Elizabeths Disease*, there was no ghastly, or fearfull *Accident*; No *Idlenesse* of *Brain*; Nothing unaccustomed to *Man* in generall: She was not transported, either with desire of Life, or Tediousnesse of Sickness, or extremity of Pain; She had no grievous

grievous, or uncomely, *Symptomes*; But all things were of that kind, as did rather shew, the *Frailty* of *Nature*, then a *Deordination*, or *Reproach* of it. For some few Dayes, before her *Death*, being much pined, with the extream *Drought*, of her *Body*, and those *Cares*, that accompany a *Crown*; And not wonted, to refresh her Self, with *Wine*, or any Liberall *Diet*; she was strook with a *Torpour*, and *Frigidity* in her *Nerves*; Notwithstanding, which is rare in such *Diseases*, she retained both her *Speech*, and *Memory*, and *Motion* though but slow and weak, even to the end. And in this Case, she continued, but a few dayes; So as it cannot be called, the *Last Act* of her *Life*, but the *First step* to her *Death*. For as it is, a Miserable Condition, to see the Faculties, of our Body, buried before us; And to survive long after them; So it is a Faire, and Naturall, Conclusion of our Life, when the Senses, are, by little and little, layd asleep, that the Dissolution of the whole, should immediatly follow.

I will adde one Thing more, to make up, the full Measure, of her *Felicity*: which is, that she was not only most Happy, in her own *Person*, but in the Abilities, and vertues of her *Servants*, and *Ministers*. For she was served by such *Persons*, as, I suppose, this *Island* never brought forth the like, before her Times. Now when *God* beareth a love to *Kings*, no doubt, he raiseth up, the *Spirits*, of *Wise Servants*, as a concurrent Blessing.

There are two faire *Issues*, of her *Happinesse*, born to her, since her *Death*; I conceive, not lesse Glorious, and Eminent, then those she enjoyed alive. The one of her *Successour*; The other of her *Memory*. For she hath gotten such a *Successour*, who although for his *Masculine Vertues*, and *Blessing* of *Posterity*, and *Addition* of *Territories*, he may be said, to exceed her Greatnesse, and somewhat to obscure it; Notwithstanding, he is most zealous, of her Name, and Glory; And doth even give, a *Perpetuity* to her *Acts*; Considering both in the Choice of the *Persons*, and in the *Orders*, & *Institutions* of the *Kingdome*, he hath departed so little from her. So as, a *Son* could hardly succeed a *Father*, with lesse Noise, or Innovation. As for her *Memory*, it hath gotten such Life, in the Mouths, and Hearts, of Men, as that, Envy being put out by her Death, and her Fame lighted, I cannot say, whether the *Felicity* of her *Life*, or the *Felicity* of her *Memory*, be the greater. For if (perhaps) there fly abroad, any factious *Fames*, of Her, raised either by Discontented *Persons*, or such, as are averse in *Religion*; (which notwithstanding dare now scarce shew their Faces, and are every where cryed down;) The same, are neither true, neither can they be long liv'd. And for this cause especially, have I made this *Collection*, (such as it is,) touching her *Felicity*, and the Marks of *Gods* Favour towards Her; That no malicious Person, should dare to interpose a *Curse*, where *God* hath given a *Blessing*. Now if any Man, shall alledge that against me, which was once said to *Cæsar*; *We see what we may admire, but we would fain see what*

*we can commend*; Certainly, for my part, I hold true *Admiration*, to be the higheſt Degree of *Commendation*. And beſides, ſuch *Felicities* as we have recounted, could not befall any *Princeſſe*, but ſuch an one, as was extraordinarily ſupported, and cheriſhed by *Gods* Favour; And had much in her own *Perſon*, & Rare *Vertues*, to create, and work out, unto her ſelf, ſuch a *Fortune*. Notwithſtanding, I have thought good, to inſert ſomething now, concerning her *Morall Part*; Yet only in thoſe things, which have miniſtred occaſion, to ſome Mallicious Tongues, to traduce her.

This *Queen*, as touching her *Religion*, was *Pious*; *Moderate*; *Conſtant*, and an Enemy to *Novelty*. Firſt for her *Piety*; Though the ſame were moſt conſpicuous, in her *Acts*, and the *Form* of her *Government*; yet it was Pourtrayed alſo, in the common Courſe of her *Life*, and her daily *Comportment*. Seldome would ſhe be abſent, from Hearing *Divine Service*, and other Duties of *Religion*, either in her *Chappell*, or in her *Privy Cloſet*. In the reading of the *Scriptures*, and the writings of the *Fathers*, eſpecially of Saint *Auguſtine*, ſhe was very Frequent: She compoſed certain *Prayers*, her ſelf, upon emergent occaſions. Whenſoever ſhe named *God*, though it were in common diſcourſe, ſhe would, for the moſt part, adde, The Title of *Maker*; ſaying; *God my Maker*: And compoſe, both her Eyes, and Countenance, to a Submiſneſſe, and Reverence. This I have often (my ſelf) obſerved, being in her preſence. Now whereas ſome have divulged her unmindfulneſſe of *Mortality*, in that ſhe would never endure any Mention, either of her *Age*, or *Death*, it is moſt falſe: For ſhe would often, and that, many years, before her Death, with a great deal of Meekneſſe, profeſſe, that ſhe found her ſelf grown, an old Woman; And ſhe would, ſometimes, open her ſelf, what ſhe liked beſt, for an *Inſcription* upon her *Tombe*; Saying; That ſhe loved no pompous, or vain-glorious, Titles, but would onely have, a Line, or two, for her Memory; wherein, her *Name*; and her *Virginity*; and the years of her *Raign*; and her Eſtabliſhing of *Religion*; and her Maintaining of *Peace*; ſhould be, in the feweſt words, comprehended. It is true, that whileſt ſhe was in her vigorous years, and able to bear Children, if at any time ſhe were moved, to declare her *Succeſſour*, ſhe would make Anſwer; *That ſhe would never endure, to ſee her winding ſheet, before her Eyes.* And yet notwithſtanding, ſome few years, before her death, one day, when ſhe was in a deep Meditation, and, (as it may be gheſſed,) in that of her *Mortality*, One, that might be bold, ſaid unto her; *Madam, there are divers Offices, and great places in the ſtate, which you keep too long void*: She aroſe up, in ſome diſpleaſure, and ſaid; *I am ſure, my Office will not be long void.*

As for her *Moderateneſs* in *Religion*, I ſhall ſeem to be at a ſtand, in regard of the Severe *Lawes*, made againſt her *Subjects*, of the *Romiſh Religion*. Notwithſtanding, that which I ſhall ſay, is no more, then what I know for certain, and diligently obſerved.

Moſt

Most certain it is, that it was the Firm Resolution, of this *Princesse*, not to offer any violence to *Consciences:* But then, on the other Side, not to suffer the State of her *Kingdome*, to be ruined, under pretence of *Conscience*, and *Religion*. Out of this Fountain, she concluded; First, That to allow Freedome, and Toleration, of two *Religions*, by publick *Authority*, in a *Nation* Fierce, and Warlike; And that would easily fall, from Dissention of Minds, to Siding and Blowes, would bring inevitable Ruin to this *Kingdome*. Again, in the Newnesse of her *Raign*, when there was a generall distrust, she singled out some of the *Bishops*, of the most Turbulent, and Factious, Spirits, and committed them to free Custody; And this not without the warrant of Former *Lawes*; As for the Rest, either of the *Cleargy*, or *Laity*, she did not ransack their Consciences, by any *Severe Inquisition*, but rather secured them, by a gracious Connivency. And this was the State of Things, at the first. Neither did she depart, from this Clemency, when the *Excommunication* of *Pius Quintus*, came Thundring against her; which might both justly have provoked her, and have ministred occasion, to new Courses; But howsoever, she followed her *Royall Nature* still. For, as a wise Lady, and of a high Courage, she was not a whit terrified, at the *Roaring* of a *Bull*; Being well assured, of her *Peoples* Love, and Fidelity, towards her; As also of the Disability, of the *Popish Faction*, within the *Kingdome*, to do her Hurt, if no *Forraign Enemy* joyned with them. But then, about the three and twentieth year of her *Raign*, there followed a Mighty Change. And this Distinction of the Times, is not any Device of mine, but it is expressed in the publick *Acts* of that *Time*, and, as it were, *cut in Brasse*. For before that *year*, was there never any *Capitall or severe Punishment*, inflicted upon any of her *Subjects*, as they had Relation to the *Romish Religion*, by the *Lawes* formerly made. But just then, began that proud, and vast Intention of *Spain*, to conquer this *Kingdome*, by little and little, to shew it Self. Of this, the principall Part was, to stir up, by all means, a *Party* within the *Kingdome*, of such, as were ill affected to the *State*, and desirous of *Innovation*, that might adhere to the *Forrainer*, at his Landing. For this, they had no other Hopes, then the Difference in *Religion*. Wherefore, they set it down, to pursue this Course, with all their power. And the *Seminaries*, at that time, budding, *Priests* were sent into *England*, to plant, and disperse, a Love, to the *Romish Religion*; To teach, and inculcate, the power, of the *Popes Excommunication*, in freeing Subjects from their Allegeance; And to awaken, and prepare, the minds of Men, to an Expectation, of a Change. About the same time, *Ireland* also was attempted by an *Invasion*; And the *Queens Name*, and *Government*, traduced, by sundry, and scandalous *Libells*: To be short, there was an unusuall Swelling in the *State*, the Forerunner of greater Troubles. Yet I will not affirm, that every *Priest*, which was sent over, was made

of

of the Counsell, or Privy to the Enterprise; But that, some of them, became the wicked Instruments onely, of other Mens *Malice*. Notwithstanding, this is true, and witnessed, by the Confessions of many, that almost all the *Priests*, which were sent into this *Kingdome*, from that aforenamed year, unto the Thirtieth year of *Queen Elizabeths* Raign; (At what time, that Design of the *Pope*, and *Spain*, was put into execution, by those memorable Preparations, of the *Navy*, and *Land-Forces*,) Had in their Instructions, besides other Parts of their Function, to distill, and insinuate, into the *People*, these Particulars; *It was impossible, things should continue, at this stay; They should see, ere long, a great change, in this State; That the Pope, and Catholick Princes, were carefull for the English, if they would, not be wanting to themselves.* Again, sundry of the *Priests*, did manifestly interpose themselves, into those Consultations, and Plots, which tended, to the undermining, and Ruining, of this *Kingdome*: And, (which especially moved her,) *Letters* were intercepted, out of divers parts, that discovered, the true Face of the *Plot*; In which was written, that they doubted not, to go beyond, the vigilancy, of the *Queen*, and *State*, in the Matter of *Catholicks*: For the *Queen* would onely have an eye, least there should arise, any *Fit Head*, in the Person of some *Lord*, or other Eminent *Gentleman* of quality, under whom the *Catholicks* might unite: But they had thought upon another course; As namely, by *private Men*, and those but of mean Rank, that should not confer, nor scarce know, of each others employment, to prepare, and mature, the Businesse, by the *Secrecy* of *Confession*. And these were their *Engines* then, which, (as hath appeared since, in a case not much unlike,) are usuall, and familiar, to that *Order* of *Men*. In this great Deluge of Danger, there was a Necessity imposed, upon *Queen Elizabeth*, to restrain, by some sharper Bands of *Lawes*, that part of her *Subjects*, which were alienated from her, and had drunk, too deep a Draught, of this Poyson, ever to recover; And further, which by their retired Living, and Exemption from publick Offices, were grown very Rich: And moreover, the Mischief daily growing, when as the Cause thereof, was ascribed, to none other, then the *Seminary Priests*; Who had been nourished, in Forrain Parts, and received Exhibition, from the Bounty, and Almes, of Forrain *Princes*, professed Enemies to this *State*; And who had conversed in such places, where the Name of *Queen Elizabeth*, was never heard but as of an *Heretick*, and *Excommunicate*, and *Accursed Person*; And who, though themselves, (sometimes,) had no hand in *Treason*, yet they were known, to be the intimate Friends, of them that had; And lastly, who by their Arts, and Poysons, had infected, and soured the Masse, and Lump, of the *Catholicks*, which, before, was more Sweet, and Harmlesse, with a new kind of *Leven*, and desperate *Maliciousnesse*; There could no other *Remedy* be devised, but by forbidding such Persons, to enter into this *Kingdome*,

dome, upon pain of their *Lives:* Which, at laſt, in the 27th. year of her *Raign*, was done accordingly. Nay, and when the event it ſelf, had confirmed this to be true; (I mean, immediatly after that the dreadfull Tempeſt, aroſe from *Spain*, threatning no leſſe then utter deſolation;) yet did it nothing mollifie, or turn, the edge, of theſe Mens, Mallice, and Fury; but rather whetted it; As if they had caſt off, all Naturall Affection, to their *Country*. As for the Times ſucceeding, (I mean after the Thirtieth year of her *Raign*,) though indeed our Fear of *Spain*, which had been the Spur to this Rigour, had fairely breathed out, or was well abated; yet conſidering the Memory of Times paſt, had made ſo deep Impreſſion, in Mens Hearts, and Cogitations; And that it would have ſeemed, either *Inconſtancy*, to repeal thoſe former *Lawes*, or *Sloath*, to neglect them; The very Conſtitution of Things, did ſuggeſt to the *Queen*, that it was not ſafe, to reduce them unto that State, wherein they had continued, untill the three & twentieth year of her *Raign*. Hereunto may be added, the Induſtry of ſome *Perſons*, in improving the Revenues of the *Exchequer*; And the Zeal of ſome other *Miniſters* of *Juſtice*, which did never think their *Country* ſafe, unleſſe the *Lawes* were rigorouſly executed; All which, did importune, and preſſe, the Execution, of the *Lawes*. Notwithſtanding the *Queen*, for a manifeſt Token, of her *Royall Nature*, did ſo dull, the edge of the *Lawes*, that but a very few *Prieſts*, in reſpect of their Number, did ſuffer death. Now all this, which I have ſaid, is not by way of Defence: For the Matter needes it not: For neither, could this *Kingdom*, have been ſafe without it; Neither were the *Proceedings*, any way, comparable, or of kinn, to thoſe bloody, and unchriſtianly *Maſſacres*, in the *Catholick Countries*; Which proceeded, meerely, from Rancour, and Pride, and not from any neceſſity of *State*. Howſoever, I hope, I have made my firſt *Aſſertion* good; That ſhe was *Moderate* in the Point of *Religion*; And that the *Change*, which happened, was not in her *Nature*, but upon the *Neceſſity* of the *Times*.

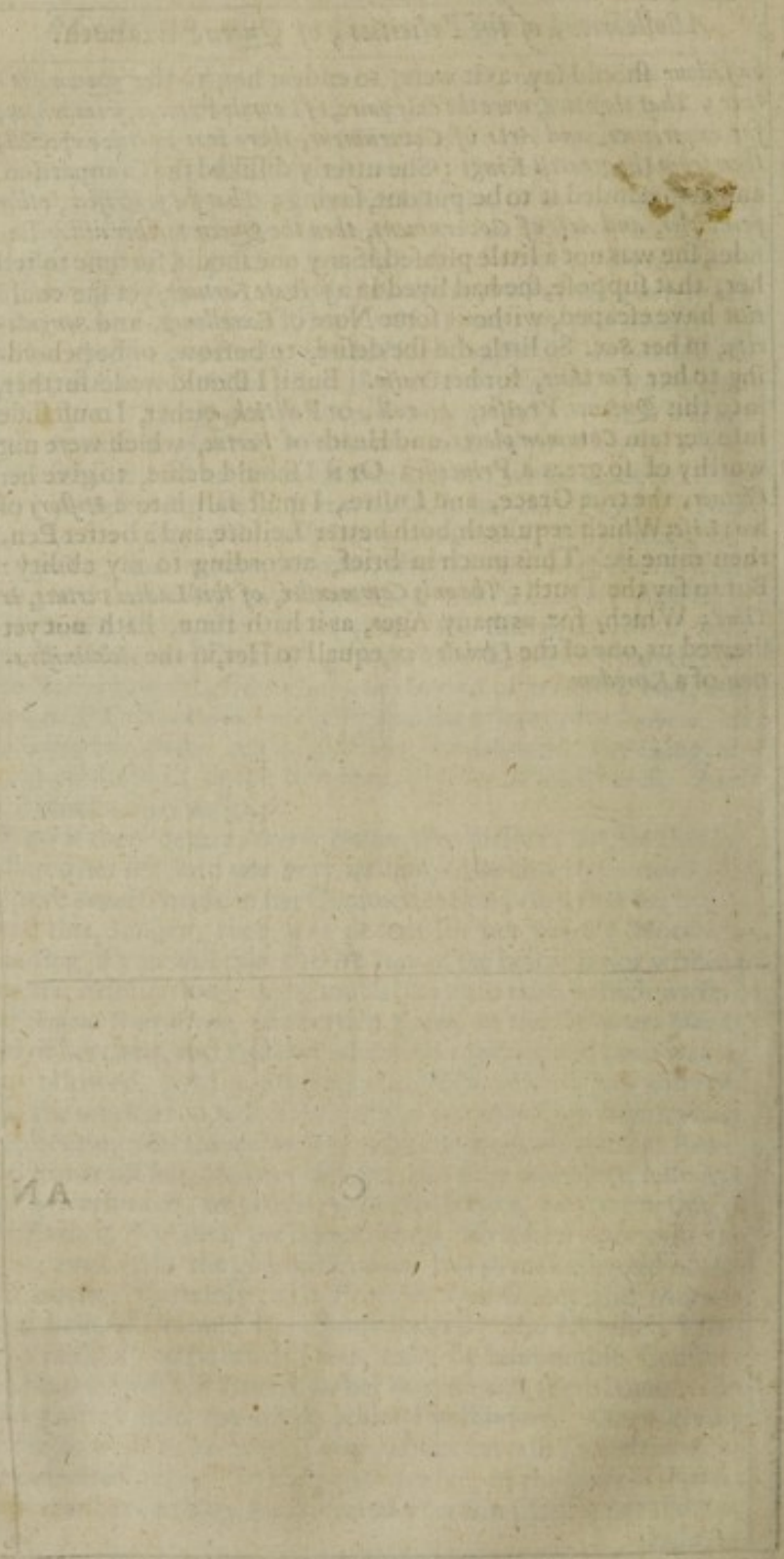
Now for the *Conſtancy*, of *Queen Elizabeth*, in *Religion*, and the obſervance thereof, I know no better Argument then this; That although ſhe found the *Romiſh Religion*, confirmed, in her *Siſters* dayes, by *Act* of *Parliament*; And eſtabliſhed, by all ſtrong, and potent, Meanes, that could be deviſed; And to have taken, deep Root, in this *Kingdom*; And that all thoſe, which had any Authority, or bare Office in the *State*, had ſubſcribed to it; yet for that ſhe ſaw, it was not agreeable, to the *Word* of *God*, nor to the *Primitive Purity*, nor to her own *Conſcience*, ſhe did, with a great deal of Courage, and with the aſſiſtance, of a very few Perſons, quite expell, and aboliſh it. Neither, did ſhe this, by precipitate, and Heady Courſes, but Timing it wiſely, and ſoberly. And this may well be conjectured, as from the Thing it ſelf, ſo alſo by an *Anſwer* of hers, which ſhe made upon occaſion. For within

within a very few dayes, of her Comming, to the *Crown*, when many *Prisoners*, were released, out of *Prison*; (as the Custome is at the *Inauguration* of a *Prince*;) There came to her, one day, as she was going to *Chappell*, a certain *Courtier*, that had the Liberty of a *Buffone*; And either, out of his own Motion, or by the Instigation, of a wiser Man, presented her with a *Petition*; And before a great number of *Courtiers*, said to her, with a loud voice; *That there were yet four or five Prisoners, unjustly detained in Prison; He came, to be a Suter, to have them set at Liberty: Those were, the four Evangelists, and the Apostle Saint* Paul; *who had been long shut up, in an unknown tongue, as it were in Prison, so as they could not converse, with the common People.* The *Queen* answered very gravely; *That it was best first, to enquire of them, whether they would be set at liberty, or no?* Thus she silenced, an unseasonable *Motion*, with a doubtfull *Answer*; As reserving the Matter wholly, in her own Power. Neither did she bring in this *Alteration*, timorously, or by pieces, but in a grave, and mature, Manner, after a *Conference* betwixt both *Sides*, and the *Calling*, and Conclusion of a *Parliament*. And thus, within the Compasse of one year, she did so establish, and settle, all Matters, belonging to the *Church*, as she departed not, one Haires Breadth, from them, to the end of her Life. Nay, and her usuall Custom was, in the beginning of every *Parliament*, to forewarn the *Houses*, not to question, or innovate, any thing, already established, in the *Discipline*, or *Rites* of the *Church*. And thus much of her *Religion*.

Now if there be any *Severer Nature*, that shall tax her, for that she suffered her self, and was very willing, to be courted, wooed, and to have *Sonnets* made in her Commendation; And that she continued this, longer, then was decent for her years; Notwithstanding, if you will take this Matter at the best, it is not without singular Admiration; Being much like unto that, which we find in *Fabulous Narrations*, of a certain *Queen*, in the *Fortunate Islands*, and of her *Court*, and *Fashions*, where *Faire purpose*, and *Love-making* was allowed, but *Lascivionesse* banished: But if you will take it at the worst, even, so it amounteth, to a more high Admiration; Considering that these *Courtships*, did not much eclipse her *Fame*, and not at all her *Majesty*; Neither, did they make her, lesse Apt for Government, or check, with the affaires, and businesses, of the *Publick*. For such passages as these, do often entertain the time, even with the greatest *Princes*. But to make an end of this Discourse. Certainly, this *Princesse* was Good, and Morall: And such, she would be acknowledged: She Detested Vice; And desired, to purchase Fame, only by honourable Courses: And indeed, whilest I mention her *Morall Parts*, there comes a certain passage into my mind, which I will insert. Once, giving order, to write to her *Embassadour*, about certain Instructions, to be delivered, apart, to the *Queen Mother*, of the *House* of *Valois*; And that her *Secretary*, had inserted a certain Clause, that the *Embassadour*

*baſſadour* ſhould ſay, as it were, to endear her, to the *Queen Mother*; *That they two, were the only paire, of Female Princes, from whom, for experience, and Arts of Government, there was no leſſe expected, then from the greateſt Kings*: She utterly diſliked the Compariſon, and commanded it to be put out, ſaying; *That ſhe practiſed, other principles, and Arts of Government, then the Queen Mother did.* Beſides, ſhe was not a little pleaſed, if any one ſhould fortune to tell her, that ſuppoſe, ſhe had lived in a *private Fortune*, yet ſhe could not have eſcaped, without ſome Note of *Excellency*, and *Singularity*, in her *Sex*. So little did ſhe deſire, to borrow, or be beholding to her *Fortune*, for her *Praiſe*. But if I ſhould wade further, into this *Queenes* Praiſes, *Morall*, or *Politick*, either, I muſt ſlide into certain *Common places*, and Heads of *Vertue*, which were not worthy of ſo great a *Princeſſe*; Or if I ſhould deſire, to give her *Vertues*, the true Grace, and Luſtre, I muſt fall into a *Hiſtory* of her *Life*; Which requireth, both better Leiſure, and a better Pen, then mine is. Thus much in brief, according to my ability: But to ſay the Truth; *The only Commender, of this Ladies vertues, is Time*; Which, for as many Ages, as it hath runn, hath not yet ſhewed us, one of the *Female Sex*, equall to Her, in the *Adminiſtration*, of a *Kingdom*.

C AN



SEVERAL

# DISCOURSES

Written, in the Dayes

OF

# KING JAMES,

Whereof, some of them,

PRESENTED

TO

His Maiestie.

BEING,

{ *A brief Discourse, of the Union, of* England *and* Scotland.
{ *Articles, and Considerations, touching the Union, aforesaid.*
*A Beginning of the History of Great Britain.*
*A Letter, and Discourse, to Sir* Henry Savill, *touching Helps, for the intellectuall Powers.*
*Certain Considerations, touching the better Pacification, & Edification, of the Church of* England.
*Certain Considerations, touching the Plantation, in* Ireland.
*Advice to the King, touching* Suttons *Estate.*
*A Propositon, to the King, touching the Compiling and Amendment, of the Lawes of* England.
*A Fragment, of an Essay, of Fame.*

By the Right Honourable

*FRANCIS BACON,*

Baron of *Verulam*, Viscount Saint *Alban.*

*LONDON,*
Printed by *S. Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Fleetstreet*, at the signe of the Turks head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.

SEVERALL

DISCOURSES

Written in the Days

OF

KING JAMES

Of Blessed Memory.

PUBLISHED

By His Majestie's

Command.

LONDON,

Printed by FRANCIS BACON

Printer to His Majesty.

A BRIEFE

# DISCOURSE,

## Of the Happy

# UNION,

OF THE

# KINGDOMES,

OF

*ENGLAND*, and *SCOTLAND*;

Dedicated, in Private,

TO

HIS MAJESTY.

I Do not find it ſtrange, (excellent *King*,) that when *Heraclitus*, (he that was ſurnamed, the *Obſcure*,) had ſet forth a certain *Book*, (which is not now extant,) many Men took it, for a *Diſcourſe* of *Nature*; And many others took it, for a *Treatiſe* of *Pollicy*. For there is a great Affinity, and Conſent, between the *Rules* of *Nature*, and the true *Rules* of *Pollicy*: The one being nothing elſe, but an Order, in the Government, of the *World*; And the other, an Order, in the Government, of an *Eſtate*. And therefore the Education, and Erudition, of the *Kings* of *Perſia*, was in a *Science*, which was termed, by a Name then, of great

great Reverence; but now degenerate, and taken in the ill part. For the *Perſian Magick*, which was the ſecret Literature of their *Kings*, was an Application, of the Contemplations, and *Obſervations* of *Nature*, unto a ſenſe *Politick*; Taking the *Fundamentall Lawes* of *Nature*, and the Branches, and Paſſages of them, as an Originall, or firſt Modell, whence to take, and deſcribe, a Coppy, and Imitation, for Government.

After this manner, the foreſaid *Inſtructours*, ſet before their *Kings*, the Examples of the *Celeſtiall Bodies*; The *Sun*, the *Moon*, and the reſt; which have great Glory, and veneration, but no Reſt, or Intermiſſion: Being in a perpetuall Office of Motion, for the Cheriſhing, (in turn, and in Courſe,) of *Inferiour Bodies*: Expreſſing, likewiſe, the true manner, of the Motions, of *Government*; which, though they ought to be, Swift, and Rapide, in reſpect of Diſpatch, and Occaſions; yet are they to be, Conſtant, and Regular, without Wavering, or Confuſion.

So did they repreſent unto them, how the *Heavens*, do not enrich themſelves, by the *Earth*, and the *Seas*; Nor keep no dead Stock, nor untouched Treaſures, of that they draw to them, from below; But whatſoever Moiſture, they do levy, and take, from both *Elements*, in *Vapours*, they do ſpend, and turn back again, in *Showers*; Onely holding, and ſtoring them up, for a time, to the End, to iſſue, and diſtribute them, in Seaſon.

But, chiefly, they did expreſſe, and expound unto them, that *Fundamentall Law* of *Nature*; whereby all things do ſubſiſt, and are preſerved: which is, that every Thing in *Nature*; although it hath his private, and particular, Affection, and Appetite; And doth follow, and purſue the ſame, in ſmall Moments; And when it is free, and delivered, from more generall, and common, Reſpects; yet, nevertheleſſe, when there is Queſtion, or Caſe, for Suſtaining of the more General, they forſake their own *Particularities*, and attend, and conſpire, to uphold the *publick*.

So we ſee, the *Iron*, in ſmall Quantity, will aſcend, and approach, to the *Load-ſtone*, upon a particular Sympathy: But if it be, any Quantity of moment, it leaveth his Appetite, of Amity to the *Loadſtone*, and like a good *Patriott*, falleth to the *Earth*; which is the *Place*, and *Region*, of *Maſſy Bodies*.

So again the *Water*, and other like *Bodies*, do fall, towards the *Center* of the *Earth*; which is, (as was ſaid,) their *Region*, or *Countrey*: And yet we ſee, nothing more uſuall, in all *Water Works*, and *Engines*, then that the *Water*, (rather then to ſuffer any *Diſtraction*, or *Diſunion*, in Nature) will aſcend, Forſaking the Love, to his own Region, or Countrey, and applying it ſelf, to the Body, next adjoyning.

But it were, too long a Digreſſion, to proceed, to more Examples, of this Kind. Your *Majeſty*, your ſelf, did fall, upon a Paſſage, of this Nature, in your *gracious ſpeech* of *Thanks* unto your *Counſell*; when acknowledging, Princely, their Vigilancies, and

well

well Deſervings, it pleaſed you to note, that it was a ſucceſſe, and Event, above the Courſe of *Nature*, to have ſo great *Change*, with ſo great a *Quiet*. Foraſmuch, as ſudden *Mutations*, as well in *State*, as in *Nature*, are rarely, without violence, and perturbation. So as ſtill I conclude, there is, (as was ſaid,) a Congruity, between the *Principles* of *Nature*, and *Policy*. And leſt that *Inſtance*, may ſeem to oppone, to this Aſſertion, I may, even in that particular, with your *Majeſties* favour, offer unto you, a Type, or Pattern in Nature, much reſembling, this Event, in your State; Namely *Earthquakes*, which many of them, bring ever, much Terrour, and wonder, but no Actuall Hurt; The *Earth* trembling for a Moment, and ſuddenly ſtabliſhing, in perfect Quiet, as it was before.

This *Knowledge* then, of making, the *Government* of the *World*, a *Mirrour*, for the *Government* of a *State*, being a Wiſdome almoſt loſt, (Whereof the Reaſon, I take to be, becauſe of the Difficulty, for one Man, to embrace both Philoſophies;) I have thought good, to make ſome proof, (as far as my weakneſſe, and the Straights, of Time, will ſuffer,) to, revive, in the Handling, of one particular, wherewith now I moſt humbly preſent your *Majeſty*: For ſurely, as hath been ſaid, it is a *Form* of *Diſcourſe*, anciently uſed towards *Kings*; And to what *King*, ſhould it be more proper, then to a *King* that is ſtvdious, to conjoyn contemplative Vertue, and Active Vertue together?

Your *Majeſty*, is the firſt *King*, that had the Honour, to be *Lapis Angularis*, to unite, theſe two Mighty, and warlike, *Nations*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, under one *Soveraignty*, and *Monarchy*. It doth not appear, by the Records, and Memories, of any *true Hiſtory*; Or ſcarcely by the Fiction, and Pleaſure, of any *Fabulous Narration*, or *Tradition*; That ever, of any Antiquity, this *Iſland*, of *Great Brittain*, was united, under one *King*, before this day. And yet there be no *Mountains*, nor *Races*, of *Hills*; There be no *Seas*, or *great Rivers*; There is no *Diverſity*, of Tongue, or *Language*, that hath invited, or provoked, this ancient ſeparation, or Divorce. The Lot of *Spain* was, to have the ſeverall *Kingdoms*, of that Continent, (*Portugall* onely except,) to be united, in an Age, not long paſt; And now, in our Age, that of *Portugall* alſo, which was the laſt that held out, to be incorporate, with the reſt. The Lot of *France*, hath been, much about the ſametime, likewiſe, to have reannexed, unto that *Crown*, the ſeverall *Dutchies*, and *Portions*, which were in former times, diſmembred. The Lot of this *Iſland*, is the laſt, reſerved for your *Majeſties* happy times, by the ſpeciall Providence, and Favour, of *God*; who hath brought your *Majeſty*, to this happy Conjunction, with great Conſent of Hearts, and in the ſtrength of your years, and in the Maturity of your Experience. It reſteth, but that, (as I promiſed,) I ſet before your *Majeſties* Princely Conſideration, the *Grounds* of *Nature*, touching the *Vnion*, and *Commixture*

*mixture*, of *Bodies*; And the *Correspondence*, which they have, with the *Grounds of Policy*, in the *Conjunction*, of *States*, and *Kingdoms*.

First, therefore, that *Position*; *Vis unita fortior*; Being one of the common Notions of the Mind, needeth not much, to be induced, or illustrate.

We see the *Sunne*, when he entreth, and while he continueth, under the *sign* of *Leo*, causeth more vehement Heats, then when he is in *Cancer*; what time, his *Beams*, are, nevertheless, more perpendicular. The Reason whereof, in great part, hath been truly ascribed, to the Conjunction, and Cor-Radi-ation, in that place of *Heaven*, of the *Sunne*, with the four *Stars*, of the *first Magnitude*; *Syrius*, *Canicula*, *Cor Leonis*, and *Cauda Leonis*.

So the *Moon*, likewise, by ancient *Tradition*, while she is in the same *Sign*, of *Leo*, is, said, to be at the *Heart*; which is not, for any Affinity, which that place of *Heaven*, can have, with that part, of Mans Body; But onely, because the *Moon* is then, by reason of the Conjunction, and Nearness, with the Stars aforenamed, in greatest strength of Influence; And so, worketh upon that part, in *Inferiour Bodies*, which is most *Vitall*, and *Principall*.

So we see, *Waters*, and *Liquours*, in small Quantity, do, easily, putrifie, and corrupt; but in large Quantity, subsist long, by reason, of the Strength, they receive, by *Union*.

So in *Earthquakes*, the more generall, do little hurt, by reason, of the *united* weight, which they offer to subvert; but narrow, and particular, *Earthquakes*, have, many times, overturned, whole *Towns*, and *Cities*.

So then, this *Point*, touching the Force of *Union*, is evident. And therefore, it is more fit, to speak, of the *Manner* of *Union*: wherein, again, it will not be pertinent, to handle one *Kind* of Union, which is *Union* by *Victory*, when one Body, doth, meerly, subdue another, and converteth the same, into his own Nature; Extinguishing, and Expulsing, what part soever of it, it cannot overcome. As when the *Fire* converteth the *Wood*, into Fire, purging away the *Smoak*, and the *Ashes*, as unapt Matter to enflame: Or when the *Body*, of a *Living Creature*, doth convert, and assimilate, *Food*, and *Nourishment*, purging, and expelling, whatsoever it cannot convert For these Representations, do answer, in matter of *Policy*, to *Union* of *Countries*, by *Conquest*; where the *Conquering State*, doth extinguish, extirpate, and expulse, any part of the *State Conquered*, which it findeth so contrary, as it cannot alter, and convert it. And therefore, leaving *violent Unions*, we will consider, onely, of *Naturall Unions*.

The *Difference* is excellent, which the best *Observers*, in *Nature*, do take, between *Compositio*, and *Mistio*; *Putting together*, and *Mingling*: The one, being but a Conjunction, of Bodies, in place, the other, in Quality, and Consent: The one, the Mother of Sedition, and Alteration, The other, of Peace, and

Continuance

Continuance: The one, rather a *Confusion*, then an *Union*, the other, properly, an *Union*. Therefore, we see, those Bodies, which they call *Imperfectè mista*, last not, but are speedily dissolved. For take, for Example, *Snow* or *Froath*, which are *Compositions*, of *Air*, and *Water*; And in them, you may behold, how easily they sever, and dissolve, the *Water*, closing together, and excluding the *Air*.

So those three *Bodies*, which the *Alchymists* do so much celebrate, as the three *Principles* of *Things*; That is to say; *Earth*, *Water*, and *Oyl*; (which it pleaseth them to term, *Salt*, *Mercury*, and *Sulphur*;) we see, if they be united, onely, by *Composition*, or putting together, how weakly, and rudely, they do incorporate: For *Water*, and *Earth*, maketh, but an unperfect slime: And if they be forced together, by *Agitation*, yet upon a little setling, the *Earth* resideth in the Bottome. So *Water*, and *Oyl*, though by *Agitation*, it be brought into an *Ointment*, yet after a little setling, the *Oil* will float on the Top: So as such *Imperfect Mistures*, continue no longer, then they are forced; And still, in the end, the worthiest getteth above.

But otherwise it is, of *perfect Mistures*. For we see, these three *Bodies*, of *Earth*, *Water*, and *Oil*, when they are joyned, in a *Vegetable*, or *Minerall*, they are so united, as without great subtilty of *Art*, and Force of *Extraction*, they cannot be separated, and reduced, into the same *simple Bodies*, again. So as the Difference, between *Compositio*, and *Mistio*, clearly set down, is this: That *Compositio*, is the Joyning, or putting together, of *Bodies*, without a new *Form*; And *Mistio*, is the Joyning, or putting together, of *Bodies*, under a new *Form*. For the new *Form*, is *Commune Vinculum*: And without that the old *Forms*, will be at Strife, and Discord.

Now to reflect, this *Light* of *Nature*, upon *Matter*, of *Estate*: There hath been, put in practise, in *Government*, these two severall kinds, of *Pollicy* in *Uniting*, and *Conjoyning*, of *States*, and *Kingdoms*: The one to retain the ancient *Form*, still severed, and onely conjoyned in *Soveraignty*: The other, to super induce a new *Form*, agreeable, and convenient, to the *entire Estate*. The former of these, hath been more usuall, and is more Easie; but the latter is more Happy. For if a Man, do attentively revolve, *Histories* of all *Nations*, and judge truly thereupon, he will make this *Conclusion*: That there was never any *States*, that were good *Commixtures*, but the *Romans*. Which, because it was the best *State* of the *World*, and is the best *Example* of this *Point*, we will chiefly insist thereupon.

In the *Antiquities* of *Rome*, *Virgill* bringeth in *Jupiter*, by way of *Oracle*, or *Prediction*, speaking of the *Mixture*, of the *Trojans*, and the *Italians*.

*Sermonem* Ausonii *Patrium, moresque tenebant,*
*Utque est Nomen erit; Commixti Corpore tantum,*
*Subsident* Teucri, *Morem, Ritusque Sacrorum,*
*Adjiciam; faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos.*
*Hinc Genus* Ausonio *mistum, quod sanguine surget,*
*Supra* Homines, *supra ire* Deos, *pietate videbis.*

Wherein, *Jupiter*, maketh a kind of Partition, or Distribution; That, *Italy* should give the *Language*, and the *Lawes*; *Troy* should give a *Mixture*, of *Men*, and some *Religious Rites*; And both *People*, should meet in one Name, of *Latines*.

Soon after the *Foundation*, of the *City of Rome*, the *People* of the *Romans*, and the *Sabines*, mingled, upon equall Terms. Wherein, the Interchange, went so even, that, (as *Livy* noteth,) the one *Nation* gave the Name, to the Place, the other to the *People*. For *Rome* continued the *Name*, but the people were called *Quirites*; which was the *Sabine* word, derived of *Cures*, the Countrey of *Tatius*.

But that, which is chiefly to be noted, in the whole Continuance, of the *Romane Government*; they were so liberall, of their *Naturalizations*, as, in effect, they made perpetuall *Mixtures*. For the manner was, to grant the same, not onely to *particular persons*, but to *Families*, and *Lineages*; And not onely so, but to whole *Cities*, and *Countries*. So as, in the end, it came to that, that *Rome* was *Communis Patria*, as some of the *Civilians* call it.

So we read of Saint *Paul*, after he had been beaten with Rods, and thereupon charged the *Officer*, with the violation, of the Priviledge, of a *Cittizen*, of *Rome*; The *Captain* said to him; *Art thou then a Romane? That Priviledge hath cost me dear.* To whom Saint *Paul* replied; *But I was so born*, And yet, in another place, Saint *Paul*, professeth himself, that he was a *Jew*, by *Tribe*: So as it is manifest, that some of his Ancestors, were naturalized; and so it was conveyed to him, and their other Descendants.

So we read, that it was one, of the first Despites, that was done, to *Julius Cæsar*; That whereas he had obtained *Naturalization*, for a *City* in *Gaule*, one of the *City* was beaten with *Rods*, of the *Consul Marcellus*.

So we read, in *Tacitus*, that in the *Emperour Claudius* time, the *Nation* of *Gaule*, (that part which is called *Comata*, the wilder part,) were Suitours, to be made capable, of the honour, of being *Senatours*, and *Officers*, of *Rome*. His words are these: *Cum de supplendo Senatu agitaretur, primoresque Galliæ, quæ Comata appellatur, fœdera & Civitatem Romanam pridem assecuti, Jus adipiscendorum in urbe Honorum, expeterent; multus, eâ super re, variusque Rumor, & studiis diversis, apud Principem, certabatur.* And in the end, after long debate, it was ruled, they should be admitted.

So likewise, the Authority of *Nicholas Matchiavell*, seemeth not to be contemned; who, enquiring the Causes, of the Growth,

of

of the *Romane Empire*, doth give Judgement; There was not one greater then this; That the State, did so easily compound, and incorporate with strangers.

It is true, that most *Estates*, and *Kingdomes*, have taken the other Course. Of which this effect hath followed; That the Addition, of further *Empire*, and *Territory*, hath been, rather, matter of Burthen, then matter of Strength, unto them: yea and further, it hath kept alive, the Seeds, and Roots, of Revolts, and Rebellions, for many Ages: As we may see, in a fresh, and notable Example, of the *Kingdome*, of *Aragon*: Which, though it were united, to *Castile*, by Marriage, and not by *Conquest*; And so descended in Hereditary Union, by the space of more then an 100. years; yet because it was continued, in a divided Government, and not well Incorporated, and Cemented, with the other *Crowns*; Entred into a Rebellion, upon point of their *Fueros*, or *Liberties*, now of very late years.

Now to speak briefly, of the severall parts, of that form, whereby *States*, and *Kingdomes*, are perfectly united; They are, (besides the *Soveraignty* it self,) four in Number: *Union* in Name; *Union* in *Language*; *Union* in *Lawes*; *Union* in *Employments*.

For *Name*, though it seem, but a superficiall, and Outward Matter, yet it carrieth much Impression, and Enchantment: The Generall, and common Name, of *Grecia* made the *Greeks*, alwaies apt to unite, (though otherwise full of *Divisions*, amongst themselves,) against other *Nations*, whom they called *Barbarous*. The *Helvetian* Name, is no small Band, to knit together, their Leagues, and Confederacies, the faster. The common Name of *Spain*; (no doubt,) hath been, a speciall meanes, of the better union, and Conglutination, of the severall *Kingdomes*, of *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Granada*, *Navarre*, *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, and the rest; Comprehending also now lately *Portugall*.

For *Language*, it is not needful to insist upon it; because both your *Majesties Kingdomes*, are of one *Language*, though of severall *Dialects*; And the Difference, is so small, between them, as promiseth, rather an inriching, of one *Language*, then a continuance of two.

For *Lawes*, which are the Principall Sinnewes of *Government*, they be of three Natures; *Jura*, which I will term *Freedomes*, or *Abilities*; *Leges*; and *Mores*.

For *Abilities*, and *Freedomes*, they were amongst the *Romans*, of four Kinds, or rather Degrees. *Jus Connubii*; *Jus Civitatis*; *Jus Suffragii*; and *Jus Petitionis*, or *Honorum*. *Jus Connubii*, is a thing in these times, out of Use: For *Marriage* is open, between all Diversities, of *Nations*. *Jus Civitatis*, answereth to that, we call *Denization*, or *Naturalization*. *Jus Suffragii*, answereth to the *Voice* in *Parliament*. *Jus Petitionis*, answereth to place in *Counsell*, or *Office*. And the *Romans*, did, many times, sever these *Freedomes*, granting

*Jus Connubii, sine Civitate*; And *Civitatem, sine Suffragio*; And *Suffragium, sine Jure Petitionis*, which was, commonly, with them, the last.

For those, we called *Leges*, it is a Matter of Curiosity, and Inconveniency, to seek, either to extirpate all particular Customes; Or to draw all *Subjects*, to one Place, or resort, of *Judicature*, and *Session*. It sufficeth, there be an Uniformity, in the Principall, and Fundamentall *Lawes*, both *Ecclesiasticall*, and *Civill*: For in this Point, the Rule holdeth, which was pronounced by an Ancient Father, touching the Diversity, of *Rites*, in the *Church*: For finding the *Vesture*, of the *Queen*, in the *Psalm*, (which did prefigure the *Church*,) was of divers Colours; And finding again, that Christs Coat, was without a seam, he concludeth well; *In veste varietas sit, Scissura non sit.*

For *Manners*, a Consent in them, is to be sought industriously, but not to be enforced: For Nothing amongst People, breedeth so much pertinacy, in holding their Customes, as suddain, and violent, offer to remove them.

And as for *Employments*, it is no more, but in indifferent Hand, and Execution of that *Verse*;

*Trôs, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*

There remaineth, only, to remember, out of the *Grounds* of *Nature*, the two *Conditions*, of *Perfect mixture*; Whereof the former is Time. For the *Naturall Philosophers* say well; that *Compositio* is *Opus Hominis*; and *Mistio Opus Naturæ*. For it is the Duty of *Man*, to make a fit Application, of Bodies together: But the perfect *Fermentation*, and Incorporation, of them, must be left to *Time*, and *Nature*; And *Unnaturall Hasting* thereof, doth disturb the work, and not dispatch it.

So we see, after the *Graft*, is put into the *Stock*, and bound, it must be left to *Time*, and *Nature*, to make that *Continuum*, which, at the first, was but *Contiguum*. And it is not any continuall pressing, or Thrusting together, that will prevent *Natures* season, but rather hinder it. And so in *Liquours*, those *Commixtures*, which are at the first, troubled, grow after, clear, and setled, by the benefit, of Rest, and Time.

The Second *Condition* is; That the greater draw the lesse. So we see, when two *Lights* do meet, the greater, doth darken, and, dim the lesse. And when a smaller *River*, runneth into a greater, it looseth both his *Name*, and *Stream*. And hereof, to conclude, we see an excellent Example, in the *Kingdomes*, of *Judah*, and *Israel*. The *Kingdom* of *Judah*, contained Two *Tribes*; The *Kingdom*, of *Israel*, contained Ten: *King David*, raigned, over *Judah*, for certain years; And after the Death of *Isbosheth*, the Son of *Saul*, obtained, likewise, the *Kingdom* of *Israell*. This Union continued in him, & likewise in his Son *Salomon*, by the space of 70. years, at least, between them both: But yet, because the Seat, of the *Kingdom*,

was kept still in *Judah*, and so the lesse sought to draw the greater; upon the first occasion offered, the *Kingdomes* brake again, and so continued ever after.

Thus having, in all Humblenesse, made Oblation, to your *Majesty*, of these simple Fruits, of my *Devotion*, and *Studies*; I do wish, and do wish it, not in the Nature, of an Impossibility, (to my Apprehension;) That this happy *Union*, of your *Majesties* two *Kingdomes* of *England*, and *Scotland*, may be in as good an Houre, and under the like *Divine Providence*, as that was, between the *Romans*, and the *Sabines*.

CERTAIN

CERTAIN

# ARTICLES,

OR,

# CONSIDERATIONS,

TOUCHING THE

# UNION,

OF THE

# KINGDOMES,

OF

*ENGLAND*, and *SCOTLAND*;

Collected, and disperſed, for His *MAJESTIES* better Service.

YOUR *Majeſty*, being, (I do not doubt,) directed, and conducted, by a better *Oracle*, then that, which was given for Light, to *Æneas*, in his Peregrination; (*Antiquam exquirite Matrem*;) hath a *Royall*, and, indeed, an *Heroicall*, *Deſire*, to reduce theſe two *Kingdomes*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, into the Unity, of their Ancient *Mother Kingdome* of *Britain*. Wherein, as I would gladly applaud unto your *Majeſty*, or ſing aloud that *Hymne*, or Antheme; *Sic itur ad Aſtra*; So, in a more ſoft, and ſubmiſſe, voice, I muſt, neceſ-

neceſſarily, remember, unto your *Majeſty*, that Warning, or Caveat; *Ardua, quæ Pulchra*; It is an Action, that requireth, yea, and needeth much, not only of your *Majeſties Wiſedome*, but of your *Felicity*. In this Argument, I preſumed, at your *Majeſties* firſt Entrance, to write a few Lines, indeed Scholaſtically, and Speculatively, and not Actively, or Politickly, as I held it fit for me, at that time; when neither your *Majeſty*, was, in that your deſire, declared; Nor my ſelf, in that Service, uſed, or truſted. But now that both your *Majeſty*, hath opened your deſire, and purpoſe, with much Admiration, even of thoſe, who give it not, ſo full an Approbation; And that my ſelf, was, by the *Commons*, graced, with the firſt Vote, of all the *Commons*, Selected, for that Cauſe; Not in any Eſtimation of my Ability, (For therein ſo wiſe an *Aſſembly* could not be ſo much deceived,) but in an acknowledgement, of my Extream Labours, and Integrity, in that Buſineſſe; I thought my ſelf, every wayes bound; Both in Duty to your *Majeſty*; And in truſt, to that *Houſe* of *Parliament*; And in Conſent to the Matter it ſelf; And in Conformity, to mine own Travailes, and Beginnings; Not to neglect, any paines, that may tend, to the furtherance, of ſo excellent a work: Wherein I will endeavour, that that, which I ſhall ſet down, be *Nihil minus quam verba*: For Length, and Ornament, of Speech, are to be uſed, for perſwaſion of *Multitudes*, and not for Information of *Kings*: eſpecially, ſuch a *King*, as is the only inſtance, that ever I knew, to make a Man of *Plato's* Opinion, *That all Knowledge is but Remembrance*; And that the *Mind* of *Man*, knoweth all Things, and demandeth only, to have her own *Notions*, excited, and awaked. Which your *Majeſties* rare, and indeed ſingular, Gift, and faculty, of ſwift Apprehenſion, and infinite Expanſion, or Multiplication, of another Mans Knowledge, by your own, as I have often obſerved, ſo I did extreamly admire in *Goodwins Cauſe*, Being a matter full of Secrets, and Myſteries, of our Lawes, meerly new unto you, and quite out of the Path of your Education, Reading, and Conference: Wherein, nevertheleſſe, upon a Spark of Light given, your *Majeſty* took in ſo Dexterouſly, and Profoundly, as if you had been indeed *Anima Legis*; Not only in Execution, but in underſtanding: The Remembrance whereof, as it will never be out of my mind, ſo it will alwayes be a warning to me, to ſeek rather to excite your Judgement briefly, then to enform it tediouſly; And if in a Matter, of that Nature, how much more in this, wherein your *Princely Cogitations* have wrought themſelves, and been converſant; And wherein, the principall Light, proceeded from your ſelf.

And, therefore, my Purpoſe is, onely to break, this Matter, of the *Union*, into certain ſhort *Articles*, and *Queſtions*; And to make, a certain kind, of *Anatomy*, or *Analyſis*, of the Parts, and Members thereof; Not that I am of Opinion, that all the *Queſtions*, which I now ſhall Open, were fit to be, in the Conſultation, of the *Commiſſioners*,

*missioners*, propounded. For I hold nothing, so great an Enemy, to good Resolution, as the Making, of too many Questions; Specially in *Assemblies*, which consist of many. For *Princes*, for Avoyding of Distraction, must take many Things by way of Admittance; And if *Questions*, must be made of them, rather to suffer them, to arise from others, then to grace them, and authorize them, as propounded from themselves. But unto your *Majesties* private Consideration, to whom it may better sort with me, rather to speak as a *Remembrancer*, then as a *Counceller*; I have thought good, to lay before you, all the *Branches*, *Lineaments*, and *Degrees*, of this *Union*; that upon the *View*, and Consideration, of them, and their Circumstances, your *Majesty* may the more clearly discern, and more readily call to mind, which of them is to be embraced, and which to be rejected; And of these, which are to be accepted, which of them is presently to be proceeded in, and which to be put over to further time; And again, which of them, shall require *Authority* of *Parliament*, and which are fitter, to be effected, by your *Majesties Royall Power*, and *Prerogative*, or by other Pollicies, or Means; And lastly, which of them, is liker to Passe, with Difficulty, and Contradiction, and which, with more Facility, and Smoothnesse.

First therefore, to begin with that *Question*, that I suppose will be out of question.

Statutes concerning *Scotland*, and the Scotish Nation.

Whether it be not meet, that the Statutes, which were made touching *Scotland*, or the *Scottish Nation*, while the *Kingdomes* stood severed, be repealed?

It is true, there is a Diversity in these; For some of these *Lawes*, consider *Scotland* as an Enemy Countrey; Other Lawes consider it, as a Forrain Countrey onely: As for *Example*, the Law of *Rich.* 2. *Anno* 7°, which Prohibiteth, all Armour, or Victuall, to be carried to *Scotland*; And the Law of 7° of *K. H.* the 7. that Enacteth, all the *Scottish* Men, to depart the Realm, within a time prefixed; Both these *Lawes*, and some others, respect *Scotland*, as a countrey of hostility: But the of *Law* of 22 of *Ed.* 4, that endueth *Barwick*, with the Liberty, of a *Staple*, where all *Scottish Merchandizes*, should resort, that should be uttred for *England*: And likewise all *English Merchandizes*, that should be uttered for *Scotland*; This *Law* beholdeth *Scotland*, onely, as a *Forrain Nation*; And not so much neither; For there have been erected, *Staples*, in Towns of *England*, for some Commodities, with an Exclusion, and Restriction, of other Parts, of *England*.

Lawes, Customes, Commissions, Officers, of the Borders, or Marches.

But this is a Matter of the least Difficulty; your *Mesty*, shall have a *Calender* made, of the *Lawes*, and a *Brief* of the Effect; And so you may judge of them: And the like, or Reciproque, is to be done by *Scotland*, for such *Lawes*, as they have concerning *England*, and the *English Nation*.

The Second Question is, what Lawes, Customes, Commissions,

ons, Officers, Garrisons, and the like, are to be put down, discontinued, or taken away, upon the Borders of both Realms.

This *Point*, becauſe I am not acquainted, with the *Orders* of the *Marches*, I can ſay the leſſe.

Herein falleth that *Queſtion*, whether that the *Tennants*, who hold their *Tennant Rights*, in a greater Freedome, and Exemption, in Conſideration of their Service, upon the *Borders*; And that the *Countreys* themſelves, which are, in the ſame reſpect, diſcharged, of *Subſidies*, and *Taxes*; ſhould not now be brought, to be, in one degree, with other *Tennants*, and *Countreys*; *Nam ceſſante cauſâ tollitur Effectus*; Wherein, in my Opinion, ſome time would be given; *Quia adhùc eorum Meſſis in Herbâ eſt*: But ſome preſent *Ordinance*, would be made, to take effect, at a future time; conſidering, it is one of the greateſt *Points*, and *Marks*, of the Diviſion, of the *Kingdomes*. And becauſe Reaſon doth dictate, that where the Principall Solution of Continuity was, there the Healing, and Conſolidating Plaiſter, ſhould be chiefly applyed; There would be ſome further Device, for the utter, and perpetuall, Confounding, of thoſe *Imaginary Bounds*, (as your *Majeſty* termeth them;) And therefore, it would be conſidered, whether it were not convenient, to Plant, and Erect, at *Carleil*, or *Barwick*, ſome *Counſell*, or *Court* of *Juſtice*, the *Juriſdiction* whereof, might extend, part into *England*, and part into *Scotland*; With a *Commiſſion*, not to proceed preciſely, or meerly, according to the *Lawes*, and *Cuſtomes*, either of *England*, or *Scotland*; But mixtly, according to Inſtructions, by your *Majeſty*, to be ſet down, after the Imitation, and Precedent, of the *Counſell*, of the *Marches*, here in *England*, Erected, upon the *Union*, of *Wales*.

The third *Queſtion* is that, which many will make a great *Queſtion* of, though, perhaps, your *Majeſty*, will make no *Queſtion* of it; And that is, Whether your *Majeſty*, ſhould not make, a ſtop, or ſtand here, and not to proceed, to any further *Union*; Contenting your Self, with the two former *Articles*, or *Points*.

Further Union beſides the Removing of Inconvenient and diſſenting Lawes and Uſages.

For it will be ſaid, That we are now well, (thanks be to *God*;) And your *Majeſty*, and the *State*, of neither *Kingdome*, is to be repented of; And that it is true, which *Hippocrates* ſaith; That, *Sana Corpora difficilè medicationes ferunt*: It is better, to make Alterations, in ſick Bodies, then in ſound. The *Conſideration* of which *Point*, will reſt upon theſe two *Branches*: What *Inconveniencies* will enſue, with time, if the *Realmes* ſtand, as they are, divided, which are yet not found, nor ſprung up. For it may be, the ſweetneſſe, of your *Majeſties* firſt Entrance, and the great Benefit, that both *Nations* have felt thereby, hath covered many *Inconveniencies*; Which, nevertheleſſe, be your *Majeſties* Government, never ſo gracious, and Pollitick, Continuance of Time, and the Accidents of Time, may breed, and diſcover, if the *Kingdomes* ſtand divided.

The Second *Branch* is; Allow no manifeſt, or important, Perill, or *Inconvenience*, ſhould enſue, of the Continuing of the *Kingdomes* Divided; yet, on the other Side, whether that, upon the further *Uniting* of them, there be not like to follow, that Addition, and Encreaſe, of Wealth, and Reputation, as is worthy your *Majeſties* Vertues, and Fortune, to be the Authour, and Founder of, for the Advancement, and Exaltation of *Your Majeſties Royall Poſterity*, in time to come.

Points wherein the Nations ſtand already united.

But admitting, that your *Majeſty* ſhould proceed, to this more perfect, and entire, *Union*; Wherein your *Majeſty* may ſay, *Majus Opus moveo*; To enter, into the *Parts*, and *Degrees* thereof, I think fit, firſt, to ſet down, as in a brief *Table*, in what Points, the *Nations*, ſtand now, at this preſent time, already *united*; And in what *Points*, yet ſtill ſevered, and divided; that your *Majeſty* may the better ſee, what is done, and what is to be done; And how that which is to be done, is to be inferred, upon that which is done.

The *Points*, wherein the *Nations*, ſtand already united, are;

In *Soveraignty*.
In the *Relative* thereof, which is *Subjection*.
In *Religion*.
In *Continent*.
In *Language*.

And now, laſtly, by the Peace, by your *Majeſty* concluded, with *Spain* In *Leagues*, and *Confederacies*; For now, both *Nations*, have the ſame Friends, and the ſame Enemies.

Yet notwithſtanding, there is none of the ſix *Points*, wherein the *Union*, is perfect, and Conſummate; But every of them, hath ſome ſcruple, or rather Grain of ſeparation, enwrapped, and included in them.

Soveraignty; Line Royall.

For the *Soveraignty*, the *Union* is abſolute in your *Majeſty*, and your *Generation*; But if it ſhould ſo be, (which *God*, of his infinite Mercy, defend,) that your Iſſue ſhould fail, then the Deſcent, of both *Realmes*, doth reſort to the ſeverall *Lines*, of the Severall *Blouds Royall*.

Subjection Obedience.

Alien Naturalization

For *Subjection*, I take the Law of *England*, to be clear, (what the Law of *Scotland*, is I know not;) That all *Scottiſhmen*, from the very Inſtant of your *Majeſties Raign* begun, are become *Denizons*; And the *Poſt-Nati*, are naturaliz'd Subjects, of *England*, for the time forwards: For, by our *Lawes*, none can be an *Alien*, but he that is, of another Allegeance, then our *Soveraign Lord the King*; For there be but two Sorts of *Aliens*, whereof we find mention in our *Law*; An *Alien Ami*, and an *Alien Enemy*: Whereof the former, is a *Subject*, of a *State*, in *Amity* with the

the *King*, And the latter, a *Subject*, of a *State*, in *Hoſtility*: But whether he be one, or other, it is an Eſſentiall Difference, unto the Definition of an *Alien*, if he be not of the *Kings Allegeance*; As we ſee it evidently, in the precedent of *Ireland*; who ſince they were *Subjects*, to the *Crown*, of *England*, have ever been Inheritable, and capable, as *Naturall Subjects*; And yet, not by any *Statute*, or *Act of Parliament*, but meerly by the *Common Law*, and the Reaſon thereof. So as, there is no doubt, that every *Subject* of *Scotland* was, and is, in like Plight, and Degree, ſince your *Majeſties* Comming in, as if your *Majeſty*, had granted, particularly, your *Letters* of *Denization*, or *Naturalization*, To every of them; And the *Poſt-Nati*, wholly *Naturall*. But then, on the other Side, for the time Back-wards, and for thoſe that were *Ante-Nati*, the *Bloud* is not, by Law, naturalized; So as they cannot take it, by Deſcent, from their *Anceſtours*, without *Act* of *Parliament*. And therefore, in this *Point*, there is a *Defect*, in the *Union*, of *Subjection*.

Religion, Church-Government.

For Matter of *Religion*, the *Union* is perfect, in points of *Doctrine*; but in Matter of *Diſcipline*, and *Government*, it is imperfect.

Continent Borders.

For the *Continent*; It is true, there are no Naturall *Boundaries* of *Mountains*, or *Seas*, or *Navigable Rivers*; But yet there are *Badges*, and *Memorialls*, of *Borders*; Of which Point, I have ſpoken before.

Language, Dialect.

For the *Language*; It is true, the *Nations* are *unius Labii*, and and have not the firſt *Curſe* of Diſunion, which was *Confuſion* of *Tongues*, whereby one underſtood not another. But yet the *Dialect* is differing, and it remaineth, a kind of Mark, of Diſtinction. But for that, *Tempori permittendum*, it is to be left to *Time*: For conſidering, that both *Languages*, do concur, in the principall Office, and Duty, of a *Language*, which is to make a Mans ſelf underſtood; For the reſt, it is rather to be accounted, (as was ſaid) a *Diverſity* of *Dialect*, then of *Language*: and as I ſaid in my firſt *Writing*, it is like to bring forth, the *enriching* of one *Language*, by compounding, and taking in the proper, and ſignificant Words, of either *Tongue*, rather then a Coutinuance, of two *Languages*.

Leagues, Confederacies, Treaties.

For *Leagues*, and *Confederacies*; It is true, that neither Nation, is now in *Hoſtility*, with any *State*, wherewith the other *Nation*, is in *Amity*: but yet ſo, as the *Leagues*, and *Treaties*, have been concluded, with either *Nation*, reſpectively, and not with both, jointly; which may contain, ſome Diverſity of *Articles*, of ſtraitneſs of *Amity*, with one, more then with the other.

But many of theſe Matters, may, perhaps, be of that kind, as may fall within that *Rule*; *In veſte varietas ſit, ſciſſura non ſit.*

Now to deſcend to the particular *Points*, wherein the *Realms*, ſtand, ſevered, and divided, over and beſides, the former

mer six *Points* of *separation*, which I have noted, and placed, as defects, or Abatements, of the six Points of the *Union*; And therfore, shall not need to be repeated. The *Points*, I say yet remaining, I will divide, into *Externall*, and into *Internal*.

Extereall points of the Separation and Union.

The *Externall Points*, therefore, of the *Separation*, are four.

1. The severall *Crowns*; I mean the *Ceremoniall*, and *Materiall*, *Crowns*.
2. The second is, the severall *Names*, *Stiles*, or *Appellations*.
3. The third is, the severall *Prints*, of the *Seals*.
4. The fourth is, the severall *Stamps*, or *Marks* of the *Coins*, or *Monies*.

It is true, that the *Externall*, are, in some respect, and parts, much mingled, and interlaced, with *Considerations Internall*; And that they may be as effectuall, to the rue *Union*, which must be the work of Time, as the *Internall*; Because, they are Operative, upon the Conceits, and Opinions, of the *People*: The *Uniting*, of whose Hearts, and Affections, is the *Life*, and true *End* of this *Work*.

The Ceremoniall or Materiall Crowns.

For the *Ceremoniall Crowns*, the Question will be, whether there shall be framed, one, new, Imperiall Crown, of *Britain*, to be used for the times to come?

Also, admitting that to be thought Convenient, whether in the Frame thereof, there shall not be some Reference, to the *Crowns*, of *Ireland*, and *France*.

Also, whether your *Majesty*, should repeat, or iterate, your own *Coronation*, and your *Queens*; or onely ordain, that such new *Crown*, shall be used, by your *Posterity*, hereafter.

The *Difficulties* will be, in the Conceit, of some *Inequality*, whereby the *Realm* of *Scotland*, may be thought, to be made an Accession, unto the *Realm* of *England*. But that resteth in some Circumstances: for the *Compounding*, of the two *Crowns*, is equall; The *Calling* of the new *Crown*, the *Crown* of *Brittain* is equall. Onely the *Place* of *Coronation*, if it shall be at *Westminster*, which is the *Ancient*, *August*, and *Sacred place*, for the *Kings* of *England*, may seem to make an *Inequality*: And again, if the *Crown* of *Scotland*, be discontinued, then that *Ceremony*, which, I hear, is used in the *Parliament*, of *Scotland*; in the absence of the *Kings*, to have the *Crowns* carried in solemnity, must likewise cease.

The Stiles and Names.

For the *Name*, the main Question is, whether the *Contracted Name*, of *Brittain*, shall be, by your *Majesty*, used, or the *Divided Names* of *England*, and *Scotland*.

Admitting there shall be an Alteration, then the Case will require, these Inferiour *Questions*.

First, whether the *Name* of *Brittain*, shall, not onely, be used, in your *Majesties Stile*, where the entire *Stile* is recited; And in all other Forms, the *Divided Names* to remain, both of the *Realms*, and of the People; Or otherwise, that the very *Divided Names*, of *Realms*, and *People*, shall, likwise, be changed,

ged, or turned into ſpecial or ſubdivided *Names*, of the Generall *Name*; That is to ſay, for Example; whether your *Majeſty*, in your *Stile*, ſhall denominate your ſelf, *King of Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*; &c. And yet, nevertheleſſe, in any *Commiſſion*, *Writ*, or otherwiſe, where your *Majeſty* mentioneth, *England*, or *Scotland*, you ſhall retain the ancient *Names*, as *Secundum Conſuetudinem Regni noſtri Angliæ*; or whether, thoſe Divided *Names*, ſhall be, for ever, loſt, and taken away, and turned, into the ſubdiviſions, of *South-Britain*, and *North-Britain*; and the People to be *South-Brittains*, and *North-Brittains*; And ſo, in the Example aforeſaid, the Tenour of the like clauſe, to run, *Secundum Conſuetudinem Britanniæ Auſtralis*.

Alſo, if the former of theſe, ſhall be thought convenient, whether it were not better, for your *Majeſty*, to take, that Alteration of *Stile*, upon you, by *Proclamation*, as *Edward* the *third* did, the *Stile* of *France*, then to have it enacted by *Parliament*.

Alſo in the *Alteration*, of the *Stile*, whether it were not better, to tranſpoſe the *Kingdom*, of *Ireland*, and put it, immediatly, after *Britain*, and ſo place the *Iſlands* together; And the *Kingdom* of *France*, being upon the Continent, laſt: In regard, that theſe *Iſlands*, of the *Weſtern Ocean*, ſeem, by Nature, and Providence, an entire *Empire* in themſelves; And alſo, that there was never *King* of *England*, ſo entirely poſſeſt of *Ireland*, as your *Majeſty* is: So as your Stile, to run, *King* of *Britain*, *Ireland*, and the *Iſlands Adjacent*, and of *France*, &c.

The *Difficulties* in this, have been, already, throughly beaten over, but they gather but to two *Heads*.

The one, Point of *Honour*, and *Love*, to the former *Names*.

The other, *Doubt*, leſt the *Alteration*, of the *Name*, may induce, and involve, an *Alteration* of the *Lawes*, and *Pollicies*, of the *Kingdom*; Both which, if your *Majeſty* ſhall aſſume, the *Stile*, by *Proclamation*, and not by *Parliament*, are in themſelves ſatisfied: For then, the uſuall *Names*, muſt needs remain, in *Writs*, and *Records*; The Formes whereof, cannot be altered, but by *Act* of *Parliament*; And ſo the point of Honour ſatisfied. And again, your *Proclamation* altereth no *Law*; And ſo, the Scruple, of a tacite, or implyed, *Alteration* of *Lawes*, likewiſe ſatisfied. But then, it may be conſidered, whether it were not a *Form*, of the greateſt *Honour* if the *Parliament*, though they did not enact it, yet ſhould become Suiters, and Petitioners to your *Majeſty*, to aſſume it.

The Scales.

For the *Seales*; That there ſhould be but one *Great Seal* of *Britain*, and one *Chancellor*; And that their ſhould only be a *Seal* in *Scotland*; for *Proceſſes*, and *ordinary Juſtice*; And that all *Patents*, of Graunts, of *Lands*, or otherwiſe, as well in *Scotland*, as in *England*, ſhould paſſe under the *Great Seal* here, kept about your *Perſon*; It is an *Alteration internall*, whereof I do not now ſpeak.

But

But the *Queſtion*, in this Place, is; whether the *Great Seales* of *England*, and *Scotland*, ſhould not be changed, into one, and the ſame Form, of *Image*, and *Superſcription*, of *Britain*; which, Nevertheleſſe, is requiſite, ſhould be, with ſome one plain, or manifeſt, Alteration, leſt there be a Buz, and ſuſpect, that *Grants* of *Things* in *England*, may be paſſed, by the Seal of *Scotland*; Or *è converſo*.

Alſo, whether this *Alteration*, of *Form*, may not be done, without *Act* of *Parliament*, as the *Great Seales*, have uſed, to be heretofore changed, as to their *Impreſſions*.

The Standards, and Stamps, Moneys.

For the *Moneys*, as to the Reall, and Internall Conſideration thereof, the *Queſtion* will be, whether your *Majeſty*, ſhould not continue two *Mints*; which, the Diſtance of *Territory* conſidered,) I ſuppoſe, will be of Neceſſity.

Secondly, how the *Standards*, (if it be not already done, as I hear ſome doubt made of it, in popular Rumour,) may be reduced, into an Exact proportion, for the time to come; And likewiſe, the *Computation*, *Tale*, or *Valuation*, to be made exact, for the *Moneys*, already beaten.

That done, the laſt *Queſtion* is, (which is onely proper to this place,) whether the *Stamp*, or the *Image*, and *Superſcription*, of *Britain*, for the time forwards, ſhould not be made, the ſelf ſame, in both places, without any Difference at all. A Matter alſo, which may be done, as our *Law* is, by your *Majeſties Prerogative*, without *Act of Parliament*.

Theſe *Points*, are *Points*, of *Demonſtration*, *Ad faciendum populum*; But ſo much the more, they go, to the *Root*, of your *Majeſties Intention*; which is to imprint, and inculcate, into the Hearts, and Heads, of the *People*; that they are one *People*, and one *Nation*.

In this kind, alſo, I have heard it, paſſe abroad in Speech, of the *Erection*, of ſome *new Order*, of *Knighthood*, with a Reference to the *Union*, and an *Oath* appropriate thereunto; which is a *Point*, likewiſe, deſerveth a Conſideration. So much for the *Externall Points*.

Internall Points of Union.

The *Internall Points*, of *Separation*, are as followeth.

1. Severall *Parliaments*.
2. Severall *Councels* of *Eſtate*.
3. Severall *Officers* of the *Crown*.
4. Severall *Nobilities*.
5. Severall *Lawes*,
6. Severall *Courts* of *Juſtice*, *Trialls*, and *Proceſſes*.
7. Severall *Receipts*, and *Finances*.
8. Severall *Admiralties*, and *Merchandizings*:
9. Severall *Freedomes*, and *Liberties*.
10. Severall *Taxes*, and *Impoſts*.

As

As touching the Severall *States Eccleſiaſticall*; and the ſeverall *Mints*, and *Standards*; and the ſeverall *Articles*, and *Treaties*, of *Intercourſe*, with *Forrain Nations*, I touched them before.

In theſe *Points*, of the ſtraight, and more inward, *Union*, there will interveyn, one principall *Difficulty*, and *Impediment*, growing from that Root, which *Ariſtotle*, in his *Politicks*, maketh, to be the Root, of all Diviſion, and Diſſention, in *Common Wealths*; And that is *Equality*, and *Inequality*. For the *Realm* of *Scotland*, is now, an Ancient, and Noble, *Realm*, ſubſtantive of it ſelf. But when this *Iſland*, ſhall be made *Britain*, then *Scotland*, is no more to be conſidered, as *Scotland*, but as a part of *Britain*; No more then *England*, is to be conſidered, as *England*, but as a part, likewiſe, of *Britain*: And conſequently, neither of theſe, are to be conſidered, as Things entire of themſelves, but in the Proportion that they bear to the *Whole*. And therefore, let us imagine, (*Nam id Mente Poſſumus, quod actu non Poſſumus,*) that *Britain*, had never been divided, but had ever been one *Kingdome*; Then that part, of *Soyl*, or *Territory*, which is comprehended under the Name of *Scotland*; is, in quantity, (as I have heard it eſteemed, how truly I know not;) Not paſt, a third part of *Britain*; And that part of *Soyl*, or *Territory*, which is comprehended, under the Name of *England*, is two parts of *Britain*; Leaving to ſpeak, of any Difference, of *Wealth*, or *Population*, and ſpeaking onely of *Quantity*. So then, if, for Example, *Scotland*, ſhould bring to *Parliament*, as much *Nobility*, as *England*, then, a Third part, ſhould countervail two parts; *Nam ſi Inæqualibus æqualia addas, omnia erunt Inæqualia*. And this, I proteſt before *God*, and your *Majeſty*, I do ſpeak, not as a Man born in *England*, but as a Man born in *Britain*. And therefore, to deſcend, to the particulars.

For the *Parliaments*, the Conſideration of that *Point*, will fall into four *Queſtions*. 1. Parliament.

1. The firſt, what proportion ſhall be kept, between the *Votes* of *England*, and the *Votes* of *Scotland*.

2. The Second, touching the *Manner* of *Propoſition*, or *poſſeſſing*, of the *Parliament*, of Cauſes there to be handled; Which in *England*, is uſed to be done, immediatly, by any *Member*, of the *Parliament*, or by the *Prolocutor*; And in *Scotland*, is uſed to be done, immediatly, by the *Lords*, of the *Articles*; Whereof, the one Form, ſeemeth to have, more *Liberty*, and the other, more *Gravity*, and *Maturity*: And therefore, the Queſtion will be, whether of theſe, ſhall yield to other; Or whether there ſhould not be, a Mixture of both, by ſome Commiſſions, precedent, to every *Parliament*, in the Nature, of *Lords*, of the *Articles*; And yet not Excluding, the Liberty, of

of propounding, in full *Parliament*, afterwards.

3. The Third, touching the *Orders* of *Parliament*, how they may be compounded, and the best, of either, taken.

4. The Fourth, how those, which by *Inheritance*, or otherwise, have *Offices* of *Honour*, and *Ceremony*, in both the *Parliaments*, as the *Lord Steward*, with us, &c. may be satisfied, and Duplicity accommodated.

2. Counsells of Estate.

For the *Councells* of *Estate*, while the *Kingdomes* stand divided, it should seem necessary, to continue severall *Councells*; But, if your *Majesty*, should procced to a strict *Union*, then, howsoever your *Majesty*, may establish, some *Provinciall Councells*, in *Scotland*, as there is here, of *Yorke*, and in the *Marches* of *Wales*; Yet the Question will be, whether it will not be, more convenient, for your *Majesty*, to have but one *Privy Councell*, about your *Person*; Whereof, the *Principall officers*, of the *Crown*, of *Scotland*, to be, for *Dignity* sake, howsoever, their Abiding, and Remaining, may be, as your *Majesty*, shall imploy their Service. But this *Point*, belongeth, meerely, and wholy, to your *Majesties Royall* Will, and Pleasure.

3. Officers of the Crown

For the *Officers*, of the *Crown*, the Consideration thereof, will fall into these Questions.

First, in regard, of the *Latitude*, of your *Kingdom*, and the *Distance* of *Place*, whether it will not be Matter of necessity, to continue the severall *Officers*, because of the *Impossibility*, for the service, to be performed, by one.

The Second, admitting, the *Duplicity*, of *Officers*, should be continued, yet, whether there should not be a Difference, that one should be the *Principall Officer*, and the other, to be, but Speciall, and Subalterne: As for example, one to be *Chancellour* of *Britain*, and the other, to be *Chancellour*, with some speciall Addition; As here of the *Dutchy*, &c.

The Third, if no such specialty, or Inferiority, be thought fit, then whether both *Officers*, should not have the *Title*, and the *Name*, of the whole *Iland*, and *Precincts*: As the *Lord Chanceller of England*, to be, *Lord Chanceller of Britain*; And the *Lord Chanceller of Scotland*, to be, *Lord Chanceller of Britain*; But with severall proviso's, that they shall not, intromit themselves, but within their severall precincts.

4. Nobilities.

For the *Nobilities*, the Consideration thereof, will fall into these *Questions*.

The First, of their *Votes*, in *Parliament*, (which was touched before,) what proportion they shall bear, to the *Nobility* of *England*: Wherein, if the Proportion, which shall be thought fit, be not full, yet your *Majesty* may, out of your *Prerogative*, supply it: For although, you cannot make fewer, of *Scotland*, yet you may make more of *England*.

The Second is, touching the *Place*, and *Precedence*; wherein, to marshall them, according to the *Precedence* of *England*,

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in your *Majesties Stile*; And according, to the *Nobility*, of *Ireland*; That is, all *English Earles* first, and then *Scottish*, will be thought unequall, for *Scotland*. To marshall them, according to *Antiquity*, will be thought unequall for *England*. Because I hear, their *Nobility*, is, generally, more ancient: And therefore, the Question will be, whether the indifferentest way, were not, to take them enterchangeably; As for Example; First, the Ancient *Earl* of *England*; And then, the Ancient *Earl* of *Scotland*; And so, *Alternis Vicibus*.

5. Lawes. For the *Lawes*, to make an intire, and perfect, *Union*, it is a Matter of great Difficulty, and Length; Both in the *Collecting* of them, and in the *Passing* of them. For first, as to the *Collecting* of them, there must be made, By the *Lawyers*, of either *Nation*, a *Disgest*, under *Titles*, of their severall *Lawes*, and *Customes*; Aswell *Common Lawes*, as *Statutes*; That they may be *Collated*, and *Compared*; And that, the *Diversities*, may appear, and be discerned of. And for the *Passing* of them, we see, by experience, that *Patrius Mos*, is dear to all men; And that Men are bred, and nourished up, in the Love of it; And therefore, how harsh, *Changes*, and *Innovations*, are. And we see, likewise, what Disputation, and Argument, the *Alteration*, of some one *Law*, doth cause, and bring forth; How much more, the *Alteration*, of the whole *Corps*, of the *Law*? Therefore, the first *Question* will be, whether it be not good, to proceed by parts, and to take that, that is most necessary, and leave the rest, to Time? The Parts therefore, or Subject, of *Lawes* are, for this purpose, fitliest distributed, according to that ordinary *Division*, of *Criminall*, and *Civill*; And those of *Criminall Causes*, into *Capitall*, and *Penall*.

The Second *Question* therefore, is; Allowing the Generall *Union* of *Lawes*, to be too great a Work, to embrace, whether it were not convenient, that *Cases Capitall*, were the same, in both *Nations*? I say, the *Cases*; I do not speak, of the *Proceedings*, or *Trials*; That is to say; whether the same *Offences*, were not fit, to be made *Treason*, or *Felony*, in both places?

The Third *Question* is, whether *Cases Penall*, though not *Capitall*, yet if they concern the *Publick State*, or otherwise, the *Discipline* of *Manners*, were not fit, likewise, to be brought, into one *Degree*? As the *Case*, of *Misprision* of *Treason*; The *Case* of *Premunire*; The *Case* of *Fugitives*; The *Case* of *Incest*; The *Case* of *Simony*; and the rest.

But the *Question*, that is more urgent, then any of these, is; Whether these *Cases*, at the least, be they of an higher, or inferiour, degree; Wherein the *Fact* committed, or *Act* done in *Scotland*, may prejudice, the *State*, and *Subjects*, of *England*, or *é converso*; Are not, to be reduced, into one *Uniformity*, of *Law*, and *Punishment*? As for Example; A perjury, committed, in a *Court* of *Justice*, in *Scotland*, cannot be prejudiciall, in *Eng-*

*gland*; Becauſe *Depoſitions*, taken in *Scotland*, cannot be produced, and uſed, here in *England*. But a *Forgery*, of a *Deed*, in *Scotland*, I mean, with a falſe *Date* of *England*, may be uſed, and given in Evidence, in *England*. So likewiſe, the Depopulating, of a *Town* in *Scotland*, doth not, directly, prejudice, the *State* of *England*: But if an *Engliſh Merchant*, ſhall carry Silver, and Gold, into *Scotland*, (as he may,) and thence tranſport it, into forrain parts, this prejudiceth the *State* of *England*: And may be, an Evaſion, to all the *Lawes*, of *England*, ordained in that *Caſe*: And therefore, had need to be bridled, with as ſevere a *Law*, in *Scotland*, as it is here in *England*.

Of this kind, there are many *Lawes*.

The *Law*, of the 50, of *Rich.* the 2. of going over without licence, if there be not the like *Law* in *Scotland*, will be fruſtrated, and evaded: For any *Subject* of *England*, may go firſt into *Scotland*, and thence into forrain parts.

So the *Lawes*, prohibiting Tranſportation of ſundry *Commodities*, as *Gold*, and *Silver*, *Ordnance*, *Artillery*, *Corn*, &c. if there be not, a Correſpondence of *Lawes*, in *Scotland*, will, in like manner, be deluded, and fruſtrate: For any *Engliſh Merchant*, or *Subject*, may carry ſuch *Commodities*, firſt into *Scotland*, as well, as he may carry them, from Port, to Port, in *England*. And out of *Scotland*, into Forrain Parts, without any Perill of *Law*.

So *Libells*, may be deviſed, and written, in *Scotland*, and publiſhed, and ſcattered in *England*.

*Treaſons*, may be plotted in *Scotland*, and executed in *England*.

And ſo, in many other *Caſes*, if there be not, the like Severity, of *Law*, in *Scotland*, to reſtrain *Offences*, that there is in *England*; (whereof, we are here ignorant, whether there be, or no,) It will be, a Gap, or Stop, even for *Engliſh Subjects*, to eſcape, and avoid, the *Lawes*, of *England*.

But for *Treaſons*, the beſt is, that by the *Statute*, of 26. *K. Hen.* the 8th. *Cap.* 13. any *Treaſon*, committed in *Scotland*, may be proceeded with, in *England*, as well, as *Treaſons* committed, in *France*, *Rome*, or elſewhere.

6. Courts of Juſtice, and Adminiſtration of Lawes.

For *Courts* of *Juſtice*, *Trialls*, *Proceſſes*, and other *Adminiſtration* of *Lawes*, to make any *Alteration*, in either *Nation*, it will be a Thing, ſo new, and unwonted, to either *People*; That it may be doubted, it will make, the *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*; (Which, of all other Things, ought to be known, and certain, as a beaten way;) To become intricate, and uncertain: And beſides, I do not ſee, that the Severalty, of *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*, though it be by *Court Soveraign*, of *laſt Reſort*; (I mean, without *Appeal*, or *Errour*;) Is any Impediment at all, to the U-

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*nion* of a *Kingdom*: As we see by Experience, in the severall *Courts* of *Parliament*, in the *Kingdome* of *France*: And I have been, alwayes, of Opinion, that the *Subjects* of *England*, do, already, fetch *Justice*, somewhat far off, more then in any *Nation*, that I know, the largeness of the *Kingdome* Considered, though it be holpen, in some part, by the *Circuits*, of the *Judges*; And the two *Councels*, at *York*, and in the *Marches* of *Wales*, established.

But it may be a good *Question*, whether, as *Commune Vinculum*, of the *Justice*, of both *Nations*, your *Majesty*, should not erect, some *Court* about your *person*, in the Nature, of the *Grand Councell*, of *France*; To which *Court*, you might, by way of *Evocation*, draw Causes, from the ordinary *Judges*, of both *Nations*; For so doth the *French King*, from all the *Courts*, of *Parliament*, in *France*; Many of which, are more remote, from *Paris*, then any part of *Scotland*, is from *London*.

7. Receits, Finances, and Patrimonies of the Crown.

For *Receits*, and *Finances*, I see no *Question* will arise; In regard it will be Matter of Necessity, to establish in *Scotland*, a *Receit* of *Treasure*, for *Payments*, and Erogations, to be made, in those parts: And for the *Treasure* of *Spare*, in either *Receipts*, the *Custodies* thereof, may well be severall; considering, by your *Majesties Commandement*, they may be, at all times, removed, or disposed, according to your *Majesties Occasions*.

For the *Patrimonies*, of both *Crowns*, I see, no Question will arise; Except your *Majesty* would be pleased, to make one compounded *Annexation*, for an Inseparable *Patrimony*, to the *Crown*, out of the *Lands*, of both *Nations*; And so, the like, for the *Principality* of *Britain*, and for other *Appennages*, of the rest of your *Children*; Erecting, likewise, such *Dutchies*, and *Honours*, compounded, of the Possessions, of both *Nations*, as shall be thought fit.

8. Admiralty, Navy, and Merchandizing.

For *Admiralty*, or *Navy*, I see, no great question, will arise: For I see no Inconvenience, for your Majesty, to continue *Shipping*, in *Scotland*. And for the *Jurisdictions*, of the *Admiralties*, and the Profits, and Casualties, of them, they will be respective, unto the *Coasts*, over against which, the Seas lye, and are situated; As it is here, with the *Admiralties*, of *England*.

And for *Merchandizing*, it may be a Question, whether that the *Companies*, of the *Merchant Adventurers*, of the *Turky Merchants*, and the *Muscovy Merchants*, (if they shall be continued,) should not be compounded, of *Merchants*, of both *Nations*, *English*, and *Scottish*. For to leave *Trade* free, in the one *Nation*, and to have it restrained, in the other, may, percase, breed some *Inconvenience*.

9. Freedomes and Liberties.

For *Freedomes*, and *Liberties*, the *Charters* of both *Nations*, may be reviewed: And of such *Liberties*, as are agreeable, and convenient, for the *Subjects*, and *People*, of both *Nations*, one

*Great Charter*, may be made, and confirmed, to the *Subjects*, of *Britain*; And those *Liberties*, which are peculiar, or proper, to either *Nation*, to stand in State, as they do.

10. Taxes and Impoſts.

But for *Impoſts*, and *Cuſtomes*, it will be a great *Queſtion*, how to accommodate them, and reconcile them: For, if they be much easier in *Scotland*, then they be here in *England*, (which is a Thing, I know not,) then this Inconvenience will follow; That the *Merchants* of *England*, may unlade, in the *Ports* of *Scotland*; And this *Kingdome*, to be ſerved, from thence, and your *Majeſties Cuſtomes* abated.

And for the Queſtion, whether the *Scottiſh Merchants*, ſhould pay *Strangers Cuſtome*, in *England*, that reſteth, upon the *Point*, of *Naturalization*, which I touched before.

Thus have I made your *Majeſty*, a brief, and naked, *Memoriall*, of the *Articles*, and *Points*, of this great *Cauſe*; which may ſerve, onely, to excite, and ſtir up, your *Majeſties Royall Judgement*, and the *Judgement* of *Wiſer Men*, whom you will be pleaſed to call to it: Wherein, I will not preſume, to perſwade, or diſſwade any thing; Nor to interpoſe mine own Opinion; But do expect light, from your *Majeſties Royall Directions*; Unto the which, I ſhall ever ſubmit my *Judgement*, and apply my *Travailes*: And I moſt humbly pray your *Majeſty*, in this which is done, to pardon my Errours, and to cover them, with my good Intention, and Meaning, and Deſire I have, to do your *Majeſty* Service; And to acquite the Truſt, that was repoſed in me; And chiefly, in your *Majeſties* benign, and gracious Acceptation.

FINIS.

# THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY, OF *GREAT BRITAIN.*

BY the *Decease*, of *Elizabeth*, *Queen of England*, the Issues, of *King Henry the* 8th, failed; Being spent, in one *Generation*, and three *Successions*. For that *King*, though he were one, of the goodliest *Persons*, of his time, yet he left, onely by his *Six Wives*, three *Children*; who *Raigning successively*, and *Dying Childelesse*, made place, to the *Line*, of *Margaret*, his eldest, Sister, Married, to *James the* 4th, *King of Scotland*. There succeeded therefore, to the *Kingdome* of *England*, *James the* 6th, then *King of Scotland*, descended of the same *Margaret*, both by *Father*, and *Mother*: So that, by a rare Event, in the *Pedegrees* of *Kings*, it seemed, as if the *Divine Providence*, to extinguish, and take away, all *Note* of a *Stranger*, had doubled, upon his Person, within the Circle of one Age, the *Royall Bloud* of *England*, by both *Parents*. This *succession*, drew towards it, the Eyes of all Men; Being one, of the most memorable Accidents, that had hapned, a long time, in the *Christian World*. For the *Kingdome*, of *France*, having been re-united, in the Age before, in all the *Provinces* thereof, formerly dismembred: And the *Kingdome*, of *Spain*, being, of more fresh memory, united, and made entire, by the Annexing of *Portugall*, in the Person, of *Philip* the *second*; There remained, but this Third, and last *Union*, for the counterpoizing, of the Power, of these three

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great Monarchies; And the disposing, of the Affaires, of Europe, thereby, to a more assured, and universall, Peace, and Concord. And this Event, did hold Mens Observations, and Discourses, the more; Because, the Iland, of Great Britain, divided from the Rest of the World, was never before united, in it self, under one King; Notwithstanding the People be of one Language, and not separate, by Mountains, or great Waters: And, notwithstanding also, that the uniting of them, had been, in former times, industriously attempted, both by Warre, and Treaty. Therefore, it seemed, a manifest work of Providence, and Case of Reservation, for these times; Insomuch, as the vulgar conceived, that now there was an End given, and a Consummation, to superstitious Propheeies; (The Belief of Fooles, but the Talk, sometimes, of Wise Men;) And to an ancient tacite Expectation, which had by Tradition, been infused, and inveterated, into Mens Minds. But, as the best Divinations, and Predictions, are the Politick, and probable, Foresight, and Conjectures, of wise Men; So, in this Matter, the Providence, of King Hen. the 7th, was in all Mens Mouths; Who, being one, of the Deepest, and most prudent Princes, of the World, upon the Deliberation, concerning the Marriage, of his Eldest Daughter, into Scotland, had, by some Speech, uttered by him, shewed himself sensible, and almost Prescient, of this Event.

Neither did there want, a Concurrence, of divers Rare, externall Circumstances, (besides the Vertues, and Conditions, of the Person,) which gave great Reputation, to this Succession. A King, in the strength of his years, supported with great Alliances abroad, established with Royall Issue at home, at Peace with all the World, practised, in the Regiment, of such a Kingdome, as mought rather enable a King, by variety of Accidents, then corrupt him, with Affluence, or vain glory; And One, that besides his universall Capacity, and Judgement, was notably exercised, and practised, in Matters of Religion, and the Church; Which, in these times, by the confused use, of both Swords, are become so intermixed, with Considerations of Estate, as most of the Counsailes, of Soveraign Princes, or Republiques, depend upon them: But nothing, did more fill, Forraign Nations, with Admiration, and Expectation, of his Succession, then the wonderfull, and (by them,) unexpected, Consent, of all Estates, and Subjects, of England, for the receiving of the King, without the least scruple, Pause, or Question. For it had been generally dispersed, by the Fugitives, beyond the Seas, (who partly, to apply themselves, to the Ambition, of Forreiners; And partly, to give Estimation, and value, to their own Employments; used to represent, the state of England, in a false light;) That after Queen Elizabeths Decease, there must follow, in England, nothing but Confusions, Interregns, and perturbations of Estate; likely, for to exceed, the Ancient Calamities, of the Civill Wars, between the Houses, of Lancaster, and York: By how much

much more, the Diſſentions, were like to be more Mortall, and Bloudy, when *Forraign Competition*, ſhould be added, to Domeſticall; And *Diviſions* for *Religion*, to Matter of *Title*, to the *Crown*. And in ſpeciall, *Parſons* the *Jeſuite*, under a diſguiſed Name, had, not long before, publiſhed, an expreſſe *Treatiſe*; Wherein, whether his *Malice*, made him believe his own *Fancies*; Or whether, he thought it the fitteſt way, to move *Sedition*; Like *evill Spirits*, which ſeem, to foretell, the *Tempeſt*, they mean to move; He laboured to diſplay, and give colour, to all the vain Pretences, and Dreams, of *Succeſſion*, which he could imagine; And thereby, had poſſeſſed Many abroad, that knew not the Affaires here, with thoſe his *Vanities*. Neither wanted there, here, within this *Realm*, divers Perſons, both Wiſe, and well affected, who, though they doubted not, of the undoubted Right; yet, ſetting before themſelves, the waves of peoples Hearts; (Guided, no leſſe, by ſuddain, and temporary, *Winds*, then by the naturall Courſe, and Motion, of the Waters;) Were, not without fear, what mought be the Event? For *Queen Elizabeth*, being a *Prince*, of extream Caution; and yet One, that loved *Admiration*, above *Safety*; And knowing, The Declaration of a *Succeſſour*, mought, in point of Safety, be diſputable; But in point of Admiration, and Reſpect, aſſuredly to her Diſadvantage; Had, from the beginning, ſet it down, for a *Maxime*, of *Eſtate*, to impoſe a *Silence*, touching *Succeſſion*. Neither was it onely *Reſerved*, as a *Secret* of *Eſtate*, but *Reſtrained*, by ſevere Lawes; That no Man, ſhould preſume, to give Opinion, or maintain Argument, touching the ſame; So, though the *Evidence* of *Right*, drew all the *Subjects* of the Land, to think one Thing; yet the *Fear* of *Danger* of *Law*, made no Man privy, to others Thought. And therefore, it rejoyced all Men, to ſee ſo fair a Morning of a *Kingdome*, and to be throughly ſecured, of former Apprehenſions; As a Man, that awaketh, out of a *Fearfull Dream*. But ſo it was, that not onely the Conſent, but the Applauſe, and Joy, was infinite, and not to be expreſſed, throughout the *Realm* of *England*, upon this *Succeſſion*: Whereof, the Conſent, (no doubt,) may be truly aſcribed, to the Clearneſſe of the Right; But the generall Joy, Alacrity, and Gratulation, were the Effects, of differing *Cauſes*. For *Queen Elizabeth*, although ſhe had the uſe, of many, both Vertues, and Demonſtrations, that mought draw, and knit unto her, the Hearts of her People; Yet nevertheleſſe, carrying a Hand, *Reſtrained* in *Gift*, and *ſtrained*, in *Points* of *Prerogative*, could not anſwer the Votes, either of *Servants*, or *Subjects*, to a full Contentment; eſpecially in her latter Dayes, when the Continuance of her *Raign*, (which extended to Five and Forty years,) mought diſcover, in *People*, their *Naturall Deſire*, and *Inclination*, towards *Change*; So that a new *Court*, and a new *Raign*, were not, to many, unwelcome. Many were glad, and eſpecially, thoſe of *Setled Eſtate*, and *Fortunes*, that the *Feares*, and *Incertainties* were *Overblown*,

*blown*, and that the *Dye was caſt*: Others that had made their way, with the *King*, or offered their *Service*, in the *Time* of the *former Queen*, thought now the Time was come, for which they had prepared: And generally, all ſuch, as had any dependance, upon the late *Earl* of *Eſſex*; (Who had mingled, the Secrecy, of his own Ends, with the Popular pretence, of advancing the *Kings Title*;) Made account, their *Cauſe* was amended. Again, ſuch as mought miſdoubt, they had given the *King*, any occaſion of Diſtaſt, did continue, by their Forwardneſſe, and Confidence, to ſhew, it was but their *Faſtneſs*, to the *Former Government*; And that, thoſe *Affections*, ended with the Time. The *Papiſts*, nouriſhed their hopes, by collating, the Caſe, of the *Papiſts* in *England*, and under *Queen Elizabeth*, and the Caſe, of the *Papiſts*, in *Scotland*, under the *King*: Interpreting, that the Condition, of them, in *Scotland*, was the leſſe Grievous; And divining, of the *Kings Government* here accordingly: Beſides, the Comfort, they miniſtred themſelves, from the Memory, of the *Queen* his *Mother*. The *Miniſters*, and thoſe which ſtood, for the *Presbytery*, thought their Cauſe, had more Sympathy, with the *Diſcipline* of *Scotland*, then the *Hierarchy* of *England*; And ſo, took themſelves, to be, a Degree nearer their Deſires. Thus had every *Condition* of Perſons, ſome Contemplation of Benefit, which they promiſed themſelves; Over-reaching, perhaps, according to the Nature of Hope; But yet, not without, ſome probable Ground, of Conjecture. At which time alſo, there came forth, in Print, the *Kings Book*, entitled Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον: Containing, Matter of Inſtruction, to the *Prince*, his *Son*, touching the *Office* of a *King*; Which *Booke*, falling into every Mans Hand, filled the whole *Realm*, as with a good Perfume, or Incenſe, before the *Kings comming in*: For being excellently written, and having nothing of Affectation, it did not only ſatisfie better, then particular Reports, touching the *Kings Diſpoſition*; But far exceeded, any formall, or curious, *Edict*, or *Declaration*, which could have been deviſed, of that Nature, wherewith *Princes*, in the beginning of their *Raignes*, do uſe, to grace themſelves, or at leaſt, expreſſe themſelves gracious, in the Eyes of their *People*. And this was, for the generall, the *State*, and *Conſtitution*, of Mens Minds, upon this Change: The *Actions themſelves*, paſſed in this *Manner*, &c.

The Reſt is wanting.

A

# LETTER,

AND

# DISCOURSE,

TO

Sir *HENRY SAVILL*,

TOUCHING

# HELPS,

FOR THE

*INTELLECTUAL POWERS.*

SIR,

COming back from your Invitation at *Eton*, where I had refreshed my Self, with Company, which I loved; I fell, into a Consideration, of that Part, of *Policy*, whereof *Philosophy* speaketh too much, and *Lawes* too little; And that is, of *Education* of *Youth*. Whereupon, fixing my mind, a while, I found strait wayes, and noted, even in the *Discourses* of *Philosophers*, which are so large in this Argument, a strange Silence, concerning one principall Part, of that Subject: For as touching, the *Framing*, and *Seasoning*, of *Youth*, to *Morall Vertue*; (As *Tolerance* of *Labours*, *Continency* from *Pleasures*, *Obedience*, *Honour*, and the like; They handle it; But touching the

the *Improvement*, and *Helping*, of the *Intellectuall Powers*; As of *Conceit*, *Memory*, and *Judgement*, they say nothing. Whether it were, that they thought it, to be a Matter, wherein *Nature* onely prevailed; Or that they intended it, as referred, to the severall, and Proper, *Arts*, which teach, the use, of *Reason*, and *Speech*. But for the former of these two Reasons, howsoever, it pleaseth them, to distinguish, of *Habits*, and *Powers*; The Experience is manifest enough, that the *Motions*, and *Faculties*, of the *Wit*, and *Memory*, may be, not onely governed, and guided, but also confirmed, and enlarged, by Custome, and Exercise, duly applyed: As if a *Man* exercise *shooting*, he shall not onely shoot nearer the Mark, but also draw a stronger Bow. And as for the Latter, of Comprehending, these precepts, within the *Arts*, of *Logick*, & *Rhetorick*; If it be rightly considered, their Office is distinct, altogether, from this Point: For it is no part, of the Doctrine, of the Use, or Handling, of an *Instrument*, to teach, how to Whet, or grinde, the *Instrument*, to give it a sharp edge; Or how to quench it, or otherwise, whereby to give it a stronger Temper. Wherefore, finding this part of Knowledge, not broken, I have, but *tanquam aliud agens*, entred into it, and salute you with it; Dedicating it, after the ancient manner, first as to a dear Friend; And then as to an Apt Person; For as much, as you have, both place, to practise it, and Judgement, and Leysure, to look deeper into it, then I have done. Herein you must call to mind, Ἀγαθῷ ἐφ' ὅσον. Though the Argument, be not of great Heigth, and Dignity, nevertheless, it is of great, and universall use: And yet, I do not see, why, to consider it rightly; That should not be a *Learning* of *Heigth*, which teacheth to raise, the Highest, and Worthiest, *Part of the Mind*. But howsoever that be, if the *World* take any Light, and Use, by this *Writing*, I will, the Gratulation be, to the good Friendship, and Acquaintance, between us two. And so I commend you, to *Gods Divine Protection*.

## *A* DISCOURSE, *touching* HELPS, *for the* INTELLECTUALL POWERS.

I did ever hold it, for an Insolent, and unlucky, Saying; *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*; except it be uttered, onely, as an *Hortative*, or *Spur*, to correct Sloth. For otherwise, if it be believed, as it soundeth; And that a Man, entreth into an high Imagination, that he can compass, and fathom, all Accidents; And ascribeth, all Successes, to his Drifts, and Reaches; And the contrary,

to

to his Errours, and Sleepings: It is commonly seen, that the *Evening Fortune*, of that Man, is not so prosperous, as of him, that without slackning, of his Industry, attributeth much to *Felicity*, and *Providence* above him. But if the Sentence were turned to this; *Faber quisque Ingenii sui*, it were somewhat more True, and much more Profitable: Because it would teach Men, to bend themselves, to *Reform*, those *Imperfections*, in themselves, which now they seek but to Cover: And to attain, those *Vertues*, and *Good Parts*, which now they seek, but to have, onely, in *shew*, and *Demonstration*. Yet notwithstanding, every Man attempteth to be, of the first Trade, of Capenters; And Few bind themselves to the Second: whereas, nevertheless, the *Rising* in *Fortune*, seldome, amendeth the *Mind*; But, on the other side, the Removing of the Stonds, and Impediments, of the Mind, doth often clear, the passage, and Current, to a Mans Fortune. But certain it is, whether it be believed, or no, that, as the most excellent of *Mettalls*, *Gold*, is, of all other, the most Pliant, and most Enduring to be wrought; So, of all Living, and Breathing Substances, the Perfectest, (Man,) is the most susceptible of *Help*, *Improvement*, *Impression*, and *Alteration*; And not only in his *Body*, but in his *Mind*, and *Spirit*; And there again, not only, in his *Appetite*, and *Affection*, but in his *Powers* of *Wit*, and *Reason*.

For as to the *Body* of *Man*, we find many, and strange, Experiences, how *Nature* is overwrought by *Custome*, even in Actions, that seem of most difficulty, and least possible. As first in *Voluntary Motion*; Which though it be termed *Voluntary*, yet the highest Degrees of it, are not *Voluntary*; For it is, in my *Power*, and *Will*, to Run; But to *Run* faster, then according to my Lightnesse, or Disposition of *Body*, is not in my *Power*, nor *Will*. We see the Industry, and Practise, of *Tumblers*, and *Funambulo's*, what *Effects*, of great *Wonder*, it bringeth, the *Body* of *Man*, unto. So for *suffering* of *Pain*, and *Dolour*, which is thought so contrary to the *Nature* of *Man*, there is much Example of *Penances*, in *strict Orders*, of *superstition*, what they do endure; Such as may well verifie, the Report, of the *Spartan Boyes*, which were wont, to be scourged, upon the Altar so bitterly, as sometimes they dyed of it; And yet were never heard to complain. And to pass to those *Faculties*, which are reckoned more *Involuntary*; As *Long Fasting*, and *Abstinence*; and the contrary *Extream*, (*Voracity*;) The *Leaving*, and *Forbearing*, the *Use*, of *Drink*, for altogether; The *Enduring vehement Cold*, and the like; There have not wanted, neither do want, divers Examples, of strange Victories, over the Body, in every of these. Nay in *Respiration*, the proof hath been of some, who by continuall use of *Diving*, and *Working*, under the *Water*, have brought themselves, to be able, to hold their Breath, an incredible time; And others, that have been able, without Suffocation, to endure, the Stifling Breath, of an Oven,

or Furnace, so heated; As though, it did not scald, nor burn; Yet it was, many Degrees, too hot, for any Man, not made to it, to Breath, or take in. And some *Impostours*, and *Counterfeits*, likewise, have been able, to wreath, and cast their Bodies, into strange Formes, and Motions: Yea, and others, to bring themselves, into *Trances*, and *Astonishments*. All which *Examples*, do demonstrate, how variously, and how to High, Points, and Degrees, the *Body* of *Man*, may be, (as it were,) moulded, and wrought. And if any Mad conceive, than it is some secret propriety of Nature, that hath been in those Persons, which have attained to those Points; And that it is not open, for every Man, to do the like, though he had been put to it; For which Cause, such Things, come but very rarely to passe; It is true, no doubt, but some Persons, are apter then others; But so, as the more aptnesse, causeth Perfection, but the lesse Aptnesse, doth not disable: So that, for Example, the more apt *Child*, that is taken, to be made a *Funambulo*, will prove more excellent in his Feates; But the lesse apt will be *Gregarius Funambulo* also. And there is small Question, but that these Abilities, would have been more common; And others, of like sort, not attempted, would, likewise, have been brought, upon the Stage, but for two *Reasons*: The one, because of Mens Diffidence, in prejudging them, as Impossibilities; For it holdeth, in those things, which the *Poet* saith; *Possunt, quia posse videntur*: For no Man shall *Know*, how much may be done, except he *Believe*, much may be done. The other *Reason* is, because they be, but Practises, base, and inglorious, and of no great use; And therefore sequestred from Reward of Value; And on the other side, painfull; So as the Recompence ballanceth not with the Travaile, and Suffering. And as to the *Will* of Man, it is that, which is most Maniable, and Obedient; As that, which admitteth most *Medicines*, to cure, and alter it. The most *Soveraign*, of all, is *Religion*; which is able to change, and transform it, in the deepest, and most inward inclinations, and Motions: And next to that is *Opinion*, and *Apprehension*; Whether it be infused by Tradition, and Institution; or wrought in, by Disputation, and Perswasion: And the Third is *Example*, which transformeth the Will of Man, into the Similitude of that, which is most obversant, and familiar towards it. And the Fourth is, when one *Affection*, is *healed*, and *corrected*, by another: As when Cowardise, is remedied by Shame, and Dishonour; Or Sluggishnesse, and Backwardnesse, by indignation, and Emulation; And so of the like. And lastly, when all these *Meanes*, or any of them, have new framed, or formed, *Humane Will*; Then doth *Custome*, and *Habite*, Corroborate, and confirm, all the rest. Therefore, it is no marvaile, though this *Faculty*, of the *Mind*, (of *Will*, and *Election*;) which inclineth *Affection*, and *Appetite*, being but the *Inceptions*, and *Rudiments*, of *Will*; May be so well governed, and managed; Becausse, it admitteth accesse, to

so

so divers *Remedies*, to be applyed to it, and to work upon it. The Effects whereof are so many, and so known, as require no Enumeration; But, generally, they do issue, as *Medicines* do, into two *Kinds*, of *Cures*; whereof the one, is a *Just*, or *True*, *Cure*; And the other, is called *Palliation*. For, either the Labour, and Intention is, to reform the Affections, really, and truly; Restraining them, if they be too violent; And raising them, if they be too Soft, and Weak; Or else, it is to cover them; Or, if occasion be, to pretend them, and represent them. Of the former Sort whereof, the Examples, are plentifull, in the *Schooles*, of *Philosophers*, and in all other *Institutions*, of *Morall Vertue*; And of the other sort, the Examples, are, more plentifull, in the *Courts* of *Princes*, and in all *Politick Traffique*: Where it is ordinary to find, not only profound Dissimulations, and Suffocating the Affections, that no Note, or Mark, appear of them, outwardly; But also, lively Simulations, and Affectations, carrying the Tokens of Passions, which are not; As *Risus Jussus*, and *Lachrymæ Coactæ*, and the like.

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## Of *Helps*, of the *Intellectuall Powers*.

THe *Intellectual Powers*, have fewer means, to work upon them, then the *Will*, or *Body* of Man; But the one, that prevaileth, that is *Exercise*, worketh more forcibly in them, then in the Rest.

The Ancient *Habite*, of the *Philosophers*; *Si quis quærat, in utramque partem, de omni Scibili.*

The *Exercise*, of *Schollers*, making *Verses extempore*; *Stans pede in uno.*

The *Exercise*, of *Lawyers*, in *Memory Narrative:*

The *Exercise*, of *Sophists*, and *Jo. ad Oppositum*, with manifest effect.

*Artificiall Memory* greatly holpen by *Exercise.*

The *Excercise*, of *Buffons*, to draw all things, to Conceits Ridiculous.

These that follow, are but indigested Notes.

The *Meanes* that help the *Understanding*, and *Faculties* thereof, are.

(Not *Example*, as in the *Will*, by Conversation; And here, the Conceit of Imitation, already disgested; with the Confutation, *Obiter, si videbitur*, of *Tullies Opinion*, advising a Man, to take some one to *Imitate*. *Similitude* of *Faces* analysed.)

*Arts*

*Arts*, *Logick*, *Rhetorick*: The *Ancients*, *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, *Thætetus Gorgias*, *Litigioſus*, vel *Sophiſta*, *Protagoras*, *Ariſtotle*, *Schola ſua. Topicks*, *Elenchs*, *Rhetoricks*, *Organon*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*. The *Neotericks*, *Ramus*, *Agricola*. *Nil ſacri Lullius. his Typocoſmia*, ſtudying *Coopers Dictionary*; *Matthews Collection*, of proper words for *Metaphors*; *Agrippa*, *de vanitat.* &c.

*Que.* if not here, of Imitation.

Collections preparative. *Ariſtotles* Similtude of a Shoomakers *Shop*, full of *Shoes*, of all Sorts: *Demoſthenes Exordia Concionum*. *Tullies* precept, of *Theſes* of all ſorts, *preparative*.

The *Relying* upon *Exerciſe*, with the *Difference*, of *Uſing*, and *tempering*, the *Inſtrument*; And the Similitude, of preſcribing, againſt the *Lawes*, of *Nature* and of *Eſtate*.

## 5. Points.

1. That *Exerciſes*, are to be *framed*, to the *Life*: That is to ſay, to work *Ability*, in that kind, whereof a *Man*, in the *Courſe of Action*, ſhall have moſt *Uſe*.

2. The *indirect*, and *Oblique Exerciſes*, which do, *per partes*, and *per conſequentiam*, inable theſe Faculties; which perhaps, *direct Exerciſe*, at firſt, would but diſtort. And theſe, have chiefly place, where the *Faculty* is weak, not *per ſe*, but *per* Accidens. As if *Want* of *Memory*, grow through *Lightneſſe* of *Wit*; and want of *ſtayed Attention*; Then the *Mathematiques*, or the *Law*, helpeth: Becauſe, they are Things, wherein if the *Mind* once roam, it cannot recover.

3. Of the *Advantages* of *Exerciſe*; As to dance with heavy Shoes; To march with heavy Armour, and Carriage; And the contrary *Advantage*, (in Natures, very dull, and unapt,) of working *Alacrity*, by framing an *Exerciſe*, with ſome *Delight*, or *Affection*;

—*Veluti pueris dant Cruſtula blandi*
*Doctores, Elementa velint ut diſcere prima.*

4. Of the *Cautions* of *Exerciſe*; As to beware, leſt by evill doing, (as all Beginners do weakly,) a Man grow not, and be inveterate, in an ill *Habit*; And ſo take, not the *Advantage* of *Cuſtome* in perfection, but in confirming ill. *Slubbering* on the *Lute*.

5. The *Marſhalling*, and *Sequele* of *Sciences*, and *practiſes*: *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*, ſhould be uſed, to be read, after *Poeſy*, *Hiſtory*, and *Philoſophy*. Firſt, *Exerciſe*, to do things well, and clean; after, promptly, and readily.

The *Exerciſes*, in the *Univerſities*, and *Schooles*, are of *Memory*, and *Invention*; Either to ſpeak by *Heart*, that which is ſet down *verbatim*; Or to ſpeak *Extempore*. Whereas, there is little uſe, in *Action*, of either of both: But moſt things, which we utter, are neither *verbally premeditate*, nor *meerly Extemporall*. Therefore

*Exerciſe*,

*Exerciſe*, would be framed to take a little Breathing, and to conſider of *Heads*; And then to fit, and form, the *Speech*, *Ex tempore*. This would be done, in two manners; Both with writing, and Tables; And without. For, in moſt *Actions*, it is permitted, and paſſable, to uſe the *Note*; Whereunto, if a *Man* be not accuſtomed, it will put him out.

There is no uſe, of a *Narrative Memory*, in *Academiis*, viz, with Circumſtances of Times, Perſons, and Places, and with Names; And it is one Art, to diſcourſe, and another to Relate, and Deſcribe: And herein *Uſe*, and *Action*, is moſt converſant.

Alſo, to Summe up, and Contract, is a Thing, in *Action*, of very generall *Uſe*.

CERTAIN

# CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS, Touching the Better, PACIFICATION, AND EDIFICATION, OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## Dedicated, to His most *Excellent* MAJESTY.

THe *Vnity* of your *Church*, (excellent *Soveraign*,) is a Thing, no leſſe precious, then the *Vnion* of your *Kingdomes*; Being both Works, wherein your *Happineſs*, may contend, with your *Worthineſs*: Having therefore preſumed, not without your *Majeſties* gracious Acceptation, to ſay ſomewhat of the one; I am, the more encouraged, not to be ſilent, in the other: The rather, becauſe it is an Argument, that I have travelled in heretofore: But *Salomon*, commendeth *a Word ſpoken in Seaſon*,

*Season*, And as our *Saviour* (speaking of the Discerning of *Seasons*) saith; *When you see a Cloud, rising in the West, you say, it will be a shower:* So your *Majesties Rising*, to this *Monarchy*, in the *West parts*, of the *World*, doth promise, a sweet, and fruitfull, *Shower*, of many *Blessings*, upon this *Church*, and *Common-wealth*; A *Shower*, of that Influence, as the very first Deaws, and Drops thereof, have, already, layed the Stormes, and Winds, throughout *Christendom*; Reducing, the very *Face*, of *Europe*, to a more peaceable, and Amiable, Countenance. But to the Purpose.

It is very true, that these *Ecclesiasticall Matters*, are Things, not properly appertaining, to my *Profession*; which, I was not, so inconsiderate, but to object to my Self: But finding, that it is, many times, seen, that a Man, that standeth off, and somewhat removed, from a Plot of Ground, doth better survey it, and discover it, then those which are upon it; I thought it not impossible, but that I, as a Looker on, might cast mine Eyes, upon some Things, which the Actours themselves, (especially, some being *interessed*, some *led* and *addicted*, some *declared and engaged*,) did not, or would not see. And that, knowing in my Conscience, (whereto *God* beareth witnesse,) that the Things which I shall speak, spring out of no Vein of Popularity, Ostentation, Desire of Novelty, Partiality to either Side, Disposition to intermeddle, or any the like *Leven*; I may conceive hope, that what I want, in depth of Judgement, may be countervailed, in Simplicity, and Sincerity, of Affection. But of all Things, this did most animate me; That I found, in these Opinions, of mine, (which I have long held, and embraced, as may appear by that, which I have, many years since, written of them, according to the proportion, nevertheless, of my weakness,) a Consent, and Conformity, with that, which your *Majesty* hath published, of your own, most *Christian*, most *Wise*, and *Moderate Sense*, in these Causes: wherein you have well expressed, to the *World*, that there is infused, in your Sacred Brest, from *God*, that *High principle*, and *Position* of *Government*; *That you ever hold the Whole, more dear, then any Part.*

For who seeth not, that Many are affected, and give Opinion, in these Matters, as if they had not, so much a desire, to purge the Evill, from the Good, as to countenance, and protect, the Evill, by the Good? Others speak, as if their Scope, were onely, to set forth, what is *Good*, and not to seek, what is *Possible*; which is to *Wish*, and not to *Propound*. Others proceed, as if they had rather, a Mind of *Removing*, then of *Reforming*: But howsoever, either Side, as Men, (though excellent Men) shall run into Extremities; yet your *Majesty*, as a most *Wise*, *Equall*, and *Christian Moderator*, is disposed, to find out, the Golden *Mediocrity*, in the Establishment, of that which is Sound; And, in the Reparation, of that, which is Corrupt, and decayed. To your *Princely Judgement*, then, I do, in all Humblenesse, submit, whatsoever I shall

propound:

propound; offering the ſame, but as a *Mite*, into the *Treaſury*, of your *Wiſedom*: For, as the *Aſtronomers*, do well obſerve; That when three, of the *Superior Lights*, do meet in *Conjunction*, it bringeth forth, ſome admirable *Effects*: So, there being joyned, in your *Majeſty*, the *Light* of *Nature*, the *Light* of *Learning*, and above all, the *Light* of *Gods Holy Spirit*; It cannot be, but your *Government*, muſt be as a Happy *Conſtellation*, over the ſtates of your *Kingdomes*. Neither is there wanting, to your *Majeſty*, that Fourth *Light*; which though it be, but a borrowed Light, yet is, of ſingular Efficacy, and Moment, added to the reſt; which is, the *Light*, of a moſt wiſe, and well *compounded*, *Councell*; To whoſe Honourable, and Grave, *Wiſdomes*, I do likewſe ſubmit, whatſoever I ſhall ſpeak: Hoping, that I ſhall not need, to make Proteſtation, of my Mind, and Opinion; That untill your *Majeſty*, doth otherwiſe determine, and order, all Actuall, and Full Obedience, is to be given, to *Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction*, as it now ſtandeth; And when your *Majeſty*, hath determined, and ordered, that every good ſubject ought to reſt ſatisfied, and apply his Obedience, to your *Majeſties Lawes*, *Ordinances*, and *Royall Commandements*: Nor, of the Diſlike, I have, of all Immodeſt Bitterneſſe, peremptory preſumption, Popular handling; And other Courſes, tending rather to Rumour, and Impreſſion, in the vulgar Sort, then to likely-hood of Effect, joyned with *Obſervation* of *Duty*.

But before, I enter, into the *Points controverted*, I think good to remove, (if it may be,) two Opinions; which do directly confront, and oppone, to *Reformation*: The one, bringing it to a *Nullity*; And the other, to an *Impoſſibility*. The Firſt is; *That it is againſt good Policy, to innovate any Thing, in Church Matters*; The other; *That all Reformation, muſt be, after one Platform.*

For the Firſt of theſe, it is excellently ſaid, by the Prophet; *State ſuper vias antiquas, & videte, quænam ſit via recta, & vera, & ambulate in eâ.* So as, he doth not ſay; *State ſuper vias antiquas, & ambulate in eis*: For it true, that with all *Wiſe*, and *Moderate*, Perſons, *Cuſtom*, and *Uſage*, obtaineth that Reverence, as it is ſufficient Matter, to move them, to make a ſtand, and to diſcover, and take a View; But it is no warrant, to guide, and conduct them: A juſt Ground, I ſay, it is, of *Deliberation*, but not of *Direction*. But, on the other ſide, who knoweth not, that *Time*, is truly compared, to a *Stream*, that carrieth down, *freſh*, and *pure Waters*, into that *ſalt Sea of Corruption*, which invironeth all *Human Actions*? And therefore, if Man ſhall not, by his Induſtry, Vertue, and Policy, as it were, with the Oare, row againſt the Stream, and inclination of *Time*; All Inſtitutions, and Ordinances, be they never ſo pure, will corrupt, and degenerate. But not, to handle this matter, Common-place like, I would only ask, why the *Civill State*, ſhould be purged, and reſtored, by Good, and Wholeſome, *Lawes*, made every Third, or Fourth, year, in *Parliament aſſembled*; Deviſing *Remedies*, as faſt as *Time*, breedeth *Miſchief*; And contrariwiſe,

the *Eccleſiaſticall State*, ſhould ſtill continue, upon the Dregg of *Time*, and receive, no Alteration now, for this Five and Forty years, and more? If any Man, ſhall object, that if the like Intermiſſion, had been uſed, in *Civil Cauſes* alſo, the Errour had not been great; Surely the Wiſedome of the *Kingdome*, hath been otherwiſe, in Experience, for Three Hundred years ſpace, at the leaſt. But, if it be ſaid to me, that there is a Difference, between *Civill Cauſes*, and *Eccleſiaſticall*, they may as well tell me, that *Churches*, and *Chappels*, need no Reparations, though *Caſtles*, and *Houſes*, do; Whereas commonly, to ſpeak truth, *Dilapidations*, of the Inward, and Spirituall, *Edifications*, of the *Church*, of *God*, are, in all times, as great, as the *Outward*, and Materiall. Sure I am, that the very word, and Stile, of *Reformation*, uſed by our *Saviour*; *Ab initio non fuit ſic*; was applyed, to *Church Matters*; And thoſe, of the higheſt *Nature*, concerning the *Law Morall*.

Nevertheleſſe, He were both unthankfull, and unwiſe, that would deny, but that the Church, of *England*, during the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, of *famous Memory*, did flouriſh. If I ſhould compare it, with Forrain *Churches*, I would rather, the Compariſon ſhould be, in the *Vertues*, then, as ſome make it, in the *Defects*; Rather, I ſay, as between the *Vine*, and the *Olive*, which ſhould be moſt fruitfull. And not, as between the *Briar*, & the *Thiſtle*, which ſhould be moſt unprofitable. For that Reverence, ſhould be uſed, to the *Church*, which the good *Sons* of *Noah*, uſed, to their *Fathers Nakedneſs*; That is, as it were, to go backwards, and to help, the Defects thereof, and yet to diſſemble them. And it is to be acknowledged, that ſcarcely any *Church*, ſince the *Primitive Church*, yielded, in like Number of Years, and Latitude of Country, a greater Number, of *Excellent Preachers*, *Famous Writers*, and *Grave Governers*: But for the *Diſcipline*, and *Orders*, of the *Church*, as many, & the chiefeſt, of them, are Holy, and Good; So yet, if Saint *John*, were to indite an *Epiſtle*, to the *Church* of *England*, as he did, to them of *Aſia*, it would, ſure, have the *Clauſe*; *Habeo adverſus te pauca*. And no more, for this *Point*; Saving that, as an Appendix thereunto, it is not amiſſe, to touch that *Objection*, which is made to the *Time*, and not to the *Matter*; Pretending, that if Reformation, were neceſſary, yet it were not now ſeaſonable, at your *Majeſties* Firſt Entrance: Yet *Hippocrates* ſaith; *Si quid moves, à principio move*: And the wiſedom, of all Examples, do ſhew, that the wiſeſt *Princes*, as they have ever been, the moſt ſparing, in *Removing*, or *Alteration*, of *Servants*, and *Officers*, upon their Coming in; So, for *Removing* of *Abuſes*, and *Enormities*; And for *Reforming* of *Lawes*, and the *Policy* of their *States*, they have, chiefly, ſought to ennoble, and commend, their *Beginnings* therewith; Knowing, that the firſt Impreſſion, with People, continueth long; And when Mens Minds, are moſt in Expectation, and Suſpence, then, are they beſt wrought, and mannaged: And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that as the *Spring* of *Nature*, (I mean, the

the Spring of the *year*,) is the beſt Time, for purging, and Medicining, the *Naturall Body*; So the Spring of *Kingdoms*, is the moſt proper Seaſon, for the purging, and Rectifying, of *Politick Bodies*.

There remaineth yet, an *Objection*, rather of Suſpition, then of Reaſon; And yet ſuch, as I think, maketh a great Impreſſion, in the minds, of very wiſe, and well affected, Perſons; which is; *That if way be given, to Mutation, though it be in taking away Abuſes, yet it may ſo acquaint Men, with ſweetneſſe of change, as it will undermine, the Stability, even of that, which is ſound, and good.* This, ſurely, had been a good, and true, allegation, in the Ancient Contentions, and Diviſions, between the *People*, and the *Senate*, of *Rome*: where things were carried, at the *Appetites* of *Multitudes*; which can never keep, within the Compaſſe, of any Moderation: But theſe Things, being with us, to have an orderly paſſage, under a King, who hath a Royall power, and approved Judgement; And knoweth, as well the *Meaſure* of Things, as the *Nature* of them; It is, ſurely, a needleſſe, Fear. For they need not doubt, but your *Majeſty*, with the adviſe of your *Councell*, will diſcern, what Things are intermingled, like the *Tares, amongſt the wheat*; which have their *Roots*, ſo enwrapped, and entangled, as the one, cannot be pulled up, without endangering the other; And what, are mingled, but as the *Chaffe, and the Corn*, which need but a *Fanne*, to *ſift*, and *ſever* them. So much therefore, for the firſt *Point*, of no *Reformation*, to be admitted, at all.

For the *Second Point*, that there ſhould, be but one form, of *Diſcipline*, in all *Churches*; And that, impoſed, by neceſſity, of a Commandement, and preſcript, out of the *word of God*; It is a Matter, *Volumes* have been compiled of, and therefore cannot receive a brief *Redargution*. I, for my part, do confeſſe, that in Revolving the *Scriptures*, I could never find, any ſuch Thing; But that *God*, had left, the like *Liberty*, to the *Church Government*, as he had done to the *Civill Government*; To be varied, according to *Time*, and *Place*, and *Accidents*; which, nevertheleſſe, his high, and Divine, Providence, doth order, and diſpoſe. For all *Civil Governments*, are reſtrained, from *God*, unto the general Grounds, of Juſtice, and *Manners*; But the Policies, and Forms, of them, are left Free; So that *Monarchies*, and *Kingdoms*; *Senates*, and *Seignories*, *Popular States*, and *Communalties*; are lawfull; And where they are planted, ought to be maintained inviolate.

So likewiſe, in *Church Matters*, the Subſtance of *Doctrine*, is Immutable; And ſo are, the generall Rules, of *Government*; But for *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*; And for the particular *Hierarchies*, *Policies*, and *Diſciplines*, of Churches, they be left at large. And therefore, it is good, we return, unto the ancient *Bounds* of *Unity*, in the *Church of God*; which was, *One Faith*, *One Baptiſme*; And not, *one Hierarchy*, *one Diſcipline*: And that we obſerve the

League

League of *Christians*, as it is penned by our *Saviour*, which is, in substance of Doctrine, this; *He that is not with us, is against us*: But in Things indifferent, and but of circumstance, this; *He that is not against us, is with us.* In these things, so as the generall *Rules* be observed; *That Christs Flock be fed*; *That there be, a Succession, in Bishops, and Ministers, which are the Prophets of the new Testament*; *That there be a due, and reverent, use, of the power, of the Keyes*; *That those that preach the Gospel, live of the Gospel*; *That all things tend to edification*; *That all things be done, in order, and with decency*; And the like; The rest, is left, to the *Holy wisdome*, and *Spirituall Discretion*, of the *Master Builders, and inferiour Builders*, in *Christs Church*; As it is excellently alluded, by that *Father*, that noted; That *Christs Garment, was without Seam*, and yet, the *Churches Garment, was of divers Colours*; And thereupon, setteth down for a Rule; *In veste varietas sit, sciſſura non sit.*

In which Variety, nevertheless, it is a safe, and wise, Course, to follow good *Examples*, and *Presidents*; But then, by the Rule of Imitation, and Example, to consider, not onely, which are Best, but which are the Likeliest; as namely, the *Government*, of the *Church*, in the purest Times, of the first *Good Emperours*, that embraced the *Faith*. For the Times of *Persecution*, before *Temporall Princes*, received *our Faith*; As they were, excellent *Times*, for *Doctrine, and Manners*; so they be unproper, and unlike Examples, of *outward Government*, and *Policie*. And so much, for this *Point*: Now to the particular *Points*, of *Controversies*, or rather of *Reformation.*

## Circumstances, *in the* Government, *of* Bishops.

FIrst therefore for the *Government* of *Bishops*, I for my part, not prejudging, the Presidents of other *Reformed Churches*, do hold it warranted, by the *Word* of *God*, and by the Practise of the *Ancient Church*, in the *better Times*; And much more convenient, for *Kingdoms*, then *Parity of Ministers*, and *Government* by *Synods*. But then further, it is to be considered, that the *Church*, is not now to *plant*, or *build*; But onely, to be proined, from Corruption; And to be repaired, and restored, in some decayes.

For it is worth the Noting, that the *Scripture* saith; *Translato Sacerdotio, necesse est, ut & Legis fiat Translatio.* It is not possible, in respect of the great, and neer Sympathy, between the *State Civill*, and the *State Ecclesiasticall*, to make so main an alteration, in the *Church*, but it would have a perillous operation, upon the *Kingdoms*: And therefore, it is fit, that *Controversie*, be in Peace, and Silence.

But there be two *Circumstances*, in the *Administration*, of *Bishops*, Wherein,

Wherein, I confeſſe, I could never be ſatisfied; *The one, the ſole Exerciſe, of their Authority*; *The other, the Deputation, of their Authority.*

For the Firſt, the *Biſhop* giveth *Orders alone*; *Excommunicateth alone*; *Judgeth alone.* This ſeemeth, to be a Thing, almoſt, without Example, in good Government; and therefore, not unlikely, to have crept in, in the degenerate, and corrupt, Times. We ſee, the *greateſt Kings, and Monarchs*, have their *Councells*: There is no *Temporall Court*, in *England*, of the Higher ſort, where the *Authority*, doth reſt in one perſon: The *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and the *Exchequer*, are *Benches*, of a certain Number, of Judges. The *Chancellour* of *England*, hath an Aſſiſtance, of *twelve Maſters*, of the *Chancery*. The *Maſter of the Wards*, hath a *Councell*, of the *Court*: So hath, the *Chancellour of the Dutchy*. In the *Exchecquer Chamber*, the *Lord Treaſurer*, is joyned, with the *Chancellour*, and the *Barons*. The *Maſters of the Requeſts*, are ever, more then One. The *Juſtices* of *Aſſiſe*, are two. The *Lord Preſidents*, in the *North*, and in *Wales*, have *Councells* of divers; The *Star-Chamber*, is an Aſſembly, of the *Kings Privy Councell*, aſperſed, with the *Lords*, *Spirituall*, *and Temporall*: So as in *Courts*, the principall *Perſon*, hath ever, either *Colleagues*, or *Aſſeſſours.*

The like, is to be found, in other, well governed, *Common-Wealths*, abroad, where the *Juriſdiction* is yet more diſperſed; As in the *Court of Parliament of France*; And in other places. No man will deny, but the Acts, that paſſe the *Biſhops Juriſdiction*, are of as great Importance, as thoſe, that paſſe, the *Civil Courts*; For Mens *Souls*, are more precious, then their *Bodies*, or *Goods*; And ſo are their *Good Names*. *Biſhops* have their Infirmities, & have no Exception, from that generall *Malediction*, which is pronounced againſtall Men Living; *Væ Soli, nam ſi ceciderit*; &c. Nay, we ſee, that the firſt *Warrant*, in *Spirituall Cauſes*, is directed to a Number; *Dic Eccleſiæ*; which is not ſo, in *Temporall Matters*: And we ſee, that in generall *Cauſes*, of *Church Government*, there are, as well Aſſemblies, of all the *Clergy*, *in Councells*, as of all the States in *Parliament*: Whence ſhould this ſole exerciſe, of Juriſdiction come? Surely, I do ſuppoſe, and I think, upon good Ground; That *Ab Initio non fuit ita*: And that the *Deans*, and *Chapters*, were *Councells*, about the *Sees*, and *Chairs*, of *Biſhops*, at the firſt; And were, unto them a *Presbytery*, or *Conſiſtory*; And intermedled, not onely, in the Diſpoſing, of their Revenues, and Endowments; but much more, in *juriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall*. But, it is probable, that the *Deans*, and *Chapters*, ſtuck cloſe to the *Biſhops*, in Matters of *Profit*, and the *World*, and would not looſe their Hold; But, in Matters of Juriſdiction, (which they accounted but Trouble, and Attendance,) they ſuffered the *Biſhops* to encroach, and uſurp; And ſo the one continueth, and the other is loſt. And we ſee, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, (*Fas enim & ab Hoſte*

*Hoste doceri*; And, no question, in that *Church*, the first Institutions, were excellent,) performeth, all *Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction*, as in *Consistory*.

And whereof consisteth this *Consistory*, but of the *Parish Priests*, of *Rome*, which term themselves *Cardinals*, *à Cardinibus Mundi*; Because, the *Bishop*, pretendeth to be universall, over the whole *World*. And hereof again, we see many *shadowes*, yet remaining: As that the *Dean*, and *Chapter*, *pro formâ*, chooseth the *Bishop*, which is the Highest *Point*, of *Jurisdiction*. And that, the *Bishop*, when he giveth *Orders*, if there be any *Ministers*, casually present, calleth them, to joyn with him, in *Imposition* of *Hands*, and some other *Particulars*. And therefore it seemeth to me, a Thing *Reasonable*, and *Religious*, and according to the *first Institution*, that *Bishops*, in the greatest Causes, and those which require a *Spirituall Discerning*; Namely in *Ordaining*, *Suspending*, or *Depriving Ministers*; In *Excommunication*, (being restored, to the true, and proper Use; As shall be afterwards touched;) In sentencing, *the Validity*, *of Marriages*, and *Legitimations*, In *Judging* Causes *Criminous*, as *Symony*, *Incest*, *Blasphemy*, and the like; Should not proceed sole, and unassisted. Which Point, (as I understand it,) is a *Reformation*, that may be planted, *sine Strepitu*, without any Perturbation, at all: And is a Matter, which will give *strength* to the *Bishops*; *Countenance* to the *inferior Degrees* of *Pelates*, or *Ministers*; And the better Issue, or proceeding, to those Causes, that shall passe.

And, as I wish, this *strength*, given to the *Bishops*, by *Councell*, so it is not unworthy, your *Majesties* Consideration, whether you shall not think fit, to give strength, to the *generall Councell*, of your *Clergy*, (the *Convocation House*;) which was then restrained, when the *State* of the *Clergy*, was thought, a Suspected Part, to the *Kingdome*, in Regard, of their late Homage, to the *Bishop of Rome*; Which State, now, will give place to none, in their Loyalty, and Devotion, to your *Majesty*.

For the *Second Point*; which is, the *Deputation of their Authority*; I see, no perfect, and sure Ground, for that neither; Being somewhat different, from the Examples, and Rules, of *Government*. The *Bishop*, exerciseth his *Jurisdiction*, by his *Chancellor*, and *Commissary*, *Officiall*, &c. We see, in all *Lawes*, in the world, *Offices* of *Confidence*, and *skill*, cannot be put over, nor exercised by *Deputy*; Except it be, especially, contained, in the *Originall Graunt*; And in that case, it is dutifull. And for Experience, there was never, any *Chancellor of England*, made a *Deputy*. There was never any *Judge*, in any Court, made a *Deputy*. The *Bishop*, *is a Judge*, and of a high Nature; whence commeth it, that he should depute? Considering, that all Trust, and Confidence, (as was said,) is personall, and Inherent; And cannot, nor ought not, be transposed? Surely, in this again; *Ab Initio non fuit sic*; But it is probable, *that Bishops*, when they gave themselves, too much, to the

*Glory*

*Glory* of the *World*, and became *Grandees* in *Kingdomes*, and great *Councellers* to *Princes*, then did they *deleague*, their *proper Jurisdictions*, as Things, of too inferiour a Nature, for their Greatnesse; And then, after the Similitude, and Imitation, of *Kings*, and *Counts Palatine*, they would have their *Chancellers*, and *Judges*.

But that *Example*, of *Kings*, and *Potentates*, giveth no good Defence. For the Reasons, why *Kings*, administer, by their *Judges*, although themselves are *Supream Judges*, are two. The one, because the Offices of *Kings* are, for the most part, of Inheritance; And it is a *Rule*, in all *Lawes*, that *Offices* of *Inheritance*, are rather Matters, that *Ground in Interest*, then in *Confidence*; For as much, as they may fall upon *Women*, upon *Infants*, upon *Lunaticks*, *and Ideots*, *persons incapable*, to Execute *Judicature*, in *Person*; And therefore, such *Offices*, by all *Lawes*, might, ever, be exercised, and administred, by *Delegation*. The Second Reason is, because of the Amplitude of their Jurisdictions; Which is a great, as either their *Birth-right*, *from their Ancestours*, or their *Sword-right from God*, maketh it. And therefore, if *Moses*, that was *Governer*, over no *great People*, and those collected together, in a *Camp*; And not scattred, in *Provinces*, and *Cities*; Himself of an extraordinary *Spirit*; Was, nevertheless, not able, to *suffice*, and hold out, in person, to judge the People; But did, by the advise of *Jethro*, approved from *God*, substitute *Elders*, and *Judges*, how much more, other *Kings*, and *Princes*?

There is a Third *Reason*, likewise, though not much to the present purpose; And that is; That Kings, either in respect of the *Common-wealth*, or of the *Greatnesse* of their own *Patrimonies*, are, usually, *Parties in Suites*; And then, their *Judges*, stand indifferent, between Them, and the *Subject*. But in the Case of *Bishops*, none of these *Reasons* hold. For first, their *Office* is *Elective*, and for *Life*, and not *Patrimoniall*, or *Hereditary*: An *Office*, *meerly* of *Confidence*, *Science*, and *Qualification*: And for the *Second Reason*, it is true, that their *Jurisdiction*, is Ample, and Spacious; And that their Time, is to be divided, between the Labours; As well, in the *Word*, and *Doctrine*, as in *Government*, and *Jurisdiction*. But yet, I do not see, (supposing, the *Bishops Courts*, to be used, incorruptly, and without any indirect course held, to multiply Causes for gain of Fees;) But that the *Bishop*, might very well, for *Causes* of *Moment*, supply, his *Judiciall Function*, in his own *Person*. For we see, before our Eyes, that one *Chanceller* of *England* dispatcheth, the *Suites* in *Equity*, of the whole *Kingdome*; which is not so much, by reason, of the Excellency, of that *Rare Honourable Person*, which now holdeth the place; But it was ever so, though, more, or lesse, burdenous, to the Suiter, as the *Chancelller*, was more, or lesse, able, to give dispatch. And if Hold be taken, of that which was said before, that the *Bishops Labour* in the *Word*, must take up, a principall Part of his Time; so, I may say again, that *Matters* of *State*, have, ever, taken up, most of the

*Chancellers* Time; Having been, for the most part, Persons, upon whom the *Kings*, of this *Realm*, have most relyed, for Matters of *Councell*. And therefore, there is no Doubt, but the *Bishop*, whose Circuit is lesse ample, and the Causes, in Nature, not so multiplying; with the Help, of *References*, and *Certificates*, to, and from, fit Persons, for the better Ripening of Causes, in their mean proceedings; And such ordinary Helps, incident to *Jurisdiction*; May, very well, suffice his *Office*. But yet, there is another *Help*; For the Causes, that come before him, are these: *Tithes*; *Legacies*; *Administrations*, and other *Testamentary* Causes; *Causes Matrimoniall*; *Accusations* against *Ministers*, tending to their *Suspension*, *Deprivation*, or *Degrading*; *Simony*; *Incontinency*; *Heresy*; *Blasphemy*; *Breach of the Sabboth*; And other, like *Causes*, of *Scandall*. The first two of these, in mine Opinion, differ from the Rest; That is, *Tithes*, and *Testaments*; For those, be Matters of profit, and, in their nature, *Temporall*; Though, by a Favour, and Connivence, of the *Temporall Jurisdiction*, they have been allowed, and permitted, to the *Courts Ecclesiasticall*: The one, to the end, the *Clergy*, might sue for that, that was their *Sustentation*, before their own *Judges*; And the other, in a kind of Piety, and Religion, which was thought incident, to the performance, of *Dead Mens Wills*. And surely, for these two, the *Bishop*, in mine opinion, may, with lesse danger, discharge himself, upon his *Ordinary Judges*. And I think, likewise, it will fall out, that those Suites, are in the greatest number. But for the rest, which require a *Spiritnall Science*, and *Discretion*, in respect of their *Nature*, or of the *Scandall*, it were reason, in mine Opinion, there were no Audience given, but by the *Bishop* Himself; He being also assisted, as was touched before: But it were necessary also, he were attended, by his *Chancellor*, or some others, his *Officers*, being learned, in the *Civill Lawes*; for his better Instruction, in *Points*, of *Formality*, or the *Courses*, of the *Court*: which if it were done, then were there lesse use, of the *Officials Court*; Whereof, there is now, so much *Complaint*. And *Causes*, of the Nature aforesaid, being onely drawn, to the *Audience*, of the *Bishop*, it would represse, frivoulous, and Prowling Suites; And give, a Grave, and Incorrupt, Proceeding, to such *Causes*, as shall be fit, for the *Court*.

There is a *Third Point* also, not of *Jurisdiction*, but of *Form* of *Proceeding*, which may deserve *Reformation*. The rather, because it is contrary, to the *Lawes*, and *Customes*, of this *Land*, and *State*; which, though they do not rule those *Proceedings*, yet may they be advised with, for better Directions; And that is, the *Oath ex Officio*; Whereby Men, are enforced, to accuse themselves; And that, that is more, are sworn unto Blancks, and not unto *Accusations*, and *Charges* declared. By the *Law* of *England*, no man is bound, to accuse himself. In the Highest *Cases*, of *Treason*, *Torture* is used, for *Discovery*, and not for *Evidence*. In *Capitall Matters*, no *Delinquents*, Answer, upon *Oath*, is required; No, not permitted.

mitted. In *Criminall Matters*, not *Capitall*, handled in the *Star-Chamber*; And in *Cauſes* of *Conſcience*, handled in the *Chancery*, for the moſt part, grounded, upon Truſt, and Secrecy, the *Oath* of the *Party*, is required. But how? Where there is an *Accuſation*, and an *Accuſer*, which we call, *Bills of Complaint*; (From which the *Complainant* cannot vary; And, out of the Compaſſe, of the which, the *Defendant* may not be examined,) Exhibited unto the *Court*, and, by *Proceſſe*, notified, unto the *Defendant*. But to examin a Man, upon *Oath*, out of the *Inſinuation* of *Fame*; Or out, of *Accuſations*, *ſecret*, and *undeclared*; Though it have, ſome Countenance, from the *Civill Law*; yet it is, ſo oppoſite, *Ex Diametro*, to the Senſe, and Courſe, of the *Common-Law*, as it may well receive, ſome *Limitation*.

## *Concerning the* Liturgy, *the* Ceremonies, *and* Subſcription.

FOr the *Liturgy*, great Reſpect, and Heed, would be taken, leaſt, by inveighing againſt the *Dumb Miniſtery*, due Reverence, be not withdrawn, from the *Liturgy*. For though the *Gift* of *Preaching*, be far above that of *Reading*; Yet, the *Action* of the *Liturgy*, is as High, and Holy, as that of the *Sermon*. It is ſaid; *Domus mea Domus Orationis Vocabitur*: *The Houſe of Prayer*, Not the *Houſe of Preaching*: And whereas the *Apoſtle* ſaith; *How ſhall Men call upon him, on whom they have not believed? And how ſhall they believe, unleſſe they hear? And how ſhall they hear, without a Preacher?* It appeareth, that as *Preaching* is the more *Originall*, ſo *Prayer* is the more *Finall*: As the Difference is, between the *Seed*, and the *Fruit*; For the Keeping of *Gods Law*, is the *Fruit*, of the *Teaching*, of the *Law*; And *Prayer*, or *Invocation*, or *Divine Service*, or Liturgy; (For theſe, be but Varieties, of Termes;) Is the *Immediate Hallowing*, of the *Name of God*; And the principall work, of the *firſt Table*; And, of the *great Commandement*, of the *Love*, of *God*. It is true, that the *Preaching*, of the *Holy Word*, of *God*, is the *Sowing* of the *Seed*; It is the *Lifting* up, of the *Brazen Serpent*; The *Miniſtery* of *Faith*; And the Ordinary *Means*, of *Salvation*; But yet, it is good, to take Example, how that the beſt *Actions*, of the *Worſhip* of *God*, may be extolled, *exceſſively*, and *ſuperſtitiouſly*. As the *Extolling*, of the *Sacrament*, bred the *Superſtition* of the *Maſſe*; The *Extolling* of the *Liturgy*, and *Prayers*, bred the *Superſtition*, of the *Monaſticall Orders*, and *Oraiſons*; And ſo, no doubt, *Preaching* likewiſe, may be magnified, and extolled, *ſuperſtitiouſly*; As if, all the whole *Body*, of *Gods Worſhip*, ſhould be turned into an *Ear*. So as none, (as I ſuppoſe,) of ſound *Judgement*, will derogate from

the *Liturgy*, if the Form thereof, be, in all parts, agreeable, to the *Word of God*; The *Example* of the *Primitive Church*; And that holy *Decency*, which *Saint Paul* commendeth. And therefore, firſt, that there be a *Set form* of *Prayer*; And that, it be not left, either to an *Extemporall Form*, or to an *Arbitrary Form*. Secondly, that it conſiſt, as well of *Laudes*, *Hymnes*, and *Thanksgivings*, as of *Petitions*, *Prayers*, and *Supplications*. Thirdly, that the *Form* thereof be quickned, with ſome ſhortneſſe, and Diverſities, of *Prayers*, and *Hymnes*, and with ſome Interchanges, of the *Voyce* of the *People*, as well as of the *Miniſter*. Fourthly, that it admit ſome *Diſtinctions*, of *Times*, and *Commemorations*, of *Gods principall Benefits*, as well Generall, as particular. Fifthly, that *Prayers*, likewiſe, be appropriated, to ſeverall *Neceſſities*, and *Occaſions*, of the *Church*. Sixthly, that there be a *Form*, likewiſe, of *Words*, and *Liturgy*, in the *Adminiſtration* of the *Sacraments*, and in the *Denouncing* of the *Cenſures* of the *Church*, and other Holy *Actions*, and *Solemnities*: Theſe things, I think, will not be much controverted.

But for the *Particular Exceptions*, to the *Liturgy*, in form, as it now ſtandeth; I think, divers, of them, allowing they were *Juſt*, yet ſeem they not to be *Weighty*; Otherwiſe, then that nothing ought to be accounted Light, in Matters of *Religion*, and *Piety*; As the Heathen himſelf could ſay; *Etiam vultu ſepè læditur Pietas.* That the *word*, (*Prieſt*,) ſhould not be continued, eſpecially with Offence, the *word*, (*Miniſter*,) being allready made familiar. This may be ſaid, that it is a good *Rule* in *Tranſlation*, never to confound that in one word, in the *Tranſlation*, which is preciſely diſtinguiſhed, in two words in the *Original*; for doubt of *Equivocation*, and *Traducing*. And therefore, ſeeing the word Πρεσβυτερος, & Ἱερευς, be alwaies diſtiúguiſhed, in the *Original*; And the one uſed for a *Sacrificer*, the other for a *Miniſter*; The word, *Prieſt*, being made common to both, (whatſoever the Derivation be,) yet, in uſe, it confoundeth the *Miniſter*, with the *Sacrificer*. And for an *Example*, of this kind; I did ever allow, the Diſcretion, and Tenderneſſe, of the *Rhemiſh Tranſlation*, in this Point; That finding, in the *Originall*, th word Ἀγάπη, and never Ἔρως; do ever tranſlate *Charity*, and never *Love*; Becauſe of of the *Indifferency*, and *Equivocation*, of the *word*, with *Impure Love*.

Touching the *Abſolution*, it is not unworthy Conſideration, whether it may not be thought, unproper, and unneceſſary? For there are, but two ſorts, of *Abſolution*; Both ſuppoſing, an *Obligation*, precedent: The one, upon an *Excommunication*, which is *Religious*, and *Primitive*; The other, upon *Confeſſion*, and *Penance*, which is *Superſtitious*, or, at leaſt, *Poſitive*; And both Particular, neither Generall. Therefore, ſince the one is taken away, and the other hath his proper caſe, what doth a *generall Abſolution*, wherein, there is neither *Penance*, nor *Excommunication*, precedent? For the *Church*, never *looſeth*, but where the *Church* hath *bound*.

*bound.* And ſurely, I may think, This, at the firſt, was allowed, in a kinde, of ſpirituall Diſcretion; Becauſe the *Church* thought, the people, could not be ſuddainly weaned, from their Conceit of Aſſoyling; To which they had been, ſo long accuſtomed.

For *Confirmation*, to my underſtanding, the State of the Queſtion is, whether it be not, a matter miſtaken, and altred by Time; And whether, that be not now made, a *Subſequent* to *Baptiſme*, which was, indeed, an *Inducement*, to the *Communion*. For whereas in the *Primitive Church*, *Children* were examined of their *Faith* before they were admitted to the *Communion*, Time may ſeem to have turned it, to refer, as if it had been, to receive, a *Confirmation*, of their *Baptiſme*.

For *Private Baptiſme*, by *Women*, or *Lay-Perſons*, the beſt *Diviners*, do utterly condemne it; and I hear it not generally defended; And I have often marvailed, that where the *Booke*, in the *Preface*, to *Publicke Baptiſme*, doth acknowledge, that *Baptiſme*, in the Practiſe, of the *Primitive Church*, was Anniverſary, and but at certain Times; which ſheweth, that the *Primitive Church*, did not attribute, ſo much, to the *Ceremony*, as they would break an outward, and generall, Order for it; The *Booke*, ſhould afterwards, allow of *Private Baptiſme*; As if the *Ceremony*, were of that Neceſſity, as the very *Inſtitution*, which committed *Baptiſme* onely to the *Miniſters*, ſhould be broken, in regard, of the ſuppoſed Neceſſity. And therefore this Point, of all others, I think, was, but a *Conceſſum proper Duritiam Cordis*.

For the *Form*, of *Celebrating Matrimony*, the *Ring* ſeemeth to many, even of vulgar Senſe, and Underſtanding, a *Ceremony* not Grave; Eſpecially, to be made, (as the *words* make it,) the eſſentiall Part, of the *Action*? Beſides, ſome other of the *words*, are noted, in Speech, to be, not ſo Decent, and Fit.

For *Muſick* in *Churches*; That there ſhould be *Singing* of *Pſalmes*, and *Spirituall Songs*, is not denyed: So the Queſtion is, *de Modo*; Wherein, if a Man, will look attentively, into the Order, and Obſervation, of it, it is eaſie to diſcern, between the *Wiſedome*, of the *Inſtitution*, and the *Exerciſe* of the late *Times*. For firſt, there are no Songs, or Verſes, ſung, by the *Quire*, which are not ſuppoſed, by continuall uſe, to be ſo familiar with the *People*, as they have them without Booke; Whereby, the Sound, hurteth not the Underſtanding; And thoſe, which cannot read, upon the Booke, are yet Partakers of the Senſe, and may follow it with their mind. So again, after the *Reading* of the *Word*, it was thought fit, there ſhould be, ſome pauſe, for Holy Meditation, before they proceeded, to the Reſt, of the *Service*: Which Pauſe, was thought fit, to be filled, rather with ſome *grave ſound*, then with a *ſtill ſilence*; Which was the Reaſon, of the *Playing* upon the *Organs*, after the *Scriptures* read. All which was *Decent*, and tending to *Ediſication*. But then, the *Curioſity* of *Deviſion*, and *Reports*, and other *Figures* of *Muſick*, have no Affinity, with

with the *Reasonable Service of God*, but were added, in the more pompous Times.

For the *Capp*, and *Surpliſſe*, ſince they be Things, in their Nature, indifferent; And yet, by ſome, held ſuperſtitious; And that the Queſtion is, between Science, and Conſcience; It ſeemeth to fall, within the Compaſs, of the *Apoſtles Rule*; Which is, *That the ſtronger, do deſcend, and yield, to the Weaker.* Only, the Difference is, that it will be materially ſaid, that the *Rule* holdeth, between *Privat Man*, and *Privat Man*, But not between the Conſcience, if a *Private Man*, and the *Order*, of a *Church*. But yet ſince the *Queſtion*, at this time, is of a *Tolleration*; Not by *Connivence*, which may encourage *Diſobedience*; But by *Law*, which may give a *Liberty*; It is good, again, to be adviſed, whether it fall not, within the *Equity*, of the Former *Rule*: The rather, becauſe the *Silencing* of *Miniſters*, by this Occaſion, is, in this ſcarcity of good *preachers*, a puniſhment, that lighteth upon the *People*, as well as upon the *Party*. And for the *Subſcription*, it ſeemeth to me, in the Nature of a *Confeſſion*; And therefore, more proper, to bind, in the *Unity* of *Faith*; And to be urged, rather, for *Articles of Doctrine*, then for *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*, and *Points* of *outward Government*. For howſoever, Politick Conſiderations, and Reaſons of State, may require *Uniformity*, yet *Chriſtian*, and *Divine Grounds*, look, chiefly, upon *Unity*.

## *Touching a* Preaching Miniſtery.

TO ſpeak of a *Learned Miniſtery*; It is true, that the *Worthineſs* of the *Paſtours*, & *Miniſters*, is, of all other points of *Religion*, the moſt *Summary*; I do not ſay, the *Greateſt*, but the moſt *Effectual*, towards the reſt: But herein to my Underſtanding, while Men, go on, in Zeal, to haſten this work, they are not aware, of as great, or greater Inconvenience, then that, which they ſeek to remove. For while, they inveigh, againſt a *Dumb Miniſtery*, they make, too eaſie, and too promiſcous, an Allowance of ſuch, as they account *Preachers*; Having not Reſpect enough, to their *Learnings*, in other Arts, which are *Handmaides*, to *Divinity*; Not Reſpect enough, to *Tears*, except it be, in Caſe, of *Extraordinary Gift*; Not Reſpect enough, to the *Gift* it ſelf, which, many Times, is none at all. For *God* forbid, that every Man, that can take unto himſelf Boldneſſe, to ſpeak an Hour together, in a *Church* upon a *Text*, ſhould be admitted for a *Preacher*, though he mean never ſo well. I know, there is a great *Latitude*, in *Gifts*; And a great *Variety* in *Auditories*, and *Congregations*; But yet ſo, as there is, *Aliquid Infimum*, below which, you ought not to deſcend. For you

muſt

must, rather, leave the *Arke*, to shake, as it shall please *God*, then put, unworthy *Hands*, to hold it up: And when we are, in *Gods Temple*, we are warned, rather, to *put our Hands, upon our Mouth, then to offer, the Sacrifice, of Fooles*. And surely, it may be justly thought, that amongst many Causes of *Atheisme*, which are miserably met in our Age; As *Schismes*, and *Controversies*; *Profane Scoffings, in Holy Matters*; and others; It is not the least, that divers do adventure, to handle the *Word* of *God*, which are unfit, and unworthy. And herein, I would have, no man, mistake me, as if I did extoll, curious, and affected, *Preaching*; which is, as much, on the other side, to be disliked; And breedeth *Atheism*, and *Scandall*, as well as the other; (For who, would not be offended, at one, that cometh into the *Pulpit*, as if he came upon the *Stage*, to play Parts, or Prizes?) Neither, on the other side, as if I would discourage any, who hath any tollerable Gift.

But upon this *Point*, I ground three *Considerations*: First, whether it were not requisite, to renew, that good *Exercise*, which was practised, in this *Church*, some years; And afterwards, put down, by order, indeed, from the *Church*; In regard, of some Abuse thereof; Inconvenient, for those Times; And yet, against the Advice, and Opinion, of one, of the Greatest, and Gravest, *Prelates*, of this *Land*; And was commonly called *Prophecying*. Which was this; That the *Ministers*, within a *Precinct*, did meet, upon a week day, in some principall Town; where there was, some ancient, *Grand Minister*, that was *President*; And an *Auditory*, admitted, of *Gentlemen*, or other *Persons* of *Leysure*. Then every *Minister*, successively, beginning with the youngest, did handle one, and the same part, of *Scripture*, spending, severally, some *Quarter* of an *Hour*, or better, And, in the whole, some *two Hours*: And so, the *Exercise*, being begun, and concluded, with *Prayer*; And the *President*, giving a *Text*, for the next meeting, the *Assembly* was dissolved. And this was, as I take it, a Forthnights Exercise: which in my Opinion, was the best way, to frame, and train, up *Preachers*, to handle the *Word* of *God*, as it ought to be handled, that hath been practised. For we see, *Oratours*, have their *Declamations*; *Lawyers*, have their *Moots*; *Logicians* their *Sophems*; And every practise of Science, hath an Exercise of Erudition, and initiation, before Men come to the Life; Onely *Preaching*, which is the worthiest; And wherein it is most danger to be amisse; Wanteth an Introduction, and is ventred, and rushed upon, at the first: But unto this *Exercise* of the *Prophecy*, I would wish, these two *Additions*; The one, that after this *Exercise*, which is, in some sort, *Publick*, there were, immediately, a *Private Meeting*, of the same *Ministers*; Where they might, brotherly admonish, the one, the other; And specially the elder sort, the younger, of any Thing, that had passed, in the *Exercise*, in *Matter*, *or Manner*, unsound, and uncomely; And, in a word, might, mutually, use such Advise, In-

Instruction, Comfort, or Encouragement, as Occasion might minister; For *publick Reprehension*, were to be debarred. The other *Addition*, that I mean, is, That the same *Exercise*, were used in the *Universities*, for *young Divines*, before they presumed to Preach, as well, as in the *Countrey*, for *Ministers*. For they have, in some *Colledges*, an *Exercise*, called a *Common Place*; Which can, in no Degree, be so profitable, being but the Speech, of one Man, at one time. And if it be feared, that it may be Occasion, to whet Mens Speeches, for Controversies, it is easily remedied, by some strict Prohibition, that Matters of Controversie, tending, any way, to the violating, or Disquieting, the *Peace* of the *Church*, be not handled or entred into; Which Prohibition, in regard, there is ever to be, a *Grave person*, *President*, or *Moderatour*, cannot be frustrate. The *second Consideration* is, whether it were not convenient, there should be a more exact *Probation*, and *Examination*, of *Ministers*; Namely, that the *Bishops*, do not ordain alone, but by *Advise*; And then, that Ancient, *Holy Orders* of the *Church* might be revived: By the which, the *Bishop* did ordain *Ministers*, but at *foure set times*, of the *year*; which were called, *Quatuor Tempora*; which, are, now, called *Ember-weeks*; It being thought fit, to accompany, so High an *Action*, with *generall Fasting*, and *Prayer*, and *Sermons*, and all *Holy Exercises*; And the *Names*, likewise, of those, that were to be *Ordained*, were published, some dayes, before their *Ordination*; To the end, *Exceptions* might be taken, if just Cause were. The Third Consideration, is, that if the Case of the *Church* of *England* be, that where a *Computation* is taken, of all the *Parochian Churches*, (allowing the *Union* of such, as were too small, and adjacent;) And again, a *Computation*, to be taken, of the *persons*, who are worthy to be *Pastours*; And, upon the said Account, if it fall out, that there are many more *Churches*, then *Pastours*; Then of Necessity, Recourse must be had, to one of these Remedies; Either, that *Pluralities*, must be allowed; (specially, if you can by *permutation*, make the *Benefices* more compatible:) Or that there be *Allowed Preachers*, to have a more generall Charge, to supply, and serve, by turn, *Parishes* unfurnished: For that some *Churches*, should be provided, of *Pastours*, able to teach; and others wholy Destitute, seemeth, to me, to be against the *Communion* of *Saints*, and *Christians*; And against the *Practice*, of the *Primitive Church*.

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*Touching*

## *Touching the* Abuſe, *of* Excommunication.

EXcommunication, is the greateſt *Judgement*, upon *Earth*; Being that, which is ratified in *Heaven*; And being, a *Precurſory*, or *Preluſory Judgement*, of the great *Judgement*, of *Chriſt*, in the *End* of the *World*. And therefore, for this, to be uſed unreverently, and to be made, an *Ordinary Proceſſe*, to lackey up and down, for *Fees*, how can it be, without Derogation, to *Gods Honour*, and making the *power of the Keyes*, contemptible? I know, very well, the Defence thereof, which hath no great Force; That it iſſueth forth, not for the Thing it ſelf, but for the *Contumacy*. I do not deny, but this *Judgement* is, (as I ſaid before,) of the Nature, of *Gods Judgements*, of the which, it is a Modell. For, as the *Judgement* of *God*, taketh hold, upon the *leaſt ſin*, of the *Impenitent*; And taketh no hold, of the *greateſt Sin* of the *Convert*, or *Penitent*: So *Excommunication*, may, in caſe, iſſue, upon the ſmalleſt Offence; And, in Caſe, not iſſue, upon the greateſt: But is this *Contumacy*, ſuch a *Contumacy*, as *Excommunication* is now uſed for? For the *Contumacy*, muſt be ſuch, as the Party, (as far, as the Eye, and Wiſdom, of the *Church*, can diſcern,) ſtandeth in State, of *Reprobation*, and *Damnation*: As one, that for that time, ſeemeth given over, to *Finall Impenitency*. Upon this *Obſervation*, I ground two *Conſiderations*: The one, that this *Cenſure*, be reſtored, to the true *Dignity*, and *Uſe*, thereof; which is, that it proceed not, but in Cauſes, of great weight; And that it be decreed, not by any *Deputy*, or *Subſtitute*, of the *Biſhop*, but by the *Biſhop*, in *Perſon*; And not by him alone, but by the *Biſhop Aſſiſted*.

The other *Conſideration*, is, That in liew, thereof, there be given, to the *Eccleſiaſticall Court*, ſome ordinary *Proceſſe*, with ſuch Force, and Coercion, as appertaineth; That ſo the *Dignity*, of ſo high a *Sentence*, being, retained, and the Neceſſity, of *Mean Proceſſe* ſupplyed, the *Church*, may be, indeed, reſtored, to the Ancient Vigour, and Splendour. To this purpoſe, joyn'd with ſome other Holy, and Good, purpoſes, was there a *Bill*, drawn in *Parliament*, in the Three and Twentieth Year, of the *Raign*, of the *Queen* deceaſed; (which was the Graveſt *Parliament*, that I have known;) And the *Bill*, recommended, by the graveſt, *Counſellor* of *Eſtate*, in *Parliament*; Though afterwards, it was ſtayed, by the *Queenes*, ſpeciall *Commandement*, the Nature of thoſe Things conſidered.

## *Touching,* { NON-RESIDENTS, *And* PLURALITIES.

FOR *Non-Residence*, except it be, in Case of necessary Absence, it seemeth, an *Abuse*, drawn out of *Covetousnesse*, and *Sloth*: For that Men, should *Live* of the *Flock*, that they do not *Feed*; Or of the *Altar*, at which they do not *Serve*; Is a Thing, that can hardly receive, just *Defence*. And to Exercise, the *Office*, of a *Pastour*, in Matter of the *Word*, and *Doctrine*, by Deputies; Is a Thing not warranted, as hath been touched before. The *Questions* upon this *Point*, do arise, upon the Cases of *Exception*, and *Excusation*; Which shall be thought *Reasonable*, and *Sufficient*; And which not. For the Case of *Chaplaines*, let me speak that with your *Majesties* pardon, and with Reverence, towards the other *Peeres*, and Grave *Persons*, whose *Chaplaines*, by *Statutes*, are priviledged: I should think, that the Attendance, which *Chaplaines* give, to your *Majesties Court*, and in the *Houses*, & *Families*, of their *Lords*, were a juster Reason, why they should have no *Benefice*, then why, they should be quallified, to have Two: For, as it standeth, with *Christian Policy*, that such Attendance, be, in no wise, neglected; Because that good, which ensueth thereof, to the *Church* of *God*, may exceed, or countervaile, that, which may follow of their Labours, in any, though never so large, a *Congregation*; So it were reasonable, that their *Maintenance* should *Honourably*, and *Liberally*, proceed thence, whence their *Labours* be imployed. Neither, are there wanting, in the *Church*, *Dignities*, and *Preferments*, not joyned, with any exact *Cure of Soules*; By which, and by the Hope of which, such *Attendants* in *Ordinary*, (who ought to be, as for the most part they are, of the best Gifts, and Sort,) may be, further, encouraged, and rewarded. And as for *Extraordinary Attendants*, they may, very well, retain the Grace, and Countenance, of their places, and Duties, at times incident thereunto, without *Discontinuance*, or *Non-Residence*, in their *Pastorall Charges*. Next, for the Case, of intending, *Studies* in the *Universities*, it will, more easily, receive an Answer; For *Studies*, do but serve, and tend, to the Practise, of those *Studies*; Aud therefore, for that, which is most Principall, and Finall, to be left undone, for the Attending, of that, which is *Subservient*, and *Subministrant*, seemeth to be, against proportion, of *Reason*. Neither do I see, but that, they proceed right well, in all Knowledge, which do couple *Study*, with their *Practice*; And do not first *Study altogether*, and then *Practise altogether*; And therefore, they may, very well, *Study*, at their *Benefices*. Thirdly, for the Case, of *Extraordinary Service* of the *Church*;

*Church*; As if ſome Paſtour, be ſent, to a *Generall Councell*; Or here, to a *Convocation*; And likewiſe, for the Caſe of Neceſſity, as in the particular, of *Infirmity* of *Body*, and the like; No man will contradict, but there may be, ſome *Subſtitution*, for ſuch a Time. But the *Generall Caſe*, of Neceſſity, is the Caſe of *Pluralities*; the *Want* of *Paſtours*, and *Inſufficiency*, of *Livings*, conſidered, *Poſito*, that a Man, doth, faithfully, and inceſſantly, divide, his Labours, between two *Cures*; Which kinde of *Neceſſity*, I come now, to ſpeak of, in the Handling, of *Pluralities*.

For *Pluralities*, in Caſe, the *Number*, of *Able Miniſters*, were ſufficient, and the *Valew* of *Benefices* were ſufficient, then *Pluralities*, were, in no ſort, tollerable. But we muſt take heed, we deſire not Contraries. For to deſire, that every Pariſh, ſhould be furniſhed, with a ſufficient *Preacher*; And to deſire, that *Pluralities*, be, forthwith, taken away, is to deſire Things contrary; Conſidering, *De Facto*, there are not, *Sufficient Preachers*, for every *Pariſh*: Whereto adde likewiſe, that there is not, *Sufficient Living*, and *Maintenance*, in many *Pariſhes*, to maintain a *Preacher*; And it maketh, the *Impoſſibility*, yet much the greater. The *Remedies*, in *Rerum Naturâ*, are but Three; *Union*, *Permutation*, and *Supply*. Union, of ſuch *Benefices*, as have the *Living*, too ſmall, and the *Pariſh* not too great, and are Adjacent. Permutation, to make *Benefices* more compatible, though men be over ruled, to ſome loſſe, in changing a *Better*, for a *Nearer*. Supply, by *Stipendary Preachers*, to be rewarded, with ſome *Liberall Stipends*, to ſupply, as they may, ſuch places, which are unfurniſhed, of *ſufficient Paſtours*. As *Queen Elizabeth*, amongſt other, her *Gracious Acts*, did erect, certain of them, in *Lancaſhire*; Towards which Penſions, I ſee no reaſon, but *Reading Miniſters*, if they have rich *Benefices*, ſhould be charged.

## *Touching the* Proviſion, *for* ſufficient Maintenance, *in the* Church.

TOuching *Church Maintenance*, it is well to be weighed, what is, *Jure Divino*, and what, *Jure Poſitivo*. It is a *Conſtitution*, of the *Divine Law*, from which humane Lawes, cannot derogate; That thoſe, which *feed the flock*, ſhould *live of the Flock*; That thoſe, that *ſerve, at the Altar*, ſhould *live of the Altar*; That thoſe, which *diſpenſe ſpirituall things*, ſhould *Reap Temporall Things*; Of which, it is alſo an *Appendix*, that the *Proportion*, of this *Maintenance*, be not *ſmall*, or *neceſſitous*, but *Plentifull*, and *Liberall*. So then, that all the *Places*, and *Offices*, of the *Church*, be provided, of ſuch a *Dotation*, that they may be maintained, according to their ſeverall

*Degrees*, is a *Constitution*, *permanent*, and *perpetuall*: But for particularity, of the *Endowment*, whether it should consist of *Tithes*, or *Lands*, or *Pensions*, or *Mixt*, might make a *Question*, of *Convenience*, but no *Question*, of *precise Necessity*. Again, that the *Case*, of the *Church*, *de facto*, is such, that there is want, in the *Church*, of *Patrimony*, is confessed. For the Principall Places, namely, the *Bishops Livings*, are, in some particulars, not sufficient; And therefore, enforced, to be supplyed, by Tolleration of *Commendams*, Things, of themselves, unfit, and ever held of no good Report. And as for the *Benefices*, and *Pastours* Places, it is manifest, that very many of them, are very weak, and penurious. On the other side, that there was a Time, when the *Church*, was rather burthened, with *Superfluity*, then with *Lack*, that is likewise apparent; But it is long since; So as the *Fault*, was in others, the *Want* redoundeth unto us. Again, that it were to be wished, that *Impropriations*, were returned to the *Church*, as the most *Proper*, and *Naturall*, *Endowments* thereof, is a Thing likewise, wherin Mens Judgements, will not much vary. Nevertheless, that it is an *Impossibility*, to proceed now, either to their *Resumption*, or *Redemption*, is as plain on the other side. For Men are stated in them, by the *Highest Assurance*, of the *Kingdome*, which is, *Act of Parliament*; And the value of them, amounteth, much above ten *Subsidies*: And the *Restitution* must, of Necessity, passe their Hands, in whose Hands they now are, in possession, or Interest.

But of these things, which are manifestly true, to infer, and ground, some Conclusions. First, in mine own Opinion, and Sense, I must confesse, (let me speak it with Reverence,) that all the *Parliaments*, since 27°. and 31°. of *H.* 8. (who gave away *Impropriations*, from the *Church*,) seem to me, to stand, in a sort, obnoxious, and obliged, to *God*, in *Conscience*, to do somewhat for the *Church*; To reduce the *Patrimony* thereof, to a *Competency*. For since, they have debarred, *Christes Wife*, of a great part, of her *Dowry*, it were Reason, they made her, a competent *Joynture*. Next to say, that *Impropriations*, should be onely charged; That carrieth neither *Possibility*, nor *Reason*. Not Possibility, for the Reasons touched before: Not Reason, because, if it be conceived, that if any other Person be charged, it should be a *Re-charge*, or *Double-charge*, in as much, as he payeth *Tithes*, already, that is a Thing mistaken. For it must be remembred, that as the *Realm*, gave *Tithes*, to the *Church*; So the *Realm*, since again, hath given *Tithes*, *away* from the *Church*, unto the *King*: As they may give their 8th *Sheaf*, or Ninth *Sheaf*. And therefore, the first Gift, being evacuated, it cannot go, in defeazance, or discharge, of that perpetuall Bond, wherewith Men are bound, to maintain *Gods Ministers*. And so, we see, in Example, that divers Godly, and well *Disposed*, *People*, not *Impropriatours*, are content, to encrease, their *Preachers Livings*; which, though in *Law*, it be but a *Benevolence*, yet, before *God*, it is a *Conscience*. Further, that *Impropri-*

*ations*

*ations*, ſhould not be, ſomewhat, more deeply, charged, then other *Revenues*, of like value, me thinks, cannot well be denied; Both, in regard, of the *Ancient claim* of the *Church*; And the *Intention*, of the *firſt Giver*; And again, becauſe they have paſſed, in *valuation*, between Man and Man, ſomewhat, at the leſſe rate, in regard, of the ſaid *pretence*, or *Claim*, of the *Church*, in *Conſcience*, before *God*. But of this *Point*, touching *Church-Maintenance*, I do not think fit, to enter into further Particularity, but reſerve the ſame, to a fitter Time.

Thus have I, in all Humbleneſſe, and Sincerity of Heart, to the beſt of my underſtanding, given your *Majeſty*, Tribute, of my Cares, and Cogitations, in this *Holy Buſineſſe*; So highly tending to *Gods Glory*, your *Majeſties Honour*, and the *Peace*, and *Welfare*, of your *States*. Inſomuch, as I am perſwaded, that the *Papiſts* themſelves, ſhould not need, ſo much, the *Severity* of *Penall Lawes*, if the *Sword* of the *Spirit*, were better edged, by *ſtrengthening* the *Authority*, and *ſuppreſſing* the *Abuſes*, in the *Church*.

To conclude, renewing my moſt Humble Submiſſion, of all that I have ſaid, to your *Majeſties*, moſt *High Wiſdome*; And again, moſt humbly, craving pardon, for any Errours, committed in this *Writing*; which, the ſame weakneſs, of Judgement, that ſuffered me to commit them, would not ſuffer me to diſcover them; I end, with my Devout, and Fervent, *Prayer* to *God*; That, as he hath, made your *Majeſty*, the *Corner-ſtone*, in joyning, your two *Kingdomes*; So, you may be alſo, as a *Corner-ſtone*, to unite, and knit together, theſe Differences, in the *Church*, of *God*; To whoſe *Heavenly* Grace, and *never erring*, *Direction*, I commend your *Majeſties Sacred* Perſon, and all your *Doings*.

CERTAIN

# CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS, TOUCHING THE PLANTATION IN IRELAND.

## PRESENTED TO His Maiesty, 1606.

IT seemeth *God*, hath reserved, to your *Majesties* Times, two *Works*; which amongst the *Works* of *Kings*, have the supream Preheminence; The *Union*, and *Plantation*, of *Kingdoms*. For although it be a great Fortune, for a *King*, to deliver, or recover, his *Kingdom*, from long continued Calamities; yet, in the Judgement of those, that have distinguished, of the Degrees, of *Soveraign Honour*; To be a *Founder*, of *Estates*, or *Kingdoms*, excelleth all the rest? For, as in *Arts*, and Sciences, to be the first *Inventer*, is more, then to *Illustrate*, or *Amplifie*: And as, in the *Works* of *God*, the *Creation*, is greater, then the *Preservation*; And as, in the *Works* of *Nature*, the *Birth*, and *Nativity*, is more then the

the *Continuance*: So in *Kingdoms*, the first *Foundation*, or *Plantation*, is of more *Noble Dignity*, and *Merit*, then all that followeth. Of which *Foundations*, there being but two Kinds; The first that maketh One of More; And the Second, that maketh, One of None; The Latter, resembling, the *Creation* of the *World*, which was, *De Nihilo ad Quid*; And the Former, the Edification of the Church, which was *de Multiplici ad Simplex, vel ad unum:* It hath pleased the *Divine Providence*, in singular Favour to your *Majesty*, to put, both these *Kinds* of *Foundations*, or *Regenerations*, into your Hand; The one, in the *Union*, of the *Island*, of *Britain*; The other, in the *Plantation* of *Great* and *Noble Parts*, of the *Island*, of *Ireland*: Which Enterprises, being once happily accomplished; Then that, which was uttered, by One of the Best *Orators*, in one of the Worst *verses*; *O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam:* May be, far more truly, and properly, applied to your *Majesties* Act: *Natam te Rege Britanniam*; *Natam Hiberniam.* For He spake, unproperly, of Deliverance, and Preservation; But, in these Acts of yours, it may be verified, more naturally. For indeed, *Unions*, and *Plantations*, are the very *Nativities*, or *Birth-Dayes* of *Kingdomes*. Wherein, likewise, *your Majesty* hath yet a Fortune extraordinary, and Differing, from former Examples, in the same Kind. For most Part of *Unions*, and *Plantations*, of *Kingdoms*, have been founded, in the *Effusion* of *Bloud*; But your *Majesty* shall build, in *Solo puro, & in Aree â purâ*, that shall need no *Sacrifices Expiatory*, for *Bloud*; And therefore, (no doubt,) under a Higher, and more Assured, *Blessing*. Wherefore, as I adventured, when I was lesse known, and lesse particularly bound, to your *Majesty*, then since, by your undeserved Favour, I have been, to write somewhat touching the *Union*; which your *Majesty* was pleased to accept; And which since, I have, to my power, seconded by my Travels; Not onely, in *Discourse*, but in *Action:* So I am, thereby, encouraged, to do the like, touching this Matter of *Plantation*; Hoping, that your *Majesty*, will, through the weakness of my Ability, discern the strength of my Affection; And the Honest, and fervent, Desire I have, to see your *Majesties* Person, Name, and Times, Blessed, and Exalted, above those, of your *Royall Progenitours*. And I was, the rather, invited this to do, by the Remembrance, that when the *Lord chief Justice*, deceased, *Popham*, served in the place, wherein I now serve; And afterwards, in the *Atturney's* Place, he laboured greatly, in the last Project, touching the *Plantation* of *Munster*. Which nevertheless, as it seemeth, hath given more light, by the *Errours* thereof, what to *Avoyd*; Then, by the *Direction* of the same, what to *Follow*.

First therefore, I will speak somewhat, of the *Excellency* of the Work; And then, of the *Means* to compass, and effect it. For the *Excellency* of the *Work*, I will divide it, into four Noble, and Worthy, Consequences, that will follow thereupon. The First of the four, is *Honour*; whereof I have spoken enough already.

dy, were it not, that the *Harp* of *Ireland*, puts me in mind, of that Glorious *Embleme*, or *Allegory*, wherein the wiſdome of Antiquity, did figure, and ſhadow out, works of this Nature. For the *Poets feigned*, that *Orpheus* by the vertue, and ſweetneſſe, of his *Harp*, did call, and aſſemble, the *Beaſts*, and *Birds*, of their Nature, *wild*, and *ſavage*, to ſtand about him, as in a *Theater*; Forgetting their Affections, of Fiercecenes, of Luſt, and of Prey; and liſtening to the Tunes, and Harmonies, of the *Harp*: and ſoon after, called likewiſe the *Stones*, and the *Woods*, to remove, and ſtand in order about him: which Fable, was anciently interpreted, of the *Reducing*, and *Plantation*, of *Kingdoms*; when *People* of *Barbarous Manners*, are brought, to give over, and diſcontinue, their *Cuſtoms*, of *Revenge*, and Blood, and of diſſolute Life, and of Theft, and of Rapine; And to give Ear, to the wiſdome of *Lawes*, and *Governments*; whereupon, immediately followeth, the *Calling* of *Stones*, for Building, and Habitation; and of Trees, for the ſeats of Houſes, Orchards, and Encloſures, and the like.

This Work, therefore, of all other, moſt Memorable, and Honourable, *your Majeſty* hath now in Hand; ſpecially, if your *Majeſty* joyn, the *Harp* of *David*, in caſting out, the Evill Spirit, of *Superſtition*; with the *Harp* of *Orpheus*, in caſting out *Deſolation*, and *Barbariſme*.

The ſecond *Conſequence*, of this *Enterpriſe*, is the *Avoiding*, of an *Inconvenience*, which commonly attendeth upon Happy Times, and is an evill effect, of a good Cauſe. The Revolution of this preſent Age, ſeemeth to encline to Peace, almoſt generally in theſe Parts; And your *Majeſties*, moſt Chriſtian, and vertuous, affections, do promiſe the ſame, more ſpecially, to theſe your *Kingdomes*. An effect, of *Peace*, in Fruitfull *Kingdoms*, (where the ſtock of *People*, receiving no *Conſumption*, nor *Diminution*, by *warre*, doth continually multiply, and encreaſe;) muſt, in the end, be a *Surcharge*, or *Overflow* of *People*, more then the *Territories* can well maintain; Which, many times, inſinuating a generall Neceſſity, and want of Means, into all eſtates; Doth turn, *Externall Peace*, into *Internall Troubles*, and *Seditions*. Now what an excellent Diverſion, of this Inconvenience, is miniſtred, by *Gods Providence*, to your *Majeſty*, in this *Plantation* of *Ireland*? wherein, ſo many *Families*, may receive, *Suſtentations*, and *Fortunes*; And the Diſcharge of them, alſo, out of *England*, and *Scotland*, may prevent many Seeds of *Future perturbations*? So that it is, as if a Man were troubled, for the Avoidance of water, from the place, where he hath built his *Houſe*; And afterwards, ſhould adviſe with himſelf, to caſt thoſe waters, and to turn them, into Fair Pools, or Streams, for pleaſure, proviſion, or uſe. So ſhall your *Majeſty*, in this *Work*, have a double Commodity; In the *Avoidance* of *People* here, and in *Making uſe* of them there.

The third *Consequence*, is the great *Safety*, that is like to grow, to your *Majesties Estate*, in generall, by this Act; In discomfiting all *Hostile Attempts* of *Forreiners*; which the Weakneſſe of that *Kingdome*, hath heretofore invited: Wherein, I ſhall not need, to fetch Reaſons, afar off, either for the generall, or particular. For the generall, becauſe nothing is more evident, then that, which one of the *Romans*, ſaid of *Peloponneſus*; *Teſtudo intra tegumen tuta eſt. The Tortoiſe is ſafe within her ſhell*: But, if ſhe put forth, any part of her Body, then it endangereth, not onely the part that is ſo put forth, but all the Reſt. And ſo, we ſee in *Armour*, if any part be left naked, it puts in hazard the whole Perſon. And, in the *Naturall Body* of *Man*, if there be any weak, or Affected, part, it is enough, to draw Rheums, or Maligne *Humours* unto it, to the Interruption, of the *Health*, of the *whole Body*.

And for the *Particular*, the Example is too Freſh, that the indiſpoſition of that *Kingdome*, hath been a continnall Attractive, of Troubles, and Infeſtations, upon this *Eſtate*; and though *your Majeſties* Greatneſſe, doth, in ſome ſort, diſcharge this Fear, yet with your encreaſe of *Power*, it cannot be, but *Envy* is likewiſe encreaſed.

The fourth, and laſt Conſequence, is the great *Profit*, and *Strength*, which is like to redound, to your *Crown*, by the working, upon this unpoliſhed Part thereof: Whereof, *your Majeſty*, (being in the ſtrength of your years,) are like, by the good pleaſure of *Almighty God*, to receive, more then the *Firſt Fruits*; And your *Poſterity*, a growing, and Springing Veine of Riches, and Power. For this *Iſland*, being another *Britain*; As *Britain* was ſaid, to be another *World*; Is endowed, with ſo many *Dowries* of *Nature*, (conſidering the *Fruitfullneſſe* of the Soil, the *Ports*, the *Rivers*, the *Fiſhings*, the *Quarries*, the Woods, and other *Materialls*; And ſpecially, the *Race*, and *Generation* of *Men*, *valiant*, hard, and active;) As it is not eaſie, no not upon the *Continent*, to find, ſuch Confluence of Commodities, if the *Hand* of *Man*, did joyn with the *Hand* of *Nature*. So then for the *Excellency*, of the work, in point of *Honour*, *Policy*, *Safety*, and *Utility*, here I ceaſe. For the *Means*, to effect this Work; I know your *Majeſty* ſhall not want, the Information of Perſons expert, and induſtrious, which have ſerved you there, and know the *Region*: Nor the Adviſe, of a Grave, and Prudent *Counſell*, here; which know the Pulſes, of the Hearts, of People, and the wayes, and Paſſages, of conducting great Actions: Beſides that, which is above all; which is, that *Fountain*, of Wiſdome, and Univerſality, which is in your ſelf: yet notwithſtanding, in a thing, of ſo publick a Nature, it is not amiſſe, for your *Majeſty*, to hear variety of Opinion. For as *Demoſthenes* ſaith well; *The good Fortune, of a Prince, or State, doth, ſometimes, put a good Motion, into a Fools Mouth*. I do think therefore, the *Means*, of accompliſhing this Work

Work consisteth of two principall Parts. The first, the *Invitation*, and *Encouragement*, of *Undertakers*: The second, the *Order*, and *Policy* of the *Project*, it self. For as in all *Engines* of the *Hand*, there is somewhat, that giveth the Motion and Force, and the rest, serveth to guide, and govern, the same: So it is in these *Enterprises*, or *Engines*, of Estate. As for the former of these, there is no doubt, but next unto the *Providence*, and *Finger* of *God*, which writeth these Vertuous, and Excellent, Desires, in the Tables, of your *Majesties* Heart, your *Authority*, and *Affection*, is *Primus Motor*, in this Cause: And therefore, the more strongly, and fully, your *Majesty* shall declare your self in it, the more shall you quicken, and animate, the whole proceeding. For this is an *Action*, which as the worthinesse of it, doth bear it, so the Nature of it requireth it, to be carried in some *Heighth* of *Reputation*; And fit, in mine Opinion, for *Pulpits*, and *Parliaments*, and all places, to ring, and resound of it. For that, which may seem Vanity, in some Things; (I mean, *Matter* of *Fame*;) is of great efficacy, in this Case.

But now, let me descend, to the inferiour *Sphears*, and speak, what Cooperation, in the Subjects, or undertakers, may be raised, and kindled, and by what *Means*. Therefore, to take plain Grounds, which are the surest; All *Men* are drawn into *Actions*, by three Things, *Pleasure*, *Honour*, and *Profit*. But before I pursue the three *Motives*, it is fit, in this place, to enterlace, a word, or two, of the *Quality*, of the *Undertakers*; wherein my Opinion simply is, that if your *Majesty*, shall make these *Portions* of *Land*, which are to be *Planted*, as Rewards, or as Suits, or as Fortunes, for those, that are in want; And are likest to seek after them; That they will not be able, to go through, with the Charge, of good substantiall *Plantations*; But will *Deficere*, *in Opere medio*; And then, this *Work* will succeed, as *Tacitus* saith; *Acribus initiis*, *Fine incurioso*. So that, this must rather be an *Adventure*, for such as are full; Then a *setting up*, of those, that are low of Means; For those Men, are fit, indeed, to perform these *Undertakings*; Which were fit, to purchase dry *Reversions*, after *Lives*, or years; Or such, as were fit, to put out *Money*, upon long *Returns*.

I do not say, but that I think, the *Undertakers* themselves, will be glad to have some *Captains*, or *Men* of *Service*, intermixed among them, for their safety; But I speak, of the Generality of *Undertakers*; which, I wish, were *Men* of *Estate*, and *Plenty*.

Now therefore, it followeth well to speak, of the aforesaid three *Motives*: For it will appear the more, how necessary it is, to allure, by all means, *Undertakers*; Since those Men, will be least fit, which are like to be, most in Appetite, of themselves; And those most fit, which are like, least to desire it.

First therefore, for *Pleasure*, in this *Region*, or *Tract of Soyl*, there is no *Warm Winters*, nor *Orenge Trees*, nor strange *Beasts*, or *Birds*, or other Points of *Curiosity*, or *Pleasure*, as there are in the *Indies*,

and the like; So as, there can be found, no Foundation, made upon Matter of *Pleasure*, otherwise, then that the very *Desire* of *Novelty*, and *Experiment*, in some *stirring Natures*, may work somewhat; And therefore, it is the other two Points, of *Honour*, and *Profit*, whereupon we are wholly to rest.

Earldom of Ulster

For *Honour*, or *Countenance*, if I shall mention to your *Majesty*, whether, in wisdome, you shall think convenient, the better to expresse your Affection to the *Enterprise*, and for a Pledge thereof, to adde the *Earldome* of *Ulster*, to the *Princes Titles*; I shall, but learn it, out of the practice, of *King Edward* the First; Who first used the like course, as a mean, the better to restrain, the *Countrey* of *Wales*: And, I take it, the *Prince of Spain*, hath the Addition, of a *Province*, in the *Kingdome* of *Naples*; And other *Presidents*, I think, there are, and it is like, to put more life, and Encouragement, into the *Undertakers*.

Also, considering the large *Territories*, which are to be Planted, it is not unlike, your *Majesty* will think, of raising some *Nobility* there; which, if it be done meerly, upon new *Titles*, of *Dignity*, having no manner of Reference to the Old; And if it be done also, without putting, too many *Portions*, into one *Hand*; And lastly, if it be done, without any great *Franchises*, or *Commands*; I do not see, any Perill, can ensue thereof: As, on the other side, it may draw some *Persons*, of great *Estate*, and *Means*, into the Action, to the great Furtherance, and Supply, of the charges thereof.

Baronets

And lastly, for *Knighthood*, to such Persons, as have not attained it; Or otherwise, *Knighthood*, with some new Difference, and Precedence; It may, no doubt, work with Many. And if any Man think, that these Things, which I propound, are *Aliquid nimis*, for the *Proportion*, of this *Action*; I confesse, plainly, that if your *Majesty*, will have it, really, and effectually, performed; My Opinion is, you cannot bestow too much *Sunshine* upon it. For *Lunæ Radiis non matureſcit Botrus*. Thus much for *Honour*.

For *Profit*, it will consist in Three parts:

First, the *Easie Rates*, that your *Majesty*, shall be pleased, to give, the *Undertakers* of the *Land*, they shall receive.

Secondly, the *Liberties*, which you may be pleased, to confer upon them. When I speak of *Liberties*, I mean not, *Liberties* of *Jurisdiction*; As *Counties palatine*, or the like; (which it seemeth, hath been the Errour, of the ancient *Donations*, and *Plantations*, in that *Country*;) But I mean, only *Liberties*, tending to *Commodity*: As *Liberty*, to transport, any of the *Commodities*, growing upon the *Country*, new *Planted*; *Liberty* to *Import*, from hence, all Things, appertaining to their necessary use, *Custome free*; Liberty, to take *Timber*, or other *Materialls*, in your *Majesties Woods*, there, and the like.

The Third is, *Ease of Charge*; That the whole *Masse*, of *Charge*,

*charge*, doth not rest, upon the Private Purse, of the Undertakers.

For the Two Former of these, I will pass them over; because, in that Project, which with good diligence, and providence, hath been presented to your *Majesty*, by your *Ministers* of that *Kingdome*, they are, in my Opinion, well handled.

For the Third, I will never despaire, but that the *Parliament*, of *England*, if it may perceive, that this *Action*, is not a *Flash*, but a *Solid*, and *Setled pursuit*, will give aid, to a *Worke*, so *Religious*, so *Politique*, and so *Profitable*. And the Distribution of Charge, (if it be observed,) falleth, naturally, into Three Kindes of *Charge*; And every, of those *Charges*, respectively, ought to have, his proper *Fountain*, and *Issue*. For as, there proceedeth, from your *Majesties Royall Bounty*, and *Munificence*, the *Gift* of the *Land*, And the other *Materialls*; Together with the *Endowment* of *Liberties*; And as the *Charge*, which is *Private*; As *Building* of *Houses*, *Stocking* of *Grounds*, *Victuall*, and the like, is to rest upon the *Particular Undertakers*; So whatsoever is *Publicke*; As *Building* of *Churches*, *Walling* of *Townes*, *Town-Houses*, *Bridges*, *Cawsies*, or *High-wayes*, and the like; Ought not, so properly, to lye upon particular *Persons*, but to come, from the *Publicke Estate*, of this, *Kingdom*; To which, this Work, is like to return, so great an Addition, of *Glory*, *Strength*, and *Commodity*.

For the *Project* it self, I shall need to speak the lesse, in regard, it is so considerately digested already, for the *County* of *Tyrone*; And Therefore, my Labour shall be, but in those Things, wherein, I shall either Adde to, or Dissent from, that which is set down; Which will include, Five *Points*, or *Articles*. First, they mention a *Commission*, for this *Plantation*; Which, of all Things, is most necessary, both to *Direct*, and *Appease*, *Controversies*, and the like.

To this I adde Two *Propositions*. The one, that which, perhaps, is meant, though not expressed; That the *Commissioners*, should, for certain times, reside, and abide, in some Habitable *Town*, of *Ireland*, near in Distance, to the Country, where the Plantation shall be; To the end; Both that they may be more at Hand, for the Execution of the *Parts*, of their *Commission*; And withall, it is like, by drawing of *Concourse* of *People*, and *Trades Men*, to such *Townes*, it will be some Help, and Commodity, to the *Undertakers*, for Things, they shall stand in need of. And likewise, it will be a more safe place of Receit, and Store, wherein to Unlade, and Deposite, such Provisions, as are after to be employed.

The Second is, that your *Majesty*, would make a *Correspondency*, between the *Commission* there, and a *Councell* of *Plantation*, here. Wherein I warrant, my self, by the *President*, of the like *Councell*, of *Plantation*, for *Virginia*; An enterprise, in my Opinion, differing as much from this, as *Amadis de Gaule*, differs from

*Cæsars*

*Cæsars Commentaries.* But when I speak of a *Councell* of *Plantation*, I mean, some *Persons*, chosen, by way of *Reference*; Upon whom the *Labour*, may rest; To prepare, and report, Things, to the *Councell* of *Estate*, here, that concern that *Busines*. For although, your *Majesty*, have a grave, and sufficient, *Councell* in *Ireland*: From whom, and upon whom, the *Commissioners*, are to have Assistance, and Dependance; yet that supplies not the Purpose, whereof I speak. For considering, that upon the *Advertisements*, as well of the *Commissioners*, as of the *Councell* of *Ireland*, it self; There will be many Occasions, to crave Directions, from your *Majesty*, and your *Privy Councell* here, which are busied with a world of Affaires; It cannot but give greater *Expedition*, and some better *Perfection*, unto some *Directions*, and *Resolutions*; If the *Matters*, may be considered of afore hand, by such, as may have a continuall Care, of the Cause. And it will be, likewise, a *Comfort*, and *Satisfaction*, to some *Principall Undertakers*, if they may be admitted of that *Councell*.

Secondly, there is a *Clause*, wherein the *Undertakers*, are restrained, that they shall execute the *Plantation*, in *Person*; from which I must dissent, if I will consent, with the Grounds, I have already taken. For it is not probable, that *Men*, of great *Meanes*, and *Plentifull Estates*, will indure the *Travaile*, *Diseasements*, and *Adventures*, of going thither in *Person*; But rather, I suppose, Many will undertake *Portions*, as an *Advancement*, for their *Younger Children*, or *Kinsfolks*; Or for the *Sweetnesse*, of the *Expectation*, of a great *Bargaine*, in the end, when it is overcome. And therefore, it is like, they will imploy *Sons*, *Kinsfolks*, *Servants*, or *Tenants*; And yet be glad, to have the *Estate*, in themselves. And, it may be, some again, will joyn their *Purses*, together; And make, as it were, a *Partner-ship*, or *Joynt-Adventure*; And yet man forth, some one Person, by consent, for the Executing of the *Plantation*.

Thirdly, there is a *Main Point*, wherein, I fear, the *Project*, made, hath two much of the Line, and Compass; And will not be, so naturall, and easie, to Execute; Nor yet, so Politick, and Convenient: And that is, that the Buildings, should be, *Sparsim*, upon every *Portion*; And the *Castle*, or *Principall House*, should draw the *Tenements*, and *Farmes* about it, as it were into *Villages*, *Hamlets*, or *Endships*; And that there should be, only, Foure *Corporate Townes*, for the *Artificers*, and *Trades-Men*.

My Opinion is, that the Building, be altogether in *Townes*, to be compounded, as well of *Husbandries*, as of *Arts*. My *Reasons* are.

First, when *Men* come into a *Country*, *Vast*, and Void of all Things necessary, for the use of *Mans Life*; If they set up together, in a Place, one of them, will the better supply, the wants of another. *Work Folkes* of all sorts, will be the more continually on work, without Losse of Time; When, if Work faile in one Place,

Place, they may have it fast by; The *Wages* will be made, more passible, for *Carriages*, to those *Seats*, or *Townes*, then they can be, to a Number of dispersed, Solitary, Places; And infinite other, helps, and Easements, scarcely to be comprehended, in Cogitation, will ensue, in *Vicinity*, and *Society* of *People*; Whereas, if they build scattered, (as is projected,) Every Man, must have a *Cornu-Copia*, in himself, for all Things he must use; Which cannot but breed, much *Difficulty*, and no lesse *Wast*.

Secondly, it will draw out, of the *Inhabited Country*, of *Ireland*, *Provisions*, and *Victualls*, and many necessaries, because they shall be sure of Utterance; Whereas, in the Dispersed *Habitations*, every Man must reckon, onely, upon that, that he brings with him; As they do, in *Provisions*, of *Ships*.

Thirdly, the Charge of *Bawnes*, as they call them, to be made, about every *Castle*, or *House*, may be spared, when the *Habitations*, shall be *congregated*, onely into *Towns*. Bawnes ?

And lastly, it will be a Means, to secure the *Country*, against future *Perils*, in case, of any *Revolt*, and *Defection*. For, by a slight *Fortification*, of no great Charge, the danger of any *Attempts*, of *Kierns*, and *Sword-Men*, may be prevented: The *Omission* of which *Point*, in the last *Plantation*, of *Munster*, made the *Work* of *years*, to be but the *Spoyle* of *Dayes*. And if any *Man* think, it will Draw *People*, too far off, from the Grounds, they are to labour; It is to be understood, that the *Number*, of the *Towns*, be encreased accordingly; And likewise, the *Situation* of them, be, as in the *Center*, in respect of the *Portions* assigned to them. For in the *Champian Countries* of *England*, where the *Habitation*, useth to be in *Towns*, and not dispersed, it is no new Thing, to go two Miles off, to Plow, part of their *Grounds*: And two *Miles Compasse*, will take up a good Deal of *Countrey*.

The fourth *Point*, is a *Point*, wherein, I shall differ, from the *Project*, rather in *Quantity*, and *Proportion*, then in *Matter*. There is allowed to the *undertaker*, within the five years of Restraint, to alien a third part, in *Fee Farm*; And to *Demise*, another for *fourty years*; which, I fear, will mangle the *Portions*; And, will be, but a shift, to make money, of two parts: Whereas, I am of Opinion, the more, the first undertaker, is forced to keep, in his own Hands, the more the Work is like to prosper. For First, the *Person*, liable, to the *State* here, to perform the *Plantation*, is the *Immediate Undertaker*. Secondly, the more, his *Profit* dependeth, upon the *Annuall*, and *Springing Commodity*; The more Sweetnesse, he will find, in putting forward, *Manurance*, and *Husbanding of the Grounds*; And therefore is like to take more care of it. Thirdly, since the *Natives*, are excluded, I do not see, that any persons, are like to be drawn over, of that *Condition*, as are like to give *Fines*, and undertake the *Charge* of *Building*: For I am perswaded, that the *People transported*, will consist of *Gentlemen*, and their *Servants*; And of Labourers, and Hindes; And not of Yeomen, of any wealth;

And

And therefore, the *Charge* of *Building*, as well of the *Tenements*, and *Farmes*, as of the *Capitall Houses*, themselves, is like to rest, upon the *Principall Undertakers*, which will be recompenced, in the end, to the full, and with much advantage, if they make no long *Estates*, or *Leases*.

And therefore this *Article*, to receive some *Qualification*.

Fifthly, I should think it requisite, that *Men* of *Experience*, in that *Kingdome*, should enter, into some particular Consideration, of the *Charges*, and Provisions, of all kindes, that will be incident to the *Plantation*; To the end, that thereupon, some Advise, may be taken, for the Furnishing, and Accommodating them, most conveniently; Aiding private Industry, with publick Care, and Order.

Thus I have expressed to your *Majesty*, those simple, and weak, Cogitations, which I have had in my Self, touching this *Cause*; Wherein, I most humbly desire your pardon, and gracious acceptance, of my good Affection, and Intention. For I hold it for a *Rule*, that there belongeth to great *Monarchs*, from Faithfull Servants, not onely the *Tribute* of *Duty*, but the *Oblations* of *cheerfulnesse* of *Heart*. And so I pray the *Almighty*, to blesse this great *Action*, with your *Majesties Care*; And your *Care*, with *Happy Successe*.

ADVISE

# ADVICE TO THE KING, TOUCHING Mr. SUTTONS ESTATE.

*May it please Your MAJESTY;*

I Find it, a Positive *Precept*, of the *Old Law*; *That there should be no Sacrifice without Salt.* The *Morall* whereof, (besides the *Ceremony*,) may be; That *God* is not pleased, with the *Body* of a good *Intention*; Except it be *seasoned*, with that *Spirituall Wisedome*, and *Judgement*, as it be not easily Subject, to be *corrupted*, and *perverted*. For *Salt*, in the *Scripture*, is a *Figure*, both of *Wisedome*, and *Lasting*. This commeth into my Mind, upon this Act of Mr. *Sutton*; Which seemeth to me, as a *Sacrifice without Salt*; Having the *Materials*, of a *Good Intention*, but not powdred, with any such *Ordinances*, and *Institutions*, as may preserve the same from turning *Corrupt*; Or, at least, from becomming *Unsavoury*, and of little *Use*. For though, the Choice of the *Feoffees*, be of the best; yet neither can they alwayes live;

And the very Nature, of the Work it ſelf, in the vaſt, and unfit, Proportions thereof, being apt to provoke a Miſ-imployment; It is no Diligence of theirs, (except there be a *Digreſſion* from that *Modell*,) that can excuſe it, from running the ſame way, that *Gifts* of like Condition, have heretofore done. For to deſig the *Charter-houſe*, a *Building* fit for a *Princes Habitation*, for an *Hoſpitall*; Is all one, as if one ſhould give in Almes, a *Rich Embroydered Cloak*, to a *Beggar*. And certainly, a Man may ſee, *Tanquam quæ Oculis Cernuntur*, that if ſuch an *Edifice*, with *Six Thouſand pounds Revenue*, be erected into one *Hoſpitall*; It will, in ſmall time, degenerate, to be made a preferment, of ſome great *Perſon*, to be *Maſter*, and he to take all the ſweet, and the *Poor*, to be ſtinted, and take but the *Crums*: As it comes to paſſe, in divers *Hoſpitals*, of this *Realm*; Which have but the *Names* of *Hoſpitalls*, and are but wealthy *Benefices*, in reſpect of the *Maſterſhip*; But the *Poor*, which is the *Propter quid*, little relieved. And the like, hath been the Fortune, of much of the *Almes*, of the *Roman Religion*, in the *Great Foundations*; which being begun in Vain-Glory, and Oſtentation, have had their Judgement, upon them, to end in Corruption, and Abuſe. This *Meditation*, hath made me preſume, to write theſe few Lines to your *Majeſty*; Being no better then good *Wiſhes*, which your *Majeſties* great *Wiſedom*, may make ſome thing, or Nothing, of.

Wherein, I deſire, to be thus underſtood; That if this *Foundation*, (ſuch as it is,) be *perfect*, and *Good* in *Law*; Then I am too well acquainted, with your *Majeſties* Diſpoſition, to adviſe, any Courſe, of power, or Profit, that is not grounded upon a Right: Nay further, if the *Defects* be ſuch, as a *Court* of *Equity* may Remedy, and Cure; Then I wiſh, that as Saint *Peters ſhadow*, did cure *Diſeaſes*; So the very ſhadow, of a Good Intention, may cure Defects of that Nature. But if there be a Right, and Birth-right, planted in the *Heir*; And not Remediable by *Courts* of *Equity*; And that Right, be ſubmitted to your *Majeſty*; Whereby it is both, in your power, and Grace, what to do; Then I do wiſh, that this rude *Maſſe*, and *Chaos*, of a *Good Deed*, were directed, rather to a *Solide Merit*, and *Durable Charity*, then to a *Blaze* of *Glory*, that will but crackle, a little, in Talk, and quickly extinguiſh.

And this may be done, obſerving the *Species*, of Mr. *Suttons* Intent, though varying in *Individuo*. For it appeares, that he had, in Notion, a Triple Good; An *Hoſpitall*; And a *Schoole*; And *Maintaining* of a *Preacher*; Which *Individualls*, refer to theſe Three *Generall Heads*. *Relief of Poore*; *Advancement of Learning*; And *Propagation of Religion*. Now then, if I ſhall ſet before your *Majeſty*, in every of theſe Three Kindes, what it is, that is moſt wanting in your *Kingdome*; And what is like, to be the moſt Fruitfull, & Effectuall uſe, of ſuch a *Beneficence*, and leaſt like to be perverted: That I think, ſhall be no ill Scope of my Labour, how meanly ſoever performed; For out of *Variety*, repreſented, *Election* may be beſt grounded.

Con-

Concerning the *Relief* of the *Poore*; I hold some *Number*, of *Hospitalls*, with Competent *Endowments*, will do far more good, then one *Hospitall*, of an *Exorbitant Greatnesse*. For though the one Course, will be the more *Seene*, yet the other will be the more *Felt*. For if your *Majesty* erect many, besides the observing the *Ordinary Maxime*; *Bonum, quo communius, eo melius*, choice may be made, of those *Townes*, and *Places*, where there is most Need; And so the *Remedy*, may be *Distributed*, as the *Disease*, is *Dispersed*. Again, *Greatnesse* of *Reliefe*, accumulate in one place, doth rather invite a Swarm, and Surcharge, of *Poore*, then relieve those, that are, naturally, bred in that place: Like to ill tempred *Medicines*, that draw more Humour to the Part, then they Evacuate from it. But chiefly, I rely, upon the Reason, that I touched in the Beginning; That in these *Great Hospitalls*, the *Revenues*, will draw the *Use*, and not the *Use*, the *Revennes*; And so, through the *Masse* of the *Wealth*, they will swiftly tumble down, to a *Misemployment*. And if any *Man* say, that in the Two *Hospitalls* in *London*, there is a *President* of *Greatnesse*, concurring with *Good Employment*; Let him consider, that those *Hospitalls*, have *Annuall Governers*; That they are under the Superiour Care, and Policy, of such a state, as the *City* of *London*; And chiefly, that their *Revenues*, consist not upon *Certainties*, but upon *Casualties*, and *Free Gifts*; Which Gifts would be with-held, if they appeared once to be perverted: So as, it keepeth them, in a continuall Good Behaviour, and Awe, to employ them aright: None of which Points, do match, with the present *Case*.

The next *Consideratiõ* may be, whether this intended *Hospital*, as it hath a more ample *Endowment*, then other *Hospitals* have, should not likewise work, upon a better Subject then other *Poore*: As that it should be converted, to the *Relief* of *Maimed Souldiers*, *Decayed Merchants*, *Householders Aged*, and *Destitute Church-men*, and the like; Whose Condition, being of a better sort, then loose *People*, & *Beggars*, deserveth, both a more *Liberal Stipend*, & *Allowance*, and some proper place of *Relief*, not intermingled, or coupled, with the Basest Sort of *Poore*: Which *Project*, though Specious, yet, in my Judgement, will not answer the *Designment*, in the Event, in these our Times. For certainly, few Men in any Vocation, which have been some Body, and beare a Mind, somewhat according to the Conscience, and Remembrance, of that they have been, will ever descend, to that Condition, as to professe, to live upon *Almes*, and to become, a *Corporation*, of *Declared Beggars*; But rather will choose, to live *Obscurely*, and as it were, to hide themselves, with some private Friends: So that the End, of such an *Institution*, will be, that it will make the Place, a *Receptacle* of the Worst, Idlest, and most dissolute Persons, of every Profession; And to become a *Cell* of *Loyterers*, and *Cast Serving Men*, and *Drunkards*, with Scandall rather then Fruit, to the *Common Wealth*. And of this kinde, I can find but one *Example* with us; Which is,

the *Almes Knights* of *Windsor*; Which particular, would give a Man, small encouragement, to follow that *President*.

Therefore, the best Effect of *Hospitals*, is, to make the *Kingdome*, if it were possible, capable of that *Law*; *That there be no Beggar in Israel*. For it is that kind of People, that is a burthen, an Eye sore, a scandall, and a Seed, of Perill, and Tumult, in the *State*. But chiefly, it were to be wished, that such a *Beneficence*, towards the *Relief* of the *poor*, were so bestowed; As not onely, the *Meere*, and *Naked*, *Poore*, should be sustained; But also, that the *Honest Person*, which hath hard means to live, upon whom the *Poore* are now charged, should be in some sort eased. For that were a *Work*, generally acceptable, to the *Kingdome*, if the *Publick Hand*, of *Alms*, might spare, the *Private Hand*, of *Tax*. And therefore, of all other Employments, of that kind, I commend most, *Houses* of *Relief*, and *Correction*; which are *Mixt Hospitalls*, where the *Impotent Person*, is relieved, and the *Sturdy Beggar*, buckled to work; And the unable Person also, not maintained to be Idle, (which is ever joyned with *Drunkennesse*, and *Impurity*,) But is sorted, with such work, as he can mannage, and perform; And where the uses, are not distinguished, as in other *Hospitals*; Whereof some, are for *Aged*, and *Impotent*; and some for *Children*; And some, for *Correction* of *Vagabonds*; But are generall, and promiscuous. So that, they may take, off *Poore*, of every sort, from the *Countrey*, as the *Countrey* breeds them. And thus, the *Poore* themselves, shall find the *Provision*, and other *People* the sweetnesse, of the *Abatement*, of the *Tax*. Now if it be objected, that Houses of Correction, in all places, have not done the good expected; (as it cannot be denied, but in most places, they have done much Good;) It must be remembred, that there is a great Difference, between that, which is done, by the Distracted Government, of *Justices* of *Peace*; And that, which may be done by a setled *Ordinance*, subject to a *Regular Visitation*, as this may be; And besides, the Want hath been, commonly, in *Houses* of *Correction*, of a competent, and Certain, *Stock*, for the *Materialls* of the *Labour*, which, in this case, may be likewise supplied.

Concerning the *Advancement* of *Learning*, I do subscribe, to the Opinion, of one, of the Wisest, and Greatest, Men, of your *Kingdome*. That for *Grammar Schools*, there are already too many; and therefore, no Providence, to adde, where there is Excesse. For the great *Number* of *Schools*, which are in your *Highnesse Realm*, doth cause a *Want*, and doth cause likewise an *Overflow*; Both of them, Inconvenient, and one of them Dangerous. For by Means thereof, they find *Want* in the *Countrey*, and *Towns*, both of *Servants* for *Husbandry*, and *Apprentices* for *Trade*; And, on the other side, there being more *Schollers* bred, then the *State*, can prefer, and Employ; And the Active part, of that life, not bearing a proportion, to the *Preparative*; It must needs fall out, that many *Persons*, will be bred, unfit, for other

*Vocations*;

*Vocations*; And *unprofitable* for that, in which they are brought up; Which fills the *Realm*, full of *Indigent*, *Idle*, and *Wanton* People, which are but *Materia Rerum novarum.*

Therefore, in this Point, I wiſh, Mr. *Suttons Intention*, were exalted a Degree; That that, which he meant, for *Teachers* of *Children*, your *Majeſty* ſhould make for *Teachers* of *Men*; wherein, it hath been, my ancient Opinion, and Obſervation; That in the *Univerſities* of this *Realm*, (which I take to be, of the beſt endowed *Univerſities* of *Europe*,) there is Nothing more wanting, towards *the flouriſhing State* of *Learning*, then the Honourable, and plentifull, *Salaries*, of *Readers*, in Arts, and *Profeſſions.* In which Point, as your *Majeſties Bounty*, already, hath made a Beginning; So this Occaſion, is offered of *God*, to make a *Proceeding.* Surely, *Readers* in the *Chair*, are, as the *Parents* in *Sciences*, and deſerve, to enjoy a Condition, not inferiour to their *Children*, that embrace the *Practicall* Part. Els, no Man, will *ſit* longer, in the *Chair*, then till he can *walk*, to a better preferment: And it will come to paſſe, as *Virgil* ſaith,

*Et Patrum invalidi referent jejunia Nati.*

For, if the Principall *Readers*, through the Meanneſſe, of their Entertainment, be but Men, of ſuperficiall *Learning*; And that, they ſhall take their place, but in paſſage; It will make the *Maſſe* of *Sciences*, want the chief, and ſolid Dimenſion, which is *Depth*; and to become, but Pretty, and, compendious, *Habits* of *practice.* Therfore, I could wiſh, that in both the *Univerſities*, the *Lectures*, as well of the three *Profeſſions*, *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Phyſick*; As of the three *Heads* of *Science*, *Philoſophy*, *Arts* of *Speech*, and the *Mathematicks*, were raiſed in their *Penſions*, unto a 100 l. *per Annum*, a piece; Which though it be not near ſo great, as they are in ſome other Places, where the Greatneſſe of the Reward, doth whiſtle for the Ableſt Men, out of all *Forrain parts*, to ſupply the *Chair*; yet it may be a Portion, to content a *Worthy*, and *Able*, Man; If he be, likewiſe, *Contemplative* in *Nature*; As thoſe *ſpirits* are, that are Fitteſt for *Lectures.* Thus may *Learning*, in your *Kingdome*, be advanced, to a further *Heighth*; *Learning*, (I ſay,) which, under your *Majeſty*, the moſt *Learned* of *Kings*, may claim ſome *Degree*, of *Elevation*,

Concerning *Propagation* of *Religion*, I ſhall in few words, ſet before your *Majeſty*, three *Propoſitions*; None of them, Deviſes, of mine own, otherwiſe, then that I ever approved them: Two of which, have been in Agitation, of Speech, and The third acted.

The firſt is, a *Colledge* for *Controverſies*; Whereby, we ſhall not ſtill proceed Single, but ſhall, as it were, double our *Files*; Which, certainly, will be found, in the Encounter.

The ſecond is, a Receipt, (I like not the word *Seminary*, in reſpect, *of the Vain Vowes*, *and implicite Obedience*, and other Things

Things, tending to the *perturbation* of States, involved in that Term;) for *Converts* to the *Reformed Religion*, either of Youth, or otherwise; For, I doubt not, but there are in *Spain*, *Italy*, and other *Countries*, of the *Papists*, many, whose Hearts are touched, with a sense of those Corruptions, and an acknowledgment of a better Way; which *Grace*, is, many times, smothered, and choaked, through a worldly Consideration of *Necessity*, and want; Men not knowing, where to have *Succour*, and *Refuge*. This, likewise, I hold a *Work* of great *Piety*, and a *Work*, of great *Consequence*; That we, also, may be *Wise*, *in our Generation*; And that, the *Watchfull*, and *Silent Night*, may be used, as well for *sowing of good Seed*, as of *Tares*.

The third is, the *Imitation* of a Memorable, and Religious Act, of *Queen Elizabeth*; Who finding, *a part* of *Lancashire*, to be extreamly Backward, in *Religion*; And the *Benefices*, swallowed up, in *Impropriations*, did, by *Decree*, in the *Dutchy*, erect four *stipends*, of 100 l. *per Annum*, a piece, for *Preachers*, well chosen, to help the *Harvest*; which have done, a great deal of Good, in the Parts, where they have laboured. Neither do there want, other *Corners*, in the *Realm*, that would require, for a time, the like *Extraordinary Help*.

Thus have I, briefly, delivered, unto your *Majesty*, mine Opinion, touching the *Employment*, of this *Charity*: whereby, that Masse of wealth, which was in the Owner, little better, then a Stack, or Heap, of Muck, may be spread, over your *Kingdome*, to many fruitfull purposes; your *Majesty planting*, and *watering*, and *God giving the Encrease*.

A

# PROPOSITION,

TO

## His Maiesty,

BY

Sir *FRANCIS BACON*, Knight,

HIS

# MAIESTIES

*ATTURNET GENERALL*;

AND

One of His PRIVY COUNSELL; Touching the *Compiling*, And *Amendment*, Of the *LAWES*, of *ENGLAND*.

*YOUR MAJESTY*,

IF Your Favour, Having Made me *Privy Councellor*: And Continuing me, in the Place, of your *Atturney Generall*, (which is more then was these hundred years before,) I do not understand it to be, that by putting off, the dealing, in Causes, between party and party, I should keep Holy-day the more: But that, I should dedicate my time, to your Service, with lesse distraction. Wherefore, in this plentifull Accession of Time, which

which I have now gained, I take it, to be my duty; Not onely to ſpeed your *Commandements*, and the *Buſineſſe*, of my *place*; But to meditate, and to excogitate, of my ſelf, wherein I May beſt, by my Travels, derive your *Vertues*, to the Good of your People; And return, their Thanks, and Increaſe of Love, to you again. And after I had thought, of many things, I could find, in my Judgement, none more proper, for your *Majeſty*, as a Maſter; Nor for me, as a Workman, then the *Reducing*, and Recompiling, of the *Lawes* of *England*.

Your *Majeſty* is a *King*, bleſſed with *Poſterity*; And theſe *Kings*, ſort beſt, with Acts of Perpetuity; When they do not leave them, inſtead of Children; but tranſmit, both *Line*, and *Merit*, to Future Generations. You are a great *Maſter*, in *Juſtice*, and *Judicature*: And it were pitty, that the fruit of that Vertue, ſhould dye with you. Your *Majeſty*, alſo Raigneth, in Learned Times; The more, in regard, Of your own perfections, and patronage of Learning; And it hath been the miſhap, of *Works*, of this *Nature*, that the leſſe Learned Time, hath wrought upon the more Learned; Which now will not be ſo. As for my ſelf, the Law is my profeſſion, to which I am a debter. Some little helps I May have, of other Learning, which may give Form to matter; And your *Majeſty* hath ſet me, in an Eminent place, whereby, in a *Work*, which muſt be the *Work* of many, I may the better have *Coadjutors*. Therefore, not to hold your *Majeſty*, with any long preface, in that, which I conceive to be, nothing leſs then Words; I will proceed to the Matter: Which matter, it ſelf, nevertheleſſe, requireth, ſomewhat briefly to be ſaid, both of the Dignity, and likewiſe of the Safety, and Convenience, of this *Work*; And then to go to the main; That is to ſay, to ſhew, how the *work* is to be done: Which incidently, alſo, will beſt Demonſtrate, that it is no vaſt, nor ſpeculative, Thing; But a Reall, and feizable. *Calliſthenes*, that followed *Alexanders Court*, and was grown, in ſome diſpleaſure, with him; Becauſe he could not well brook the *Perſian Adoration*; At a Supper, (which, with the *Græcians*, was, ever, a great part, *Talk*,) was deſired, becauſe he was an *Eloquent Man*, to ſpeak of ſome *Theam*; which he did; And choſe, for his Theam, The praiſe, of the *Macedonian Nation*; which, though it were, but a filling Thing, to praiſe men, to their Faces; yet he did it, with ſuch Advantage of Truth; and avoydance of *Flattery*, and with ſuch life; As the Hearers were ſo raviſhed with it, that they plucked the *Roſes* off from their *Garlands*, and threw them upon him: As the Manner of Applauſes, then, was: *Alexander* was not pleaſed with it, and, by way of Diſcountenance, ſaid, *It was eaſie, to be a good Oratour, in a pleaſing Theam. But*, (ſaith he to *Calliſthenes*,) *turn your ſtile, and tell us now of our Faults, that we may, have the profit, and not you onely the praiſe.* Which he preſently did, with ſuch a force, and ſo piquantly, that *Alexander* ſaid; *The Goodneſſe of his Theam had made him Eloquent before: But*

*now*

*now it was the Malice of his heart, that had inſpired him:*

1. *Sir*, I ſhall no fall, into either of thoſe two *Extreames*, Concerning the *Lawes* of *England*: They commend themſelves, beſt to them, that underſtand them: And your *Majeſties*, *Chief Juſtice* of your *Bench*, hath, in his Writings, magnified them, not with out Cauſe: Certainly, they are Wiſe, they are Juſt, and Moderate, *Lawes*; They give to *God*; They give to *Cæſar*; They give to the *Subjects*; that which appertaineth. It is true, They are as mixt, as our *Language*, compounded of *Brittiſh*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, *Norman*, Cuſtomes. And as our *Language*, is ſo much the Richer, ſo the *Lawes*, are the more compleat; Neither doth this attribute leſſe to them, then thoſe, that would have them, to have ſtood out the ſame, in all *Mutations*; For no *Tree*, is ſo good, firſt ſet, as by *Tranſplanting*.

2. As for the Second *Extream*; I have nothing to do with it, by way, of *Taxing* the *Lawes*. I ſpeak, only, by way of *Perfitting* them: Which is eaſieſt in the beſt things; For that, which is farr amiſſe, hardly receiveth Amendment; But that, which hath already; To that, more may be *Given*. Beſides, what I ſhall propound, is not, to the *Matter* of the *Lawes*, but to the *Manner*, of their *Regiſtry*, *Expreſſion*, and *Tradition*: So that, it giveth them rather *Light*, then any new *Nature*. This being ſo, for the *Dignity*, of the *Worke*, I know, ſcarcely, where to find the like; For, ſurely, that *Scale*, and thoſe *Degrees*, of *Soveraign Honour*, are true, and rightly marſhalled. Firſt, the *Founders* of *Eſtates*; Then the *Law givers*; Then the *Deliverers*, and *Saviours*, after long Calamities; Then the *Fathers* of their *Countries*; Which are Juſt, and Prudent, *Princes*; And Laſtly, Conquerors, which Honour, is not to be received, amongſt the reſt; Except it be, where there is an addition of more Country, and Territory, to a better Government, then that was of the *Conquered*. Of theſe in my Judgement, your *Majeſty*, may, with more truth, then flattery, be intituled, to the firſt; becauſe of your *Uniting* of *Britain*, & *Planting Ireland*; Both which ſavour of the *Founder*. That, wch I now propound to you, may adopt you, alſo, into the Second: *Law-givers*, have Been called, *Principes Perpetui*; Becauſe, as *Biſhop Gardner* ſaid, in a bad Senſe, that he would be *Biſhop*, an hundred years, after his death, in reſpect of the Long *Leaſes* he made: So *Law-givers*, are ſtill *Kings*, and *Rulers*, after their *Deceaſe*, in their *Lawes*. But this *Worke*, ſhining ſo in it ſelf, needes no Taper. For the ſafety, and convenience, thereof; It is good to conſider, and to anſwer thoſe *Objections*, or *Scruples*, which may ariſe, or be made, againſt this *Worke*.

*Obj.* 1. That it is a Thing needleſſe; And that the *Law*, as it now is, is in good Eſtate; Comparable to any *Forrain Law*; And that, it is not poſſible, for the Wit of Man, in reſpect of the Frailty thereof, to provide, againſt the Incertainties, and Evaſions, or Omiſſions, of *Law*.

Reſp. For the Compariſon, with *Forraine Lawes*, it is in vaine, to ſpeak of it; For men will never agree about it. Our *Lawyers*, will maintain, for our *Municipall Lawes*; *Civilians*, *Schollars*, *Travaillers*, will be of the other Opinion.

But Certain it is, that our *Lawes*, as they now ſtand, are ſubject to great Incertainties, and variety of Opinion, Delayes, and Evaſions; Whereof enſueth.

1. That the *Multiplicity*, and length of Suites, is great.

2. That the Contentious Perſon, is armed, and the Honeſt Subject, Wearied, and Oppreſſed.

3. That the *Judge*, is more *Abſolute*; Who, in doubtfull Caſes, hath a greater ſtroak, and Liberty.

4. That the *Chancery Courts*, are more filled, the Remedy of *Law*, being often obſcure, and doubtfull.

5. That the ignorant *Lawyer*, ſhrowdeth his Ignorance of *Law*, in that, doubts are ſo frequent, and many.

6. That Mens *Aſſurances*, of their *Lands*, and *Eſtates*, by *Patents*, *Deedes*, *Wills*, are often ſubject to queſtion, and hollow; And many the like Inconveniencies.

It is a good Rule, and Direction, (For that all *Lawes*, *Secundum Magis & Minus*, do participate of Incertainties,) That followeth: Mark, whether the Doubts, that ariſe, are, only, in Caſes of Ordinary Experience, Or, which happen not every day? If in the firſt, Only, impute it to frailty, of Mans foreſight, that cannot reach, by *Law*, to all *Caſes*: But if in the Latter; be aſſured, there is a fault in the Law. Of this, I ſay no more, but, that, (To give every Man his Due,) Had it not been, for Sr. *Edward Cookes Reports*, (which, though they may have Errors, and ſome peremptory, and Extrajudiciall Reſolutions, more then are warranted: Yet they containe, infinite good *Deciſions*, and *Rulings* over, of *Caſes*.)

The *Law*, by this Time, had been, almoſt, like a Ship, without ballaſt; For that the *Caſes*, of Modern Experience, are fled from thoſe, that are adjudged, and ruled, in Former time. But the *Neceſſity*, of this *Worke*, is yet greater, in the *Statute Law*. For Firſt, there are a number, of *Enſnaring*, *Penall Lawes*, which lay upon the *Subject*; And if, in bad times, they ſhould be awaked, and put in Execution, would grinde them to powder.

There is a learned *Civilian*, that expoundeth, the *Curſe* of the *Prophet*: *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos*, of Multitude, of *Penall Lawes*: Which are worſe, then ſhowres of Hayle, or Tempeſt, upon Cattle; for they fall upon *Men*.

There are ſome *Penall Lawes*, fit to be retained, but their *Penalty* too great, And it is ever a Rule, that any over great *Penalty*, (beſides the *Acerbity* of it,) deads the *Execution* of the *Law*.

There is a further Inconvenience, of *Penall Lawes*, *Obſolete*, and *out of Uſe*; For that it brings a *Gangrene*, *Neglect*, and *Habite Diſobedience*,

*bedience*, upon other wholesome *Lawes*, that are fit to be continued, in *Practise*, and *Execution*: So that our *Lawes*, endure the *Torment* of *Mezentius*.

*The living die in the Armes of the dead.*

Lastly, there is, such an *Accumulation*, of *Statutes*, concerning one matter; And they so crosse, and intricate, as the *Certainty* of *Law*, is lost in the *Heape*; As your *Majesty*, had Experience, last day, upon the *Point*: Whether the *Incendiary* of *New-market*, should have the benefit, of his *Clergy*.

*Obj.* 1. That it is a great *Innovation*; And *Innovations*, are *dangerous*, beyond foresight.

*Resp.* All *Purgings*, and *Medecines*, either in the *Civile*, or *Naturall*, Body, are *Innovations*. So as that *Argument*, is a *Common place*, against all *Noble Reformations*. But the troth is, that this work, ought not to be termed, or held, for any Innovation, in the suspected sense. For those are the *Innovations*, which are quarrelled, and spoken against, that concern the Consciences, Estates, and Fortunes, of particular persons: But this of General Ordinance, pricketh not particulars, but passeth *Sine Strepitu*. Besides, it is on the favourable part: For it easeth, it presseth not: And lastly, it is, rather, matter, of *Order*, and explanation, then of Alteration. Neither is this, without President, in former *Governments*.

The *Romans*, by their *Decemvirs*, did make their *Twelve Tables*; But that was, indeed, a new *Enacting*, or *Constituting*, of *Lawes*, Not a *Registring*, or *Recompiling*: And they were made, out of the *Lawes*, of the *Græcians*, not out of their own *Customes*.

In *Athens*, they had *Sexvir*, which were standing *Commissioners*, to watch, and to discern, what *Lawes*, waxed unproper, for the *Time*; And what new *Law*, did, in any branch, crosse, a former *Law*, and so, *Ex Officio*, propounded their Repeales.

*King Lewis*, the 11th. of *France*, had it in his intention, to have made, one perfite, and uniform, *Law*, out of the *Civil Law Roman*, and the *Povinciall Customes*, of *France*.

*Justinian*, the *Emperour*, by Commissions, directed, to divers persons, *Learned* in the *Lawes*, reduced the *Roman Lawes*, from *Vastnesse* of Volume, and a *Labyrinth* of incertainties, Unto that course, of the *Civill Law*, which is now in use. I find, here at home, of late years, That *King Henry* the 8th. in the Twenty seventh of his *Raign*, was authorized, by Parliament, to nominate Thirty two *Commissioners*, part *Ecclesiasticall*, part Temporall, to purge the *Canon Law*, and to make it agreeable, to the *Law* of *God*, and the *Law*, of the Realm; And the same was revived, in the Fourth year, of *Edward* the 6th. though neither took effect.

For the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Ninos*, and others, of ancient time, they are not the worse, because *Grammer Schollars*, speak of them. But things too ancient, wax *Children*, with us again.

*Edgar*, the *Saxon King*, collected, the *Lawes* of this *Kingdome*, and gave them the Strength, of a Faggot bound, which formerly were diſperſed.

The *Statutes*, of *King Edward*, the Firſt, were fundamentall; But I doubt I err, in producing ſo many *Examples*; For, as *Cicero* ſaith to *Cæſar*, ſo may I ſay, to your *Majeſty:*

*Nil Vulgare te Dignum Videri poſſit.*

*Obj.* 3. In this purging, of the courſe, of the *Common Lawes*, and *Statutes*, much good may be taken away.

*Reſp.* In all Purging, ſome good *Humours*, may paſs away; But that, is largely recompenſed, by Lightning, the Body, of much bad.

*Obj.* 4. Labour were better beſtowed, in bringing the *Common Lawes*, of *England*, to a *Text Law*, as the *Statutes* are; And ſetting, both of them down, in *Method*, and by *Titles*.

*Reſp.* It is too long a Buſineſſe, to debate, whether *Lex Scripta, aut non Scripta*, A *Text Law*, or *Cuſtomes* well regiſtred, with received, and approved *Grounds*, and *Maximes*, and Acts, and Reſolutions Judiciall, from Time to Time, duely entred, and reported; Be the better Form, of Declaring, and Authorizing, *Lawes:* It was the principall Reaſon, or *Oracle*, of *Lycurgus*; That none, of his *Lawes*, ſhould be written. *Cuſtomes*, are *Lawes* written, in *Living Tables*: And ſome *Traditions*, the *Church* doth not diſauthorize. In all Sciences, they are the ſoundeſt, that keep cloſe to *Particulars*; And ſure I am, there are more *Doubts*, that riſe upon our *Statutes*, which are a *Text Law*, then upon the *Common Law*, which is no *Text Law*. But, howſoever that Queſtion be determined, I dare not adviſe to caſt the *Law*, into a new *Mould*. The work, which I propound, tendeth to proyning, and Grafting, the *Law*; And not, to *Plow up* and *Planting it again*: for ſuch a Remove, I ſhould hold, indeed, for a perillous *Innovation*.

*Obj.* 5. It will turn the *Iudges*, *Counſellors* of *Law*, and *Students* of *Law*, to ſchoole again; And make them, to ſeek, what they ſhall hold, and adviſe for *Law*; And, it will impoſe, a new charge, upon all *Lawyers*, to furniſh themſelves, with new Bookes of *Law*.

*Reſp.* For the Former of thoſe, touching the new Labour; It is true, it would follow, if the *Law*, were new moulded, into a *Text Law*; For then, Men muſt be new to begin: And that, is one of the Reaſons, for which, I diſallow that Courſe.

But in the way, that I ſhall now propound, the *entire Body*, and *Subſtance* of *Law*, ſhall remain; Onely diſcharged, of Idle, and Unprofitable, or Hurtfull, Matter: and Illuſtrated, by Order, and other Helps, towards the better Underſtanding of it, and Judgement thereupon.

For

For the Latter, touching the *new charge*, it is not worth the ſpeaking of, in a matter, of ſo high importance; It mought have been uſed, of the *New Tranſlation*, of the *Bible*, and ſuch like *Workes. Bookes* muſt follow *Sciences*, and not *Sciences, Bookes*.

XXX

## *The* Work *it Self*; *And the* Way *to* Reduce, *And* Recompile, *the* Lawes *of* England.

THIS Work, is to be done, (to uſe ſome few words, which is the *Language* of *Action*, and *Effect*,) in this manner.

It conſiſteth of two parts: The *Digeſt*, or *Recompiling*, of the *Common Lawes*: And that of the *Statutes*.

In the firſt of theſe, Three Things are to be done.

1. The *Compiling* of a *Booke*, De *Antiquitatibus Juris*.

2. The *Reducing*, or *Perfecting*, of the *Courſe*, or *Corps*, of the *Common Lawes*.

3. The Compoſing, of certain *Introductive*, and *Auxiliary Bookes*, touching the Study, of the *Lawes*.

For the firſt of theſe. All *Auncient Records*, in your *Tower*, or elſe where, Containing Acts of *Parliament*, *Lords Patents*, *Commiſſions*, and *Judgements*, and the like, are to be Searched, Peruſed, and Weighed. And out of theſe, are to be ſelected, thoſe that are of moſt Worth, and Weight; And in order of *Time*, not of *Titles*, (for the more *Conformity*, with the *Teare-Bookes*;) to be ſet Down, and Regiſtred; Rarely, in *hæc Verba*; But ſummed with Judgement, not omitting any materiall part: Theſe are to be uſed, for *Reverend Preſidents*, but not for *Binding Authorities*.

For the Second, which is the Maine; There is to be made, a perfect *Courſe*, of the *Law*, in *Serie Temporis*, or *Teare-Bookes*, (As we call them,) from *Edward* the Firſt, to this Day; In the *Compiling*, of this *Courſe*, of *Law*, or *Teare-Bookes*, The points following, are to be obſerved.

Firſt, all *Caſes*, which are, at this Day, clearely, no *Law*; but conſtantly ruled, to the contrary, are to be left out: They do but fill the *Volumes*, and ſeaſon the Wits of *Students*, in a contrary ſenſe of *Law*. And ſo likewiſe, all *Caſes*, wherein that is ſolemnly, and long debated, whereof there is now no Queſtion at all, are to be entred, as *Judgements only*, and *Reſolutions*; But without the *Arguments*, which are now become but frivolous: Yet for the Obſervation, of the deeper ſort of *Lawyers*, that they may ſee, how the *Law* hath altered, out of which they may pick ſometimes good uſe; I do adviſe; That upon the firſt in time, of thoſe *Obſolete Caſes*, there were a *Memorandum* ſet; That, at that time, the

*Law*

*Law*, was thus taken, untill ſuch a time, *&c.*

Secondly, *Homonymiæ*, (as *Juſtinian* calleth them;) That is *Caſes meerly*, of *Iteration*, and *Repetition*, are to be purged away; And the *Caſes*, of *Identity*, which are beſt *Reported*, and *Argued*, to be retained, inſtead of the Reſt; The *Judgements*, nevertheleſſe, to be ſet down, every one, in time, as they are; But with a Quotation, or Reference, to the *Caſe*, where the *Point*, is argued at large; but if the Caſe, conſiſt, part of *Repetition*, part of new *Matter*, The *Repetition*, is, onely, to be omitted.

*Thirdly*, as to the *Antinomiæ*, Caſes Judged to the Contrary; It were too great a truſt, to refer, to the Judgement, of the *Compoſers*, of this *work*; to decide the Law either way; except there be, a currant ſtream, of Judgements, of later times: and, then, I reckon the *Contrary Caſes*, amongſt *Caſes Obſolete*; of which I have ſpoken before: Nevertheleſſe, this diligence would be uſed, that ſuch *Caſes* of *Contradiction*, be ſpecially noted, and collected; to the end, thoſe *Doubts*, that have been ſo long *Militant*, May either, by aſſembling, All the *Judges*, in the *Exchequer Chamber*, or by *Parliament*, be put into certainty. For to do it, by bringing them in queſtion, under fained parties, is to be diſliked. *Nil habeat Forum ex ſcenâ.*

Fourthly, All *Idle Quæries*, which are but *Seminaries*, of *Doubts*, and *Incertainties*, are to be left out, and omitted, and no *Quæries* ſet down, but of great *Doubts*, well debated, and left undecided, for difficulty; But no *doubting*, or *upſtarting*, *Quæries:* Which, though they be touched in Argument, for Explanation; yet were better to die, then to be put into the *Bookes*.

Laſtly, *Caſes Reported*, with too great prolixity, would be drawn, into a more Compendious *Report*; Not in the Nature of an *Abridgement*, but *Tautologies*, and Impertinences, to be cut off: As for *Miſprinting*, and *Inſenſible Reporting*, which, many times, confound the *Students*, that will be, *Obiter*, amended; But more principally, if there be any thing in the *Report*, which is is not well warranted, by the *Record*, that is alſo to be rectified; The Courſe being thus Compiled, Then it reſteth, but for your *Majeſty*, to appoint ſome grave, and ſound, *Lawyers*, with ſome honourable ſtipend, to be *Reporters*, for the Time to come; And then, this is ſetled, for all times.

This *Conſtitution*, of *Reporters*, I obtained of the *King*, after I was *Chancellour*, and there are two, appointed, with a 100. l. a year, a peece, ſtipend.

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FOR the *Auxiliary Books*, that Conduce, to the Study, and *Science*, of the *Law*, they are three: *Inſtitutions*; A Treatiſe, *de Regulis Juris*; And a better *Book*, *De verborum ſignificationibus*, or *Terms* of the *Law*. For the *Inſtitutions*, I know well there be *Books* of *Introductions*, (wherewith *Students* begin) of good worth,

worth; Specially *Littleton*, and *Fitzherbert*; *Natura Brevium*, But theyare, no wayes, of the Nature, of an *Institutions*; The Office whereof, is, to be a *Key*, and generall preparation, to the *Reading*, of the *Course*. And principally, it ought to have, two Properties; The one, a perspicuous, and clear, *Order*, or *Method*; And, the other, an *Universall Latitude, or Comprehension*; That the *Students*, may have a little *Præ-Notion*, of every Thing, Like a *Modell*, towards a great *Building*. For the Treatise, *de Regulis Juris*, I hold it, of all other Things, the most important, to the Health, (as I may term it,) and good *Institutions*, of any *Laws*. It is, indeed, like the ballast of a Ship, tokeep, all upright, and stable: But I have seen little, in this kind, either in our *Law*, or other *Lawes*, that satisfieth me. The *naked Rule*, or *Maxime*, doth not the Effect. It must be made usefull, by good *Differences*, *Ampliations*, and *Limitations*, warranted by good Authorities; And this, not by Raising up, of Quotations, and References, but by Discourse, and Deducement, in a *Just Tractate*. In this, I have travelled my self, at the first, more cursorily; since, with more Diligence; And will go on with it, if *God*, and your *Majesty*, will give me leave. And I do assure your *Majesty*, I am in good hope, that when, Sir *Edward Cookes* Reports, and my Rules, and *Decisions*, shall come to *Posterity*, there will be, (whatsoever is now thought,) Question, who was the greater *Lawyer*? For the *Bookes*, of the *Termes*, of the Law, There is a poore one; But I wish, a Diligent one, wherein, should be comprised, not onely, the *Exposition*, of the *Termes*, of *Law*; but of the *Words*, of all auncient Records, and *Presidents*.

For the *Abridgements*, I could wish, if it were possible, that none mought use them, but such, as had read the *Course*; First, that they mought serve, for Repertories, to Learned Lawyers, and not, to make a Lawyer, in hast; But since, that cannot be, I wish there were a good Abridgement, composed, of the Two that are exstant, and in better order. So much for the *Common* Law.

## Statute Law.

FOR the *Reforming*, and *Recompiling*, of the *Statute Law*, It consisteth of Foure parts.

1. The First, to discharge, the *Bookes*, of those *Statutes*, whereas, the *Case*, by *Alteration* of time, is vanished; As *Lombards*, *Jewes*, *Gauls* halfe Pence; &c. Those may, nevertheless, remaine, in the *Libraries*, for Antiquities, but no *Reprinting* of them. The like, of *Statutes*, long since expired, and clearly repealed; For if the

the *Repeale* be doubtfull, it muſt be ſo propounded to the *Parliament*.

2. The next is, to repeale all *Statutes*, which are *Sleeping*, and not of *uſe*, but yet *ſnaring*, and in *Force*; In ſome of thoſe, it will, perhaps, be requiſite, to ſubſtitute, ſome more Reaſonable *Law*, inſtead of them, agreeable to the time; In others, a ſimple *Repeale* may ſuffice.

3. The Third, that the Grievouſneſſe, of the *Penalty*, in many *Statutes*, be mitigated, though the *Ordinance* ſtand.

4. The laſt is, the Reducing, of *Concurrent Statutes*, heaped one upon another, to one clear, and uniform, *Law*. Towards this, there hath been, already, upon my motion, and your *Majeſties* Direction, a great deal, of good paines taken: My *Lord Hobert*, My *Self*, *Sergant Finch*, Mr. *Hennage Finch*, Mr. *Noye*, Mr. *Hackwell*, and others: Whoſe Labours, being of a great bulk, it is not fit, now, to trouble your *Majeſty*, with any further particularity, therein: Onely, by this, you may perceive, the *Worke*, is already advanced: But becauſe, this part of the *Worke*, which concerneth the *Statute Lawes*, muſt of neceſſity, come to *Parliament*; And the *Houſes*, will beſt like that, which themſelves guide; And the Perſons, that themſelves imploy; The way were, to Imitate, the preſident, of the *Commiſſioners*, for the *Canon Lawes*, in 27. *Hen.* 8. and 4. *Edw.* 6. And the *Commiſſioners*, for the *Union*, of the two Realmes. *Primo*, of your *Majeſty*; And ſo, to have the *Commiſſioners*, named, by both *Houſes*; but not, with a precedent power, to Conclude; But only, to prepare, and propound to Parliament: This is the beſt way, I conceive, to accompliſh, this Excellent *Worke*, of *Honour*, to your *Majeſties Times*, and of *Good* to all Times: Which I ſubmit, to your *Majeſties* better Judgement.

A

# FRAGMENT,

OF AN

# ESSAY,

OF

# FAME.

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

This is a *flouriſh*: There follow excellent *Parables*; As that, ſhe gathereth ſtrength in going; That ſhe goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, ſhe ſitteth in a *Watch Tower*, and flyeth, moſt, by night: That ſhe mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that ſhe is a Terrour to great *Citties*: But that, which paſſeth all the reſt, is: They do recount, that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War againſt *Jupiter*, and were by him deſtroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth *Fame*: For certain it is, That *Rebels*, figured by the *Gyants*, and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers*, and *Siſters*; *Maſculine*, and *Feminine*. But now, if a Man can tame this *Monſter*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is ſomewhat worth. But we are infected, with the ſtile of the

*Poets*. To ſpeak now, in a ſad, and ſerious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a *Place*, leſſe handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of *Fame*. We will, therefore, ſpeak of theſe *points*. What are falſe *Fames*; And what are true *Fames*; And how they may be beſt diſcerned; How *Fames*, may be ſown, and raiſed; How they may be ſpread, and multiplyed; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the *Nature* of *Fame*. *Fame*, is of that force, as there is, ſcarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Eſpecially, in the *War*. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame*, that he ſcattered; That *Vitellius* had in purpoſe, to remove the *Legions* of *Syria*, into *Germany*; And the Legions of *Germany*, into *Syria*: whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæſar*, took *Pompey* unprovided, and layed aſleep his induſtry, and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out; How *Cæſars* own Souldiers loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the ſpoyles of Gaul, would forſake him, as ſoon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia*, ſetled all things, for the Succeſſion, of her Son *Tiberius*, by continuall giving out, that her husband *Auguſtus*, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an uſuall thing, with the *Baſſhawes*, to conceale the Death of the great *Turk*, from the *Janizaries*, and men of War, to ſave the Sacking of *Conſtantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their Manner is. *Themiſtocles*, made *Zerxes*, King of *Perſia* poaſt apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out, that the *Græcians*, had a purpoſe, to break his *Bridge*, of Ships, which he had made athwart *Helleſpont*. There be a thouſand ſuch like *Examples*; And the more they are, the leſſe they need to be repeated; Becauſe a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wiſe *Governers*, have as great a watch, and care, over *Fames*, as they have, of the *Actions*, and Deſignes themſelves.

*The reſt was not Finiſhed.*

LETTERS

# A CIVIL CHARACTER OF *IVLIVS CÆSAR.*

## Written in Latine by his Lordship, but Englished by the Publisher.

IVLIVS CÆSAR was partaker, at first, of an exercised Fortune; which turned to his benefit: For it abated the Haughtiness of his spirit, and whetted his Industry. He had a Minde, *Turbulent* in his Desires and Affections; but in his judgement and understanding very *serene*, and *placide*: And this appears, by his easy deliverances of Himself, both in his Transactions, and in his Speech. For no Man, ever resolved more swiftly, or spake more perspicuously, and plainly. There was nothing forced, or difficult, in his Expressions. But in his will, and appetite, he was of that Condition, that he never rested in those things he had gotten; but still thirsted, and pursued after new; yet so, that he would not rush into new Affairs rashly, but settle and make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh Actions. So that, he would put a seasonable period to all his Undertakings. And therefore, though he won many Battels in *Spain*, and weakned their *Forces* by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despise the Reliques of the *Civill War* there, till he had seen all Things composed: But then, assoon as that was done, and the State setled, instantly he advanced in his Expedition against the *Parthians*.

He was, no doubt, of a very noble Minde; but yet such, as

aimed more at his *particular Advancement*, then at any *Merits* for the *Common Good*. For he referred all things to *Himselfe*; and was the true, and perfect *Center* of all his Actions. By which meanes, being so fast tyed to his Ends, he was still prosperous, and prevailed in his Purposes: Insomuch, that neither *Countrey*, nor *Religion*, nor good *Turns* done him, nor *Kindred*, nor *Friendship*, diverted his Appetite, or bridled him from pursuing his own Ends. Neither was he much enclined to *works* of *Perpetuity*; For he established nothing for the future; He founded no sumptuous *Buildings*; He procured to be enacted no wholsom *Lawes*, but still minded himselfe: and so his Thoughts were confined within the Circle of his own Life. He sought indeed after *Fame* and *Reputation*, becaus he thought they might be profitable to his Designes: Otherwise, in his inward Thoughts, he propoun ded to himself, rather *Absoluteness* of *Power*, then *Honour*, and *Fame*. For as for *Honour*, and *Fame*, he pursued not after them, for themselves; But because they were the Instruments of *Power* and *Greatness*. And therefore, he was carried on, through a Naturall Inclination, not by any Rules that he had learned, to affect the sole *Regiment*; and rather to *enjoy* the same, then to *seem worthy* of it. And by this means he won much Reputation amongst the *People*, who are no valuers of true Worth: But amongst the *Nobility*, and great Men, who were tender of their own Honours, it procured him no more then this, that he incurred the Brand of an *Ambitious*, and *Daring* Man.

Neither did they much err from the Truth, who thought him so; For he was, by Nature, exceeding *Bold*; And did never put on any shew of *Modesty*, except it were for some purposes. Yet notwithstanding, he so attempered his *Boldness*, that it neither impeached him of Rashness; nor was burthensome to men; nor rendred his Nature suspected, but was conceived to flow out of an Innate Sincerity, and freeness of Behaviour; and the *Nobility* of his *Birth*: And in all other Things he passed; Not for a *Crafty*, and *Deceitfull* Person; But for an *open-Hearted*, and *plain-Dealing* Man. And whereas he was indeed an *Arch Politician*, that could counterfeit, and dissemble, sufficiently well; And was wholly compounded, of *Frauds*, and *Deceits*; so that there was nothing *sincere* in Him, but all *Artificiall*; yet he covered, and disguised Himself so, that no such Vices appeared to the Eyes of the World; But he was generally reputed, to proceed, plainly and uprightly, with all Men. Howbeit, He did not stoop to any petty and mean *Artifices*; As they do, which are ignorant, in State-Employments; And depend not so much upon the strength of their owne Wits, as upon the Counsels, and Brains of others, to support their Authority: For he was skilled in the Turnings of all Humane Affairs; and transacted all Matters, especially those of High Consequence, by Himself, and not by others.

He

He was singularly skilfull, to avoid *Envy*; And found it not impertinent, to his Ends, to decline that, though it were, with some diminution of his *Dignity*. For aiming at a *Reall power*, He was content to pass by all vain Pompe, and outward shews of Power, throughout his whole Life; Till at the last, whether High-flown, with the continuall *Exercise* of *Power*, or corrupted with *Flatteries*, He affected the *Ensignes* of *Power*, (The *Stile* and *Diadem* of a *King*,) which was the Bait that wrought his overthrow.

This is true, that he harboured the Thoughts, of a *Kingdome*, from his very youth: And hereunto, the *Example* of *Sylla*, and the *Kindred* of *Marius*, and his *Emulation* of *Pompey*, and the *Corruption* and *Ambition* of the *Times*, did prick him forward: But then, he paved his way to a *Kingdome*, after a wonderfull, and strang Manner. As first, by a *Popular* and *Seditious* power; Afwards by a *Military power*, and that of a *Generall in War*. For there was required, to effect his Ends; First, that he should break the *Power*, and *Authority* of the *Senate*; which, as long, as it stood firme, was adverse, and an Hinderance, that no Man could climbe to *Soveraignty*, and *Imperiall Command*. Then the *Power*, of *Crassus*, and *Pompey*, was to be subdued, and quelled, which could not be done otherwise, than by *Armes*. And therefore, (as the most *Cunning Contriver*, of his own *Fortune*,) he laid his first Foundation by *Bribes*; By corrupting the *Courts* of *Justice*; By renewing the *Memory*, of *Caius Marius*, and his party; For most of the *Senatours*, and *Nobility*, were of *Sylla's Faction*: By the *Lawes*, of *Distributing* the *Fields*, amongst the *Common people*: By the *Sedition* of the *Tribunes*, whereof he was the *Author*: By the *Madness*, and *Fury*, of *Cataline*, and the *Conspirators*, unto which Action, He secretly blew the Coals! By the *Banishment* of *Cicero*, which was the greatest Blow, to the Authority, of the *Senate*, as might be; And severall other, the like *Arts*: But most of all, by the *Conjunction*, of *Crassus*, and *Pompey*, both betwixt themselves, and with Him; which was the thing that finished the work.

Having accomplished this part, He betook Himselfe to the other; which was to *make use* of, and to *enjoy* his *power*. For being made *Proconsul* of *France*, for five years; And afterwards continuing it for five years more; He furnished himselfe, with *Armes*, and *Legions*, and the power of a Warlike, and Opulent *province*; And was formidable to *Italy*.

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had strengthened Himself with *Armes*, and a *Military power*, neither *Crassus* nor *Pompey*, could ever be able, to bear up against him; whereof the one trusted, to his great Riches; The other to his Fame, & Reputation; The one decayed through age; The other, in power, and authority: And neither of them were grounded, upon true and lasting

Foundations. And the rather, for that He had obliged, all the *Senatorss*, and *Magistrates*: And, in a word, all those that had any power, in the *Common-wealth*, so firmly to Himself, with private Benefits; That he was fearless, of any Combination, or Opposition, against his Designes, till he had openly invaded the *Imperiall power*.

Which thing, though he always bare in his Mind; And, at the last, acted it; yet he did not lay nown his former person: But coloured things so; That what with the reasonableness of his Demands; What with his pretences of Peace; and what with the Moderate use of his Successes; He turned all the *Envy* of the *Adverse party*; and seemed to take up *Armes* upon necessity for his own preservation, and safety But the falseness of this pretence manifestly appeared; inasmuch as soon after, having obtained the *Regall Power*, all *Civill Wars* being appeased; and all his *Rivals*, and *Opposites*, which might put him to any fear, being removed out out of the way by the stroke of *Death*; Notwithstanding he never thought of *resigning* the *Republicke*; No, nor ever made any shew, or offer of *resigning* the same. Which shewed plainly, that his ambition of being a *King*, was setled in him, and remained with him unto his last breath. For he did not lay hold upon Occasions, as they happened, but moulded, and formed the Occasions, as himself pleased.

His chief *Abilities* consisted in *Martiall Knowledge*; In which he so excelled, that he could not onely *lead* an Army, but *mould* an Army, to his owne liking. For he was not more skilfull in managing Affairs, than in *winning* of Hearts. Neither did he affect this by any ordinary Discipline, as by inuring them to fulfill all his commands; or by striking a shame into them to disobey, or by carrying a severe Hand over them: But by such a way, as did wonderfully stirre up an alacrity, and cheefulness in them: and did in a sort assure him of the Victory aforehand, and which did oblige the Souldier to him, more than was fit, for a *Free Estate*. Now whereas he was versed in all kinds of *Martial knowledge*, and joyned *Civill Arts*, with the *Arts* of *War*; Nothing came so suddenly, or so unlooked for upon him, for which he had not a remedy ready at hand: And nothing was so adverse, but that he could pick something for his Turne, and Benefit out of it.

He *stood* sufficiently upon his *State*, & *Greatness*. For in great Battails, he would sit at home, in the *Head Quarter*, and manage all Things by *Messages*, which wrought him a double benefit. First, that it secured his *Person* more, and exposed him the less to *Danger*. Secondly, that if at any time his *Army* was worsted, he could put new spirit into them with his own presence, and the *Addition* of *fresh Forces*, and turn the *Fortune* of the *Day*. In the conducting of his *Wars*, he would not onely follow former *Precedents*, but he was able to devise, and pursue new *Stratagems*,

*gems*, according as the accidents, and occasions required.

He was constant, and singularly kinde, and indulgent in his *Friendships* contracted. Notwithstanding, he made choise of such *Friends*, as a man might easily see, that he chose them rather to be *Instruments* to his *Ends*, then for any *Good will* towards them. And whereas, by Nature, and out of a firme Resolution, he adhered to this Principle; not to be eminent amongst *Great*, and *Deserving* Men; but to be chief amongst *Inferiours*, and *Vassals*; He chose onely mean, and active men, and such as to whom Himselfe might be all in all. And hereupon grew that saying; *So let* Cæsar *live, though I dye*, and other speeches of that kinde. As for the *Nobility*, and those that were his *Peers*, He contracted Friendship, with such of them, as might be usefull to Him; And admitted none to his *Cabinet Counsell*, but those that had their Fortunes, wholy depending upon Him.

He was moderately furnished, with good *Literature*, and the *Arts*; But in such sort, as he applyed his skill therein, to *Civill Policy*. For He was well read in *History*: And was expert in *Rhetorique*, and the *Art* of *Speaking*. And because he attributed much, to his good *Starrs*, He would pretend, more then an ordinary Knowledge, in *Astronomy*. As for *Eloquence*, and a prompt *Elocution*, that was *Naturall* to Him, and *pure*.

He was dissolute, and propense, to *Voluptuousness*, and *Pleasures*; Which served well, at first, for a Cover, to his *Ambition*. For no Man would imagine, that a Man so loosely given, could harbour any Ambitious, and Vast Thoughts, in his Heart. Notwithstanding, He so governed his *Pleasures*, that they were no Hinderance, either to his profit, or to his Business: And they did, rather whet, then dull, the vigour of his Minde. He was *Temperate*, at his *Meales*; *Free* from *Niceness*, and *Curiosity*, in his *Lusts*; pleasant and *Magnificent* at *publick Interludes*.

Thus being accomplished, the same Thing, was the Meanes, of his *Downefall*, at last; which, in his Beginnings, was a step, to his *Rise*; I meane, His *Affectation* of *Popularity*. For nothing is more *popular*, than to *forgive our Enemies*. Through which, either *Vertue*, or *Cunning*, He lost his life.

# A CIVIL CHARACTER OF *AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.*

## Written in Latine by his Lordship, but Englished by the Publisher.

*AUGUSTUS CÆSAR*, (if ever any *Mortal Man*,) was endued with a *Greatness* of *Minde*, *undisturbed* with *passions*, *clear* and well *ordered*; Which is evidenced, by the High Achievements, which he performed, in his early youth. For those persons which are of a turbulent Nature, or Appetite, do commonly pass their youth, in many *Errours*; And about their Middle And then and not before, they shew forth their *Perfections*; But those that are of a Sedate, and calme Nature, may be ripe, for great, and glorious Actions, in their youth. And whereas, the *Faculties* of the *Minde*, no lesse then the *Parts*, and *Members* of the *Body*, do consist, and flourish, in a good Temper, of *Health*, and *Beauty*, and *Strength*; So he was, in the *strength*, of the *Minde*, inferiour to his Uncle *Julius*; But in the *Health*, and *Beauty*, of the *Minde*, superiour. For *Julius*, being of an unquiet, and uncomposed Spirit; (As those, who are troubled with the *Falling Sickness*. for the most part, are;) Notwithstanding, He carried on his owne Ends, with much Moderation, and Discretion; But He did not order his Ends well; propounding to Himself, vast and high Designes, above the Reach of a *Mortall Man*. But *Augustus*, as a Man sober, and mindfull of his *Mortality*, seemed to propound, no other Ends to Himself, then such, as were Orderly, and well weighed, and governed by *Reason*. For first, he was desirous, indeed, to have the *Rule*, and *Principality*, in his Hands; Then, He sought to appear, *worthy* of that *Power*, which He should acquire: Next, to *enjoy* an *High Place*, He accounted but a *Transitory Thing*: Lastly, He endeavoured to do such *Actions*, as might continue his *Memory*, and leave an *Impression*, of his *Good Government*, to *After Ages*. And therefore, in the *Beginning*, of his *Age*, He affected *Power*; In the *Middle*, of his *Age*, *Honour* and *Dignity*; In the *Decline*, of his *yeares*, *Ease* and *Pleasure*; And, in the *End* of his *Life*, He was wholly bent, to *Memory*, and *Posterity*.

A

# A COLLECTION OF APOTHEGMES NEW and OLD.

BY THE

*RIGHT HONOURABLE*

FRANCIS BACON

BARON OF

VERULAM,

Vis-count St. *ALBAN.*



*LONDON,*

Printed by *Sarah Griffin* for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the signe of the Turkes head, neer the Mitre Tavern in *Fleet-street*, 1661.



# His Lordships Preface.

*Julius Cæsar* did write, a *Collection* of *Apophthegms*, as appears in an *Epistle* of *Cicero*. so did *Macrobius*, a *Consular Man*. I need say no more, for the worth, of a *Writing*, of that Nature. It is pity *Cæsars Book* is lost: For I imagine, they were collected, with judgement, & choise: whereas that of *Plutarch*, and *Stobæus*; And much more, the *Modern ones*, draw much of the Dregs. Certainly, they are of excellent use. They are *Mucrones verborum*, *Pointed Speeches*, *The words of the wise, are as Goads*, saith *Solomon*. *Cicero* prettily calleth them, *Salinas*, *Saltpits*, that you may extract *Salt* out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced, in *Continued speech*. They serve, to be recited, upon *Occasion* of themselves. They serve, if you take out the *Kernell* of them, and make them your own. I have, for my Recreation, amongst more serious studies, collected some few of them: Therein fanning the old; Not omitting any, because they are *vulgar*; (For many *vulgar* ones are excellent good;) Nor for the *Meanness* of the *Person*; But because they are *Dull*, and *Flat*; And adding many *New*, that otherwise would have died.

This collection his L^p made, out of his Memory, without turning any Book.

# A COLLECTION OF *APOPHTHEGMES* New and Old.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, the morrow of her *Coronation*; (It being the Custome, to release *prisoners*, at the *Inauguration* of a *Prince*,) went to the *Chappel*; And in the *Great Chamber*, one of her *Courtiers*, who was well known to her; either out of his own Motion, or by the Instigation, of a wiser Man, presented her with a *petition*; And before a great number of *Courtiers*, besought her with a loud voice; *That now this good time, there might be four, or five, principal prisoners more, released; Those were the four Evangelists, and the Apostle Saint Paul, who had been long shut up, in an unknown tongue as it were, in prison; so as they could not converse, with the Common people.* The Queen answered very gravely; *That it was best first to enquire of them, whether they would be released, or no?*

2. *Queen ANNE BULLEN*, at the time, when she was led to be beheaded in the *Tower*, called one of the *Kings privy Chamber* to her, and said unto him; *Commend me to the King; And tell him, that he hath been ever constant in his course of advancing me; From a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marchioness; And from a Marchioness a Queen; And now that he hath left no higher degree, of Earthly Honour, He intends to Crown my Innocency, with the Glory of Martyrdome.*

3. His *Majesty*, *JAMES the First*, *King* of *Great Britain*, having made unto his *Parliament*, an excellent, and large Declaration, concluded thus, *I have now given you a clear Mirrour, of my mind; Use it therefore like a Mirrour; And take heed how you let it fall; Or how you soyle it, with your Breath.*

5. His *Majesty* said to his *Parliament*, at another Time, finding there were some causeless *Jealousies*, sown amongst them; *That the King, and his people*, (whereof the *Parliament* is the *Representative Body*,) *were as Husband and wife*; *And therefore, that of all other things, Jealousy was between them, most pernicious.*

6. His *Majesty*, when he thought his *Counsel*, mought note in him, some *variety* in *Businesses*, though indeed he remained constant, would say; *That the Sun, many times, sheineth watry*; *But it is not the Sun, which causeth it*; *But some Cloud Rising, betwixt us, and the Sun*: *And when that is scattered, the Sun is as it was, and comes to his former Brightness.*

7. His *Majesty*, in his *Answer*, to the *Book*, of the *Cardinal of Evereux* (who had, in a grave *Argument of Divinity*, sprinkled many witty *Ornaments*, of *Poesy*, and *Humanity*,) saith; *That these Flowers, were like Blew and Yellow, and red Flowers, in the Corn, which make a pleasant shew, to those that looks on, but they Hurt the Corn.*

8. *Sir Edward Cook*, being vehement, against the two *Provincial Counsels*, of *Wales*, and the *North*, said to the *King*; *There was nothing there, but a kind of Confusion, and Hotch potch of Justice: One while they were a Starr-Chamber*; *Another while, a Kings-Bench Another, a Common place*; *Another, a Commission, of Oyer and Terminer. His Majesty* answered; *Why, Sir Edward Cook, they be like Houses in progress, where I have not, nor can have, such distinct Rooms of State, as I have here, at White-Hall, or at Hampton Court.*

9. The *Commissioners* of the *Treasure*, moved the *King*, for the *Reliefe* of his *Estate*, to *disafforest* some *Forests* of his; explaining themselves, of such *Forests*, as lay out of the way, Not neat any of the *Kings Houses*; Nor in the Course, of his *Progress*; Whereof he should never have use, nor pleasure. *Why*, (saith the *King*,) *do you think, that Salomon, had use, and pleasure, of all his* 300. *Concubines.*

10. His *Majestie*, when the *Committees*, of both *Houses* of *Parliamen*, presented unto him the *Instrument* of *union*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, was merry with them; And amongst, other pleasant speeches shewed unto them the *Laird* of *Lawreston*, a *Scotchman*; Who was the Tallest and Greatest Man, that was to be seen; and said: *Well, now we are all one, yet none of you will say, but here is one Scotchman, greater then any English Man*, which was an ambiguous Speech; But it was thought, he meant it of Himself.

11. His *Majesty* would say, to the *Lords* of his *Counsel*, when they sate, upon any great *Matter*; And came from *Counsel*, in to him *Well you have sitt but what have you Hatcht?*

12 When the *Arch-Duke* did raise his *siege* from the *Grave*, the then *Secretary* came to *Queen Elizabeth*; The *Queen*, (having first Intelligence thereof;) said to the *Secretary*; *Wote you what? The Arch-Duke is risen from the Grave*: He answered; *What, without the Trumpet, of the Arch-Angel?* The *Queen* replyed. *yes, without the sound of Trumpet:*

Queen

* Dr Johnson has quoted this in one of his papers on the Gambler. Flowers of Rhetoric in Sermons &c

13. Queen *Elizabeth*, was importuned much, by my Lord of *Essex*; to supply divers great *Offices*, that had been long void: The *Queen* answered nothing, to the Matter; But rose up, on the suddain, and said; *I am sure, my Office will not be long void.* And yet, at that time, there was much speech, of *Troubles*, and *Divisions*, about the *Crown*, to be after her *Decease*: But they all vanished; And *King James* came in, in a profound peace.

14. The *Counsel* did make Remonstrance, unto *Queen Elizabeth*, of the continual *Conspiracies*, against her *Life*; And namely, that a *Man* was lately taken, who stood ready, in a very dangerous, and suspicious manner, to do the Deed: And they shewed her, the *weapon*, *wherewith* he thought to have acted it. And therefore they advised her, that she should go less abroad; to take the Aire, weakly attended, as she used. But the *Queen* answered; *That she had rather be dead, then put in Custody.*

15. The *Lady Paget*, that was very private with *Queen Elizabeth*, declared her self much, against the *Match* with *Monsieur*. After *Monsieurs Death*, the *Queen* took extream Grief, (at least as she made shew,) and kept in, within her *Bed Chamber*, and one *Ante-Chamber* for 3. weeks space, in token of mourning: At last she came forth, into the *Privy Chamber*, and admitted her *Ladies*, to have Access unto her; And amongst the rest, my *Lady Paget* presented her self, and came to her, with a *smiling Countenance*. The *Queen* bent her Browes, and seemed to be highly displeased, and said to her; *Madam, you are not ignorant of my extream Grief, and do you come to me, with a Countenance of Joy?* My *Lady Paget* answered; *Alas if it please your Majestie, it is impossible for me to be absent from you 3 weeks, but that when I see you, I must look cheerfully. No, no,* (said the *Queen*, not forgetting her former *Averseness* to the *Match*,) *you have some other conceit in it, tell me plainly.* My *Lady* answered; *I must obey you; It is this. I was thinking how happy your Majestie was, you married not Monsieur; For seeing you take such thought for his Death, being but your friend; If he had been your Husband sure it would have cost you your life.*

16. *Henry* the 4*th.* of *France* his *Queen* was young with Child; *Count Soisons*, that had his expectation upon the *Crown*, when it it was twice or thrice thought, that the *Queen* was with Child before, said to some of his Friends; *That it was but with a pillow.* This had some waies come to the *Kings* Eare; who kept it, till such time, as the *Queen* waxed great: Then he called the *Count* of *Soisons* to him, and said; laying his hand upon the *Queens* Belly; *Come, Cousin, is this a pillow?* The *Count of Soisons* answered; *Yes, Sir, it is a pillow, for all France to sleep upon.*

17. *King Henry* the 4*th.* of *France*, was so punctuall of his word, after it was once passed, that they called him, the *King of the Faith.*

18. The said *King Henry* the 4*th.* was moved by his *Parliament*, to a Warr

Warr against the *Protestants*: He answered; *Yes, I mean it: I will make every one of you Captains; you shall have Companies assigned you.* The *Parliament* observing whereunto his speach tended, gave over, and deserted the motion.

19. *Queen Elizabeth* was wont to say, upon the *Commission* of *Sales*; That the *Commissioners* used her, like *Strawberry-wives*, that layed two or three great *strawberries*, at the mouth of their pot, and all the rest were little ones: so they made her two or three good prises, of the first particulars, but fell streightwayes.

20. *Queen Elizabeth* used to say, of her Instructions, to great *Officers*; *That they were like to Garments, streight at the first putting on, but did by and by, weare loose enough.*

21. A great *Officer*, at *Court*, when my *Lord* of *Essex* was first in trouble; And that He, and those that dealt for him, would talk much, of my *Lords Friends*; and of his *Enemies*, answered to one of them; *I will tell you, I know but one Friend, and one Enemy, my Lord hath; And that one friend is the Queen, and that one Enemy is Himself.*

22. The *book* of *Deposing King Richard* the second, and the comming in of *Henry the* 4th. supposed to be written, by *Doctour Hayward*, who was committed to the *Tower* for it, had much incensed *Queen Elisabeth*; And she asked Mr. *Bacon*, being then of her *Counsel learned*, whether there were any *Treason*, contained in it? who, intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the *Queens* bitterness, with a merry conceit, answered; *No, Madame, for Treason, I cannot deliver opinion, that there is any, but very much Felony*: The *Queen* apprehending it gladly, asked, *How? And wherein? Mr. Bacon* answered; *Because he had stollen, many of his sentences and conceits, out of Cornelius Tacitus.*

23. *Queen Elizabeth*, being to resolve upon a great *Officer*, and being by some, that canvased for others, put in some doubt of that person, whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. *Bacon*; And told him, *she was like one, with a Lanthorn seeking a man*; And seemed unsatisfyed, in the choice she had, of a man, for that place. Mr. *Bacon* answered her, That he had heard that in old time, there was usually painted, in the *Church walls*, the *Day of Doom*, and *God* sitting in *Judgement*, and *Saint Michael* by him, with a *pair* of *Ballances*; And the *Soul*, and the *Good Deeds*, in the one *Ballance*; And the *Faults*, and the *evil Deeds*, in the other; and the *Souls Ballance*, went up farr too light: Then was our *Lady* painted, with a great pair of *Beads*; who cast them into the light *Ballance* and brought down the *skale*: so he said; *place and Authority, which were in her Majesties hands to give, were like our Ladies Beads which though men, through any imperfections, were too light before yet, when they were cast in, made weight competent.*

24. *Queen Elizabeth* was dilatory enough in suits of her own Nature: And the *Lord Treasurer Burleigh*, being a wise Man, and willing therein to feed her humour, would say to her; *Madam you do well*

to

*to let ſuiters ſtay; For I ſhall tell you; Bis dat, qui citò dat; If you grant them ſpeedily, they will come again the ſooner.*

24. *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, who was *Keeper* of the *Great Seal* of *England*, when *Queen Elizabeth*, in her *Progreſs*, came to his Houſe at *Gorhambury*; and ſaid to him; *My Lord, what a little Houſe have you gotten?* Anſwered her; *Madam, my Houſe is well, but it is you, that have made me, too great for my Houſe.*

26. There was a conference in *Parliament*, between the *Lords Houſe*, and the *Houſe* of *Commons*, about a *Bill* of *Accountants*, which came down, from the *Lords*, to the *Commons*; which *Bill* prayed; *That the Lands of Accountants, whereof they were ſeized, when they entred upon their Office, mought be liable, to their Arrears, to the Queen.* But the *Commons* deſired, that the *Bill* mought not look back, to *Accountants* that were already, but extend only to *Accountants* hereafter. But the *Lord Treaſurer* ſaid; *Why, I pray you, if you had loſt your purſe, by the way; would you look forwards, or would you look backs? The Queen hath loſt her purſe.*

27. The *Lord Keeper*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, was asked his Opinion, by my *Lord of Leiceſter*, *concerning two perſons, whom the Queen* ſeemed to think well of: *By my Troth my Lord*; (ſaid he,) *the one is a grave Counſeller; The other, is a proper young Man; And ſo he will be as long as he lives.*

28. *My* Lord of *Leiceſter*, *Favorite* to *Queen Elizabeth*, was making a large *Chace*, about *Cornbury Parke*; Meaning to encloſe it, with *Poſts*, and *Railes*, and one day, was caſting up his charge what it would come to. Mr. *Goldingham*, a free-ſpoken Man, ſtood by, and ſaid to my Lord; *Methinks your Lordſhip goeth not the cheapeſt way to work.* Why, *Goldingham*, ſaid my *Lord? Marry my Lord*, ſaid *Goldingham*; *Count you but upon the poſts, for the Countrey will find you railing.*

29. The *Lord Keeper*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, was asked his Opinion, by *Queen Elizabeth*, of one of theſe *Monopoly licences?* And he anſwered; *Madam, will you have me ſpeak the Truth? Licentiâ omnes deteriores ſumus: We are all the worſe, for Licences.*

29. My *Lord of Eſſex*, at the *Succour* of *Rhoane*, made 24. Kts. which, at that time, was a great number. Divers of thoſe *Gentlemen*, were of weak, and ſmall means; which when *Queen Elizabeth* heard, ſhe ſaid; *My Lord mought have done well, to have built his Almes-houſe, before he made his Knights.*

31. The *Deputies*, of the *Reformed Religion*, after the *maſſacre* which was at *Paris*, upon *Saint Bartholmews Day*, treated with the *King*, and *Queen Mother*, and ſome other, of the *Counſel*, for a peace. Both ſides were agreed upon the *Articles*. The queſtion was, upon the *ſecurity*, for the *performance*. After ſome particulars, propounded, and rejected, the *Queen Mother* ſaid, *why; is not the word, of a King, ſufficient ſecurity?* One of the *Deputies* anſwered; *No by Saint Bartholomew, Madam.*

32. There was a *French Gentleman*, ſpeaking with an *Engliſh* of

of the *Law Salique*, That *Women* were excluded, from inheriting the *Crown* of *France*. The *Engliſh*, ſaid; *yes, but that was meant of the women themſelves, not of ſuch Males, as claimed by Women.* The *French Gentleman* ſaid, *where do you find that gloſs?* The *Engliſh* anſwered, *Ile tell you, Sir; Look on the back ſide of the Record, of the Law Saliqne, and there you ſhall find it indorſed:* Implying there was no ſuch thing, as the *Law Salique*, but that it is a *meer Fiction.*

33. A *Fryar* of *France*, being in an earneſt Diſpute, about the *Law Salique*, would needs prove it by *Scripture*; citing that verſe of the *Goſpell*; *Lilia Agri, non laborant, neque nent; The lilies of the Field do neither labour nor ſpin:* Applying it thus; *That the Flower de Luces, of France, cannot deſcend, neither to the diſtaff, nor to the ſpade; That is, not to a woman, nor to a peaſant.*

34. When *Peace* was renewed, with the *French* in *England*, divers of the great *Counſellers*, were preſented, from the *French*, with *Jewels*: The *Lord Henry Howard*, being then *Earl* of *Northampton*, and a *Counſeller*, was omitted. Whereupon the *King*, ſaid to him, *My Lord, how happens it, that you have not a jewel as well as the reſt? my Lord* anſwered, according to the *Fable* in *Aeſope*; *Non ſum Gallus, itaque non reperi Gemmam.*

35. The ſame *Earl* of *Northampton*, then *Lord privie Seal*, was askt, by *King James*, openly at the Table, Where Commonly he entertained the *King* with diſcourſe; the *King* askt him, upon the ſuddain; *my Lord have you not a deſire to ſee Rome?* my *Lord privie Seal* anſwered; *yes indeed*, Sir: The *King* ſaid, *And why?* My *Lord* anſwered; *Becauſe if it pleaſe your Majeſty, it was the ſeat of the greateſt Monarchy and the ſeminary of the Braveſt men, of the world, whileſt it was Heathen: And then ſecondly, becauſe afterwards it was the ſea, of ſo many holy Biſhops, in the primitive Church, moſt of them Martyrs.* The *King* would not give it over, but ſaid; *And for nothing els?* My *Lord* anſwered; *yes, if it pleaſe your Majeſtie, for two things more: The one, to ſee him, who they ſay, hath ſo great a power, to forgive other men, their ſins, to confeſs his own ſins, upon his knees, before a chaplain, or Prieſt: And the other, to hear Antichriſt ſay his Creed.*

36. There were Fiſher men, drawing the River at *Chelſey*, *Mr. Bacon* came thither, by chance, in the After-noon, and offered, to buy their *Draught*: they were willing. He asked them, *what they would take?* They asked, *Thirty ſhillings.* Mr. *Bacon* offered them *ten*: They refuſed it. *Why then*, ſaith *Mr. Bacon, I will be only a looker on.* They drew and catched nothing. ſaith *Mr. Bacon; Are not you mad fellows now that might have had an* Angel *in your purſe, to have made merry withall, and to have warmed you thorowly, and now you muſt go home with nothing. I but*, ſaid the *fiſher men, we had hope then to make a better gain of it.* ſaith *Mr Bacon well my Maiſters, then Ile tell you; hope is a good Breakfaſt, but it is a Bad ſupper.*

36. A *Lady* walking with Mr. *Bacon*, in *Grayes-Inne walks*, asked him, *whose that piece of ground, lying next under the walls*, was; He answered, *Theirs*. Then she asked him, if those *Fields*, beyond the *Walks*, were theirs too? He answered; *Yes Madame, those are ours, as you are ours, to look on, and no more.*

37. His *Lordship*, when he was newly made *Lord Keeper*, was in *Grayes-Inne walks*, with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. One came, and told him, that the *Earl* of *Exeter* was above, He continued, upon occasion, still walking a good while. At last when he came up, my *Lord* of *Exeter* met him, and said; *My Lord, I have made a great venture, to come up so high stairs, being a gowty man. His Lordship answered; pardon me, my Lord; I have made the greatest Venture of all; For I have ventured upon your Patience.*

38 When Sir *Francis Bacon*, was made the *Kings Atturney*, Sir *Edward Cooke*, was put up, from being *Lord chief Justice*, of the *Common Pleas*, to be *Lord chief Justice*, of the *Kings Bench*; which is a place of Greater Honour, but of lesse profit; And withall was made *Privy Counsellor*. After a few Dayes, the *Lord Cooke* meeting the *Kings Atturney*, said unto him; *Mr. Atturney, this is all your Doing; It is you, that have made, this great stir. Mr. Atturney* answered; *Ah my Lord! your Lord ship all this while hath grown in Bredth; You must needs now, grow in Height, or else you would be a Monster.*

39 One day, Queen *Elizabeth* told Mr. *Bacon*, that my *Lord* of *Essex*, after great Protestation of Penitence, and affection, fell, in the End, but upon the Suit, of *Renewing* his *Farme*, of *Sweet Wines*: He answered; *I read; that in Nature, there be two kinds of Motions, or Appetites, in Sympathy; The One, as of Iron, to the Adamant, for perfection; The other, as of the Vine, to the Stake, for sustentation: That her Majestie was the one, and his Suit the other.*

40 *Mr. Bacon*, after he had been vehement, in *Parliament*, against *Depopulation*, and *Enclosures*; And that soon after the *Queen* told him, that she had referred the Hearing of *Mr. Mills* Cause, to certain *Counsellors*, and *Judges*; and asked him, how he liked of it? Answered; *Oh Madame! my Minde is known: I am against all Enclosures, and especially against Enclosed Justice.*

41 When Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the *Lord Keeper*, lived, every Room in *Gorhambury*, was served, with a *Pipe* of *Water*, from the *Ponds*, distant about a Mile off. In the life-time of *Mr. Anthony Bacon*, the Water ceased. After whose Death, his *Lordship* coming to the Inheritance, could not recover the *Water*, without infinite charge: When he was *Lord Chancellor*, he built *Verulam House*, close by the *Pond-yard*, for a place of privacy, when he was called upon, to dispatch any urgent Business: And being asked, *Why he built that house there*, His *Lordship* answered; *That since he could not carry the Water to his House, He would carry his House to the Water.*

42 When my *Lord President* of the *Councel*, came first to be *Lord Treasurer*, he complained to my *Lord Chancellor*, of the Troublesomness, of the place, for that the *Exchequer* was so empty. The *Lord Chancellor* answered; *My Lord, Be of good cheer, for now you shall see, the Bottome, of your Businesse, at the first.*

43 When his *Lordship* was newly advanced, to the *Great Seal*, *Gondomar* came to visit him: *My Lord* said; *That he was, to thanke God, and the King, for that Honour; But yet, so he might be rid of the burthen, he could very willingly, forbear the Honour. And that he formerly had a desire, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private life. Gondomar* answered, That he would tell him a Tale; *Of an old Rat, that would needs leave the World: And acquainted the young Rats, that he would retire into his Hole; and spend his dayes soilitarily; And would enjoy no more comfort: And commanded them upon his high displeasure, not to offer, to come in unto him. They forbore two or three dayes: At last, one that was more hardy, then the rest, incited some of his Fellowes to go in with him, and he would venture to see, how his Father did: For he might be dead. They went in, and found the old Rat, sitting in the midst of a Rich Parmizan cheese.* So he applyed the *Fable*, after his witty manner.

44 *Rablais* tells a *Tale* of one, that was very Fortunate, in compounding differences. His son undertook the said Course, but could never compound any. Whereupon he came to his *Father*, and asked him, *What art he had, to reconcile Differences?* He answered; *He had no other but this: To watch, when the two Parties were much wearied; And their Hearts, were too great, to seeke Reconcilement at one anothers Hands; Then to be a Meanes betwixt them, and upon no other Termes.* After which, the *Son* went home, and prospered, in the same undertakings.

45 *Alonso Cartilio*, was informed by his *Steward*, of the greatnesse of his Expence, being such as he could not hold out therewith. The *Bishop* asked him, *wherein it chiefly arose?* His *Steward* told him; *In the multitude of his Servants*: The *Bishop* bad him, to make him a *Note*, of those that were *necessary*, and those that mought be *spared*. Which he did. And the *Bishop*, taking occasion to read it, before most of his servants, said to his *Steward*; *Well, let these remain, because I have need of them; And these other also, because they have need of me.*

46 Mr. *Marbury* the *Preacher*, would say; *That God was fain to do, with wicked Men, as Men do, with Frisking Jades, in a pasture, that cannot take them up, till they get them, at a Gate.* So *wicked Men*, will not be taken up, till the *Hour* of *Death*.

47 *Pope Xystus* the *5th*, who was a very *poor Mans Son*; And his *Fathers* House ill thatched, so that the *Sun* came in, in many places, would sport with his Ignobility, and say; *That he was Nato di casa illustre; Son of an Illustrious House.*

48 When the *King* of *Spain* conquered *Portugll*, he gave special charge, to his *Lieutenant*, that the *Souldiers* should not spoil, lest

leſt he ſhould alienate the Hearts of the *People* : The *Army* alſo ſuffered much ſcarcity of Victual. Whereupon the *Spaniſh Souldiers*, would afterwards ſay; *That they had won the King, a Kingdome on Earth; As the Kingdome of Heaven, uſeth to be won; By Faſting, and abſtaining from that, which is another Mans.*

49 They feigned a *Tale*, of *Sixtus Quintus*, whom they called *Size-Ace*; That after his *Death*, he went to *Hell*; And the *Porter* of *Hell* ſaid to him; *You have ſome reaſon, to offer your ſelfe, to this place, becauſe you were a wicked man; But yet, becauſe you were a Pope, I have Order, not to receive you: You have a place, of your owne, Purgatory, you may go thither.* So he went away, and ſought about, a great while, for *Purgatory*, and could finde no ſuch place. Upon that, He took Heart, and went to *Heaven*, and knocked; And St. *Peter* asked, *who was there?* He ſaid, *Sixtus Pope.* Whereunto St. *Peter* ſaid; *why do you knocke? you have the Keyes. Sixtus* anſwered; *It is true, but it is ſo long, ſince they were given, as I doubt, the wards of the lock be altered.*

50. *Charles* King of *Swede*, a great *Enemy* of the *Jeſuites*; when he took any of their *Colledges*, he would hang the old *Jeſuites*, and put the young, to his *Mynes*, ſaying; *That ſince, they wrought ſo hard above ground, he would try, how they could worke under ground.*

51. In *Chancery* at one time, when the *Counſell* of the *Parties*, ſet forth the *Boundaries*, of the *Land* in *Queſtion*, by the *Plot*: And the *Counſell*, of one *part*, ſaid; *We lye on this ſide, my Lord:* And the *Counſell*, of the other part ſaid; *And we lye, on this ſide*; The *Lord Chancellor Hatton*, ſtood up, and ſaid; *If you lye, on both ſides, whom will you have me to believe.*

52. Sir *Edw. Cooke*, was wont to ſay, when a *great Man* came to *Dinner* to him, and gave him no knowledge, of his coming; *Sir, ſince you ſent me no word, of your comming, you muſt dine with me; But if I had known of it, in due time, I would have dined with you.*

53. *William*, *Earle* of *Pembrook*, upon the Complaint made of a *ſervant* of his, layd a *Citizen*, by the Heels; Thinking to bend him, to his *Servants* deſire: But the Fellow being ſtubborn, the *Servant* came to his *Lord*, and told him; *Your Lordſhip, I know, hath gone, as farr as well you may, but it works not; For yonder fellow is more perverſe, then before.* Said my *Lord*; *Let's forget him a while, and then he will remember himſelf.*

54. *Pope Julius* the 3d, when he was made *Pope*, gave his *Hatt* unto a *Youth*, a *Favourite* of his, with great ſcandall. Whereupon, at one time, a *Cardinall*, that might be free with him, ſaid modeſtly to him; *What did your Holineſs ſee, in that young Man, to make him Cardinall?* *Julius* anſwered, *What did you ſee in me, to make me Pope?*

55. The ſame *Iulius*, upon like occaſion of ſpeech, why he ſhould bear ſo great affection, to the ſame *young Man*, would ſay; That he found by *Aſtrology*, that it was the *Youths* Deſtiny, to be

a great *Prelate*; which was impossible, except himself were *Pope*. And therefore that he did raise him, as the *Driver* on, of his own *Fortune*.

56. Sir *Thomas Moor*, had onely *Daughters*, at the first; And his *Wife* did ever pray for a *Boy*. At last she had a *Boy*; which being come to Mans Estate, proved but simple. Sir *Thomas* said to his *Wife*; *Thou prayedst so long for a Boy, that he will be a Boy as long as he lives.*

57. Sir *Fulke Grevill*, afterward Lord *Brooke*, in *Parliam.* when the *House* of *Commons*, in a *great Business*, stood much upon *Precedents*, said unto them; *Why do you stand so much upon precedents? The Times hereafter will be good or bad. If good, precedents will do no harm; If bad, power will make a way, where it findes none.*

58. Sir *Tho. Moor*, on the Day, that he was beheaded', had a *Barber*, sent to him, because his *Haire* was long; which was thought, would make him more *commiserated*, with the *People*. The *Barbe* came to him, and asked him, *whether he would be pleased*, to be trim'd? *In good faith, honest Fellow*, (said Sir *Thomas*,) *the King, and I, have a suit for my Head; And till the Title be cleared, I will do no cost upon it.*

59. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, a great *Champion* of the *Popish Religion*, was wont to say, of the *Protestants*, who ground upon the *Scripture*; *That they were like Posts, that bring Truth in their Letters; And Lies in their Mouths.*

60. The former Sir *Thomas Moor*, had sent him, by a *Suiter* in *Chancery*, two *silver Flagons*. When they were presented, by the *Gentlemans servant*, he said to one of his Men; *Have him to the Cellar; And let him have of my best wine:* And turning to the *Servant*, said; *Tell thy Mr. if he like it, let him not spare it.*

61. *Michael Angelo*, the famous *Painter*, painting in the *Popes Chappell*, the *Pourtraicture* of *Hell*, and *Damned Souls*; Made one of the *Damned Souls*, so like a *Cardinall*, that was his Enemy, as every Body, at first sight, knew it. Whereupon the *Cardinal* complained to *Pope Clement*, humbly praying, *It mought be defaced?* The *Pope* said unto him; *Why, you know very well, I have power, to deliver a Soule, out of Purgatory, but not out of Hell.*

62. There was an *Agent* here, for the *Dutch*, called *Caroon*; And when he used to move the *Queen*, for further *Succours*, and more *Men*; My Lord *Henry Howard* would say; *That he Agreed well, with the Name of Charon, Ferry-Man, of Hell; For he came still, for more Men, to encrease Regnum umbrarum.*

63. They were wont to call, *Referring* to the *Masters* in *Chancery*, *Committing*. My *Lord Keeper Egerton*, when he was *Master* of the *Rolls*, was wont to aske; *What the Cause had done, that it should be committed?*

64. They feigned a *Tale*, principally, against *Doctours Reports*, in the *Chancery*; That Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, when he came, to *Heaven Gate*, was opposed, touching an *unjust Decree*; which had

had been made, in the *Chancery*. Sir *Nicholas* desired to see the *Order*; whereupon the *Decree* was drawn up; And finding it, to begin, *Veneris*, &c. *Why.* (saith he,) *I was then sitting in the Star Chamber; This concerns the Master of the Rolls, let him answer it.* Soon after came the *Master* of the *Rolls*, *Cordall*; who died indeed, a small time, after Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; and he was likewise staid upon it: And looking into the *Order*, he found, that upon the *Reading* of a *Certificate*, of *Doctor Gibson*, it was *Ordered*; *That his Report should be decreed.* And so he put it upon *Doctor Gibson*, and there it stuck.

65. Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, when a certain nimble-witted *Counsellour*, at the Barr, who was forward to speak, did interrupt him often, said unto him; *There's a great Difference betwixt you and me: A paine to me to speake; And a paine to you, to hold your peace.*

66. The same Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, upon *Bills* exhibited, to discover, where *Lands* lay; upon proof, that they had a certain *Quantity* of *Land*, but could not set it forth; was wont to say; *And if you cannot finde your Land in the Countrey, how will you have me finde it in the Chancery?*

67. Mr. *Houland*, in conference, with a *young Student*, arguing a *Case*; happened to say; *I would aske you but this Question.* The *Student* presently interrupted him, to give him an *Answer.* Whereunto Mr. *Houland* gravely said; *Nay, though I aske you a Question, yet I did not meane, you should answer me, I meane to answer my self.*

68. Pope *Adrian* the *sixth*, was talking with the Duke of *Sesa*, that *Pasquill* gave great scandall; and that he would have him thrown into the *River*: But *Sesa* answered; *Do it not, Holy Father, for then he will turn Frogg; And whereas now, he chants but by day, he will then chant, both by day, and by night.*

69. There was a *Gentleman* in *Italy*, that writ to a great *Friend* of his, whom the *Pope* had newly advanced, to be *Cardinall*; *That he was very glad, of his Advancement, for the Cardinals owne sake; But he was sorry, that Himself had lost, a good Friend.*

70. There was a *King* of *Hungary*, took a *Bishop* in *Battel*, and kept him *Prisoner*: Whereupon the *Pope* writ a *Monitory* to him; For that he had broken the *priviledge* of *Holy Church*, and taken his *Son.* The *King* sent an *Embassage* to him; And sent withall the *Armour*, wherein the *Bishop* was taken; and this only in writing; *Vide, num hæc sit Vestis Filii tui? Know now, whether this be thy Sons Coat?*

71. Sir *Amyas Pawlet*, when he saw too much Hast, made in any Matter, was wont to say; *Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.*

72. A *Master* of the *Requests* to Queen *Elizabeth*, had diverse times, moved for audience, and been put off. At last, he came to the *Queen*, in a *Progresse*, and had on, a new pair of *Boots.* The

*Queen*

Queen who loved not the *ſmell of New Leather*, ſaid to him; *Fye, ſloven, thy new Boots ſtinke. Madam*, ſaid he, *it is not my New Boots that ſtink; But it is the ſtale Bills, that I have kept ſo long.*

73. At an *Act*, of the *Commencement*, the *Anſwerer* gave for his *queſtion*; *That an Ariſtocracy was better then a Monarchy.* The *Replyer*, who was a Diſſolute Man, did tax him, that being a private bred Man, he would give a *queſtion* of State. The *Anſwerer* ſaid that the *Replyer* did much wrong the *priviledge* of *Schollars*; who would be much ſtreightned, if they ſhould give *queſtions* of Nothing, but ſuch things, wherein they are practiſed; and added *we have heard your ſelf diſpute of vertue, which no man will ſay you put much in practiſe.*

74. *Queen Iſabella* of *Spain*, uſed to ſay; *whoſoever hath a good preſence, and a good faſhion, carries continual Letters of Recommendation.*

75. *Alonſo* of *Aragon*, was wont to ſay, in commendation of *Age*, that *Age* appeared to be beſt in 4 things: *Old wood beſt to burn, Old Wine to drinke, Old Friends to truſt, and old Authors to read.*

76. It was ſaid of *Auguſtus*; And afterward, the like was ſaid of *Septimius Severus*: Both which did infinite *miſchiefe*, in their *Beginnings*; And infinite *Good*, towards their Ends; *That they ſhould either have never been born, or never died.*

77. *Conſtantine* the *Great*, in a kind of *Envy*, himſelf being a great *Builder*, as *Trajan* likewiſe was; would call *Traian*, *Parietaria*, *Wall-flower*, becauſe his name was upon ſo many *Walls.*

78. *Alonſo* of *Aragon*, was wont to ſay of himſelf; *That he was a great Necromancer, for that he uſed to ask Counſel of the dead*: *meaning of Books.*

79. *Ethelwold*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in a *Famine*, ſold all the *rich Veſſels*, and *Ornaments*, of the *Church*, to relieve the poor with *Bread*; and ſaid; *There was no reaſon, that the Dead Temples of God ſhould be ſumptuouſly furniſhed; And the living Temples ſuffer penury.*

80. Many *Men*, eſpecially ſuch as affect *gravity*, have a manner after other mens ſpeech, to *ſhake* their heads. *A great Officer* of this *Land* would ſay, *It was, as men ſhake a bottle, to ſee if there were any wit, in their Heads, or no?*

81. After a great *Fight*, there came to the *Camp*, *of Conſalvo* the *great Captain*, a *gentleman*, proudly horſed, and armed: *Diego de Mendoza*, asked the *great Captain*; *who's this?* who anſwered; *It is Saint Ermin, who never appears but after the ſtorm.*

82. There was one, that *dyed* greatly in *Debt*: when it was reported in ſome Company, where divers of his *Creditors*, caſually were, that he was dead; One began to ſay; *Well if he be gone, then he hath carried, 500. Duckets of mine with him into the other world.* And another ſaid; *and 200 of mine*: And a third ſpake, of great *ſums* of his. Whereupon, one that was amongſt them, ſaid; *I perceive now, that though a Man, cannot carry, any of his*

own

*own with him, into the next world, yet he may carry away that, which is another Mans.*

83. *Francis Carvajal*, that was the great *Captain*, of the *Rebels*, of *Peru*, had often given the Chace, to *Diego Centeno*, a *principal Commander*, of the *Emperours party:* He was afterwards taken, by the *Emperours Lieutenant*, *Gasca*; And committed to the Custody, of *Diego Centeno*; who used him with all possible curtesy; Insomuch as *Carvajal* asked him; *I pray Sir who are you that use me with this courtesy? Centeno* said; *Do you not know Diego Centeno? Carvajal* answered; *Truely Sir; I have been so used to see your back, as I knew not your Face.*

84. *Gondomar* would say; *Love without ends, hath no end: Meaning*, that if it were begun, not upon particular ends, it would last.

85. There was a *Merchant* died, that was very farr in *Debt*: his *goods*, and *houshold stuff* were set forth to *sale*. A *stranger* would needs buy a *pillow* there, saying; *This pillow, sure, is good to sleep upon, since he could sleep, that owed so many Debts.*

86. A *Lover* met his *Lady*, in a *close Chair*, she thinking to have gone unknown. he came and spake to her: she asked him *how did you know me?* He said; *Because my wounds bleed afresh*, Alluding, to the common *Tradition*, that the *wounds*, of a *Body slain*, will bleed a fresh, upon the approach of the *murtherer.*

87. A *Gentleman* brought *Musick* to his Ladies *window*. She hated him, and had warned him often away: And when he would not desist, she threw *stones at him:* whereupon, a *Gentleman* said unto him, that was in his company; *what greater Honour can you have to your Musick, then that stones come about you, as they did to Orpheus?*

88. *Coranus*, the *Spaniard*, at a *Table*, at *Dinner*, fell into an extolling of his own Father; saying: *If he could have wished of God, he could not have chosen amongst men, a better Father* Sir *Henry Savill* said, *what not Abraham?* Now *Coranus* was doubted to descend, of a *Race*, of Jewes.

89. *Consalvo* would say, that the *Honour*, of a *Souldier*, ought to be of a good *strong Webb*: meaning that it should not be so fine, and curious, as for every small disgrace, to catch, and stick, in it,

90. *Bresquet*, *Iester to Francis* the first. of *France*, did keep, a *Kalender*, of *Fools*, wherewith he did use, to make the *King* sport; telling him ever the Reason, why he put any one, into his *Kalender*. When *Charles the 5th. Emperour*, upon Confidence, of the noble Nature of *Francis*, passed through *France*, for the appeasing, of the Rebellion, of *Gaunt*, *Brisquet* put him into his *Kalender*. The *King* asked him the cause? He answered; *Because you, having suffered, at the Hands, of Charles, the greatest bitterness, that ever prince did from another, nevertheless he would trust his person, into your hands. Why Brisquet*, said the *King*, *what wilt thou*

× This is given to Foote in Joe Miller

*thou say, if thou seest him pass back, in as great safety, as if he marched through the middest of Spain?* saith *Bresquet*; *why then I will put him out, and put in you.*

91. *Arch-Bishop Grindall was wont to say*; *That the Physicians* here in *England*, were not good, at the Cure of particular Diseases; but had only, the *power* of the *Church*, *to bind and loose.*

92. *Cosmus Duke of Florence*, was wont to say of *perfidious friends*; *That we read, that we ought to forgive our Enemies*; *But we do not read that we ought to forgive our friends.*

93. A *Papist*, being opposed *by a Protestant*, that they had no *Scripture* for *Images*, answered, *yes*; *For you read, that the people layd their sick in the streets, that the shadow, of Saint Peter mought come upon them: And that a shadowe was an Image*; and *the obscurest of all Images.*

94. *Sir Edward Dyer*; a grave and wise *Gentleman*, did much believe, in *Kelley* the *Alchymist*; That he did indeed the *work*, and did make *Gold*, insomuch, that he went into *Germany*, where *Kelley* then was, to inform himself fully thereof. After his return he dined with my *Lord of Canterbury*: where, at that time, was, at the *Table*, *Dr. Brown* the *Physician.* They fell in talk of *Kelley.* Sir *Edward Dyer*, turning to the *Arch-Bishop*, said. *I do assure your Grace, that that I shall tel you, is Truth: I am an eye witness thereof*; *And if I had not seen it, I should not have beleeved it, I saw Mr. Kelley, put of the Base Mettal into the Chrysible*; *And after it was set a little, upon the fire*; *And a very small quantity, of the Medicine, put in*; *And stirred with a stick of wood*; *It came forth, in great proportion, perfect gold*; *To the Touch, To the Hammer*; *and to the Test.* My *Lord Arch-Bishop* said; *you had need take heed, what you say, Sir Edward Dyer*; *for here is an Infidel, at the board.* Sir *Edward Dyer* said again pleasantly; *I should have looked, for an Infidell, sooner in any place, then at your Graces* Table. *what say you, Dr. Browne*, said the *Arch-Bishop? Dr. Brown* answered, after his blunt, and hudling maner; *The gentleman hath spoken enough for me.* Why, saith the *Arch Bishop, what hath he said? Marry*, saith *Dr. Brown*, he said, *He would not have beleeved it, except he had seen it*; *And no more will I.*

95. *Doctor Johnson* said; That in *sickness*, there were three things, that were material, the *Physician*, the *Disease*, and the *Patients*: And if any two of these joyned, then they get the victory; For, Ne, *Hercules quidem contra duos.* If the *Physician* and the *Patient* joine, then down goes the *Disease*; For then the *Patent* recovers; If the *Physician* and the *Disease* joyne; that is a strong *Disease*; and *Physician mistaking the cure*, then down goes the *Patient*, if the *Patient* and the *Disease* joyne, then down goes the *Physician*, for he is discredited.

96. *Mr* Bettenham said; *that vertuous men, were like some herbs, and spices that give not out their sweet smell, tell they be broken or crushed.*

97. The *Lord Arch-Bishop Laud* said; *That some Hypocrites, and seeming*

*seeming mortified Men, which held down their heads, were like the little Images, in the Vaults, or Roofs, of Churches; which look, and bow down, as if they held up the Church, when as they beare no weight at all.*

98. There was a *Painter* became a *Physician*: whereupon, one said to him; *You have done well; For before, the faults of your work, were seen; But now they are unseen.*

99. There was a *Gentleman*, that came to the *Tilt*, all in *Orenge tawney*, and rann very ill. The next day, he came again, all in *Green*, and ran worse. There was one, of the *Lookers* on, asked another; *What is the reason, that this Gentleman, changeth his colours?* The other answered; *sure, because it may be reported; That the Gentleman in the green, ran worse, than the Gentleman in the Orenge-tawny.*

100. *Mr. Whitehead*, a grave *Divine*, was much esteemed, by *Queen Elizabeth*, but not preferred, because he was against the *Government* of *Bishops*. He came, one day, to the *Queen*, and the *Queen* chanced, to say to him; *I like thee, the better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried.* He answered again; *In troth, Madam, I like you the worse, for the same cause.*

101. *Zelim* was the first of the *Ottomans*, that did shave his *Beard*, whereas his *Predecessors*, wore it long. One of his *Bashaws* askt him; *Why he altered the Custome of his Predecessors?* He answered *Because you Bashawes, may not lead me by the Beard, as you did them.*

102. *Æneas Sylvius*, that was *Pope Pius secundus*, was wont to say; *That the former Popes did wisely, to set the Lawyers awork, to debate; Whether the Donation, of Constantine the great, to Sylvester, of* St. *Peters patrimony, were good, or valid, in Law, or no? The better to skip over, the Matter in Fact, whether there was ever any such thing, at all, or no?*

103. The *Lord Bishop Andrews*, was asked, at the first coming over, of the *Arch. Bishop of Spalato, whether he were a protestant, or no?* He answered; *Truly, I know not*; But *I think he is a Detestant*; That was, of most of the *Opinions of Rome.*

104. It was said, amongst some of the grave *Prelates*, of the *Counsel of Trent*, in which the *School-Divines*, bare the Sway; *That the Schoolemen, were like the Astronomers, who to save the Phænomena, framed, to their conceit, eccentricks, and Epicycles, and a wonderfull Engine of Orbes; Though no such things were*: so they to save the practise of the *Church*, had devised a great number of *strange positions.*

105. *Æneas Sylvius* would say; that the *Christian Faith*, and *Law*, though it had not been confirmed by *Miracles*, yet was worthy to be received, for the *Honesty* thereof.

106. *Mr. Bacon* would say; that it was in *Busines*, as it is frequently in *wayes*: *That the next way, is commonly the fowlest; And that, if a man will go, the faire st way, he must go somewhat about.*

107. *Mr. Bettenham, Reader* of *Grayes Inn*, uſed to ſay; *That Riches were like muck; when it lay upon an Heape, it gave but a ſtench and ill Odour; But when it was ſpread, upon the ground, then it was cauſe of much Fruit.*

108. *Cicero* married his *Daughter* to *Dolabella*, that held *Cæſars party*: *Pompey* had married *Julia*, that was *Cæſars Daughter*. After, when *Cæſar*, and *Pompey*, tooke Arms, one againſt the other; And *Pompey* had paſſed the Seas, and *Cæſar* poſſeſſed *Italy*; *Cicero* ſtaid ſomewhat long in *Italy*; But at laſt ſayled over, to joyn with *Pompey*: Who when he came to him, *Pompey* ſaid; *you are welcome, but where left you your ſon in Law?* *Cicero* anſwered, *with your Father in Law.*

109. *Veſpaſian*, and *Titus* his eldeſt *Son*, were both abſent from *Rome*, when the *Empire* was caſt upon *Veſpaſian*; *Domitian* his younger *ſon*, was at *Rome*, who took upon him the *Affaires*; And being of a *Turbulent* ſpirit, made many changes; And diſplaced divers officers, and Governours *of Provinces*, ſending them *ſucceſſors*. So when *Veſpaſian* returned to *Rome*; And *Domitian* came into his preſence, *Veſpaſian* ſaid to him; *Son I looked, when you would have ſent me a ſucceſſor.*

110. *Nero* loved a beautifull *Youth*, whom he uſed vitiouſly, and called him *Wife*. There was a *Senator* of *Rome*, that ſaid ſecretly to his *Friend*, It *was pitty, Nero's Father, had not ſuch a Wife.*

111. *Galba* ſucceeded *Nero*, and his Age being deſpiſed, there was much licence and Confuſion, in *Rome*, during his *Empire*: whereupon, a *Senator* ſaid in full *Senate*; It *were better to live, where nothing is Lawfull, than were all things are Lawfull.*

112. *Auguſtus Cæſar*, did write to *Livia*, who was over-ſenſible, of ſome ill words, that had been ſpoken, of them both: *Let it not trouble thee, my Livia, if any Man ſpeak ill of us; For we have enough that no man, can do ill unto us.*

113. *Chilon* ſaid, that *Kings Friends*, and *Favorites*, were like *Caſting Counters*; That ſometimes ſtood for *one*, ſometimes for ten ſometimes for an *Hundred.*

114. *Theodoſius*, when he was preſſed by a *Suitor*, and denyed him, The *Suitor* ſaid; *Why ſir you promiſed it.* He anſwered; *I ſaid it, but I did not promiſe it, if it be unjuſt.*

115. The *Romans*, when they ſpake, to the *people*, were wont to ſtile them, ye *Romans*: When *Commanders* in *warr*, ſpake to their *Army*, they ſtiled them *my Souldiers*. There was a *Mutiny* in *Cæſars Army*, and ſomewhat the *Souldiers* would have had, but they would not declare themſelves in it; But only demanded a *Miſſion*, or *Diſcharge*; Though with no intention, it ſhould be graunted: But knowing; that *Cæſar* had at that time, great need of their ſervice, *thought* by that means, to wrench him to their other deſires: whereupon, with one Cry, they asked *Miſſion*. *Cæſar* after ſilence made, ſaid: *I for my part ye Romans*, this *Title* did actually ſpeak them to be *diſmiſſed*: wch. voice they had no ſoo-

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ner heard; but they mutinied again; And would not suffer him, to go on with his *Speech*, until he had called hem, by the Name, of his *Souldiers*; And so, with that one *word* the appeased the *Sedition*.

116. *Cæsar* would say of *Sylla*, for that he did resign his *Dictatourship*; *Sylla was ignorant of Letters, He could not dictate.*

117. *Seneca* said of *Cæsar*; *That he did quickly shew, the sword, but never leave it off.*

118. *Diogenes* begging, as divers *Philosophers* then used, did begg more of a *Prodigall Man*, than of the *Rest*, which were present. Whereupon, one said to him: *See your Baseness, that when you find a liberall Mind, you wil take most of him: No*, said *Diogenes, but I mean to begg, of the Rest, again.*

119. *Themistocles*, when an *Embassadour*, from a *mean State*, did speak great *matters*; said to him; *Fried thy words would require a City*

120. *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, in a *Treaty*, that he had, with the *Lacedemonians*, for peace; And that *Question* was made, about *security*, for observing the same *peace*, said; *The Athenians would not accept of any security, except the Lacedemonians, do yield up unto them, those Things, whereby it mought be manifest, that they could not hurt them, though they would.*

121. They would say, of the *Duke* of *Guise*, *Henry*; *That he was the greatest usurer in France, for that he had turned all his Estate into Obligations.* Meaning; That he had sold, and oppignerated, all his *Patrimony*, to give large donatives, to other men.

122. *Cæsar Borgia*, after long Division, between him, and the *Lords* of *Romagna*, fell to accord with them. In this Accord, there was an *Article*, that he should not call them, at any time, all together, in person. The Meaning was, that knowing his dangerous Nature, if he meant them *Treason*, He mought have Opportunity, to oppress them, altogether at once. Nevertheless, he used, such fine Art, and fair Carriage, that he wonn their Confidence, to meet altogether, in Counsel, at *Cinigalia*; where he murthered them all. This *Act*, when it was related, unto *Pope Alexander*, his *Father*, by a *Cardinal*, as a Thing *Happy*, but very *Perfidious*; The *Pope* said: *It was they, that had broke, their Covenant first, in coming all together.*

123. *Titus Quinctius*, was in the *Counsell*, of the *Achaians*, what time they deliberated, whether in the *Warr*, then to follow, between the *Romans*, and *King Antiochus*, they should confederate themselves with the *Romans*, or with *King Antiochus*? In that *Counsell*, the *Ætolians*, who incited the *Achaians*, against the *Romans*, to disable their *Forces*, gave great words, as if the late victory, the *Romans* had obtained, against *Philip*, *King* of *Macedon*, had been chiefly, by the strength, and *Forces*, of the *Ætolians* themselves: And on the other side, the *Embassadour* of *Antiochus*, did extol the *Forces*, of his *Master*; sounding, what an Innumerable Company, he brought in his Army; And gave the *Nations* strange *Names*; As *Elymeans*, *Cadncians*, and others. After both

their *Harangues*, *Titus Quinctius*, when he roſe up, ſaid; *It was an eaſie Matter to perceive, what it was, that had joyned Antiochus, and the Ætolians together; That it appeared to be, by reciprocal lying of each, touching the others Forces.*

124. *Plato* was amorous, of a young *Gentleman*, whoſe Name was *Stella*, that ſtudied *Aſtronomy*; and went oft, in the clear Nights, to look upon the *Starrs*. Whereupon *Plato* wiſhed himſelf *Heaven*, *that he mought look upon Stella, with a* 1000. *Eyes.*

125. The *Lacedemonians*, were beſieged, by the *Athenians*, in the *Port* of *Peile*, which was wonn, and ſome ſlain, and ſome taken. There was one ſaid, to one of them, that was taken, by way of ſcorne; *Were not they brave Men that loſt their Lives, at the Port of Peile?* He anſwered; *Certainly, a Perſian Arrow, is much to beſet by, if it can chuſe out, a Brave Man.*

126. *Clodius* was acquit by a corrupt *Jury*, that had palpably taken ſhares of *Monie*, before they gave up their *Verdict*, they prayed, of the *Senate*, a *Guard*; That they might do their *Conſciences*, for that *Clodius* was a very *ſeditious young Nobleman.* Whereupon all the World gave him for *Condemned.* But acquitted he was: *Catulus*, the next day, ſeeing ſome of them, that had acquitted him, together, ſaid to them; *What made you ask of us a Guard? Were you afraid, your Monie ſhould have been taken from you.*

127. At the ſame *Judgement*, *Cicero* gave in *Evidence*, upon *Oath*: And when the *Jury*, which conſiſted of 57. had paſſed againſt his *Evidence*, one day, in the *Senate*, *Cicero* and *Clodius* being in Altercation, *Clodius* upbraided him, and ſaid; *The Jury gave you no credit: Cicero* anſwered; *Five and Twenty gave me credit; But there were two and thirty, that gave you no credit; For they had their Monie before hand.*

128. Sir *Henry Savill*, was aſked, by my *Lord of Eſſex*, his Opinion touching *Poets?* He anſwered my Lord; *That he thought them the beſt Writers, next to them, that writ Proſe.*

129. *Diogenes* having ſeen that the *Kingdom* of *Macedon*, which before was Contemptible, and low, began to come aloft, when he dyed, was aſked; *How he would be buried?* He Anſwered; *With my Face downward: For within a while, the world will be turned upſide down, and then I ſhall lie right.*

130. *Cato* the *Elder*, was wont to ſay; *That the Romans, were like ſheep: A Man were better drive a Flock of them, than one of them.*

131. When *Lycurgus* was to reform, and alter, the *State* of *Sparta*; In *Conſultation* one adviſed, that it ſhould be reduced, to an Abſolute *Popular Equality:* But *Lycurgus* ſaid to him; *Sir, begin it in your own Houſe.*

132. *Bion*, that was an *Atheiſt*, was ſhewed in a *Port-City*, in a *Temple* of *Neptune*, many *Tables* of *Pictures*, of ſuch, as had, in *Tempeſts*,

*peſts* made their *Vowes* to *Neptune*, and were ſaved from *Shipwrack*: And was aſkt: *How ſay you now? Do you not acknowledge, the power of the Gods?* But ſaid he; *I but where are they painted, that have been drowned, after their Vowes.*

133. *Cicero* was at Dinner, where there was an *Ancient Lady*, that ſpake of her own years; And ſaid; *She was but Forty years old.* One that ſat by *Cicero*, rounded him in the ear, and ſaid; *She talkes of Forty year old; But ſhe is far more, out of Queſtion* Cicero anſwered him again; *I muſt beleeve her, for I have heard her ſay ſo, any time theſe ten years.*

134. There was a *Souldier* that vaunted before *Julius Cæſar*, of the Hurts, he had received in his *Face. Julius Cæſar* knowing him, to be but a Coward, told him; *you were beſt take heed, next time you run away, how you look back.*

135. There was *a Suitor* to *Veſpaſian*, who to ley his *Suit fairer*, ſaid it was for his *Brother*; Whereas indeed it was for a *piece* of *Mony*. Some about *Veſpaſian* told the *Emperour*, to croſs him; That the party, his *Servant* ſpake for, was not his *Brother*; But that he did it upon a *Bargain*. *Veſpaſian* ſent for the *Party intereſſed*, and aſked him; *Whether his Mean, employed by him, was his Brother, or no?* He durſt not tell untruth to the *Emperour*, and confeſſed, He was not his *Brother*. Whereupon, the *Emperour* ſaid, *This do, Fetch me the Mony, and you ſhall have your Suit diſpatched:* Which he did. The *Courtier*, which was the *Mean*, ſollicited *Veſpaſian*, ſoon after, about his *Suit: Why*, (*ſaith Veſpaſian*,) *I gave it, laſt day, to a Brother of mine.*

136. *Veſpaſian* aſked of *Apollonius*; *What was the cauſe of Nero's Ruine?* Who anſwered, *Nero could tune the Harp well; But in Government, he did alwayes wind up the ſtrings too high; or lett them down too low.*

137. *Dionyſius* the *Tyrant*, after he was depoſed, and brought to *Corinth*, kept *a Schoole*. Many uſed to viſit him; And amongſt others, one, when he came in, opened his *Mantle*, and *ſhooke* his *Cloathes*; Thinking to give *Dionyſius* a gentle ſcorn; Becauſe it was the manner to do ſo, for them that came in to ſee him, while he was *Tyrant*. But *Dionyſius* ſaid to him; *I prethee, do ſo, rather when thou goeſt out, that we may ſee, thou ſtealeſt nothing away.*

138. *Diogines*, one terrible froſty Morning, came into the *Market-place*; And ſtood *Naked* ſhaking, to ſhew his *Tolerance*. Many of the People, came about him, pittying him: *Plato* paſſing by, and knowing, He did it to be ſeen, ſaid to the *People* as he went by; *If you pitty him indeed leave him alone.*

139. *Ariſtippus*, was earneſt Suiter, to *Dionyſius*, for ſome Grant; who would give no Eare to his Suite. *Ariſtippus* fell at his feet, and then *Dionyſius* granted it. One that ſtood by, ſaid afterwards to *Ariſtippus*; *You a Philoſopher, and be ſo baſe, as to throw your ſelf, at the Tyrants Feet, to get a Suite: Ariſtippus* anſwered; *The fault is not mine,*

*mine, but the fault is in Dionyſius, that carries his Ears in his Feet.*

140. *Solon*, when he wept, for his *Sons Death*, and one ſaid to him; *Weeping will not help*, anſwered; *Alaſs, therefore I weep, becauſe weeping will not help.*

141. The ſame *Solon* being aſked; *Whether he had given the Athenians the beſt Lawes?* Anſwered; *The beſt of thoſe that they would have received.*

142. One ſaid to *Ariſtippus*, *'Tis a ſtrange Thing, why ſhould Men, rather give to the poor, then to Philoſophers*: He anſwered; *Becauſe they think, themſelves may ſooner come to be poor, than to be Philoſophers.*

143. *Trajan* would ſay, of the *Vain Jealouſie* of *Princes*, that ſeek to make away, thoſe that aſpire to their *ſucceſſion*; *That there was never King, that did put to death his Succeſſour.*

144. When it was repreſented to *Alexander*, to the Advantage, of *Antipater*, who was a ſtern and Imperious Man; *That he onely of all his Lieutenants, wore no Purple, but kept, the Macedonian Habit, of Black*; *Alexander* ſaid; *yea, but Antipater is all Purple within.*

145. *Alexander* uſed to ſay, of his two *Friends*, *Craterus* and *Epheſtion*; *That Epheſtion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the King.*

146. It fell out ſo, that as *Livia* went abroad in *Rome*, there met her *Naked Young Men*, that were ſporting in the ſtreets; which *Auguſtus* went about ſeverely to puniſh in them: But *Livia* ſpake for them, and ſaid; *It was no more, to chaſte Women, then ſo many Statua's.*

147. *Philip* of *Macedon*, was wiſhed to baniſh one, for ſpeaking ill of him: But *Philip* anſwered; *Better he ſpeak, where we are both known, then where we are both unknown.*

148. *Lucullus* entertained *Pompey*, in one of his *Magnificent Houſes*: *Pompey* ſaid, *This is a marvellous Faire, and ſtately Houſe, for the Summer*; *But methinks, it ſhould be very cold for Winter*: *Lucullus* anſwered; *Do you not think me, as wiſe, as divers Foules are, to change my habitation, in the winter ſeaſon.*

149. *Plato* entertained, ſome of his Friends, at a *Dinner*; And had, in the chamber, a *Bed*, or *Couch*, neatly and coſtly furniſhed. *Diogenes* came in, and got up upon the Bed, and trampled it; ſaying; *I trample upon the Pride of Plato*: *Plato* mildly anſwered; *But with greater Pride Diogenes.*

150. *Pompey* being *Commiſſioner*, for ſending *Grain* to *Rome*, in time of *Dearth*, When He came to the Sea, found it, very tempeſtuous, and dangerous; Inſomuch as thoſe about him, adviſed him, by no means to embarque; But *Pompey* ſaid; *It is of neceſſity, that I go, not that I live.*

151. *Demoſthenes* was upbraided by *Æſchines*; *That his ſpeeches did ſmell of the Lamp*: But *Demoſthenes* ſaid; *Indeed, there is a great deal*

*of*

*of Difference, between that, which you, and I do by Lamp-light.*

152. *Demades* the *Oratour*, in his Age, was *Talkative*; and would *eate hard*: *Antipater* would say of him; *That he was like a Sacrifice, that Nothing was left of it, but the Tongue, and the Paunch*

153 *Themistocles*, after he was banished, and had wrought Himself into great Favour, afterwards; so that He was honoured, and sumptuously served; seeing his present Glory; said unto one of his *Friends*; *If I had not been undone, I had beene undone.*

154. *Philo Judæus* saith; *That the sense, is like the Sun; For the Sun seales up, the Globe of Heaven, and opens the Globe of Earth: So the sense doth obscure Heavenly Things, and reveales Earthly Things.*

155. *Alexander*, after the *Battell* of *Granicum*, had very great Offers, made him by *Darius*: Consulting with his *Captains*, concerning them, *Parmenio* said; *Sure, I would accept of these Offers, if I were as* Alexander: *Alexander* answered; *so would I, if I were as* Parmenio.

156. *Alexander* was wont to say; *He knew Himself to be Mortal, chiefly by two Things; Sleep, and Lust.*

157. *Augustus Cæsar* would say; *That he wondred, that* Alexander *feared, he should want worke, having no more worlds to conquer: As if it were not, as hard a matter, to keep, as to conquer.*

158. *Antigonus*, when it was told him, that the *Enemie*, had such *Volleys*, of *Arrows*, that they did hide the *Sun*, said; *That falls out well; For it is hot weather, and so we shall fight, in the shade.*

159. *Cato* the *Elder*, being aged, buried his *Wife*, and married a *young woman*. His *sonne* came to him, and said; *Sir, what have I offended, that you have brought a step-Mother, into your house?* The old man answered; *Nay, quite contrary, sonne; Thou pleasest me so well, as I would be glad, to have more such.*

160. *Crassus* the *Oratour* had a *Fish*, which the *Romans* call *Murena*, that he made very tame, and fond of him; The *Fish* died, and *Crassus* wept for it. One day, falling in contention with *Domitius*, in the *Senate*, *Domitius* said; *Foolish* Crassus, *you wept for your* Murena. *Crassus* replied; *That's more then you did, for both your wives.*

161. *Philip, Alexanders Father*, gave *sentence* against a *prisoner*, what time he was drowsie, and seemed to give small attention. The *Prisoner*, after *sentence* was pronounced, said, *I appeal.* The *King*, somewhat stirred, said; *To whom do you appeal?* The *prisoner* answered; *From* Philip, *when he gave no eare, to* Philip, *when he shall give eare*

162. There was a *Philosopher*, that disputed with *Adrian* the *Emperour*, and did it but weakly. One of his Friends, that had been by, afterwards said unto him: *Methinks, you were not like your*

*your ſelfe, laſt day, in Argument with the Emperour; I could have anſwered better my ſelf*: Why, ſaid *the Philoſopher*; *Would you have me contend with him, that commands thirty Legions?*

163. When *Alexander* paſs'd into *Aſia*, he gave large *Donatives*, to his *Captains*, and other *principall Men* of *Vertue*: Inſomuch as *Parmenio* asked him; *Sir, what do you keep for your ſelfe?* he anſwered, *Hope.*

164. *Veſpaſian* ſet a *Tribute* upon *Urine*: *Titus*, his ſon, emboldened himſelf, to ſpeak to his *Father* of it: And repreſented it, as a Thing, indigne and ſordid. *Veſpaſian* ſaid nothing, for the time; But a while after, when it was forgotten, ſent for a piece of *Silver*, out of the *Tribute-money*; And called to his *ſon, bidding him, to ſmell to it*; and asked him, *whether he found any offence?* who ſaid, *No: Why ſo*, ſaith *Veſpaſian* again; *Yet this comes out of Urine.*

165. *Nerva*, the *Emperour*, ſucceeded *Domitian*, who had been *Tyrannicall*; And in his time, many *Noble Houſes* were overthrown, by falſe Accuſations; The Inſtruments whereof, were chiefly, *Marcellus* and *Regulus*. The *Emperour Nerva*, one night ſup'd privately, with ſome ſixe, or ſeven: Amongſt which there was one, that was a Dangerous Man; And began to take the like courſes, as *Marcellus*, and *Regulus*, had done. The *Emperour* fell into Diſcourſe, of the *Injuſtice*, and *Tyranny* of the former *Time*; And by Name, of the two *Accuſers*; And ſaid; *What ſhould we do with them, if we had them now?* One of them, that was at Supper, and was a free-ſpoken *Senatour*, ſaid; *Marry, they ſhould ſup with us.*

166. There was one, that found a great *Maſs* of *Money*, digged under Ground, in his *Grand-fathers Houſe*; And being ſomewhat doubtfull, of the *Caſe*, ſignified it to the *Emperour*, that he had found ſuch *Treaſure*. The *Emperour* made a *Reſcript* thus; *Uſe it*. He writ back again; That the *ſumme* was greater, then his *Eſtate*, or *Condition*, could uſe. The *Emperour* writ, a new *Reſcript*, thus; *Abuſe it.*

167. *Julius Cæſar*, as he paſſed by, was by *Acclamation*, of ſome, that ſtood in the way, termed *King*; to try how the *People* would take it. The *People* ſhewed great murmure and diſtaſt at it. *Cæſar* finding, where the winde ſtood, ſlighted it, and ſaid; *I am not King, but Cæſar*: As if they had miſtaken his Name. For *Rex* was a *ſurname* amongſt the *Romans*, as *King* is with us.

168. When *Cræſus*, for his glory, ſhewed *Solon*, his great *Treaſures*, of *Gold*; *Solon* ſaid to him; *If another KING come, that hath better iron, than you, he will be Maſter, of all this Gold.*

169. *Ariſtippus*, being reprehended of *Luxury*, by one that was not rich; for that he gave *ſixe Crownes* for a ſmall *Fiſh*; anſwered; *Why, what would you have given?* The other ſaid, ſome *Twelve pence*. *Ariſtippus* ſaid again; *And ſixe crowns is no more with me.*

170. *Plato*

170. *Plato* reprehended severely, a *young man*, for entring into a *dissolute House*. The *young man* said to him; *why do you reprehend so sharply, for so small a matter? Plato* replyed; *But custom is no small matter.*

171. *Archidamus*, *King* of *Lacedemon*, having received from *Philip*, *King* of *Macedon*; (After *Philip* had won the *victory* of *Cheronea*, upon the *Athenians*) proud *Letters*; writ back to him; *That if he measured his own shadow, he should find it no longer then it was before his victory.*

172. *Pyrrhus*, when his Friends congratulated to him, his victory over the *Romans*, under the *Conduct* of *Fabritius*, but with great slaughter, of his own side, said to them again; *yes, but if we have such another Victory, we are undone.*

173. *Cineas* was an excellent *Orator*, and *Statesman*; And principal *Friend*, and *Counseller*, to *Pyrrhus*; And falling in inward talk with him; And discerning the *Kings* endless ambition, when *Pyrrhus* opened himself to him; *That he intended, first a Warr upon Sicely; And hoped to atchieve it. Cineas* asked him; *Sir what will you do then? Then*, (saith He,) *we will attempt Italy, and Rome. Cineas*, said; *Well Sir, what then?* (*Then saith Pyrrhus,*) *if the Gods succour us, we may conquer the Kingdome of Carthage. What then*, Sir, saith *Cineas? Nay then*, saith, *Pyrrhus, we may take our Rest, and sacrifice, and feast every day, and make merry with our friends. Alas, Sir*, said, *Cineus, may we not do so now, without all this ado;*

175. *Plato* was wont to say, of his *Master Socrates*; *That he was like the Apothecaries Galley pots; That had, on the Outside, Apes, and Owles, and Satyres; But within precious Druggs.*

175. *Alexander* sent to *Phocyon*, a great *present* of *Money*. *Phocyon* said to the *Messenger*; *Why doth the King send to me, and to none els?* The *Messenger* answered *Because he takes you to be the only good man in Athens. Phocyon* replyed; *If he think so, pray let him suffer me, to be so still.*

176. At a *Banquet* where those that were called the *seven wise men* of *Greece*, were invited, by the *Embassadour*, of a *Barbarous King*; The *Embassadour* related; That there was a *Neighbour mightier* then his *Master*, pict quarrels with him, by making *impossible Demands*, otherwise threatning *warr*, and now, at that present, had demanded of him; *to drink up the Sea.* Whereunto one of the *wise men said*; *I would have him undertake it. Why*, saith the *Embassadour*) *how shall he come off? Thus*, (saith the *wiseman*,) *let that King, first stop the Rivers, which run into the Sea; which are no part of the bargain; and then your Master will perform it.*

177. At the same *Banquet*, the *Embassadour* desired the *seven*, and some other *wise men*, that were at the *Banquet*, to deliver, every one of them, some *sentence*, or *parable*, that he mought report to his *King*, the wisedome of *Grecia*, which they did: only one was silen: which the *Embassadour* perceiving, said to him;

*Sir, let it not displease you; why do not you say somewhat, that I may report?* He answered; *Report to your Lord, that there are of the Grecians that can hold their peace.*

178. The *Lacedemonians* had in custome, to speak very short; which being an *Empire*, they mought do at pleasure: But after their *defeat* at *Leuctra*, in an *assembly* of the *Græcians*, they made a long *Invective* against *Epaminondas*; Who stood up, and said no more but this; *I am glad, we have brought you to speak long.*

179. *Fabius Maximus*, being resolved to draw the *warr* in length still waited upon *Hannibals* progress, to curbe him: And for that purpose, he *encamped*, upon the *High Ground*: But *Terentius*, his *Colleague*, fought with *Hannibal*, & was in great peril of overthrow: But then *Fabius*, came down from the *High grounds*, and got the Day. Whereupon *Hannibal* said; *That he did ever think, that that same cloud, that hanged upon the Hills, would at one time, or other, give a Tempest.*

180. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, was sent *Commissioner*, by the *state*, after the *second Carthaginian warr*, to supplicate for *peace*; And in the end, obtain'd it: yet one, of the sharper *Senators* said; *you have often broken with us, the peaces, whereunto you have been sworn; I pray, by what Gods will you sweare?* *Hanno* answered; *by the same Gods that have punished, the former perjury, so severely.*

181. *Cæsar* when he had first possessed *Rome*, *Pompey* being fled, offered to enter the *sacred Treasury*, to take the *moneys*, that were ther stored: And *Metellus*, *Tribune of the People*, did forbid him; And when *Metellus* was violent in it, and would not desist; *Cæsar* turned to him, and said; *presume no further, or I will lay you dead* And when *Metellus*, was, with those words, somewhat astonished, *Cæsar* added; *young man, it had been easier for me, to do this, than to speak it.*

182. *Caius Marius*, was *General* of the *Romans* against the *Cimbers*, who came with such a sea, of *people*, upon *Italy*. In the *fight*, there was a *Band*, of the *Cadurcians*, of a thousand, that did notable service, whereupon, after the Fight, *Marius* did *denison* them all, for *Citizens* of *Rome*, though there was no Law to warrant it. One of his *Friends*, did present it unto him; *That he had transgressed the Law, because that priviledge, was not to be graunted, but by the people.* Whereunto *Marius* answered; *That for the Noyse of Arms, he could not hear the Laws.*

183. *Pompey* did consummate the *Warr* against *Sertorius*, when *Metellus* had brought the Enemy somewhat low. He did also consummate the *warr*, against the *Fugitives*, whom *Crassus* had befored defeated, in a great Battaile. So when *Lucullus* had had great and glorious *Victories*, against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; yet *Pompey* by means his friends made, was sent to put an end, to that war. Whereupon *Lucullus* taking indignation, as a disgrace offered to himself, said; *That Pompey was a Carrion Crow*

*when*

*when others had ſtrucken down the bodies, then Pompey came and preyed upon them.*

184. *Antiſthenes*, being asked of one *what learning was moſt neceſſary, for Mans life?* Answered; To unlearn that which is nought.

185. *Alexander* viſited *Diogenes*, in his *Tubb*; And when he asked him; *what he would deſire of him? Diogenes* answered, *that you would ſtand a little aſide, that the ſun may come to me.*

186. The ſame *Diogenes*, when *Mice* came about him, as he was eating, ſaid; *I ſee, that even Diogenes, nouriſheth Paraſites.*

187. *Hiero* viſited by *Pythagoras*, askt him; *Of what condition he was?* *Pythagoras* answered; *Sir I know you have been at the Olympian Games: yes*, ſaith *Hiero. Thither* (ſaith *Pythagoras*,) *come ſome, to win the prizes. Some come to ſell their Merchandize, becauſe it is a kinde of Mart, of all Greece. Some come to meet their Friends to & make merry; Becauſe of the great confluence, of all ſorts. Others come onely, to look on. I am one of them, that come to look on*; meaning it; of *Philoſophy*, and the *contemplative life.*

188. *Heraclitus* the *obſcure*, ſaid; *The dry light, is the beſt Soul*: meaning when the *faculties intellectual*, are in vigour; not *drenched, or, as it were, blouded*, by the *affections.*

189. One of the *Philoſophers* was asked; *what a wiſe man differed from a foole?* He answered; *ſend them both Naked, to thoſe that know them not, and you ſhall perceive.*

190. There was a *Law*, made by the *Romans*, againſt the *Bribery* and *Extortion*, of the *Governers of provinces. Cicero* ſaith in a ſpeech of his to the *people*; *That he thought the provinces would petition, to the ſtate of Rome, to have that Law repealed. For*, (ſaith he,) *before the Governour did bribe and extort, as much as was ſufficient for themſelves: But now they bribe, and extort as much, as may be enough, not only for themſelves, but for the Judges, and Jurors, and Magiſtrates.*

191. *Ariſtippus* sayling in a *Tempeſt*, ſhewed ſignes of fear. One of the Seamen, ſaid to him, in an inſulting manner; *we that are plebeians, are not troubled; you that are a philoſopher, are afraid. Ariſtippus* answered; *There is not* ~~not~~ *the like wager upon it, for you to periſh and forme.*

192. There was an *Orator*, that defended a *cauſe of Ariſtippus*, and prevailed. Afterwards, he asked *Ariſtippus*; *Now, in your diſtreſs, what did Socrates do you good? Ariſtippus* answered; *Thus; in making that, which you ſaid of me, to be true.*

193. There was an *Epicurean* vaunted, that divers of other ſects of *Philoſophers*, did after turn *Epicureans*; But there was never any *Epicurean*, that turned to any other *ſect*. Whereupon a *Philoſopher* that was of another ſect, ſaid; *The reaſon was plain, for that Cocks may be made Capons; but Capons could never be made Cocks.*

194. *Chilon would ſay; That Gold was tryed with the touchſtone; And men with Gold.*

195. *Simonides* being askt of *Hiero*, what he thought of *God?* asked a seven-nights time to consider of it: And at the seven-nights end, he asked a Fourthnights time: At the Forth-nights end, a Moneth. At which *Hiero* marvelling, *Simonides* answered; *That the longer he thought upon the matter, the more difficult he found it.*

196. *Socrates*, when there was shewed unto him, the *Book* of *Heraclitus*, the *obscure*; And was asked his opinion of it; answered; *Those things, that I understood, were excellent; I imagine, so were those that I understood not; But they require a Diver of Delos.*

197. *Socrates* was pronounced, by the *Oracle* of *Delphos*, to be the *wisest man* of *Greece*; which he would put from himself, In *modesty*, saying; *There could be nothing in himself, to verify the Oracle except this; That he was not wise, and knew it; And others were not wise, and knew it not.*

198. A *Spaniard* was censuring to a *French Gentleman*, the want of *Devotion*, amongst the *French*; In that, whereas in *Spain*, when the *Sacrament* goes to the *sick*, any that meets with it, turns back and waits upon it, to the house, whether it goes; But in *France*, they only do *Reverence*, and pass by. But the *French Gentleman* answered him; *There is Reason for it; For here with us, Christ is secure, amongst his Friends; But in Spain, there be so many Jewes, and Marano's, that it is not amiss for him, to have a Convoy.*

199. *Mr. Popham*, (afterwards, Lord chief Justice *Popham*,) when he was Speaker; And the *House* of *Commons* had sate long and done, in effect, nothing; Comming one day to *Queen Elizabeth*, she said to him; *Now Mr. Speaker; what hath passed, in the Commons House?* He answered; *If it please your Majesty seven weeks.*

200. *Agathocles*, after he had taken *Syracusa*, the men where-of, duriug the siege, had in a bravery, spoken of them, all the *Villany*, that mought be; sold the *Syracusans* for *slaves*, And said; *Now, if you use, such words, of me, I will tell your Masters of you.*

201. *Themistocles*, in his *lower Fortune*, was in love with a young gentleman, who scorned him; But when he grew, to his *Greatness*, which was soon after, he sought him; *Themistocles* said; *we are both grown wise, but too late.*

202. *Bion* was sayling, and there fell out a great Tempest; And the *Mariners*, that were wicked, and dissolute fellows, called upon the *Gods*; But *Bion* said to them, *peace, let them not know you are here.*

203. The Turks made an *expedition* into *Persia*; And because of the *strait Jawes*, of the *Mountains* of *Armenia*, the *Bashaws* consulted, which way they should get in? One that heard the *Debate* said; *heres much adoe, how you shall get in; But I hear no Body take care how you should get out.*

204. *Philip King of Macedon*, maintained arguments with a *Musician* in points of his Art, somewhat peremptorily; But the *Musician*

*cian* said to him; *God forbid Sir, your Fortune, were so hard, that you should know these things, better then my self.*

205. *Antalcidas*, when an *Athenian* said to him, *ye Spartans are unlearned*; said again; *True*; *For we have learned no evil, nor vice, of you.*

206. *Pace* the bitter *Fool*, was not suffered to come, at *Queen Elizabeth*, becauſe of his bitter Humour. Yet at one time, ſome perſwaded the *Queen*, that he ſhould come to her; undertaking for him, that he ſhould keep within compaſs, ſo he was brought to her, and the *Queen* ſaid; *come on Pace, now we ſhall hear of our faults*, ſaith *Pace*; *I do not uſe to talk of that, that all the Towne talkes of.*

207. *Biſhop Latimer* ſaid, in a Sermon at Court; *That he heard great ſpeach, that the King was poor*; *And many waies were propounded to make him rich*: *For his part, he had thought of one way, which was*; *That they ſhould help the King, to ſome good Office*; *for all his Officers were rich.*

208. After the defeat of *Cyrus* the younger, *Falinus* was ſent, by the King, to the Grecians, (who had, for their part rather victory, than otherwiſe,) to command them, to yield their arms; which when it was denied, *Falinus* ſaid to *Clearchus*; *Well then, the King lets you know, that if you remove, from the place where you are now encamped, it is war: if you ſtay it is Truce*: *What ſhall I ſay you will do?* Clearchus anſwered; *It pleaſeth us, as it pleaſeth the King. How is that?* ſaith Falinus; ſaith Clearchus; *If we remove, War*; *If we ſtay, Truce*; and ſo would not diſcloſe his purpoſe.

209. *Alcibiades* came to *Pericles*, and ſtayed a while, ere he was admitted. When he came in, *Pericles* civilly excuſed it, and ſaid; *I was ſtudying, how to give mine account.* But *Alcibiades* ſaid to him *If you will be ruled by me, ſtudy rather how to give no account.*

210. *Mendoza*, that was Vice-Roy of *Peru*, was wont to ſay; *That the goverment of Peru, was the beſt place, that the King of Spain gave, ſave that it was ſomewhat too near Madrid.*

211. When *Veſpaſian* paſſed from Jury, to take upon him, the Empire, he went by *Alexandria*, where remained two famous Philoſophers; *Apollonius and Euphrates.* The Emperour heard the diſcourſe, touching matter of State, in the preſence of many. And when he was weary of them, he brake off, and in a ſecret deriſion, finding their Diſcourſes but ſpeculative, and not to be put in practiſe, ſaid; *Oh that I might govern wiſe men, and wiſe men govern me.*

212. Cardinal *Ximenes*, upon a Muſter, which was taken againſt the Moors was ſpoken to, by a Servant of his to ſtand a little out of the ſmoake, of the Harquebuze but he ſaid again, *That that was his incenſe.*

213. *Nero* was wont to ſay, of his Maſter *Seneca*, *That his ſtile was like mortar without lime.*

214. A certain Countrey man, being at an Aſſiſes, and ſeeing the

the Prisoners, holding up their hands, at the the Barr, related to some of his acquaintance: *That the Judges were good Fortune tellers: For if they did but look upon a mans hand, they could tell, whether he should live or dye.*

215. *Augustus Cæsar*, out of great indignation, against his two Daughters; and *Posthumus Agrippa*, his Grand-Child, whereof the two first were infamous; and the last otherwise unworthy, would say: *That they were not his seed, but some imposthumes, that had broken from him.*

216. A Sea-man coming before the Judges of the Admiralty, for admittance into an Office, of a Ship, bound for the Indies, was by one of the Judges much slighted, as an insufficient person, for that office, he sought to obtain; The Judge telling him; *That he believed, he could not say, the points of his Compass.* The Sea-man answered; *That he could say them, under favour, better then he could say his Pater-Noster.* The Judge replyed; *That he would wager Twenty shillings with him upon that.* The Sea-man taking him up, it came to tryall: And the Sea-man began, and said all the points of his Compass very exactly: The Judge likewise said his Pater-Noster: and when he had finished it, he required the wager, according to agreement; *Because the Sea-man was to say his Compass better, than he his Pater-Noster; which he had not performed. Nay, I pray, Sir, hold,* (quoth the Seaman;) *The wager is not finished; For I have but halfe done:* And so he immediately said his Copasse backward very exactly; which the Judge failing of in his Pater-Noster, the Sea-man carryed away the Prize.

217. There was a Conspiracy against the Emperour *Claudius*, by *Scribonianus*, examined in the Senate; where *Claudius* sate in his Chair, and one of his Freed servants, stood at the Backe of his Chair. In the Examination, that Freed servant, who had much power with *Claudius*, very sawcily, had almost all the words: And amongst other things, he asked in scorne, one of the Examinates, who was likewise Freed servant of *Scribonianus*; *I pray, Sir, if* Scribonianus *had been Emperour, what would you have done?* He answered; *I would have stood behind his Chair, and held my peace.*

218. One was saying; *That his great Grand-father, and Grand-father, and Father, died at Sea:* Said another, that heard him; *And I were as you, I would never come at Sea. Why,* (saith he,) *where did your great Grand-father, and Grand-father, and Father, dye.* He answered; *Where, but in their Beds?* He answered; *And I were as you, I would never come in Bed.*

219. There was a Dispute, whether great Heads, or little Heads, had the better Wit? And one said; *It must needs be, the little; For that it is a Maxime; Omne majus continet in se minus.*

220. Sir *Thomas Moor*, when the Counsell of the party, pres-

sed.

ted him, for a longer day, to perform the Decree, said; *Take St. Barnabies day, which is the longest day, in the year.* Now St. *Barnabies Day, was within few dayes following.*

221. One of the Fathers saith; *That there is, but this Difference, between the Death of old Men, and young Men; That old Men, go to Death; And Death comes to young men.*

222. *Cassius*, after the Defeat of *Crassus*, by the Parthians; whose weapons were chiefly Arrows; Fled to the City of *Carras*; where he durst not stay any time, doubting to be pursued, and besieged, He had with him an *Astrologer*, who said to him: *Sir, I would not have you go hence, while the Moon is in the signe, of Scorpio* Cassius answered, *I am more afraid of that of Sagittarius,*

223. *Jason* the *Thessalian*, was wont to say; *That some things must be done unjustly, that many Things may be done justly.*

224. There was an Harbinger, had lodged a Gentleman, in a very ill Room, who expostulated with him, somewhat rudely: But the Harbinger carelesly said; *you will take pleasure in it, when you are out of it.*

225. *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, would, at times, retire himself, from Business, and give himself wholy to pleasures. One of those his retirings, giving out that he was sick, his Father, *Antigonus*, came on the suddain, to visit him; And met a fair dainty youth, coming out of his chamber. When *Antigonus* came in, *Demetrius* said; *Sir the Feaver left me right now.* Antigonus replyed; *I think, it was He, that I met at the doore.*

226. *Cato Major* would say, *That wise men learned more by Fooles, than fools by wise men.*

227. When it was said to *Anaxagoras*; *The Athenians have condemned you to dye*; He said again; *And nature them.*

228. *Alexander* when his Father wished him, to run, for the prize, of the Race, at the Olympian Games; (For he was very swift;) answered; *He would if he might run with Kings.*

229. *Antigonus* used often to go disguised, and to listen at the Tents, of his Souldiers; And, at a time, heard some, that spoke, very ill of him. Whereupon, he opened the Tent a little, and said to them; *If you would speak ill of me, you should go a little further off.*

238. *Aristippus* said; *That those that studied particular sciences, and neglected Philosophy; Were like Penelopes wooers, that made love, to the waiting woman.*

231. The Embassadors of Asia Minor, came to *Antonius*, after he had imposed upon them a double tax; and said plainly to him; *That if he would have, two tributes in one year; He must give them, two seed times, and two Harvests.*

232. An Orator of *Athens*, said to Demosthenes; *the Athenians will kill you, if they wax mad:* Demosthenes replyed, *And they will kill you if they be in good sense.*

233. *Epicletus* used to say; *That one of the vulgar, in any ill that hap-*

*happens to him, blames others; A Novice in Philosophy blames himself: And a Philosopher blames, neither the one, nor the other.*

234. *Cæsar*, in his Book, that he made against *Cato*, (which is lost,) did write, to shew the force of opinion, and reverence, of a Man, that had once obtained, a popular Reputation; *That there were some, that found Cato drunk, and were ashamed, instead of Cato*

235. There was a Noble man said of a great Counseller; *That he would have made, the worst Farrier in the world; for he never shod Horse, but he cloyed him: For he never commended, any Man to the King, for service, or upon occasion of sute, or otherwise, but that he would come in, in the end, with a But; And drive in a Nayle, to his Disadvantage.*

236. Diogenes called an ill Musician, *Cock. Why?* (saith he) Diogenes answered; *Because when you Crow, men use to rise.*

237. There was a Gentleman fell very sick, and a Friend of his, said to him; *surely you are in danger; I pray send for a Physician:* But the sick man answered; *It is no matter, for if I dye I will dye at leisure.*

238. *Cato* the Elder, what time many of the *Romans*, had statua's erected, in their honour; was asked, by one, in a kind of wonder, *why he had none?* He answered, *he had much rather, men should ask, and wonder, why he had no statua, then why he had a statua.*

239. A certain friend of Sir *Thomas Moores*, taking great pains, about a Book, which he intended to publish; (being well conceited, of his own wit, which no man els thought worthy of commendation,) brought it to Sir *Thomas Moor*, to peruse it, and pass his judgement upon it; which he did: And finding nothing therein worthy the Press; He said to him, with a grave Countenance; *That if it were in verse, it would be more worthy.* Upon which words, he went immediately, and turned it into verse; and then brought it, to *Sir Thomas* again, who looking thereon said soberly; *yes marry, now it is somewhat; for now it is Rhime; whereas before it was neither Rhime nor Reason.*

240. *Sir Henry Wotton* used to say: *That Criticks, were like Brushers, of Noble Mens Cloaths.*

241. *Hannibal*, said of *Fabius Maximus*, and of *Marcellus*; (whereof the former waited upon him, that he could make no progress: And the latter had many sharp fights with him) *That he feared Fabius like a Tutor: And Marcellus like an Enemy.*

242. When *King Edward the second*, was amongst his Torturers, who hurried him too and fro, That no man should know wher he was, they set him down upon a Banke: And one time the more to disguise his Face, shaved him, and washed him with cold water of a Ditch by: *The King* said: *Well, yet, I will have warm water for my Beard:* And so shed abundance of Tears.

243. One of the seaven was wont to say: *That Lawes were like Cop-webs: where the small Flyes were caught, and the great brake through.*

Lewis

245. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, having much abated, the greatneſs, and power, of the Peeres, Nobility, and Court of Parliament, would ſay; *That he had brought the Crown out of ward.*

246. There was a cowardly Spaniſh Souldier, that in a Defeat the *Moores* gave, ran away with the foremoſt. Afterwards when the Army generally fled, this Souldier was miſſing. Whereupon it was ſaid by ſome, *that he was ſlain: No ſure* (ſaith one,) *He is alive; For the Moores eate no Hares Fleſh.*

247. A Gentleman, that was punctual of his word, and loved the ſame in others: when he heard, that two perſons, had agreed upon a meeting, about ſerious affaires, at a certain time, and place; And that the one party failed in the performance, or neglected his Hour: would uſually ſay of him; *He is a young man then.*

248. *Anacharſis* would ſay, concerning the popular Eſtates, of *Græcia. That he wondred, how at Athens, Wiſe men did propoſe, and Fooles did diſpoſe.*

249. His Lordſhip, when he had finiſhed, this Collection of Apophthegmes, concluded thus; *Come now, all is well: They ſay; He is not a wiſe man, that will looſe his friend, for his wit: But he is leſs a wiſe man, that will looſe his friend, for another mans wit.*

## *Faults Eſcaped in the Printing*

PAge 16. *linea.* 4. for *Gu'cis lege Du'cis* p. 32. *l.* 34. muſt *lege* moſt, p. 37. *l.* 33. *fit l. fiat* p. 55. *l.* 18. *vel. l. Duel.* p. 55. *l. ult Tounaus l. Thuanus* p. 137 *l.* 38. Ferrain *l.* Forrain, *Ead. l.* 41. *mene l. meane* p. 138. *l* 46. there *l.* their, p. 144. *l. ult.* be *l.* he: It linht. *l.* light, p. 147. *l.* 37. Lord *l.* Lordſh p. p. 164. *l.* 32. *non is repetit Conditionibus Diſſidiis, l. Non repetitis Conditionibus Diſſidii.* p. 208. *l.* 43. Meſty *l.* Majeſty p 212. *l.* 14 roe *l.* true p. 221. *l.* 9. Mad *l.* Man p. 241 *l.* 16 a *l.* as p. 246. *l.* 10 if *l.* of p. 266. *l.* 5. *deſig l.* deſigne p. 275. *l.* 28. *Sexuir l Sexuiri Ead. l.* 45. Ninas *l* Minas p. 286. *l.* 8. nown *l.* down *Ead. l.* 11. of *l.* on. *Ead. l.* 27. affect *l.* effect p. 287. *l.* 30. Free *l.* Far p. 288 *l.* 13. middle And *l.* middle Age. p. 300. *l.* 13. Soiltarily *l.* Solitarily p. 302. *l.* Barbe *l.* Barber p. 306. *lin.* 38. Patients' *l.* patient. p. 317. *l.* 16. to and *l.* and to *ead. l.* 46. ſlain *l.* plain p. 318. *l* 31. Them *l. Him.* p. 319. *l.* 37. the *l.* them.

SEVERAL

# LETTERS,

WRITTEN BY THIS

Honourable Authour,

TO

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

KING IAMES,

DIVERS LORDS,

AND OTHERS.




LONDON,
Printed by *F. L.* for *William Lee*, at the sign of the *Turks-Head*, in *Fleetstreet*, 1657.

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A

# LETTER

To the LORD TREASURER,

# BVRGHLEY,

In Excuse of his SPEECH, in

# PARLIAMENT;

Against the

## *TRIPLE SUBSIDIE.*

*It may please your Lordship,*



Was sorry, to find, by your *Lordships Speech*, yesterday, that my last *Speech*, in *Parliament*, delivered, in discharge of my Conscience, and Duty to *God*, her *Majesty*, and my *Countrey*, was offensive. If it were misreported, I would be glad, to attend your *Lordship*, to disavow any thing, I said not; If it were misconstrued, I would be glad, to expound my self, to exclude any sense, I meant not. If my Heart be misjudged, by Imputation of Popularity, or Opposition, by any envious, or officious Informer, I have great wrong; And the greater, because the Manner of my *Speech*, did most evidently shew, that I spake simply; And onely, to satisfie my Conscience, and not with any Advantage, or Policy, to sway the Cause: And my Terms, carried all signification, of Duty, and Zeal, towards her *Majesty*, and her Service. It is true, that from the Beginning, whatsoever was above a *Double Subsidy*, I did wish, might, (for president sake) appear to be extraordinary; And, (for Discontents sake,) mought not have been

 levied,

levied, upon the Poorer sort: Though otherwise, I wished it as Rising, as I think this will prove, and more. This was my mind, I confesse it. And therefore, I most humbly pray, your good Lordship; First, to continue me in your own good Opinion; And then, to perform the part, of an *Honourable Friend*, towards your poor *Servant*, and *Alliance*; In drawing her *Majesty*, to accept, of the Sincerity, and Simplicity, of my Heart; And to bear with the rest, and restore me, to her *Majesties* Favour.

## *A* Letter *to the* Lord Treasurer Burghley, *recommending his first* Sute, *touching the* Sollicitors *place.*

*After the remembrance of my most humble Duty,*

THough I know, by late Experience, how mindfull your *Lordship* vouchsafeth to be of me, and my poor Fortunes; since it pleased your *Lordship*, during your Indisposition, when her *Majesty* came, to visit your *Lordship*, to make mention of me, for my Employment, and preferment; yet being now in the Countrey, I do presume, that your *Lordship*, who of your Self, had so Honourable care of the matter, will not think it a Trouble, to be sollicited therein. My hope is, that whereas your *Lordship* told me, her *Majesty* was somewhat gravelled, upon the Offence, she took, at my *Speech* in *Parliament*, your *Lordships* favourable, and good word, (who hath assured me, that for your own part, you construed, that I spake, to the best,) will be as a good *Tide*, to remove her from that *Shelf*. And it is not unknown to your *Lordship*, that I was the first, of the Ordinary Sort, of the *Lower House, of Parliament*, that spake for the *Subsidy*; And that, which I after spake in difference, was but in Circumstances of Time, and Manner, which methinks should be no great Matter, since there is Variety allowed in *Counsel*, as a Discord in *Musick*, to make it more perfect. But I may justly doubt, not so much her *Majesties* Impression, upon this particular, as her Conceit, otherwise, of my Insufficiency; which though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the lesse, because I purpose, not to divide my self, between her *Majesty*, and the *Causes* of other Men, (as others have done,) but to attend her Businesse only; Hoping, that a whole Man, meanly able, may doe as well as Half a Man, better able. And if her *Majesty* think, that she shall make an Adventure, in using one, that is rather a Man of Study, than of Practice, and Experience; Surely, I may remember, to have heard, that my *Father*, (an Example, I confesse, rather Ready, than Like; was made *Sollicitor*, of the *Augmentation*, (a *Court* of much Businesse,) when he had never practiced, and was but 27 years old: And Mr. *Brograve*, was now, in my time, called to be *Atturney* of *the Dutchy*, when he had practised,

practiſed, little, or nothing: And yet diſcharged his place, with great Sufficiency. But theſe Things, and the like, are, as her Majeſty ſhall be made capable of them: wherein, knowing what Authority, your *Lordſhips* Commendation, hath with her *Majeſty*, I conclude with my Self, that the Subſtance of Strength, which I may receive, will be from your *Lordſhip*. It is true, my Life hath been ſo private, as I have had no means, to do your *Lordſhip* ſervice; but yet, as your *Lordſhip* knoweth, I have made offer, of ſuch, as I could yield: For as *God*, hath given me a mind, to love the *Publick*; ſo incidently, I have ever had your *Lordſhip*, in ſingular Admiration; whoſe happy Ability, her *Majeſty* hath ſo long uſed, to her great Honour, and yours. Beſides, that Amendment, of State, or Countenance, which I have received, hath been from your *Lordſhip*. And therefore, if your *Lordſhip* ſhall ſtand, a good Friend, to your poor *Allie*, you ſhall but *Tueri Opus proprium*, which you have begun. And your *Lordſhip*, ſhall beſtow your benefit upon one, that hath more ſenſe of Obligation, than of Self-love. Thus humbly deſiring pardon, of ſo long a *Letter*, I wiſh your *Lordſhip* all Happineſſe. This 7th of *June*, 1595.

## *A Letter to* Queen Elizabeth, *upon the ſending of a* New-years Gift.

*It may pleaſe your* Majeſty,

ACcording to the Ceremony, of the Time, I would not forget, in all humbleneſſe, to preſent your *Majeſty*, with a ſmall *New-years Gift*: Nothing to my Mind. And therefore to ſupply it, I can but pray to *God*, to give your *Majeſty*, his *New-years Gift*; that is, a *New year*, that ſhall be, as no *year*, to your *Body*; And as a *year*, with 2. *Harveſts* to your *Coffers*; And every other way, proſperous, and gladſom. And ſo I remain.

## *A* Letter *to* Queen Elizabeth, *upon the ſending of a* New-years Gift.

*Moſt excellent* Soveraign Miſtris,

THe onely *New-years Gift*, which I can give your *Majeſtie*, is that, which *God* hath given to me: which is, a Mind, in all Humbleneſſe, to wait upon your Commandements, and Buſineſſe: Wherein I would to *God*, that I were hooded, that I ſaw leſſe; Or, that I could perform more: For now I am like a *Hawk*, that *bates*, when I ſee occaſion of ſervice, but cannot fly, becauſe I am tyed

tyed to anothers Fist. But mean while, I continue my presumption, of making to your *Majesty*, my poor Oblation, of a *Garment*, as unworthy the Wearing, as his service that sends it : But the Approach, to your Excellent *Person*, may give Worth to both : which is all the Happinesse I aspire unto.

## *A* Letter, of Advice, *to the* Earl of Essex, *to take upon him, the Care, of* Irish *Causes, when Mr.* Secretary Cecill *was in* Fraunce.

*My singular good* Lord,

I Doe write, because I had no time, fully to expresse my Conceit, to your *Lordship*, touching *Irish* Affairs; considering them, as they may concern, your *Lordship*; Knowing, that you will consider them, as they may concern the *State*. That it is one of the aptest particulars, that hath come, or can come upon the *Stage*, for your *Lordship*, to purchase Honour upon, I am moved to think, for 3. Reasons. Because, it is ingenerate, in your *House*, in respect of my *Lord*, your *Fathers*, Noble Attempts : Because, of all the *Actions*, of *State*, on foot, at this time, the Labour resteth most, in that particular; And because, the *World*, will make a kinde of Comparison, between those, that set it out of Frame, and those that bring it into Frame : which kind of *Honour*, giveth the quickest kind of *Reflection*. The Transferring this Honour, upon your self, consisteth in 2. *points* : The one, if the *Principal Persons* employ'd, come in by you, and depend upon you : The other, if your *Lordship*, declare your self, and profess to undertake, a Care of that *Kingdom*. For the *Persons*, it falleth out well, that your *Lordship*, hath had no Interest, in the *Persons* of *Imputation* : For neither, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, nor Sir *John Norrice*, was yours. Sir *William Russell*, was conceived yours, but was curbed. Sir *Coniers Clifford*, (as I conceive it,) dependeth on you, who is said to do well. And if my *Lord* of *Ormond*, in this Interim, doth accommodate things well, (as it is said he doth,) I take it, he hath, alwayes, had good Understanding, with your *Lordship*; So as all Things, hitherto, are not only whole, and entire, but of favourable Aspect, towards your *Lordship*, if hereafter you choose well. Concerning the Care of *Businesse*, the general, and popular Conceit hath been, that *Irish Causes* have been much neglected; whereby, the Reputation, of better Care, will put Life into them. But for a Beginning, and Key, to that which shall follow; It were good, your *Lordship*, would have, some large, and serious, Conference, with Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, the *Earl of Toumond*, and Mr. *Wilbraham*; To know their *Relation* of the past; Their *Opinion* of the present; and Their *Advise* for the future.

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For the *Points*, of *Apposing* them, I am too much a Stranger, to the Businesse, to deduce them : But, in a general *Topique*, methinks, the pertinent *Interrogations*, must be; Either, of the Possibility, and Means, of Accord; or of the Nature, of the Warre; or of the Reformation, of Abuses; Or of the joyning, of Practice with Force, in the Disunion, of the *Rebells*. If your *Lordship* doubt, to put your *Sickle*, into anothers *Harvest*; First, *Time* brings it to you, in Mr. *Secretaries* Absence : Next, being mixt, with matter of Warre, it is fittest for you : And lastly, I know, your *Lordship*, will carry it, with that Modesty, and Respect, towards Aged *Dignity*; And that good Correspondence, towards my dear *Kinsman*, and your good *Friend*, now abroad, as no Inconvenience, may grow that way.

Thus have I played, the Ignorant *Statesman*; Which I doe, to No Body, but your *Lordship*; except to the *Queen*, sometimes, when she traine's me on. But your *Lordship* will accept my Duty, and good Meaning; And secure, me, touching the privateness, of that I write.

## *A* Letter, *of Advice, to the* Earl *of* Essex, *upon the first* Treaty, *with* Tyrone, 1598, *before the* Earl *was nominated, for the Charge of* Ireland.

*My very good* Lord,

COncerning the *Advertisements*, which your *Lordship* imparted to me, touching the *State* of *Ireland*, for willing Duties sake, I will set down, to your *Lordship*, what Opinion, sprang in my Minde, upon that I read.

The *Letter*, from the *Counsel*, there, leaning to mistrust, and disswade the *Treaty*, I do not much rely on, for 3. *Causes*. First, because it is alwayes, the Grace, and the Safety, of such a Counsell, to erre in Caution : whereunto add, that it may be, they, or some of them, are not without Envy, towards the *Person*, who is used, in treating the Accord. Next, because the Time of this *Treaty*, hath no shew of Dissimulation; For that *Tyrone*, is now in no straights; but he is more like a Gamester, that will give over, because he is a Winner, than because, he hath no more Money, in his Purse. Lastly, I do not see, but those *Articles*, whereupon they ground their Suspicion, may as well proceed out of *Fear*, as out of *Falsehood*. For the Retaining, the *Dependance*, of the *Vriaghts*; The protracting, the Admission, of a Sheriff; The Refusing, to give his *Sonne*, for an *Hostage*; The Holding off, from present Repair, to *Dublin*; The Refusing, to goe presently to Accord, without including *Odonnell*, and other his *Associates*; May very

very well come, of an Apprehension, in case he should receive hard measure; And not out of *Treachery*. So as, if the *great Person*, you write of, be faithfull; And that you have not heard, some present Intelligence, of present *Succours*, from *Spain*; (For the Expectation whereof, *Tyrone* would win time;) I see no deep Cause, of Distrusting, this Course of *Treaty*, if the main *Conditions* may be good. For her *Majesty* seemeth to me, to be a Winner thereby, 3. wayes; First, her *Purse* shall have some Rest: Next, it will divert, the Forein *Designes*, upon the *Place*: Thirdly, though her *Majesty*, be like, for a time, to govern but *precario*, in the North; And be not, (as to a true Command,) in better state there, than before; yet, besides the two respects, of Ease of Charge, and Advantage of Opinion, abroad, before mentioned, she shall have a time, to use her Princely policy, in 2. points to weaken them. The one; by Division, and Disunion, of the Heads; The other, by Recovering, and Winning the *People*, from them, by *Justice*; which, of all other Courses, is the best.

Now for the *Athenian Question*; you discourse well; *Quid igitur agendum est?* I will shoot my Fools Bolt, since you will have it so. The Earl of *Ormond*, to be incouraged, and comforted. Above all Things, the *Garrisons* to be instantly provided for. For *Opportunity maketh a Theef*: And if he should mean never so well now; yet such an Advantage, as the Breaking, of her *Majesties Garrisons*, might tempt a true Man.

And because, he may as well waver, upon his own Inconstancy, as upon Occasion; (And wanton Variableness, is never restrained, but by Fear;) I hold it necessary, he be menaced, with a *strong Warr*: Not by *words*, but by *Musters*, and *preparations* of *Forces*, here, in case the Accord proceed not: But none to be sent over, lest it disturb the Treaty, and make him look to be over-run, as soon as he hath laid away Arms. And but that your *Lordship*, is too easie, to passe in such Cases, from Dissimulation, to Verity; I think, if your *Lordship* lent your Reputation, in this Case; That is, To pretend, that if Peace go not on, and the *Queen* mean to make, not a *Defensive Warr*, as in times past, but a *full Reconquest* of those parts, of the Countrey, you would accept the Charge; I think, it would help, to settle *Tyrone*, in his seeking Accord, and win you, a great deal of *Honour*, *gratis*.

And that, which most properly concern's, this Action, if it prove a Peace; I think, her *Majesty* shall doe well, to cure the Root of the Disease; And to Professe, by a *Commission*, of Peaceable Men, of Respect, and Countenance, a *Reformation* of Abuses, Extortions, and Injustices there; And to plant, a stronger, and surer Government, than heretofore, for the Ease, and Protection, of the *Subject*. For the *Removing* of the *Sword*, or Government in Arms, from the *Earl of Ormond*; Or the sending of a *Deputy*, (which will ecclipse it,) if Peace follow, I think it unseasonable.

Lastly,

Laſtly, I hold ſtill my Opinion, (both for your better Information, and the fuller Declaration, of your Care, in Medling, in this urgent, and meriting Service,) That your *Lordſhip*, have a ſet *Conference*, with the *perſons*, I named, in my former Letter.

## *A* Letter *of* Advice, *to my* Lord of Eſſex, *immediately*, *before his going into* Ireland.

*My ſingular good* Lord,

YOur late Note of my Silence, in your Occaſions, hath made me ſet down, theſe few wandring Lines, as one that would ſay ſomewhat, and can ſay nothing, touching your *Lordſhips* intended *Charge* for *Ireland*; Which my Endeavour, I know, your *Lordſhip* will accept graciouſly; whether your *Lordſhip* take it, by the Handle of Occaſion, miniſtred from your Self; or of the Affection, from which it proceeds.

Your *Lordſhip*, is deſigned to a *Service*, of great *Merit*, and great *Peril*: And as the Greatneſs of the *Peril* muſt needs include, a like proportion of *Merit*: So the Greatneſſe of the *Merit*, may include, no ſmall Conſequence of *Peril*, if it be not temperately governed. For all immoderate *Succeſſe*, extinguiſheth *Merit*, and ſtirreth up, *Diſtaſt*, and *Envy*; The aſſured Forerunners, of whole Charges of *Peril*. But I am at the laſt point firſt; Some good Spirit, leading my Penn, to preſage, to your *Lordſhip*, ſucceſſe: Wherein, it is true, I am not without my *Oracles*, and *Divinations*; None of them *Superſtitious*, and yet not all *Natural*. For firſt, looking into the Courſe of *Gods Providence*, in Things now depending; And calling to conſideration, how great things *God* hath done, by her *Majeſty*, and for her: I collect, he hath diſpoſed, of this great *Defection*, in *Ireland*, thereby, to give an urgent occaſion, to the *Reduction*, of that whole *Kingdom*; As upon the *Rebellion* of *Deſmond*, there inſued, the *Reduction* of that whole *Province*.

Next, your *Lordſhip* goeth againſt, three of the unluckieſt *Vices*, of all others; *Diſloyalty*, *Ingratitude*, and *Inſolency*: Which three *Offences*, in all *Examples*, have ſeldom their *Doom*, adjourn'd to the *world to come*.

Laſtly, he that ſhall have had the Honour, to know your *Lordſhip*, inwardly, as I have had, ſhall find *Bona Exta*, whereby he may better ground, a Divination of *Good*, than upon the *Diſſection*, of a *Sacrifice*. But that part I leave: For it is fit for others, to be confident upon the *cauſe*; The Goodneſſe, and Juſtice, whereof, is ſuch, as can hardly be matched, in any Example, It being no *Ambitious Warr*, againſt *Forreiners*, but a *Recovery* of *Subjects*; And that, after *Lenity* of *Conditions*, often tryed; And a *Recovery* of them, not onely to *Obedience*, but to *Humanity*, and

*Policy*, from more than *Indian Barbariſm*.

There is yet another Kinde of *Divination*, familiar to *Matters* of *State*; Being that, which *Demoſthenes*, ſo often relyed upon, in his time; when he ſaid; *That, which for the time paſt, is worſt of all, is, for the time to come, the beſt*; which is, that things goe ill, not by Accident, but by Errours; Wherein, if your *Lordſhip* have been, heretofore, an Awaking Cenſour, you muſt look for no other now, but, *Medice Cura teipſum*: And though, you ſhall not be the Happy *Phyſician*, that commeth in the Declination of the Diſeaſe; yet you embrace that Condition, which many *Noble Spirits* have accepted for Advantage; which is, that you goe, upon the greater Peril, of your *Fortune*; and the leſſe, of your *Reputation*; And ſo the *Honour* countervaileth the *Adventure*; Of which *Honour*, your *Lordſhip* is in no ſmall poſſeſſion; when that her *Majeſty*, (known to be, one of the moſt judicious Princes, in diſcerning of Spirits, that ever governed,) hath made choice of you, (meerly out of her *Royal Judgement*; her *Affection* inclining rather to continue your Attendance;) into whoſe hand, and truſt, to put the Command, and Conduct, of ſo great Forces; The Gathering the Fruit of ſo great Charge; The Execution of ſo many Counſels; The Redeeming, of the Defaults, of ſo many former Governers; The clearing of the Glory, of her ſo many happy years *Reign*, onely, in this part, eclipſed: Nay further, how far forth, the peril of that *State*, is interlaced with the peril of *England*; And therefore, how great the Honour is, to keep, and defend, the Approaches, or Ave-newes, of this Kingdom, I hear many diſcourſe; And there is a great Difference, whether the *Tortoiſe*, gathereth her ſelf, within her ſhell, hurt, or unhurt.

And if any Man be of Opinion, that the *Nature* of the *Enemy*, doth extenuate, the *Honour* of the *Service*, being but a *Rebell*, and a *Savage*; I differ from him; For I ſee, the juſteſt Triumphs, that the *Romans*, in their greatneſſe, did obtain; And that, whereof the *Emperours*, in their Stiles, took Addition, and Denomination, were of ſuch an *Enemy*, as this: That is, *People Barbarous*, and not reduced to *Civility*, magnifying a kind of lawleſſe Liberty, and prodigal of Life, hardned in Body, fortified in Woods and Boggs, and placing both Juſtice and Felicity in ſharpneſſe of their Swords: Such were the *Germans*, and auncient *Brittons*, and divers others. Upon which kinde of *People*, whether the Victory were a *Conqueſt*; or a *Reconqueſt*, upon a *Rebellion*, or a *Revolt*; It made no difference, (that ever I could find,) in Honour. And therefore, it is not the Enriching *Predatory Warr*, that hath the preheminence in Honour; Elſe ſhould it be more Honour, to bring in a Carick of rich Burthen, than one of the 12. *Spaniſh Apoſtles*. But then, this Nature of *People*, doth yield, a higher point of *Honour*, conſidered in Truth, and Subſtance, than any warr can yield, which ſhould be atchieved, againſt a *Civil Enemy*; If the

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End may be; *Paciq; imponere morem*, to replant, and reſound, the policy of that Nation; To which nothing is wanting, but a juſt, and Civil, *Government*: which Deſign, as it doth deſcend unto you, from your Noble *Father*, who loſt his life in that *Action*, (though he paid *Tribute* to *Nature*, and not to *Fortune*;) So, I hope your *Lordſhip*, ſhall be, as Fatal a Captain to this warr, as *Africanus* was to the Warr of *Carthage*; After that both his *Uncle*, and *Father*, had loſt their Lives, in *Spain*, in the ſame warr. Now, although it be true, that theſe Things, which I write, (being but Repreſentations, unto your *Lordſhip*, of the Honour, and Appearance of Succeſſe, of the Enterpriſe;) Be not much, to the purpoſe, of any Advice; yet it is that, which is left to me, being no Man of Warr, and ignorant in the particulars of *Eſtate*. For a Man may, by the Eye, ſet up the VVhite, in the midſt of the But, though he be no Archer. Therefore I will onely add this VViſh, according to the *Engliſh Phraſe*, which termeth, a well-willing Advice, a Wiſh: That your *Lordſhip*, in this whole Action, looking forward, would ſet down this Poſition; *That Merit is worthier than Fame*; And looking back hither, would remember this Text, *That Obedience is better than Sacrifice*. For Deſigning to *Fame*, and *Glory*, may make your *Lordſhip*, in the Adventure of your *Perſon*, to be valiant, as a private *Souldier*, rather than as a *General*: It may make you, in your Commandements, rather to be Gracious, than Diſciplinary: It may make you preſſe Action, (in reſpect of the great Expectation conceived,) rather haſtily, than ſeaſonably, and ſafely: It may make you, ſeek rather, to atchiere the war, by force, than by Intermixture of Practice: It may make you, (if *God* ſhall ſend proſperous Beginnings,) rather ſeek the *Fruition* of that *Honour*, than the *Perfection*, of the *work*, in hand. And for the other point, that is the Proceeding, like a good *Proteſtant*, upon expreſſe warrant, and not upon good Intention; your *Lordſhip* knoweth, in your wiſdom; That as it is moſt fit for you, to deſire convenient Liberty of Inſtructions; ſo it is no leſſe fit for you, to obſerve the due Limits of them: Remembring, that the Exceeding of them, may not onely procure, in caſe of adverſe Accident, a dangerous Diſavow; But alſo, (in caſe of proſperous Succeſſe;) be ſubject to Interpretation, as if all were not referred, to the right End.

Thus have I preſumed, to write theſe few Lines; to your *Lordſhip*, in *Methodo Ignorantiæ*; which is, when a Man ſpeaketh of a Subject, not according to the Matter, but according to the Model, of his own Knowledge: And moſt humbly deſire your *Lordſhip*, that the weakneſſe thereof, may be ſupplyed, in your *Lordſhip*, by a benign Acceptation, as it is in me, by my beſt VViſhing.

## A Letter to the Earl of Essex, in offer of his Service, when he was first enlarged, to Essex House.

My Lord;

NO Man can expound my Doings better, than your Lordship; which makes me need to say the lesse: Onely, I humbly pray you to beleeve, that I aspire to the Conscience, and Commendation, of *Bonus Civis*, and *Bonus Vir*; And that, though I love some *Things*, better, (I confesse,) than I love your *Lordship*, yet I love few *Persons* better; Both for Gratitudes sake, and for your Vertues; which cannot hurt, but by Accident; Of which my good Affection, it may please your *Lordship*, to assure your self; And of all the true Effects, and Offices, I can yield. For as I was ever sorry, your Lordship should fly, with waxen Wings, doubting *Icarus* Fortune; So for the growing, up of your own Feathers, be they Estridges, or other kinde, no man shall be more glad. And this is the Axill-Tree, whereon I have turned, and shall turn. Which having already signified, to you, by some near mean, having so fit a Messenger, for mine own Letter, I thought good, also, to redouble by Writing. And so I commend you to *Gods Protection*. From *Graies Inn*, this 9th of *July*, 1600.

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## An Answer, of my Lord of Essex, to the immediately preceding Letter, of Mr. Bacons.

*Mr.* Bacon;

I Can neither Expound, nor Censure, your late Actions; Being ignorant, of all of them, save one; And having directed my Sight inward onely, to examine my Self. You doe pray me to believe, that you only aspire, to the Conscience, and Commendation, of *Bonus Civis*, and *Bonus Vir*; And I doe faithfully assure you, that while that is your Ambition, (though your Course be Active, and Mind Contemplative,) yet we shall both, *Convenire in eodem Tertio*; And, *Convenire inter Nosipsos*. Your Profession of Affection, and Offer of good Offices, are welcom to me: For answer to them, I will say but this; That you have believed, I have been kind to you; And you may beleeve, that I cannot be other, either upon Humour, or mine own Election. I am a stranger, to all *Poetical Conceits*, or else I should say somewhat, of your *Poetical Example*. But this I must say; That I never flew, with other *Wings*, than Desire to merit; And Confidence in my *Soveraigns* Favour; And when one of these *Wings* failed me, I would light no where, but at my *Soveraigns* Feet, though she suffered me, to be bruised,

bruiſed, with my fall. And till her *Majeſty*, that knows, I was never *Bird* of *Prey*, finds it to agree with her will, and her Service, that my *Wings* ſhould be imped again, I have committed my Self, to the *Mue*. No power, but my *Gods*, and my *Soveraigns*, can alter this Reſolution, of

*Your Retired Friend*,
ESSEX.

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*Two* Letters *framed, the one, as from Mr.* Anthony Bacon, *to the* Earl of *Eſſex*; *The other, as the* Earls *Anſwer thereunto, delivered to Sir* Francis Bacon, *with the Advice of Mr.* Anthony Bacon, *his* Brother, *to be ſhewed to the* Queen, *upon ſome fit occaſion*; *As a Mean, to work her* Majeſty, *to receive the* Earl *again, to Favour and Attendance, at* Court : *They were deviſed, whilſt my* Lord *remained* Priſoner, *in his own* Houſe.

*My ſingular good* Lord;

THis ſtanding at a ſtay, in your *Lordſhips* Fortunes, doth make me, in my Love towards your *Lordſhip*, jealous, leſt you doe ſomewhat, or omit ſomewhat, that amounteth to a new Error. For I ſuppoſe, of all former Matters, there is a full Expiation: wherein, for any thing that your *Lordſhip* doth, I, for my part, (who am remote,) cannot caſt, nor deviſe, wherein any Errour ſhould be; except in one point, which I dare not cenſure, nor diſſwade: which is, that (as the *Prophet* ſaith,) *In this Affliction*, you look up, *ad Manum Percutientem*, and ſo make your peace with *God*. And yet I heard it noted; that my *Lord* of *Leiceſter*, (who could never get to be taken for a *Saint*, nevertheleſſe in the *Queens* Diſfavour,) waxed ſeeming Religious: which may be thought by ſome, and uſed by others, as a Caſe reſembling yours; If Men do not ſee, or will not ſee, the difference between your two Diſpoſitions. But to be plain with your *Lordſhip*, my Fear rather is, becauſe I hear, how ſome of your good, and wiſe, Friends, not unpractiſed in the *Court*, and ſuppoſing themſelves, not to be unſeen, in that deep, and unſcrutable, Center of the Court, which is her *Majeſties Minde*, doe not onely toll the Bell, but even ring out Peals, as if your Fortune were dead, and buried; And as if, there were no poſſibility, of recovering her *Majeſties* Favour; And as if, the beſt of your Condition, were to live, a private, and retired Life, out of Want, out of Peril, and out of manifeſt diſgrace; And ſo in this perſwaſion of theirs, include a perſwaſion to your *Lordſhip*, to frame, and accommodate your Actions, and Mind, to that End: I fear, I ſay, that this untimely Deſpair, may,

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in time, bring forth, a juſt Deſpair, by cauſing your *Lordſhip*, to ſlacken, and break off your wiſe, loyal, and Seaſonable, Endeavours, and Induſtries, for Reintegration to her Majeſties favour: In Compariſon whereof, all other Circumſtances, are but as *Atomi*; or rather, as *Vacuum*, without any Subſtance at all. Againſt this Opinion, it may pleaſe your *Lordſhip*, to conſider, of theſe Reaſons, which I have collected; And to make judgement of them; Neither out of the Melancholy, of your preſent Fortune; nor out of the Infuſion of that, which commeth to you, by others Relation, (which is ſubject to much Tincture;) But *ex Rebus ipſis*, Out of the Nature, of the Perſons, and Actions, themſelves; As the truſtieſt, and leaſt deceiving Grounds, of Opinion. For though I am ſo unfortunate, as to be a ſtranger to her *Majeſties* Eye, and to her Nature; yet by that which is apparent, I doe manifeſtly diſcern, that ſhe hath the Character, of the Divine Nature, and Goodneſſe; *Quos amavit, amavit uſque ad finem*; And where ſhe hath a Creature, ſhe doth not deface, nor defeat it: Inſomuch, as if I obſerve rightly, in thoſe perſons, whom heretofore ſhe hath honoured, with her ſpecial Favour, ſhe hath covered, and remitted, not only Defects, and Ingratitudes, in Affection, but Errours in State, and Service. Secondly, if I can ſpell, and Scholar-like put together, the parts of her *Majeſties* proceeding, now towards your *Lordſhip*; I cannot but make this Conſtruction; That her *Majeſty*, in her Royal Intention, never purpoſed, to call your *Lordſhips* Doings, into publick Queſtion; But onely, to have uſed a Cloud, without a Shower, in cenſuring them, by ſome temporary Reſtraint onely, of Liberty, and debarring from her preſence. For firſt, the Handling the Cauſe in the *Starr-Chamber*, you not called, was enforced, by the Violence, of Libelling, and Rumours; (wherein the *Queen* thought to have ſatisfied the world, and yet ſpared your *Lordſhips* Appearance;) And after, when that Means, which was intended, for the Quenching, of malicious Brutes, turned to kindle them; (Becauſe it was ſaid, your *Lordſhip*, was condemned unheard; And your *Lordſhips* Siſter wrote that piquant *Letter*,) then her *Majeſty* ſaw plainly, that theſe winds of Rumours, could not be commanded down, without a Handling of the Cauſe, by Making you Party, and Admitting your Defence. And to this purpoſe, I doe aſſure your *Lordſhip*, that my Brother, *Francis Bacon*, who is too wiſe, (I think) to be abuſed, and too honeſt, to abuſe; Though he be more reſerved, in all particulars, than is needful; yet, in generality, he hath ever conſtantly, and with aſſeveration, affirmed to me, that both thoſe Dayes; That of the *Starr-Chamber*, and that at my *Lord Keepers*, were wonne from the *Queen*, meerly upon neceſſity, and point of Honour, againſt her own Inclination. Thirdly, in the laſt proceeding, I note 3. points; which are directly ſignificant, That her *Majeſty*, did expreſly forbear,

any

any point, which was Irreparable, or might make your *Lordſhip*, in any degree, uncapable, of the return of her favour; Or might fix, any Character Indeleble, of diſgrace upon you: For ſhe ſpared, the Publick Place, of the *Starr-Chamber*: She limited the Charge, preciſely, not to touch Diſloyalty; And no Record remaineth to Memory, of the Charge, or Sentence. Fourthly, the very Diſtinction, which was made, in the Sentence, of Sequeſtration, from the places of Service in State; And leaving to your *Lordſhip*, the Place, of *Maſter* of the *Horſe*, doth, to my underſtanding, *indicative*, point at this; That her *Majeſty* meant, to uſe your *Lordſhips* Attendance in *Court*, while the Exerciſes, of the other places, ſtood ſuſpended. Fifthly, I have heard, and your *Lordſhip* knoweth better, that now, ſince you were in your own Cuſtodie, her *Majeſty*, in *Verbo Regio*, and by his Mouth, by whom ſhe committeth, her Royal Graunts, and Decrees, hath aſſured your *Lordſhip*, ſhe will forbid, and not ſuffer, your Ruine. Sixthly, as I have heard, her *Majeſty*, to be a *Prince*, of that Magnanimity, that ſhe will ſpare, the Service, of the ableſt *Subject*, or *Peer*, when ſhe ſhall be thought, to ſtand in need of it: So ſhe is, of that Policy, as ſhe will not looſe, the Service, of a meaner than your *Lordſhip*, where it ſhall depend, meerly, upon her Choice, and Will. Seventhly, I hold it for a Principle; That thoſe *Diſeaſes*, are hardeſt to cure, whereof the *Cauſe* is obſcure; And thoſe eaſieſt, whereof the *Cauſe* is manifeſt: Whereupon I conclude, that ſince it hath been your Errour, in your Courſes, towards her *Majeſty*, which hath prejudiced you; That your Reforming, and Conformity, will reſtore you; So as you may be *Faber Fortunæ propriæ*. Laſtly, conſidering your *Lordſhip*, is removed, from Dealing in Cauſes of State, and left onely to a Place of Attendance; Methinks, the Ambition of any Man, who can endure no Partners, in State-Matters, may be ſo quenched, as they ſhould not, laborioufly, oppoſe themſelves, to your Being in *Court*: So as upon the whole Matter, I cannot find, neither in her *Majeſties* Perſon, nor in your own Perſon, nor in any third Perſon; Neither in former Preſidents, nor in your own Caſe, any Cauſe, of dry, and peremptory, Deſpair. Neither do I ſpeak this, but that if her *Majeſty*, out of her Reſolution, would deſign you, to a private Life, you ſhould be as willing, upon her Appointment, to goe into the *Wilderneſs*, as into the *Land of Promiſe*. Onely, I wiſh your *Lordſhip*, will not preoccupate Deſpair, but put truſt, next to *God*, in her *Majeſties* Grace; and not to be wanting to your Self. I know your *Lordſhip*, may juſtly interpret, that this, which I perſwade, may have ſome reference to my particular; becauſe I may truly ſay; *Te Stante, Non Virebo*, (For I am withered in my ſelf;) but *Manebo*, or *Tenebo*; I ſhall, in ſome ſort, be, or hold out. But though your *Lordſhips* Years, and Health, may expect return of Grace, and Fortune; yet your Eclipſe for a time, is

is an *Vltimum Vale*, to my Fortune: And were it not, that I deſire, and hope, to ſee my *Brother* eſtabliſhed, by her *Majeſties* favour; (as I think him well worthy, for that he hath done, and ſuffred,) it were time, I did take that Courſe, from which I diſſwade your *Lordſhip*. But now in the mean time, I cannot chooſe, but perform, thoſe honeſt Duties, unto you, to whom I have been ſo deeply bounden.

## *A* Letter, *framed, as from the* Earl, *in anſwer, of the former* Letter.

*Mr.* Bacon,

I Thank you, for your kind, and carefull Letter. It perſwades me that, which I wiſh ſtrongly, and hope for weakly; That is, Poſſibility of Reſtitution, to her *Majeſties* Favour: Your Arguments, that would cheriſh Hope, turn to Deſpair. You ſay the *Queen*, never meant, to call me to Publick Cenſure, which ſheweth her *Goodneſſe*: But you ſee I paſſed it, which ſheweth others *Power*. I beleeve moſt ſtedfaſtly, her *Majeſty* never intended, to bring my Cauſe, to a Sentence; And I beleeve as verily, that ſince that Sentence, ſhe meant to reſtore me, to attend upon her Perſon. But they that could uſe occaſions (which was not in me to let,) and amplifie Occaſions, and practiſe Occaſions, to repreſent to her *Majeſty*, a Neceſſity, to bring me to the one, can, and will, do the like, to ſtop me from the other. You ſay, my Errours, were my Prejudice, and therefore I can mend my Self: It is true; But they that know, that I can mend my Self; And that if ever, I recover the *Queen*, that I will never looſe her again; will never ſuffer me, to obtain Intereſt, in her favour. And you ſay, the *Queen* never forſook utterly, where ſhe inwardly favoured: But I know not, whether the Hour-glaſſe of time, hath altered her; But ſure I am, The falſe Glaſſe, of others Informations, muſt alter her, when I want acceſſe to plead mine own Cauſe. I know, I ought doubly, to be her *Majeſties*; Both *Jure Creationis*; For I am her Creature: And *Jure Redemptionis*; For, I know, ſhe hath ſaved me, from Overthrow. But for her firſt Love, and for her laſt Protection, and all her great Benefits, I can but pray for her *Majeſty*; And my Endeavours, are now, to make, my *Prayers* for her *Majeſty*, and my Self, better heard. For thanks be to *God*, they that can make, her *Majeſty* beleeve, I counterfeit with her, cannot make *God* beleeve, that I counterfeit with him: And they which can let me, from comming near unto her, cannot let me, from drawing near unto him, as I hope I doe daily. For your *Brother*, I hold him an honeſt *Gentleman*, and wiſh him all good;

Much

Much rather, for your Sake. Your ſelf, I know, hath ſuffered more for me, than any Friend I have: But I cannot but lament freely, as you ſee I do; And adviſe you, not to doe that, which I doe; which is, to deſpair. You know *Letters*, what hurt they have done me; And therefore make ſure of this: And yet I could not, (as having no other Pledge of my Love,) but communicate freely with you, for the Eaſe of my Heart, and yours.

## *A* Letter *to Mr.* Secretary Cecill, *after the Defeating, of the* Spaniſh Forces, *in* Ireland; *Inciting him, to embrace the Care, of Reducing that* Kingdom, *to Civility, with ſome reaſons ſent, encloſed.*

*It may pleaſe your* Honour,

AS one, that wiſheth you, all Encreaſe of Honour; And as one, that cannot leave, to love the *State*, (what Intereſt ſoever I have, or may come, to have in it;) And as one, that now this dead Vacation time, hath ſome Leiſure, *ad aliud agendum*; I will preſume, to propound unto you, that, which though you cannot but ſee, yet I know not, whether you apprehend, and eſteem it, in ſo high a degree; That is, for the beſt Action, of Importation to your ſelf; Of ſound Honour and Merit, to her Majeſty, and this Crown; without Ventoſity, and Popularity, that the Riches, of any Occaſion, or the Tide, of any Opportunity, can poſſibly miniſter, or offer. And that is, the Cauſes of *Ireland*, if they be taken, by the right Handle. For if the Wound, be not ripped up again, and come to a Recrudency, by new *Forein Succours*, I think, that no *Phyſician*, will goe on much, with letting Bloud, *In Declinatione Morbi*; But will intend, to *Purge*, and *Corroborate*. To which purpoſe, I ſend you mine Opinion, without Labour of Words, in the Encloſed; And ſure I am, that if you ſhall enter into the matter, according to the Vivacity, of your own Spirit, nothing can make unto you, a more gainfull return. For you ſhall make the *Queens* Felicity compleat, which now, (as it is,) is incomparable; And for your Self, you ſhall ſhew your ſelf, as good a Patriot, as you are thought a Politick; And make the World perceive, you have not leſſe *Generous Ends*, than *Dexterous Delivery*, of your ſelf, towards your *Ends*; And that you have, as well true Arts, & Grounds of *Government*, as the Facility, & Felicity, of Practice, and Negotiation; And that you are as well ſeen, in the Periods, and Tides, of *Eſtates*, as in your own Circle, and Way: Than the which, I ſuppoſe, nothing, can be a better Addition, and Accumulation, of Honour, unto you. This, I hope, I may in privateneſſe, write, either as a Kinſman, that may be bold; or a Scholar, that hath Liberty of Diſcourſe, without Committing any

Absurdity. But if it seem any Error in me, thus to intromit my self; I pray your *Honour*, beleeve, I ever loved her *Majesty*, and the *State*, and now love your *Self*; And there is never any vehement Love, without some Absurdity; As the *Spaniard* well sayes; *Desuario con la Calentura.* So desiring your *Honours* pardon, I ever continue.

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## Considerations, *touching the* Queens *Service, in* IRELAND.

THe Reduction, of that *Country*, as well to Civility, and Justice, as to Obedience, and Peace, (which things, as Affairs now stand, I hold to be Inseparable,) consisteth in 4. *Points.*

1. The *Extinguishing*, of the *Relicks*, of the *warr.*
2. The *Recovery*, of the *Hearts*, of the People.
3. The *Removing*, of the *Root*, and *Occasions*, of new *Troubles.*
4. *Plantations*, and *Buildings.*

For the first: Concerning the Places, and Times, and Particularities, of further Prosecution, in fact, I leave it, to the Opinion, of Men of VVarr; Onely the Difficulty is, to distinguish, and discern, the *Propositions*, which shall be, according to the Ends, of the *State* here; (That is, final, and summary, towards the *Extirpation*, of the *Troubles*;) From those, which though they pretend Publick Ends, yet may referr, indeed, to the more Private, and Compendious Ends, of the Council there; or the particular Governers, or Captains. But still, (as I touched in my *Letter*,) I doe think, much *Letting Bloud*, *In Declinatione Morbi*, is against *Method* of *Cure*; And that it will, but enduce Necessity, and exasperate Despair; And, percase, discover the Hollownesse of that, which is done already, which now blazeth to the best show. For *Iaglia's*, and Proscriptions, of 2. or 3. of the principal *Rebels*, they are, no doubt, *Jure Gentium*, lawfull; In *Italy*, usually practiced, upon the *Banditi*; Best in season, where a Side goeth down: And may do good, in two Kinds; The one, if they take Effect; The other, in the Distrust, which may follow, amongst the *Rebells* themselves. But of all other points, to my Understanding, the most Effectual is, the well Expressing, or Impressing, the *Design* of this *State*, upon that miserable, and desolate, *Kingdom*; Containing the same, between these two Lists, or Boundaries: The one, that the *Queen*, seeketh not, an *Extirpation* of that *People*, but a *Reduction*; And that now, she hath chastised them, by her Royal Power, and Arms, according to the Necessity of the Occasion; Her *Majesty*, taketh no pleasure, in *Effusion* of *Bloud*, or *Displanting* of *Auncient Generations.* The other, that her *Majesties* Princely Care, is, principally, and intentionally, bent, upon the *Action* of *Ireland*: And that she

ſhe ſeeketh not, ſo much, the Eaſe of Charge, as the *Royal* performance, of the Office of Protection, and Reclaim, of thoſe her Subjects: And, in a word, that the Caſe is altered ſo far, as may ſtand, with the Honour, of the Time paſt. And again, I doe repeat, that if her *Majeſties Deſign* be, *ex Profeſſo*, to Reduce Rebells to Obedience, it makes weakneſſe turn *Chriſtianity*; and Conditions *Graces*: And ſo hath a Fineneſſe, in Turning Utility, upon Point of Honour; which is agreeable, to the Humor, of theſe Times. And beſides, if her *Majeſty*, ſhall ſuddainly abate, the Liſts of their Forces, and ſhall doe nothing to countervail it, in point of Reputation, of a Politick Proceeding, I doubt, Things may, too ſoon fall back, into the ſtate they were in. Next to this. Adding Reputation to the Cauſe, by Imprinting an Opinion, of her *Majeſties* Care, and Intention, upon this Action, is the Taking away, of Reputation, from the Contrary ſide, by Cutting off, the Opinion, and Reputation, of Forein Succours; To which purpoſe, this Enterpriſe of *Algiers*, (if it hold according to the Advertiſement, and if it be not wrapped up, in the Period of this Summer,) ſeemeth, to be an Opportunity, *cœlitùs dimiſſa*. And to the ſame purpoſe, nothing can be more fit, than a *Treaty*, or a Shadow, of a *Treaty*, of a *Peace*, with *Spain*; which, methinks, ſhould be in our Power to faſten, at leaſt *Rumore tenus*, to the Deluding, of as wiſe People, as the *Iriſh*. Laſtly, for this point; That which the Auncients called, *Poteſtas facta, redeundi ad Sanitatem*; And, which is but a Mockery, when the *Enemy* is ſtrong, or proud, but Effectual in his Declination; That is, A liberal Proclamation, of Grace, and Pardon, to ſuch as ſhall ſubmit, and come in within a time prefixed; And of ſome other Reward, to ſuch, as ſhall bring others in; That one's Sword, may be ſharpned by anothers; Is a Matter of good Experience, and now, I think, will come in time. And percaſe, though I wiſh the Excluſions, of ſuch a pardon, exceeding few, yet it will not be ſafe, to continue ſome of them, in their Strength; But to tranſlate them, and their Generations, into *England*: And give them Recompence, and Satisfaction here, for their Poſſeſſions there; As the *King of Spain* did, by divers *Families*, of *Portugal*. To the Effecting, of all the *points*, aforeſaid; And likewiſe, thoſe which fall, within the Diviſions following, nothing can be in priority, (either of Time, or Matter,) better, than the ſending of ſome *Commiſſion*, of Countenance, *Ad Res inſpiciendas, & componendas*: For it will be a very ſignificant Demonſtration, of her *Majeſties* Care, of that *Kingdom*; A Credence, to any, that ſhall come in, and ſubmit; A Bridle, to any, that ſhall have their Fortunes there, and ſhall apply, their Propoſitions, to private Ends; And an Evidence, that her *Majeſty*, after Arms laid down, ſpeedily purſueth, a Politick Courſe, without Neglect, or Reſpiration: And it hath been the Wiſdom of the beſt Examples of Government.

Towards the *Recovery*, of the *Hearts* of the *People*, there be but 3. things in *Naturâ Rerum*.

1. *Religion*.
2. *Justice*, and *Protection*.
3. *Obligation*, and *Reward*.

For *Religion*, (to speak first of *Piety*, and then of *Policy*,) all *Divines* doe agree; That if *Consciences*, be to be enforced, at all, (wherein yet they differ) two Things must precede their *Inforcement*: The one, *Means* of *Instruction*; The other, *Time* of *Operation*: Neither of which they have yet had. Besides, till they be more like Reasonable Men, than they are, their *Society*, were rather Scandalous to the true *Religion*, than otherwise; As *Pearls cast before Swine*; For till they be clensed, from their Bloud, Incontinency, and Theft, (which are now, not the Lapses, of particular Persons, but the very Lawes of the *Nation*,) they are Incompatible, with *Religion Reformed*. For *Policy*, there is no doubt, but to wrestle with them now, is directly opposite to their Reclaiming, and cannot but continue, their Alienation of Minde, from this *Goverment*. Besides, one of the principal Pretences, whereby the *Heads* of the *Rebellion*, have prevailed, both with the *People*, and with the *Forreiner*, hath been, the *Defence*, of the *Catholick Religion*: And it is that likewise, hath made the *Forreiner*, reciprocally, more plausible with the *Rebell*. Therefore a *Toleration* of *Religion*, (for a Time, not definite,) except it be in some Principal Townes, and Precincts; After the manner of some *French Edicts*, seemeth to me, to be a Matter, warrantable by *Religion*, and in *Policy*, of absolute Necessity. And the Hesitation, in this *point*, (I think,) hath been, a great Casting back, of the Affairs there. Neither if any *English Papist*, or *Recusant*, shall for Liberty of his Conscience, transferre his Person, Family, and Fortunes thither, doe I hold it, a Matter of Danger, but expedient, to draw on Undertaking, and to further Population. Neither if *Rome*, will cozen it Self, by Conceiving, it may be some Degree, to the like Toleration, in *England*, doe I hold it, a matter of any Moment; But rather, a good Mean, to take off, the Fiercenesse, and Eagernesse, of the Humour of *Rome*; And to stay, further *Excommunications*, or *Interdictions*, for *Ireland*. But there would goe, hand in hand, with this, some Course of Advancing *Religion*, indeed, where the *People* is capable thereof: As the sending over, some good *Preachers*, especially of that Sort, which are vehement, and zealous Perswaders, and not Scholastical; To be resident in principal *Towns*; Endowing them, with some Stipends, out of her *Majesties* Revenues; As her *Majesty* hath, most religiously, and graciously done, in *Lancashire*: And the Recontinuing, and Replenishing the College, begun at *Dublin*; The placing of good Men, to be *Bishops* there; And the Taking Care, of the Versions, of *Bibles*, *Catechisms*, and other *Books* of *Instruction*, into the

*Irish*

*Irish Language*; And the like *Religious Courses*; Both for the Honour of *God*, and for the Avoiding of Scandal, and Insatisfaction here, by the shew of a *Toleration* of *Religion*, in some parts there.

For *Justice*, the *Barbarism*, and *Desolation* of the *Country*, considered, it is not possible, they should find, any Sweetness, at all, of Justice; If it shall be, (which hath been the Errour, of *Times* past,) Formal, and fetched far off from the *State*; Because, it will require, running up and down, for *Process*; And give Occasion, for Polling, and Exactions by Fees; And many other Delayes, and Charges. And therefore, there must be an *Interim*, in which, the *Justice* must be onely Summary; the rather, because it is fit, and safe, for a time, the Country do participate of *Martial Government*: And therefore, I could wish, in every *principal Town*, or *Place*, of *Habitation*, there were a *Captain*, or *Governer*; And a *Judge*; such as *Recorders*, and *Learned Stewards*, are here in *Corporations*; who may have a *Prerogative Commission*, to hear, and determine, *Secundum sanam Discretionem*; And as near, as may be, to the Laws, and Customes of *England*; And that, by *Bill*, or *Pleint*, without *Original Writ*; Reserving from their Sentence, matter of *Freehold*, and *Inheritance*, to be determined, by a superiour *Judge*, *Itinerant*: And both *Sentences*, as well of the *Bayliffwick Judge*, as *Itinerant*, to be reversed, (if Cause be,) before the *Counsel*, of the Province, to be established there, with fit Instructions.

For *Obligation*, and *Reward*; It is true, (no doubt,) which was aunciently said; That a *State*, is contained, in two Words, *Præmium*, and *Pœna*. And I am perswaded, if a Penny in the Pound, which hath been spent in *Pœnâ*, (For this kinde of *Warr* is but *pœna*, a *chastisement* of *Rebells*, without Fruit, or Emolument, to this *State*;) had been spent in *præmio*, that is, in *Rewarding*, Things had never grown to this Extremity. But to speak forwards. The keeping of the *Principal Irish persons*, in Terms of Contentment, and without Cause of particular Complaint; And, generally, the Carrying of an even Course, between the *English*, and the *Irish*; Whether it be in Competition; or whether it be in Controversie; as if they were one *Nation*; (without that same partial Course, which hath been held, by the *Governers*, and *Counsellers*, there, that some have favoured the *Irish*, and some contrary;) Is one of the best *Medicines* of *State*. And as for other Points of Contentment; As the Countenancing of their *Nobility*, as well in this *Court*, as there; The *Imparting* of *Knighthood*; The Care, of *Education*, of their *Children*; And the like *points* of *Comfort*; They are Things, which fall into every Mans Consideration.

For the *Extirping*, of the *Seeds*, of *Troubles*, I suppose, the main *Roots* are but three. The first, the *Ambition*, and *Absolutenesse*, of the Chief of the *Families*, and *Septs*; The second, the licentious Idleness, of their *Kernes*, and *Souldiers*, that lie upon the Country,

try, by Seſſes, and ſuch like Oppreſſions. And the Third, the barbarous *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, their *Brehen Laws*, *Habits* of *Apparel*, their *Poets* or *Heralds*, that enchaunt them in Savage Manners, and ſundry other ſuch Dreggs, of *Barbariſm*, and Rebellion; Which, by a Number, of Politick *Statutes*, of *Ireland*, meet to be put in Execution, are already forbiddon; Unto which, ſuch Additions may be made, as the preſent Time requireth. But the Deducing of this *Branch*, requireth a more particular Notice, of the *State*, and *Manners* there, than fall's within my Compaſſe.

For *Plantations*, and *Buildings*, I doe find it ſtrange, that in the laſt Plot, for the *Population* of *Munſter*, there were Limitations, how much in *Demeſn*, and how much in *Farm*, and how much in *Tenancy*: Again, how many *Buildings* ſhould be erected; How many *Iriſh*, in *Mixture*, ſhould be admitted; And other things foreſeen almoſt to Curioſity; But no Reſtraint, that they might not build, *ſparſim*, at their pleaſure; Nor any Condition, that they ſhould make places *Fortified*, and *Defenſible*: Which Omiſſion was a ſtrange Neglect, and Secureneſſe, to my underſtanding. So as, for this laſt *Point*, of *Plantations*, and *Buildings*, there be two *Conſiderations*, which I hold moſt material; The one, for *Quickning*; And the other, for *Aſſuring*. The firſt is, that choice be made, of ſuch *Perſons*, for the Government, of Towns, and Places; And ſuch *Vndertakers* be procured, as be Men gracious, and well beloved, and are like to be well followed. Wherein, for *Munſter*, it may be, (becauſe it is not *Res integra*; but that the former *Vndertakers*, ſtand intereſſed,) there will be ſome Difficulty: But ſurely, in mine Opinion, either by Agreeing with them, or by Over-ruling them, with a Parliament, in *Ireland*; (which in this Courſe, of a Politick Proceeding, infinite Occaſions, will require, ſpeedily, to be held;) It will be fit, to ſupply, fit qualified *Perſons*, of *Vndertakers*. The other, that it be not left, (as heretofore,) to the Pleaſure, of the *Vndertakers*, and *Adventurers*, where, and how, to *build*, and *plant*; But that they doe, according to a Preſcript, or Formulary: For firſt, the Places, both *Maritime*, and *Inland*, which are fitteſt, for *Colonies*, or *Garriſons*; As well, for doubt of the Foreiner, as for the Keeping the Countrey, in Bridle, would be found, ſurveyed, and reſolved upon: And that the Patentees, be tyed, to build, in thoſe places onely, and to fortify, as ſhall be thought convenient. And laſtly, it followeth of Courſe, in *Countries*, of new *Populations*, to invite, and provoke *Inhabitants*, by ample *Liberties*, and *Charters*.

## *A* Letter, *of* Recommendation, *of his* Service, *to the* Earl, *of* Northumberland, *a few dayes, before* Queen Elizabeths *death.*

*It may please your good* Lordship,

AS the Time, of Sowing a Seed, is known, but the Time of Comming up, and Disclosing, is casual, or according to the Season; So, I am a Witnesse to my Self, that there hath been covered, in my mind, a long time, a Seed of Affection, and Zeal, towards your *Lordship*, sown by the Estimation of your Vertues, and your particular Honours, and Favours, to my *Brother Deceased*, and my Self: Which Seed still springing, now bursteth forth, into this Profession. And to be plain, with your *Lordship*, it is very true; (And no Winds, or Noyses, of Civil Matters, can blow this, out of my Head, or Heart;) That your great Capacity, and Love, towards Studies, and Contemplations, of an higher, and worthier Nature, than Popular; (A Nature rare in the World, and in a person, of your *Lordships* Quality, almost singular;) is to me, a great, and chief Motive, to draw my Affection, and Admiration, towards you. And therefore, good my *Lord*, if I may be, of any use, to your *Lordship*, by my Head, Tongue, or Penn, Means, or Friends, I humbly pray you, to hold me your own; And herewithall, not to doe so much Disadvantage to my good Mind, nor Partly to your own VVorth, as to conceive, that this Commendation, of my humble Service, proceedeth, out of any Streights, of my Occasions, but meerly, out of an Election, and indeed, the Fulnesse of my Heart: And so wishing your *Lordship*, all prosperity, I continue.

## *A* Letter, *of* Offer, *of his* Service, *to his* Majesty, *upon his first Comming in.*

*It may please your most excellent* Majesty,

IT is observed, upon a place, in the *Canticles*, by some; *Ego sum Flos Campi, et Lilium Convallium*, that *à Dispari*, it is not said, *Ego sum Flos Horti, et Lilium Montium*, because the *Majesty* of that *Person*, is not enclosed for a Few, nor appropriate to the Great. And yet, notwithstanding, this Royal Vertue of Accesse, which Nature, and Judgement, hath planted, in your *Majesties* Minde, as the Portal of all the rest, could not, of it Self, (my Imperfections considered,) have animated me, to have made Oblation, of my Self, immediately, to your *Majesty*, had it not been joyned, with

with an Habit, of the like Liberty, which I enjoyed, with my late dear *Soveraign Miſtris*; A *Princeſſe*, happy in all things elſe; but moſt happy in ſuch a *Succeſſor*. And yet further, and more nearly, I was not a little encouraged, not only, upon a Suppoſal, that unto your *Majeſties* Sacred Ear, (open to the Air of all Vertues,) there might come, ſome ſmall Breath, of the good Memory of my *Father*, ſo long, a Principal *Counſellor*, in your *Kingdom*; But alſo, by the particular Knowledge, of the infinite Devotion, and inceſſant Endeavours, (beyond the ſtrength of his Body, and the nature of the Times;) which appeared, in my good *Brother*, towards your *Majeſties* Service; And were, on your *Majeſties* part, through your ſingular Benignity, by many, moſt gracious, and lively, Significations, and Favours, accepted, and acknowledged, beyond the merit, of any thing, he could effect. Which Endeavours, and Duties, for the moſt part, were common, to my Self, with him, though, by deſign, (as between *Brethren*,) diſſembled. And therefore, moſt high, and mighty *King*, my moſt dear, and dread, *Soveraign Lord*; ſince now, the *Corner Stone*, is laid, of the mightieſt *Monarchy*, in *Europe*; And that *God* above, who hath ever a Hand, in brideling the Flouds, and Motions of the Seas, and of *Peoples* Hearts, hath, by the miraculous, and univerſal conſent, (the more ſtrange, becauſe it proceedeth, from ſuch Diverſity of Cauſes, in your comming in;) Given a Sign, and Token, of great Happineſſe, in the Continuance of your *Reign*; I think, there is no *Subject*, of your *Majeſties*, which loveth this *Iſland*, and is not hollow, or unworthy, whoſe Heart is not ſet on fire; Not onely, to bring you Peace-Offrings, to make you propitious; But to ſacrifice himſelf, a *Burnt-Offring*, or *Holocauſt*, to your *Majeſties* Service: Amongſt which number, no Mans Fire, ſhall be more pure, and fervent, than mine. But how farr forth it ſhall blaze out, that reſteth, in your *Majeſties* Imployment. So thirſting, after the Happineſſe, of Kiſſing your *Royal Hand*, I continue ever.

## *To Mr.* Faules, *in* Scotland, *upon the Entrance, of his* Majeſties Reign.

SIR, The Occaſion awaketh in me, the Remembrance, of the conſtant, and mutual, good Offices, which paſſed, between my good *Brother*, and your Self: wherunto, (as you know,) I was not, altogether, a Stranger; Though the Time, and Deſign, (as between *Brethren*,) made me more reſerved. But well doe I bear in minde, the great opinion, which my *Brother*, (whoſe Judgement I much reverence,) would often expreſſe to me, of your Extraordinary Sufficiency, Dexterity, and Temper, which he had found in

in you, in the Business, and Service, of the *King*, our *Soveraign Lord*: This latter, bred in me, an Election, as the former gave an Inducement, for me, to address my Self, to you; And to make this Signification, of my Desire, towards a mutual Entertainment, of good Affection, and Correspondence, between us; Hoping, that both some good Effect, may result of it, towards the *Kings* Service; And that, for our particulars, though Occasion give you the precedence, of furthering my being known, by good note, unto the *King*; So no long time will intercede, before I, on my part, shall have some means given, to requite your Favours, and to verify your Commendation. And so, with my loving Commendations, good Mr. *Faules*, I leave you to *Gods* Goodness. From *Graies Inne*, the 25th of *March*.

## *A* Letter, *commending his Love, and Occasions, to Sir* Thomas Challoner, *then in* Scotland, *upon his* Majesties *Entrance.*

*SIR*, For our Money matters, I am assured, you received no Insatisfaction: For you know my Minde; And you know my Means; which now, the Openness of the time, caused, by this blessed Consent, and Peace, will encrease; And so our Agreement, according to your time, be observed. For the present, according to the *Roman Adage*; (That one *Cluster of Grapes, ripeneth best besides another*;) I know, you hold me not unworthy, whose mutual Friendship, you should cherish: And I, for my part, conceive good hope, that you are likely to become, an acceptable Servant, to the *King*, our *Master*: Not so much, for any way made heretofore, (which, in my Judgement, will make no great difference,) as for the Stuff and Sufficiency, which, I know, to be in you; And whereof, I know, his *Majesty*, may reap great Service. And therefore, my general Request is, that according to that industrious Vivacity, which you use, towards your Friends, you will further his *Majesties* good Conceit, and Inclination, towards me; To whom words, can not make me known; Neither mine own, nor others; but Time will, to no Disadvantage, of any, that shall fore-runn, his *Majesties* Experience, by your Testimony, and Commendation. And though, Occasion give you the Precedence, of Doing me this special good Office; yet, I hope, no long time will intercede, before I shall have some means, to requite your Favour, and acquit your Report. More particularly, having thought good, to make Oblation, of my most humble Service, to his *Majesty*, by a few Lines, I doe desire your loving care, and help, by your Self, or such Means, as I referr to

your Diſcretion, to deliver, and preſent the ſame, to his *Majeſties* Hands. Of which *Letter*, I ſend you a Copy, that you may know, what you carry; And may take, of *Mr. Matthew*, the *Letter* it Self; it you be pleaſed, to undertake the Delivery. Laſtly, I doe commend to your Self, and ſuch your Curteſies, as Occaſion may require, this Gentleman, Mr. *Matthew*; eldeſt Sonne, to my *Lord Biſhop*, of *Dureſm*, and my very good Friend; Aſſuring you, that any Curteſy, you ſhall uſe towards him, you ſhall uſe, to a very worthy young *Gentleman*, and one, I know, whoſe Acquaintance, you will much eſteem. And ſo I ever continue.

## *A* Letter, *to Mr.* Davis, *then gone to the* King, *at his firſt Entrance.*

MR. *Davis*, Though you went, on the ſudden, yet you could not goe, before you had ſpoken with your Self, to the purpoſe, which I will now write: And therefore, I know, it ſhall be altogether needleſs, ſave that I meant to ſhew you, that I was not aſleep. Briefly, I commend my Self to your Love, and the well uſing my Name; As well in repreſſing, and anſwering for me, if there be any Biting, or Nibling at it, in that Place; As by imprinting a good Conceit, and Opinion of me, chiefly in the *King*; (of whoſe favour, I make my Self, comfortable Aſſurance;) As otherwiſe in that Court: And not onely ſo, but generally, to perform to me, all the good Offices, which the Vivacity of your Wit, can ſuggeſt, to your minde, to be performed to one, with whoſe Affection, you have ſo great Sympathy; And in whoſe Fortune, you have ſo great Intereſt. So deſiring you to be good, to *concealed Poets*, I continue.

## *A* Letter, *to Mr.* Faules, 28 Martii, 1603.

MR. *Faules*, I did write unto you, yeſterday, by Mr. *Lake*, (who was diſpatched hence, from their *Lordſhips*,) a Letter, of Revivour, of thoſe Sparks of former Acquaintance, between us, in my *Brothers* time: And now, upon the ſame Confidence, finding ſo fit a Meſſenger, I would not fail to ſalute you; Hoping it will fall out ſo happily, as that you ſhall be one, of the *Kings* Servants, which his *Majeſty*, will firſt employ, here with us: where, I hope, to have ſome means, not to be barren, in Friendſhip, towards you. We all thirſt, after the *Kings* Comming, accounting all this, but as the *Dawning*, of the *Day*; before the *Riſing*, of the *Sun*, till we have

have his Presence. And though, now, his *Majestie*, must be *Janus Bifrons*, to have a Face to *Scotland*, as well as to *England*, yet, *Quod nunc instat agendum:* The Expectation is here, that he will come in *State*, and not in *Strength*. So for this time, I commend you to *Gods* Goodness.

## *A* Letter, *to Mr.* Robert Kempe, *upon the Death of* Queen Elizabeth.

MR. *Kempe*, This Alteration is so great, as you might justly conceive, some Coldness of my Affection towards you, if you should hear nothing from me, I living in this Place. It is in vain to tell you, with what wonderfull Still, and Calm, this Wheel is turned round: Which, whether it be, a *Remnant*, of her *Felicity*, that is gone, or a Fruit, of his *Reputation*, that is comming, I will not determine. For I cannot, but divide my Self, between her *Memory*, and his *Name:* Yet we account it, but a fair *Morn* before *Sun-rising*, before his *Majesties* Presence; Though, for my part, I see not, whence any VVeather should arise. The *Papists* are contained, with Fear enough, and Hope too much. The *French*, is thought to turn his Practice, upon procuring, some Disturbance in *Scotland*, where Crowns may doe wonders: But this Day, is so welcom to the *Nation*, and the time so short, as I doe not fear the Effect. My *Lord* of *Southampton*, expecteth Release, by the next Dispatch, and is already much visited, and much well wished. There is continual poasting, by Men of good Quality, towards the *King*. The rather, I think, because this Spring time, it is but a kinde of Sport. It is hoped, that as the *State* here, hath performed the part, of good *Attorneys*, to deliver the *King*, quiet Possession, of his *Kingdoms*: So the *King*, will re-deliver them, quiet Possession of their *Places*; Rather filling Places void, than removing Men placed. So, &c.

## *A* Letter, *to my* Lord *of* Northumberland, *mentioning* a Proclamation, *drawn for the* King, *at his Entrance.*

*It may please your* Lordship,

I Doe hold it, a Thing formal, and necessary, for the *King*, to fore-runn his Comming, (be it never so speedy,) with some Gracious Declaration, for the Cherishing, Entertaining and preparing, of Mens Affections. For which purpose, I have conceived a Draught, it being a thing familiar in my *Mistris* her times, to have my Penn used, in Publick Writings, of Satisfaction. The

Uſe of this, may be, in two ſorts: Firſt, properly, if your *Lordſhip* think it convenient, to ſhew the *King* any ſuch Draught, becauſe the Veins, and Pulſes, of this *State*, cannot but be beſt known here; which if your *Lordſhip* ſhould doe, then I would deſire you, to withdraw my Name, and onely ſignifie, that you gave ſome Heads of Direction, of ſuch a Matter, to one, of whoſe Stile, and Penn, you had ſome Opinion. The other, Collateral; That though your *Lordſhip*, make no other uſe of it, yet it is a Kinde of Portraicture, of that, which I think, worthy to be adviſed, by your *Lordſhip*, to the *King*; And, perhaps, more compendious, and ſignificant, than if I had ſet them down in *Articles*. I would have attended your *Lordſhip*, but for ſome little Phyſick, I took. To morrow morning, I will wait on you. So I ever, &c.

## *A* Letter, *to the* Earl *of* Southampton, *upon the* Kings *Comming in.*

*It may pleaſe your* Lordſhip,

I Would have been very glad, to have preſented, my humble Service, to your *Lordſhip*, by my attendance, if I could have foreſeen, that it ſhould not have been, unpleaſing unto you. And therefore, becauſe I would commit no Error, I choſe to write; Aſſuring your *Lordſhip*, how credible ſoever, it may ſeem to you, at firſt, yet it is as true, as a Thing, that *God* knoweth; That this great Change, hath wrought in me, no other Change, towards your *Lordſhip*, than this; That I may ſafely *be* now, that which I *was* truly before. And ſo craving no other pardon, than for troubling you, with my *Letter*, I doe not now begin to be, but continue to be,

Your *Lordſhips* humble and much devoted.

## *A* Letter, *to the* Earl of Northumberland, *after he had been with the* King.

*It may pleaſe your good* Lordſhip,

I Would not have loſt this Journey, and yet I have not that I went for. For I have had no private Conference, to purpoſe, with the *King*. No more, hath almoſt any other Engliſh: For the Speach, his *Majeſty* admitteth, with ſome *Noblemen*, is rather, Matter of Grace, than Matter of Buſineſs; With the *Atturney* he ſpake, urged by the *Treaſurer* of *Scotland*, but no more than needs muſt. After I had received his *Majeſties* firſt Welcom, and was promi-

promiſed private Acceſs, yet not knowing, what matter of Service, your *Lordſhips* Letter carried, (for I ſaw it not;) And well knowing, that Primeneſs in Advertiſement, is much, I choſe, rather, to deliver it to Sir *Tho. Heskins*, than to cool it, in mine own Hands, upon Expectation of Acceſs. Your *Lordſhip* ſhall finde a *Prince*, the furtheſt from Vain-Glory, that may be; And rather, like a *Prince*, of the auncient Form, than of the latter Time: His Speech is ſwift, and Curſory, and in the full *Dialect* of his *Country*, And in Speech of Buſineſs ſhort, in Speech of Diſcourſe large: He affecteth Popularity, by gracing ſuch, as he hath heard, to be Popular, and not by any Faſhions of his own. He is thought ſomewhat general, in his Favours; And his Vertue of Acceſs, is rather, becauſe he is much abroad, and in Preſs, than that he giveth eaſie Audience. He haſtneth, to a mixture, of both *Kingdoms*, and Occaſions, faſter perhaps, than Policy will well bear. I told your *Lordſhip*, once before, that (methought) his *Majeſty* rather asked Counſel, of the time paſt, than of the time to come. But it is yet early, to ground any Setled Opinion. For the particulars, I referr to conference, having in theſe generals, gone further, in ſo tender an Argument, than I would have done, were not the Bearer hereof ſo aſſured. So I continue, &c.

## *A* Letter, *to Mr.* Pierce, *Secretary, to the* Deputy of IRELAND.

*Mr.* Pierce,

I Am glad to hear of you, as I doe; And for my part, you ſhall find me ready, to take any Occaſion, to further your credit, and preferment: And I dare aſſure you, (though I am no Undertaker,) to prepare your way with my *Lord of Salisbury*, for any good Fortune, which may befall you. You teach me to complain of Buſineſs; whereby I write the more briefly; And yet I am ſo unjuſt, as that which I allege for mine own Excuſe, I cannot admit for yours. For I muſt, by Expecting, exact your Letters, with this Fruit, of your Sufficiency, as to underſtand, how things paſs, in that *Kingdom*. And therefore, having begun, I pray you continue. This is not meerly Curioſity, for I have ever, (I know not by what Inſtinct,) wiſh'd well, to that impoliſh'd part of this *Crown*. And ſo, with my very loving Commendations, I remain,

*A*

## A Letter, to the King, upon presenting the Discourse, touching the Plantation, of Ireland.

*It may please your excellent* Majesty,

I Know not better how to express, my good wishes of a *New Year*, to your *Majesty*, than by this little *Book*, which, in all humbleness, I send you. The Stile, is a Stile of Business, rather than Curious, or Elaborate. And herein, I was encouraged, by my Experience, of your *Majesties* former grace, in accepting of the like poor *Field-Fruits*, touching the *Vnion*: And certainly, I reckon this Action, as a *Second Brother*, to the *Vnion*. For I assure my Self, that *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, well united, is such a *Trifoile*, as no *Prince*, except your Self, (who are the worthiest) weareth in his *Crown*, *Si potentia reducatur in Actum*. I know well, that for me, to beat my Brains, about these things, they be *Majora quam pro Fortunâ*; But yet they be, *Minora quam pro Studio, ac Voluntate*. For as I doe yet bear, an extreme Zeal, to the Memory, of my old *Mistris*, *Queen Elizabeth*; To whom, I was rather bound, for her *Trust*, than her *Favour*; So I must acknowledge my Self, more bound, to your *Majesty*, both for *Trust*, and *Favour*; whereof, I will never deceive the one, as I can never deserve the other. And so in all humbleness, kissing your Majesties sacred hands, I remain.

## A Letter, to the Lord Chancellor, touching the History, of Britaine.

*It may please your good* Lordship,

SOme late Act of his *Majesty*, referred to some former Speech, which I have heard from your *Lordship*, bred in me, a great Desire; And the strength of Desire, a Boldness, to make an humble Proposition, to your *Lordship*; Such, as in me, can be no better, than a *wish*: But, if your *Lordship* should apprehend it, it may take, some good, and worthy, Effect. The Act, I speak of, is the Order, given by his *Majesty*, for the Erection of a *Tomb*, or *Monument*, for our late *Soveraign*, *Queen Elizabeth*; Wherein I may note much, but onely this, at this time; that as her *Majesty*, did alwayes right, to his *Majesties* Hopes; So his *Highness*, doth, in all things, Right to her Memory; A very just, and Princely Retribution. But from this Occasion, by a very easie Ascent, I passed further, being put in minde, by this Representative, of her Person, of the more true, and more vive, Representation, which is of her *Life*, and *Government*: For as *Statues*, and *Pictures*, are *dumb Histories*,

*Histories*, so *Histories*, are *speaking Pictures*: wherein, if my Affection, be not too great, or my Reading too small, I am of this Opinion; That if *Plutarch*, were alive, to write *Lives*, by *Parallels*, it would trouble him, for Vertue, and Fortune both, to finde for her, a *Parallel*, amongst *Women*. And though she was of the *Passive Sexe*, yet her *Government*, was so *Active*, as in my simple Opinion, it made more Impression, upon the several *States* of *Europe*, than it received from thence. But, I confess, unto your *Lordship*, I could not stay there, but went a little further, into the Consideration of the Times, which have passed, since *King Henry* the 8th; wherein I find the strangest Variety, that, in so little Number, of *Successions* of any *Hereditary Monarchy*, hath ever been known: The *Reign* of a *Child*: The offer of an *Vsurpation*, though it were but as a *Diary Ague*; The *Reign*, of a Lady, married, to a *Foreiner*; And the *Reign*, of a *Lady*, Solitary, and Unmarried; So that, as it commeth to pass, in Massive Bodies; That they have certain Trepidations, and Waverings, before they fix, and settle; So it seemeth, that by the *Providence* of *God*, this *Monarchy*, (before it was to settle in his *Majesty*, and his Generations; In which, I hope, it is now established, for ever;) Hath had these Preludive changes, in these Barren *Princes*. Neither, could I contain my Self here; (As it is easier to multiply, than to stay a Wish;) But calling to Remembrance, the Unworthiness, of the *History* of *England*, in the main continuance thereof; And the Partiality, and Obliquity, of that of *Scotland*, in the latest, and largest Offer, that I have seen; I conceived, it would be Honour, for his *Majesty*, and a work very memorable, if this *Island* of *Great Britain*, as it is now joyned, in *Monarchy*, for the Ages to come; so it were joyned in *History*, for the Times past; And that one Just, and compleat, *History*, were compiled, of both *Nations*. And if any Man think, it may refresh the Memory, of former Discords, he may satisfy himself with the Verse; *Olim hæc meminisse juvabit*. For the Case being now altered, it is Matter of Comfort, and Gratulation, to remember former Troubles. Thus much, if it may please your *Lordship*, is in the *Optative Mood*. It is time, that I did, Look a little, into the *Potential*: wherein the Hope, which I conceived, was grounded, upon 3. *Observations*. The First, the *Nature* of these *Times*, which flourish in Learning, both of Art, and Language: which giveth Hope, not onely that it may be done, but that it may be well done. Secondly, I doe see that, which all the *World* see's, in his *Majesty*, both a wonderfull Judgement in Learning, and a singular Affection towards Learning; And works, which are of the *Mind*, and not of the *Hand*. For there cannot be, the like Honour sought, in building of *Galleries*, and Planting of *Elmes*, along high-wayes, and the outward *Ornaments*, wherein *France* now is busie; (Things rather of *Magnificence*, than of *Magnanimity*;) As there is, in the *Vniting* of *States*, *Pacifying* of *Controversies*,

*ſies*, *Nouriſhing*, and *Augmenting*, of *Learning*, and *Arts*, and the particular Actions appertaining unto theſe; Of which kind, *Cicero* judged truly, when he ſaid to *Cæſar*; *Quantum Operibus tuis detrahet Vetuſtas, tantum addet laudibus.* And laſtly, I call to minde, that your *Lordſhip*, at ſome times, had been pleaſed, to expreſs unto me, a great deſire, that ſomething of this Nature ſhould be performed; Anſwerable, indeed, to your other noble, and worthy, Courſes, and Actions: Joyning, and adding, unto the great Services, towards his *Majeſty*; (which have, in ſmall Compaſs of Time, been put upon your *Lordſhip*,) other great Deſervings, both of the *Church*, and *Commonwealth*, and *Particulars*: So as the Opinion, of ſo great, and wiſe a Man, doth ſeem to me, a good Warrant, both of the Poſſibility, and Worth, of this Matter. But all this while, I aſſure my Self, I cannot be miſtaken, by your *Lordſhip*, as if I ſought an Office, or Employment for my Self: For no Man knowes better, than your *Lordſhip*, that if, there were in me, any Faculty thereunto, yet neither my Courſe of Life, nor Profeſſion, would permit it: But becauſe there be ſo many good *Painters*, both for *Hand*, and *Colours*, it needeth but Encouragement, and Inſtructions, to give Life unto it. So, in all Humbleneſs, I conclude, my preſenting unto your *Lordſhip*, of this *Wiſh*; which, if it periſh, it is but a loſs of that, which is not: And ſo craving pardon, that I have taken ſo much time, from your *Lordſhip*, I remain.

## *A Letter to the King, upon the ſending unto him, a* Beginning, *of an* Hiſtory, *of his* Majeſties *Times.*

*It may pleaſe your* Majeſty,

HEaring, that you are at leiſure, to peruſe Stories, a deſire took me, to make an Experiment, what I could doe, in your *Majeſties* times; which being, but a Leaf, or two, I pray your pardon, if I ſend it, for your Recreation; Conſidering, that Love muſt creep, where it cannot goe. But to this, I add, theſe Petitions. Firſt, that if your *Majeſty* doe diſlike any thing, you would conceive, I can amend it, upon your leaſt beck. Next, that if I have not ſpoken, of your *Majeſty*, *Encomiaſtically*, your *Majeſty*, would be pleaſed, only to aſcribe it, to the *Law*, of an *Hiſtory*; which doth not clutter together praiſes, upon the firſt mention of a Name, but rather diſperſeth, and weaveth them, through the whole *Narrative*. And as for the Proper place, of *Commemoration*, (which is in the *Period* of *Life*,) I pray *God*, I may never live, to write it. Thirdly, that the reaſon, why I preſumed to think of this Oblation, was becauſe, whatſoever my Diſability be, yet I ſhall have that Advantage, which, (almoſt) no *Writer* of *Hiſtory*, hath had; In

In that, I shall write of Times, not onely since I could Remember, but since I could observe. And lastly, that it is onely, for your *Majesties* Reading.

## *A* Letter, *to the* Earl *of* Salisbury, *upon sending of him, one of his* Books, *of* Advancement of Learning.

IT may please your good *Lordship*; I present your *Lordship*, with a *Work*, of my vacant time; which if it had been more, the *Work* had been better. It appertaineth to your *Lordship*, (besides my particular respects,) in some Propriety; In regard, you are a great *Governer*, in a *Province* of *Learning*. And (that which is more) you have added to your Place, Affection towards *Learning*; And to your Affection, Judgement. Of which, the last, I could be content, were, (for the time,) less, that you might the less exquisitely Censure, that which I offer unto you. But sure I am, the Argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good *Author*. But I shall content my self, to awake better Spirits; Like a Bell-ringer, which is first up, to call others to *Church*. So with my humble Desire, of your *Lordships* good Acceptation, I remain.

## *A* Letter, *to the* Lord Treasurer, Buckhurst, *upon the like Argument.*

MAy it please your good *Lordship*; I have finish'd a *work*, touching the *Advancement*, or Setting forward of *Learning*; which I have dedicated to his *Majesty*; the most learned, of a *Soveraign*, or *Temporal Prince*, that Time, hath known. And upon reason, not unlike, I humbly present, one of the *Books*, to your *Lordship*: Not onely, as a *Chancellor*, of an *Vniversity*, but as one, that was excellently bred, in all *Learning*; which I have ever noted, to shine, in all your Speeches, and Behaviours. And therefore your *Lordship*, will yield a gracious Aspect, to your first Love; And take pleasure, in the Adorning of that, wherewith your self are so much adorned. And so humbly desiring your favourable Acceptation therof, with Signification of humble Duty, I remain.

## *A* Letter, *of the like Argument, to the* Lord Chancellor.

MAy it pleaſe your good *Lordſhip*; I humbly preſent your *Lordſhip*, with a *Work*; wherein, as you have much Commandement, over the *Authour*: So your *Lordſhip*, hath alſo great Intereſt, in the *Argument*: For to ſpeak without Flattery, few have like uſe of Learning, or like Judgement in Learning, as I have obſerved in your *Lordſhip*. And again, your *Lordſhip*, hath been a great Planter of Learning; Not onely, in thoſe places, in the *Church*, which have been in your own Gift; But alſo, in your Commendatory Vote, no man hath more conſtantly held; *Detur Digniori*: And therefore, both your *Lordſhip*, is beholding to *Learning*, and *Learning* beholding to you; Which maketh me preſume, with good Aſſurance, that your *Lordſhip*, will accept well of theſe my Labours; The rather, becauſe your *Lordſhip*, in private Speech, hath often begun to me, in expreſſing, your Admiration, of his *Majeſties learning*, to whom I have dedicated this *Work*; And whoſe Vertue, and Perfection, in that kinde, did chiefly move me, to a Work of this Nature. And ſo, with Signification, of my moſt humble Duty, and Affection, to your *Lordſhip*, I remain.

## *A* Letter, *of like Argument, to the* Earl *of* Northampton, *with requeſt, to Preſent the* Book, *to his* Majeſty.

*It may pleaſe your good* Lordſhip;

HAving finiſhed a *Work*, touching the *Advancement* of *Learning*, and dedicated the ſame, to his *Sacred Majeſty*, whom I dare avouch, (if the Records of Time err not,) to be the learnedeſt *King*, that hath reigned; I was deſirous, in a kinde of Congruity, to preſent it, by the learnedeſt *Counſellor*, in this *Kingdom*; To the end, that ſo good an *Argument*, lighting upon ſo bad an *Author*, might receive ſome Reputation, by the Hands, into which, and by which, it ſhould be delivered. And therefore, I make it, my humble Sute, to your *Lordſhip*, to preſent this mean, but well meant *Writing*, to his *Majeſty*, and with it, my humble, and zealous Duty; And alſo, my like humble requeſt of Pardon, if I have too often, taken his name in Vain; Not onely in the *Dedication*, but in the *Voucher*, of the Authority, of his Speeches, and Writings. And ſo I remain.

## *A* Letter, *of Request, to* Dr. Playfer, *to Translate the* Book, *of* Advancement of Learning, *into* Latine.

*Mr. Dr.* Playfer:

A Great Desire, will take a small Occasion, to hope, and put in Trial, that which is desired. It pleased you, a good while since, to express unto me, the good Liking, which you conceived, of my *Book*, of the *Advancement of Learning*; and that more Significantly, (as it seem'd to me,) than out of Curtesie, or Civil Respect. My Self, as I then took Contentment, in your Approbation thereof; So I should esteem, and acknowledge, not onely my Contentment encreased, but my Labours aduanced, if I might obtain your help, in that nature which I desire. Wherein, before I set down, in plain Terms, my request unto you, I will open my Self, what it was, which I chiefly sought, and propounded, to my Self, in that *work*; That you may perceive, that which I now desire, to be pursuant thereupon. If I doe not much erre, (For any Judgement, that a Man maketh, of his own Doings, had need be spoken, with a *Si nunquam fallit Imago*,) I have this Opinion, that if I had sought mine own Commendation, it had been, a much fitter Course for me, to have done, as Gardeners used to doe, by taking their Seed, and Slipps, and rearing them first into Plants, and so uttering them in Pots, when they are in Flower, and in their best State. But for as much, as my End, was Merit, of the *State* of *Learning*, (to my Power,) and not *Glory*; And because my purpose was, rather to Excite, other Mens Wits, than to magnify mine own; I was desirous, to prevent the uncertainness, of mine own Life, & Times, by uttering rather Seeds, than Plants: Nay, and further, (as the *Proverb* is,) by sowing with the *Basket*, rather than with the *Hand*: Wherefore, since I have only taken upon me, to ring a Bell, to call other wits together, (which is the meanest Office,) it cannot but be consonant to my Desire, to have that Bell heard, as farr as can be. And since they are but Sparks, which can work but upon Matter prepared, I have the more reason, to wish, that those Sparks may fly abroad, That they may the better find, and light, upon those Minds, and Spirits, which are apt to be kindled. And therefore, the Privateness of the *Language* considered, wherein it is written, excluding so many Readers; As on the other side, the Obscurity of the Argument, in many parts of it, excludeth many others; I must accompt it, a *Second Birth*, of that *work*, if it might be translated into *Latine*, without manifest loss, of the Sense, and Matter. For this purpose, I could not represent to my Self, any Man, into whose hands, I doe more earnestly desire, that *work* should fall, than your Self: For by that, I have heard, and read, I know no Man, a greater

Maſter, in Commanding Words, to ſerve Matter. Nevertheleſs, I am not ignorant of the worth of your Labours; Whether ſuch as your Place, and Profeſſion impoſeth; Or ſuch, as your own Vertue, may, upon your Voluntary Election, take in hand. But I can lay before you, no other perſwaſions, than either the *Work* it Self, may affect you with; Or the *Honour*, of his *Majeſty*, to whom it is dedicated; Or your Particular Inclination to my Self; who, as I never took ſo much comfort, in any Labours of mine own, ſo I ſhall never acknowledge my Self, more obliged, in any thing, to the Labour of another, than in that, which ſhall aſſiſt it. Which your labour, if I can, by my Place, Profeſſion, Means, Friends, Travel, Work, Deed, requite unto you, I ſhall eſteem my Self, ſo ſtreightly bound thereunto, as I ſhall be ever moſt ready, both to take, and ſeek, occaſion of Thankfulneſs. So leaving it, nevertheleſs, *Salvâ amicitiâ*, (as reaſon is,) to your own good Liking, I remain,

## *A* Letter, *to Sir* Thomas Bodley, *upon ſending of him, his* Book, *of* Advancement *of* Learning.

I Think, no Man, may more truly ſay, with the Pſalm, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea*, than my Self, For I doe confeſſe, ſince I was of any Underſtanding, my Minde, hath, in Effect, been abſent from that I have done: And in Abſence, are many Errours, which I doe willingly acknowledge; And amongſt the reſt, this great one, that ledd the reſt; That knowing my Self, by inward Calling, to be fitter, to hold a Book, than to play a part, I have led my life in Civil Cauſes; For which I was not very fit by Nature, and more unfit, by the preoccupation of my Minde. Therefore calling my Self home, I have now, for a time, enjoyed my Self; whereof, likewiſe, I deſire, to make the *world* partaker. My Labours, (if I may ſo term that, which was the Comfort, of my other Labours,) I have Dedicated to the *King*; Deſirous, if there be any Good in them, it may be, as the *Fat* of a *Sacrifice*, incenſed to his *Honour*; And the ſecond *Copy*, I have ſent unto you; Not onely, in good Affection, but in a kinde of Congruity, in regard, of your great, and rare deſert, of *Learning*. For *Books*, are the Shrines, where the *Saint* is, or is beleeved to be. And you, having built an *Ark*, to ſave *Learning*, from *Deluge*, deſerve Propriety, in any new Inſtrument, or Engine, whereby *Learning*, ſhould be improved or advanced.

*A*

## *A* Letter, *to the* Biſhop of Ely, *upon ſending his* Writing, *entituled*, Cogitata, & Viſa.

MY very good *Lord* : Now your *Lordſhip*, hath been ſo long in the *Church*, and the *Palace*, diſputing, between *Kings*, and *Popes*; Methinks, you ſhould take pleaſure, To look into the *Field*, and refreſh your minde, with ſome *Matter*, of *Philoſophy*; Though that *Science*, be now, through Age, waxed a Childe again, and left to Boyes, and young men. And becauſe you were wont to make me beleeve, you took liking to my *Writings*, I ſend you ſome of this Vacations Fruits; And thus much more, of my minde, and purpoſe. I haſten not to Publiſh; periſhing I would prevent. And I am forced, to reſpect, as well my Times, as the Matter. For with me it is thus; and I think with all Men in my Caſe: If I bind my Self, to an Argument, it loadeth my Minde : But if I rid my Mind, of the preſent Cogitation, it is rather a Recreation. This hath put me into theſe *Miſcellanies*; which I purpoſe to ſuppreſs, if *God* give me leave, to write, a juſt, and perfect Volume, of Philoſophy, which I goe on with, though ſlowly. I ſend not your *Lordſhip*, too much, leſt it may glutt you. Now let me tell you, what my Deſire is : If your *Lordſhip* be ſo good now, as when you were, the good *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, my requeſt to you is; That not by Pricks, but by Notes, you would mark unto me, whatſoever ſhall ſeem unto you, either not current in the Stile; Or harſh to credit, and Opinion; Or inconvenient, for the Perſon, of the Writer. For no Man, can be Judge, and Party : And when our Minds judge, by Reflexion of our Selves, they are more ſubject to Error. And though, for the Matter it ſelf, my Judgement, be, in ſome things, fixed, and not Acceſſible by any Mans Judgement, that goeth not my way; yet even in thoſe Things, the Admonition of a Friend, may make me, expreſs my Self, di verſly. I would have come to your *Lordſhip*, but that I am haſtening to my Houſe, in the *Country*. And ſo I commend your *Lordſhip* to *Gods* Goodneſs.

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## *A* Letter, *to Sir* Tho: Bodley, *after he had imparted to him, a* VVriting, *entituled*, Cogitata, & Viſa:

SIR, in reſpect of my Going down, to my *Houſe*, in the *Country*, I ſhall have miſſe of my *Papers*; which I pray you therefore to return unto me. You are, I bear you witneſs, Slothfull, and you help me nothing : So as I am half in conceit, that you affect not the Argument : For my Self, I know well, you love, and

and affect. I can ſay no more to you, But, *Non canimus Surdis, reſpondent omnia Sylvæ.* If you be not of the Lodgings, chaulked up, (whereof I ſpeak in my Preface,) I am but to paſs by your Door. But if I had you, but a Fortnight, at *Gorhambury*, I would make you tell me another Tale; or elſe, I would add a Cogitation, againſt *Libraries*, and be revenged on you, that way. I pray, ſend me ſome good News, of Sir *Tho: Smith*; And commend me very kindly to him. So I reſt.

## *A* Letter, *to Mr.* Matthew, *upon ſending to him, a part, of* Inſtauratio Magna.

MR. *Matthew*; I plainly perceive, by your affectionate writing, touching my Work, that one, and the ſame Thing, affecteth us both; which is, the good End, to which it is dedicate. For as to any Ability of mine, it cannot merit, that Degree, of Approbation. For your Caution for *Church Men*, and *Church Matters*; As for any Impediment, it might be, to the Applauſe, and Celebrity, of my *Work*; It moveth me not; But as it may hinder the Fruit, and Good, which may come, of a quiet, and calm, paſſage, to the good Port, to which it is bound, I hold it a juſt reſpect; So as to fetch a fair Winde, I go not too farr about. But the Troth is, that I, at all, have no occaſion, to meet them, in my way; Except it be, as they will needs confederate themſelves, with *Ariſtotle*, who, you know, is intemperately magnifyed, by the *School-Men*; And is alſo allyed, as I take it, to the *Jeſuits*, by *Faber*, who was a Companion, of *Loyola*, and a great *Ariſtotelian*. I ſend you, at this time, the onely part, which hath any Harſhneſs; And yet, I framed to my Self, an Opinion, that whoſoever allowed well, of that Preface, which you ſo much commend, will not diſlike, or at leaſt ought not to diſlike, this other Speech of Preparation: For it is written, out of the ſame Spirit, and out of the ſame Neceſſity: Nay, it doth more fully lay open, that the Queſtion between me, and the *Antients*, is not, of the *Vertue*, of the *Race*, but of the *Rightneſs*, of the *Way*. And to ſpeak truth, it is to the other, but as *Palma* to *Pugnus*, part of the ſame Thing, more large. You conceive aright, that in this, and the other, you have Commiſſion, to impart, and communicate them, to others, According to your Diſcretion. Other Matters I write not of. My ſelf, am like the Miller of *Grancester*, that was wont to pray, for Peace, amongſt the Willows; For while the winds blew, the Wind-mils wrought, and the Water-mill, was leſs cuſtomed. So I ſee, that *Controverſies* of *Religion*, muſt hinder the *Advancement* of *Sciences*. Let me conclude, with my perpetual Wiſh, towards your Self; That the Approbation of your Self, by your own diſcreet, and temperate,

temperate, Cariage, may restore you to your *Country*, and your *Friends*, to your *Society*. And so I commend you, to *Gods* Goodness. *Graies Inn*, 10 *Octob.* 1609.

## *A* Letter, *to Mr.* Matthew, *touching* Instauratio Magna.

MR. *Matthew*, I heartily thank you, for your *Letter*, of the 10th of *February*; And am glad, to receive, from you, Matter, both of Encouragement, and of Advertisement, touching my *Writings*. For my part, I doe wish, that since there is, no *Lumen-siccum*, in the *World*; But all *Madidum*, and *Maceratum*, infused in Affections, and Blouds or Humours, that these Things of mine, had those Separations, that might make them more acceptable: So that they claim not, so much Acquaintance, of the present times, as they be thereby, the less apt to last. And to shew you, that I have some Purpose, to new mould them; I send you, a Leaf, or two, of the *Preface*, carrying some Figure of the whole *work*. Wherein, I purpose, to take that, which I count real, and effectual, of both *Writings*; And chiefly, to add a Pledge, (if not Payment,) to my Promises, I send you also, a *Memorial*, of *Queen Elizabeth*; To requite your *Elogy*, of the late *Duke* of *Florences*, Felicity. Of this, when you were here, I shewed you some Model; At what time, (methought,) you were more willing, to hear *Julius Cæsar*, than *Queen Elizabeth*, commended. But this, which I send, is more full, and hath more of the *Narrative*. And further, hath one part, that, I think, will not be disagreeable, either to you, or that Place; Being the true Tract, of her Proceedings, towards the *Catholiques*, which are infinitely mistaken. And though I doe not imagine, they will pass allowance there, yet they will gain upon Excuse. I finde Mr. *Le-Zure*, to use you well, (I mean his Tongue of you,) which shews you, either honest, or wise. But this I speak merrily. For in good faith, I doe conceive hope, that you will so govern your Self, as we may take you, as assuredly for a good *Subject*, and *Patriot*, as you take your Self for a good *Christian*; And so we may again enjoy your Company, and you your Conscience, if it may no other wayes be. For my part, assure your Self, (as we say in the *Law*,) *mutatis mutandis*, my love, and good wishes to you, are not diminished. And so I remain.

*A*

## A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, impriſoned for RELIGION.

MR. *Matthew*; Doe not think me forgetfull, or altered towards you. But if I ſhould ſay, I could doe you any good, I ſhould make my Power, more than it is. I doe hear that, which I am right ſorry for; That you grow more Impatient, and Buſie, than at firſt: which maketh me exceedingly fear the iſſue of that, which ſeemeth not to ſtand at a ſtay. I my Self, am out of doubt, that you have been miſerably abuſed, when you were firſt ſeduced: But that, which I take in Compaſſion, others may take in Severity. I pray *God*, that underſtandeth us all, (better than we underſtand one another,) contain you, (even as I hope he will,) at the leaſt, within the Bounds of Loyalty to his *Majeſty*, and Natural Piety towards your *Country*. And I entreat you much, ſometimes, to meditate, upon the extreme Effects of *Superſtition*, in this laſt *Powder Treaſon*; fit to be tabled, and pictured, in the Chambers of *Meditation*, as another *Hell*, above the Ground; And well juſtifying, the Cenſure of the *Heathen*; That *Superſtition* is farr worſe than *Atheiſm*: By how much it is leſs evil, to have no Opinion, of *God* at all; than ſuch as is impious, towards his *Divine Majeſty*, and *Goodneſs*. Good Mr. *Matthew*, receive your Self back, from theſe Courſes, of Perdition: Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue.

## A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, upon ſending his Book, De Sapientiâ Veterum.

MR. *Matthew*, I do very heartily thank you, for your *Letter* of the 24. of *Auguſt*, from *Salamanca*; And, in recompence thereof, I ſend you, a little *Work* of mine, that hath begun, to paſs the *World*. They tell me, my *Latin*, is turn'd into Silver, and become current: Had you been here, you ſhould have been my *Inquiſitour*, before it came forth. But I think, the greateſt *Inquiſitour* in *Spain*, will allow it. But one thing, you muſt pardon me, if I make no haſt to beleeve, That the World ſhould be grown to ſuch an Ecſtaſy, as to reject *Truth* in *Philoſophy*, becauſe the *Author* diſſenteth in *Religion*: No more than they doe, by *Ariſtotle*, or *Averroës*. My great *Work* goeth forward; And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finiſhed, till all be finiſhed. This I have written, in the midſt, of a *Term*, and *Parliament*; Thinking no time ſo poſſeſſed, but that I ſhould talk of theſe Matters, with

ſo

so good, and dear a *Friend*. And so, with my wonted Wishes, I leave you to *Gods* Goodness. From *Graies Inn*, 27th of *Febr.* 1610.

## *A* Letter, *of* Expostulation, *to the* Atturney General, *Sir* Edward Cook.

MR. *Atturney*, I thought best, once for all, to let you know, in plainness, what I finde of you, and what you shall find of me: You take to your self, a Liberty, to disgrace, and disable my *Law*, my *Experience*, my *Discretion*: What it pleaseth you, I pray, think of me; I am one, that know's both mine own wants, and other Mens: And it may be, perchance, that mine mend, others stand at a stay. And surely, I may not endure, in publick place, to be wronged, without repelling the same, to my best advantage, to right my Self. You are great, and therefore have the more Enviers; which would be glad, to have you paid, at anothers cost. Since the time, I missed the *Solliciters* place, (the rather I think by your means,) I cannot expect, that you, and I shall ever serve, as *Atturney*, and *Solliciter*, together; But either, to serve with another, upon your Remove, or to step into some other Course: So as, I am more free, than ever I was, from any Occasion, of unworthy Conforming my Self to you; More than general good manners, or your particular good Usage, shall provoke. And if you had not been, short sighted, in your own Fortune, (as I think,) you might have had more use of me. But that Tide is passed. I write not this, to shew my Friends, what a brave *Letter*, I have written, to Mr. *Atturney*: I have none of those Humours: But that I have written, is to a good End; That is, to the more decent Carriage, of my *Masters Service*; And to our particular, better Understanding One of Another. This *Letter*, if it shall be answered by you, in deed, and not in word, I suppose, it will not be worse, for us both: Else it is but a few Lines lost; which, for a much smaller Matter, I would have adventured. So this being to your Self, I for my part rest.

## *A* Letter, *to my* Lord *of* Salisbury, *touching the* Solliciters *Place.*

*It may please your good* Lordship,

I Am not ignorant, how mean a Thing, I stand for, in desiring to come, into the *Solliciters* Place: For I know well, it is not the Thing it hath been; Time having wrought Alteration, both in

the Profeſſion, and in that ſpecial Place. Yet becauſe, I think, it will encreaſe my practice, and that it may ſatisfy my Friends; And becauſe I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein, I may ſay to your *Lordſhip*, in the Confidence, of your poor Kinſman, and of a Man, by you advanced; *Tu idem fer opem, qui Spem dediſti:* For, I am ſure, it was not poſſible, for a Man Living, to have received, from another, more ſignificant, and comfortable, words of Hope; your *Lordſhip* being pleaſed, to tell me, during the Courſe of my laſt Service, that you would raiſe me; And that, when you had reſolved, to raiſe a Man, you were more carefull of him, than himſelf; And that, what you had done for me, in my *Marriage*, was a benefit to me, but of no uſe, to your *Lordſhip*; And therefore, I might aſſure my Self, you would not leave me there; with many like Speeches, which I knew, my Duty too well, to take any other hold of, than the Hold, of a Thankfull Remembrance. And I acknowledge, and all the World knoweth, that your *Lordſhip*, is no Dealer, of *Holy Water*, but *Noble*, and *Real*; And, on my part, I am of a ſure ground, that I have committed nothing, that may deſerve alteration. And therfore, my Hope is, your *Lordſhip*, will finiſh a good Work, and conſider, that Time groweth pretious with me, and that I am now in *Vergentibus Annis*. And although I know, that your Fortune is not to need, an Hundred ſuch as I am, yet I ſhall be ever ready, to give you my beſt, and Firſt fruits; And to ſupply, (as much as in me lieth,) Worthineſs, by Thankfulneſs.

## *A* Letter, *of like Argument, to the* Lord Chancellor.

*It may pleaſe your good* Lordſhip,

AS I conceived it to be a Reſolution, both with his *Majeſty*, and your *Lordſhips* of his *Council*, that I ſhould be placed *Solliciter*, and the *Solliciter*, to be removed, to be the *Kings Serjeant*: So I moſt thankfully acknowledge, your *Lordſhips* furtherance, and forwardneſs therein; your *Lordſhip*, being the Man, that firſt deviſed the Mean: Wherefore, my humble Requeſt, to your *Lordſhip* is, that you would ſet in, with ſome Strength, to finiſh this your *Work*: Which I aſſure your *Lordſhip*, I deſire the rather, becauſe being placed, I hope, for many Favours, at laſt, to be able, to doe you ſome better Service. For as I am, your *Lordſhip* cannot uſe me; nor ſcarcely indeed know me: Not that I vainly think, I ſhall be able, to doe any great Matters, but certainly, it will frame me to uſe a nearer Obſervance, and Application, to ſuch, as I honour ſo much, as I doe your *Lordſhip*; And not, (I hope,) without ſome good Offices, which may, now and then, deſerve your

your Thanks. And herewithall, (good my *Lord*,) I humbly pray your *Lordſhip*, to conſider, that *Time* groweth precious with me, and that a *Married* Man, is 7. years elder, in his thoughts, the firſt day. And therefore, what a diſcomfortable Thing it is for me, to be unſetled ſtill? Certainly, were it not, that I think my Self born, to doe my *Soveraign* Service; And therefore, in that Station, I will live and dye; Otherwiſe, for mine own Private comfort, it were better for me, that the *King*, did blot me out of his *Book*; Or that I ſhould turn my Courſe, to endeavour, to ſerve, in ſome other kinde, than for me, to ſtand thus at a ſtopp; And to have that little Reputation, which by my Induſtry I gather, to be ſcattered, and taken away, by continual Diſgraces; every new Man comming above me. Sure I am, I ſhall never have fairer Promiſes, and Words, from all your *Loraſhips*. For I know not what my Services are, (ſaving that your *Lordſhips* told me, they were good;) And I would beleeve you, in a much greater Matter. Were it nothing elſe, I hope the Modeſty of my Sute, deſerveth ſomewhat; For I know well, the *Solliciters* Place, is not as your *Lordſhip*, left it; Time working Alteration, ſomewhat in the Profeſſion, much more in that ſpecial Place. But to conclude, as my *Honourable Lady*, your Wife, was ſome Mean, to make me, to change the Name of Another; So if it pleaſe you, to help me, to change mine own Name, I can be, but more and more bounden to you: And I am much deceived, if your *Lordſhip*, finde not the *King*, well inclined, and my *Lord of Salisbury* forward, and affectionate.

## A Letter, to the King, touching the Solliciters Place.

HOw honeſtly ready I have been (moſt gracious *Soveraign*,) to doe your *Majeſty* humble Service, to the beſt of my power, and in a manner, beyond my power, (as I now ſtand,) I am not ſo unfortunate, but your *Majeſtie* knoweth. For both, in the *Commiſſion* of *Union*, (the Labour whereof, for Men of my Profeſſion, reſted moſt upon my hand;) And this laſt *Parliament*, in the *Bill* of the *Subſidy*; Both Body and Preamble; In the *Bill* of *Attainders*, both *Treſham*, and the reſt; In the *Matter* of *Purveyance*; In the *Eccleſiaſtical Petitions*; In the *Grievances*; And the like; as I was ever carefull, (and not without good Succeſs,) ſometimes to put forward, that which was good; ſometimes to keep back, that which was not ſo good; So your *Majeſty* was pleaſed, kindly to accept of my Services, and to ſay to me; Such Conflicts were the Warrs of Peace; And ſuch Victories the Victories of Peace; And therefore ſuch Servants, that obtained them, were by *Kings*,

that reign in Peace, no leſs to be eſteemed, than Services of Commanders in the Warrs. In all which, nevertheleſs, I can challenge, to my Self, no Sufficiency, but that I was diligent, and reaſonable happy, to execute thoſe Directions, which I received, either immediately from your *Royal Mouth*, or from my *Lord of Salisbury*. At what time, it pleaſed your *Majeſty* alſo, to promiſe, and aſſure me, that upon the Remove of the then *Atturney*, I ſhould not be forgotten, but brought into *Ordinary Place*. And this was after confirmed to me, by many of my *Lords*, and towards the end of the laſt Term, the manner alſo, in particular, ſpoken of; That is, that Mr. *Solliciter*, ſhould be made your *Majeſties Serjeant*, and I *Solliciter*: For ſo it was thought beſt, to ſort, with both our Gifts, and Faculties, for the good of your Service: And of this Reſolution, both *Court*, and *Country*, took knowledge. Neither was this, any Invention, or Project, of mine own; but moved from my *Lords*, I think, firſt from my *Lord Chanceller*: whereupon reſting, your *Majeſty* well knoweth, I never opened my Mouth, for the *Greater Place*; Though I am ſure, I had 2. Circumſtances, that Mr. *Atturney*, that now is, could not allege: The one, Nine years Service of the Crown: The other, the being *Couſin Germain*, to the *Lord of Salisbury*, whom your *Majeſty* eſteemeth, and truſteth ſo much. But for the leſs Place, I conceive it was meant me. But after that, Mr. *Atturney Hobert* was placed, I heard no more of my Preferment; but it ſeemed to me at a ſtopp, to my great Diſgrace, aud Diſcouragement. For (gracious *Soveraign*,) if ſtill, when the *Waters are ſtirr'd*, another ſhall be put in before me, your *Majeſty* had need work a *Miracle*, or elſe, I ſhall be ſtill, a lame Man, to doe your Service. And therefore, my moſt humble ſute, to your *Majeſty*, is; That this, which ſeemed to me intended, may ſpeedily be performed: And, I hope, my former Service, ſhall be, but as Beginnings to better, when I am better ſtrengthened: For ſure I am, no Mans Heart is fuller, (I ſay not, but many may have greater Hearts, but I ſay not fuller,) of Love, and Duty, towards your *Majeſty*, and your *Children*; As, I hope, Time will manifeſt, againſt Envy, and Detraction, if any be. To conclude, I moſt humbly crave pardon for my boldneſs, and reſt.

## *A* Letter, *to the* Earl of Salisbury, *of Curteſy, upon a* New-years Tide.

*It may pleaſe your good* Lordſhip,

HAving no *Gift*, to preſent you with, in any degree proportionable to my minde; I deſire, nevertheleſs, to take the Advantage, of a *Ceremony*, to expreſs my Self, to your *Lordſhip*; it being

ing the first time, I could make the like Acknowledgement, when I stood, out of the person of a Suter: wherefore, I most humbly pray your *Lordship*, to think of me, that now it hath pleased you, by many Effectual, and great Benefits, to add the Assurance, and Comfort, of your Love, and Favour, to that precedent Disposition, which was in me, to admire, your Vertue and Merit; I doe esteem, whatsoever I have, or may have, in this World, but as Trash, in comparison, of having the Honour, and Happiness, to be a near, and well accepted, Kinsman, to so rare, and worthy, a *Counseller*, *Governer*, and *Patriot*. For having been a studious, if not, a Curious Observer, of *Antiquities* of *Vertue*, as of late *Pieces*; I forbear to say to your *Lordship*, what I find and conceive; But to any other, I would think, to make my Self, believed. But not to be tedious, in that, which may have the shew of a Complement, I can but wish your *Lordship*, many happy years; Many more, than your *Father* had; Even so many more, as we may need you more. So I remain.

## *A* Letter, *of* Thanks, *to the* King, *upon Mr.* Attorney's *Sickness*.

*It may please your most excellent* Majesty,

I Doe understand, by some of my good Friends, to my great comfort, that your *Majesty*, hath in minde, your *Majesties Royal* Promise, (which to me is *Anchora Spei*,) touching the *Atturney's* place. I hope, Mr. *Atturney* shall doe well. I thank *God*, I wish no Mans Death; Nor much mine own Life, more than to doe your *Majesty* Service. For I account my Life the Accident, and my Duty the Substance. But this, I will be bold to say. If it please *God*, that ever I serve your *Majesty*, in the *Atturney's* place, I have known an *Atturney Cooke*, and an *Atturney Hobert*; Both worthy Men, and farr above my Self: But if I should not find, a Middle way, between their two Dispositions, and Carriages, I should not satisfy my Self. But these things, are farr, or near, as it shall please *God*. Mean while, I most humbly pray your *Majesty*, to accept, my *Sacrifice* of *Thanksgiving* for your *Gracious Favour*. *God* preserve your *Majesty*. I ever remain.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *of Sute, to ſucceed, in the* Arturney's *Place.*

*It may pleaſe your* Majeſty,

YOur great, and Princely, Favours towards me, in Advancing me to *Place*; And that, which is to me, of no leſs comfort, your *Majeſties* benign, and gracious Acceptation, from time to time, of my poor Services, much above the Merit, and Valew of them; Hath, almoſt, brought me to an Opinion, that I may ſooner, (perchance,) be wanting, to my Self, in not asking; Than finde your *Majeſties* Goodneſs wanting to me, in any my reaſonable, and modeſt deſires. And therefore, perceiving, how at this time, Preferments of Law fly about mine Ears; To ſome above me, and to ſome below me; I did conceive, your *Majeſty* may think it, rather a Kinde of Dulneſs, or want of Faith, than Modeſty, if I ſhould not come, with my *Pitcher*, to *Jacobs Well*, as others doe. VVherein I ſhall propound to your *Majeſty*, that which tendeth not ſo much, to the Raiſing of my Fortune, as to the ſetling of my Minde; Being ſometimes aſſailed with this Cogitation; That by reaſon of my Slowneſs, to ſee, and apprehend ſuddain Occaſions; Keeping on one plain Courſe of painfull Service; I may, (*in fine Dierum*,) be in danger, to be neglected, and forgotten. And if that ſhould be, then were it much better for me, now while I ſtand in your *Majeſties* good Opinion, (though unworthy,) and have ſome little Reputation, in the VVorld, to give over the Courſe I am in, and to make proof, to doe you ſome Honour, by my *Pen*, either by writing, ſome faithfull *Narrative*, of your Happy, (though not untraduced,) Times; Or by recompiling your Laws, (which, I perceive, your *Majeſty* laboureth with; And hath in your Head, as *Jupiter* had *Pallas*;) Or ſome other the like work: (For without ſome Endeavour to doe you Honour, I would not live;) Than to ſpend my Wits, and Time, in this laborious place, wherein I now ſerve; If it ſhall be deprived, of thoſe outward Ornaments, which it was wont to have, in reſpect of an Aſſured Succeſſion, to ſome Place, of more Dignity, and Reſt: which ſeemeth now, to be an Hope, altogether Caſual, if not wholly intercepted. VVherefore, (not to hold your *Majeſty* long,) my humble Sute, to you, is that, than the which, I think, I cannot well goe lower; which is, that I may obtain, your Royal promiſe, to ſucceed, (if *I* live,) into the *Atturneys* place, whenſoever it ſhall be void: It being, but the Natural, and Immediate Step, and Riſe, which the Place, I now hold, hath ever, (in ſort) made claim to, and almoſt never failed of. In this Sute, I make no Friends to your *Majeſty*, but rely upon no other *Motive*, but your *Grace*; Nor any other *Aſſurance*, but your *Word*; where-

of

of I had good Experience, when I came to the *Sollicites* Place; That it was like, to the Two *great* Lights, which in their Motions, are never *Retrograde*. So with my best Prayers, for your *Majesties* Happines, I rest.

## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Carey, *in* France, *upon sending him, his* Writing, In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ.

*My very good* Lord;

BEing asked the Question, by this Bearer, an old Servant, of my *Brother Anthony Bacons*, whether I would command him any thing into *France*; And being, at better leisure, than I would, in regard of Sickness; I began to remember, that neither your Business, nor mine, (though great, and continual,) can be, upon an an exact account, any just Occasion, why so much good will, as hath passed between us, should be so much discontinued, as hath been. And therefore, because one must begin, I thought to provoke, your Remembrance of me, by a Letter: And thinking to fit it, with somewhat, besides Salutations, it came to my Minde, that this last Summer Vacation, by occasion of a *Factious Book*, that endeavoured to verefy, *Misera Femina*, (The Addition of the *Popes Bull*,) upon *Queen Elizabeth*, I did write, a few Lines, in her Memorial; which I thought, you would be pleased to read; both for the Argument; And because, you were wont, to bear Affection, to my Penn. *Verum, ut aliud ex alio*, if it came handsomly to pass, I would be glad, the *President de* * *Thou*, (who hath written an *History*, as you know, of that Fame, and Diligence,) saw it: Chiefly, because I know not, whether it may not serve him, for some use, in his *Story*: wherein, I would be glad, he did right to the Truth, and to the Memory, of that *Lady*, as I perceive, by that he hath already written, he is well enclined to doe. I would be glad also, it were some Occasion, (such as Absence may permit,) of some Acquaintance, or mutual Notice, between us. For though he hath, many wayes, the precedence, (chiefly in worth,) yet this is common to us both, that we serve *our Soveraigns*, in places of *Law*, eminent: And not our Selves onely, but our *Fathers*, did so before us: And lastly, that both of us, love *Learning*, and *Liberal Sciences*, which was ever, a Bond of Friendship, in the greatest Distance, of Places. But of this, I make no further Request, than your Occasions, and Respects, (to me unknown,) may further, or limit; My Principal Purpose being, to salute you, and to send you this Token. Whereunto I will add, my very kinde Commendations, to my *Lady*; And so commit you both, to *Gods* Holy Protection.

* *Thuanus.*

## *A* Letter, *to my* Lord Mayour, *upon a Proceeding, in a Private Cauſe.*

MY very good *Lord*; I did little expect, when I left your *Lordſhip* laſt, that there would have been, a Proceeding againſt Mr. *Barnard*, to his Overthrow. Wherein I muſt confeſs my Self, to be, in a ſort, Acceſſary: Becauſe, he relying upon me, for Counſel, I adviſed that Courſe, which he followed. Wherein now I begin, to queſtion my ſelf, whether in preſerving my Reſpects, unto your *Lordſhip*, and the Reſt, I have not failed, in the Duty, of my Profeſſion, towards my Client. For certainly, if the words had been hainous, and ſpoken in a malicious faſhion, and in ſome publick place, and well proved; And not a Prattle, in a Tavern, caught hold of by one, who, (as I hear) is a detected Sycophant (*Standiſh* I mean;) yet I know not, what could have been done more, than to impoſe upon him, a grievous Fine; And to require, the Levying of the ſame; And to Take away his means of Life, by his *Diſfranchiſement*; And to commit him, to a Defamed Priſon, during *Chriſtmaſs*; In Honour whereof, the Priſoners, in other Courts, doe, commonly, of grace, obtain ſome Enlargement. This Rigor of Proceeding, (to tell your *Lordſhip*, and the reſt, as my good Friends, my Opinion, plainly,) tendeth not to ſtrengthen *Authority*, which is beſt ſupported, by Love, and Fear, intermixed; But rather, to make People diſcontented, and Servile; eſpecially, when ſuch Puniſhment is inflicted, for words, not by Rule of *Law*, but by a *Juriſdiction* of *Diſcretion*, which would evermore, be moderately uſed. And I pray *God*, whereas Mr. *Recorder*, when I was with you, did well, and wiſely, put you in mind, of the Admonitions, you often received from my *Lords*, that you ſhould bridle unruly Tongues; That thoſe kind of Speeches, and Rumours, whereunto thoſe Admonitions doe referr, which are concerning the *State*, and *Honour thereof*, doe not paſs too licentiouſly, in the *City*, unpuniſhed; while theſe Words, which concern your particular, are ſo ſtraightly enquired into, and puniſhed with ſuch Extremiy. But theſe Things, your own wiſdom, (firſt, or laſt,) will beſt repreſent unto you. My writing unto you at this time, is, to the end, that howſoever I doe take it ſomewhat unkindly, that my Mediation prevailed no more; yet I might preſerve, that further Reſpect, that I am willing to uſe, unto ſuch a State, in delivering my Opinion, unto you, freely, before I would be of Counſel, or move any thing, that ſhould croſs your Proceedings; which, notwithſtanding, (in caſe, my Client, can receive no Relief, at your hands,) I muſt, and will doe. Continuing, nevertheleſs, in other Things, my wonted good Affection, to your Selves, and your Occaſions.

## *A* Letter, *to my* Lord Treaſurer Salisbury, *upon a* New-years Tide.

*It may pleaſe your good* Lordſhip,

I Would Entreat, the *New year*, to anſwer for the *Old*, in my humble Thanks to your *Lordſhip*; Both for many your Favours, and chiefly, that upon the Occaſion, of Mr. *Attorneys* Infirmity, I found your *Lordſhip*, even as I could wiſh. This doth encreaſe a deſire in me, to expreſs my Thankfull minde, to your *Lordſhip*; Hoping, that though I finde Age, and Decayes, grow upon me, yet I may have a Flaſh, or two, of Spirit, left to doe you Service. And I doe proteſt before *God*, without Complement, or any light Vanity of Minde, that if I knew, in what Courſe of Life, to doe you beſt Service, I would take it, and make my Thoughts, which now fly to many Pieces, to be reduced to that Center. But all this, is no more, than I am; which is not much: But yet the Entire of him, that is, &c.

## *A* Letter, *to his* Majeſty, *concerning* Peachams *Cauſe*, January 21. 1614.

*It may pleaſe your Excellent* Majeſty,

IT grieveth me exceedingly, that your *Majeſty*, ſhould be ſo much troubled, with this Matter of *Peacham*; whoſe *Raging Devil*, ſeemeth to be turn'd, into a *Dumb Devil*. But although, we are driven, to make our way, through *Queſtions*, (which I wiſh were otherwiſe,) yet I hope well, the End will be good. But then, every Man, muſt put too, his Helping Hand; For elſe, I muſt ſay to your *Majeſty*, in this, and the like Caſes, as St. *Paul* ſaid, to the *Centurion*, when ſome of the Mariners, had an Eye, to the Cockboat; *Except theſe ſtay in the Ship, ye cannot be ſafe*. I finde, in my *Lords*, great, and worthy, Care, of the Buſineſs. And for my part, I hold my Opinion, and am ſtrengthned in it, by ſome *Records*, that I have found. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted *Subject*, and *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *touching* Peachams *Cauſe.* January 27. 1614.

*It may pleaſe your excellent* Majeſty,

THis Day, in the Afternoon, was read, your *Majeſties* Letters, of Direction, touching *Peacham*; which becauſe it concerneth properly the Duty of my Place, I thought it fit, for me, to give your *Majeſty*, both a ſpeedy, and a private, Account thereof; That your *Majeſty* knowing Things, clearly, how they paſs, may have the true Fruit, of your own Wiſdom, and cleer Seeing Judgement, in Governing the *Buſineſs*.

Firſt, for the *Regularity*, which your *Majeſty*, (as a Maſter in Buſineſs of *Eſtate*,) doth prudently preſcribe, in Examining, and taking Examinations, I ſubſcribe to it; Onely, I will ſay for my Self; that I was not, at this time, the Principal Examiner.

For the Courſe, your *Majeſty* directeth, and commandeth, for the feeling of the *Judges*, of the *Kings Bench*, their Several Opinions, by diſtributing our Selves, and enjoyning Secrecy; we did firſt, finde an Encounter, in the Opinion, of my *Lord Cooke*; who ſeemed to affirm, that ſuch particular, and, (as he call'd it,) *Auricular* Taking of Opinions, was not according to the Cuſtom of this *Realm*; And ſeemed to divine, that his *Brethren*, would never doe it. But when I replyed, that it was our Duty, to purſue your *Majeſties* Directions; And it were not amiſs, for his *Lordſhip*, to leave his *Brethren*, to their own Anſwers; It was ſo concluded; and his *Lordſhip*, did deſire, that I mought conferr with Himſelf; And Mr. *Serjeant Mountague*, was named, to ſpeak with *Juſtice Crooke*; Mr. *Serjeant Crew*, with *Juſtice Houghton*; and Mr. *Solliciter*, with *Juſtice Dodderidge*. This done, I took my Fellows aſide, and adviſed, that they ſhould preſently ſpeak with the 3. *Judges*, before I could ſpeak with my *Lord Cooke*, for doubt of Infuſion; And that they ſhould not, in any caſe, make any doubt to the *Judges*, as if they miſtruſted, they would not deliver any Opinion apart, but ſpeak reſolutely to them, and onely make their Comming to be, to know, what time they would appoint, to be attended with the Papers. This ſorted not amiſs; For Mr. *Solliciter*, came to me, this Evening, and related to me, that he had found *Judge Dodderidge*, very ready, to give Opinion, in ſecret; And fell upon the ſame reaſon, which upon your *Majeſties* firſt *Letter*, I had uſed to my *Lord Cooke*, at the *Council Table*; which was, that every *Judge*, was bound, expreſly, by his *Oath*, to give your *Majeſty* Counſel, when he was called; And whether he ſhould doe it, joyntly, or ſeverally, that reſted, in your *Maieſties* good pleaſure, as you would require it. And though the Ordinary Courſe, was to aſſemble

aſſemble them, yet there mought intervene Caſes, wherein the other Courſe was more convenient. The like Anſwer made *Juſtice Crook*. *Juſtice Houghton*, who is a ſoft Man, ſeemed deſirous, firſt, to conferr; Alleging, that the other 3. *Judges*, had all ſerved the *Crown*, before they were *Iudges*, but that he had not been much acquainted, with Buſineſs, of this Nature.

We purpoſe therefore, forthwith, they ſhall be made acquainted with the *Papers*; And if that could be done, as ſuddainly, as this was, I ſhould make ſmall doubt of their Opinions: And howſoever, I hope, Force of Law, and Preſident, will bind them to the Truth: Neither am I wholly out of hope, that my *Lord Cooke* himſelf, when I have, in ſome dark manner, put him in doubt, that he ſhall be left alone, will not continue ſingular.

For *Owen*, I know not the reaſon, why there ſhould have been no Mention made thereof, in the laſt Advertiſement: For I muſt ſay for my Self, that I have loſt no moment of Time in it, as my *Lord of Canterbury* can bear me witneſs. For having received, from my *Lord*, an *Additional*, of great Importance; which was, that *Owen*, of his own Accord, after Examination, ſhould compare the Caſe of your *Majeſty*, (if you were *Excommunicate*,) to the Caſe, of a Priſoner, Condemned at the Barr; which *Additional* was ſubſcribed by one Witneſs; but yet I perceived it was ſpoken aloud, and in the Hearing of others; I preſently ſent down a Copy thereof, which is now come up, atteſted with the Hands, of 3. more, leſt there ſhould have been, any Scruple, of *Singularis Teſtis*; So as for this Caſe, I may ſay, *Omnia parata*; And we expect, but a Direction, from your *Majeſty*, for the Acquainting the *Iudges* ſeverally; Or the 4. *Iudges*, of the *Kings Bench*, as your *Majeſty* ſhall think good.

I forget not, nor forſlow not, your *Majeſties* Commandement, touching *Recuſants*; Of which, when it is ripe, I will give your *Majeſty*, a true Account, and what is poſſible to be done, and where the Impediment is. Mr. *Secretary*, bringeth *Bonam Voluntatem*, but he is not verſed much, in theſe things; And ſometimes urgeth the *Concluſion*, without the *premiſes*, and by haſte hindreth. It is my *Lord Treaſurer*, and the *Exchequer*, muſt help it, if it be holpen. I have heard more wayes than one, of an offer of 20000 *l. per Annum*, for farming, the Penalties of Recuſants, not including any Offence *Capital*, or of *Premunire*; wherein I will preſume to ſay, that my poor Endeavours, ſince I was, by your great, and ſole grace, your *Atturney*, have been no ſmall Spurrs, to make them feel your *Laws*, and ſeek this *Redemption*; Wherein, I muſt alſo ſay, my *Lord Cooke* hath done his part: And I doe aſſure your *Majeſty*, I know it, ſomewhat inwardly, and groundedly, that by the Courſes we have taken, they conform daily, and in great Numbers; And I would to *God*, it were as well a *Converſion*, as a *Conformity*;

But if it ſhould die, by Diſpenſation, or Diſſimulation, then I fear, that whereas your *Majeſty*, hath now, ſo many ill Subjects, poor, and detected, you ſhall then have them, rich and diſſembled. And therefore, I hold this offer, very conſiderable, of ſo great an Increaſe, of *Revenew*; If it can paſs, the *fiery Trial*, of *Religion*, and *Honour*; which I wiſh, all *Projects* may paſs.

Thus, in as much, as I have made to your *Majeſty*, ſomewhat a naked, and particular account, of Buſineſs, I hope your *Majeſty*, will uſe it accordingly. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted *Subject*, and *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *reporting the State, of my* Lord Chancellers *Health.* Jan. 29. 1614.

*It may pleaſe your excellent* Majeſty,

BEcauſe I know your *Majeſty*, would be glad, to hear, how it is, with my *Lord Chancellor*; And that it pleaſed him, out of his antient and great Love, to me; which, many times, in Sickneſs, appeareth moſt; To admit me, to a great deal of Speech, with him, this afternoon; which, during theſe three dayes, he hath ſcarcely done to any; I thought it mought be pleaſing to your *Majeſty*, to certify you, how I found him. I found him in bed, but his Spirits freſh, and good, ſpeaking ſtoutly, and without being ſpent, or weary; And both willing, and Beginning of himſelf, to ſpeak, but wholly of your *Majeſties* Buſineſs. Wherein I cannot forget, to relate, this particular; That he wiſhed, that his Sentencing of *I. S.* at the day appointed, mought be his laſt Work, to conclude his Services, and expreſs his Affection, towards your *Majeſty*. I told him, I knew your *Majeſty*, would be very deſirous, of his Preſence, that day, So it mought be, without prejudice; But otherwiſe, your *Majeſty*, eſteemed a *Servant*, more than a *Service*; ſpecially ſuch a *Servant*. Not to trouble your *Majeſty*; Though good Spirits, in Sickneſs, be uncertain Kalenders, yet I have very good Comfort of him, and I hope by that day, &c.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *giving him an Account of* Peachams *Buſineſs, and ſome others*, Jan. 31. 1614.

*It may pleaſe your excellent* Majeſty,

I Received, this Morning, by Mr. *Murray*, a Meſſage, from your *Majeſty*, of ſome warrant, and confidence, that I ſhould advertiſe your *Majeſty*, of your buſineſs, wherein I had part. Wherein, I am firſt, humbly, to thank your *Majeſty*, for your good acceptation, of my Endeavours, and Service; which I am not able to furniſh, with any other Quality, ſave Faith, and Diligence.

For *Peachams* Caſe, I have, ſince my laſt Letter, been with my Lord *Cooke*, twice; Once before Mr. *Secretaries* going down, to your *Majeſty*; And once ſince, which was yeſterday: At the Former; of which times, I delivered him *Peachams papers*; And at this Latter, the *Preſidents*, which I had, with care, gathered, and ſelected: For theſe Degrees, and order, the Buſineſs required.

At the former, I told him, that he knew my Errand, which ſtood upon two points: The one to inform him, of the particular Caſe, of *Peachams Treaſons*; (For I never give it, other word, to him;) The other, to receive his Opinion, to my Self, and in ſecret, according to my Commiſſion, from your *Majeſty*.

At the former time, he fell, upon the ſame Allegation, which he had begun, at the *Council Table*; that *Iudges*, were not to give Opinion, by Fractions, but entirely, according to the Vote, whereupon they ſhould ſettle, upon conference: And that, this *Auricular* Taking of Opinions, ſingle, and apart, was new, and dangerous; And other words, more vehement, than I repeat.

I replyed, in Civil, and plain, Terms; That I wiſht his *Lordſhip*, in my love to him, to think better of it; For that this, that his *Lordſhip* was pleaſed, to put into great Words, ſeemed to me, and my Fellows, when we ſpake of it, amongſt our ſelves, a reaſonable, and familiar Matter, For a *King* to conſult with his *Iudges*, either aſſembled, or ſelected; or one, by one. And then, to give him a little Outlet, to ſave his firſt Opinion, (wherewith he is moſt commonly in love,) I added, that *Iudges*, ſome times, might make a Sute, to be ſpared, for their Opinion, till they had ſpoken with their *Brethren*; But, if the *King*, upon his own Princely Judgement, for Reaſon of *Eſtate*, ſhould think it fit, to have it otherwiſe, and ſhould ſo demand it, there was no declining: Nay, that it touched, upon a Violation, of their *Oath*, which was, to counſel the *King*, without Diſtinction, whether it were joyntly, or ſeverally. Thereupon, I put him the Caſe, of the *Privy Council*; As if your *Majeſty*, ſhould be pleaſed, to command any of

of them, to deliver their Opinion, apart, and in private; whether it were a good Answer, to deny it, otherwise, than if it were propounded, at the Table. To this he said, That the Cases were not alike, because this concern'd Life. To which I replyed, That Questions of *Estate*, mought concern Thousands of Lives; and many Things more precious, than the Life, of a particular; As *Warr*, and *Peace*, and the like.

To conclude, his *Lordship*, *tanquam Exitum quærens*, desired me, for the time, to leave with him, the *Papers*, without pressing him, to consent, to deliver a private Opinion, till he had perused them. I said, I would; And the more willingly, because I thought his *Lordship*, upon due consideration, of the *Papers*, would finde the Case, to be so clear a Case, of *Treason*, as he would make no difficulty, to deliver his Opinion, in private; And so I was perswaded, of the rest, of the *Iudges*, of the *Kings Bench*; who likewise, (as I partly understood,) made no Scruple, to deliver their Opinion, in private. Whereunto he said, (which I noted well,) That his Brethren were wise Men; And that, they might make a shew, as if they would give an Opinion, as was required; But the end would be, that it would come to this; They would say, they doubted of it, and so pray advice, with the rest. But to this I answered, that I was sorry, to hear him say so much, lest, if it came so to pass, some that loved him not, might make a Construction, that that, which he had foretold, he had wrought. Thus your *Majesty* see's, that as *Solomon* saith; *Gressus nolentis tanquam in Sepi spinarum*; It catcheth upon every Thing.

The latter Meeting, is yet, of more Importance; For then, comming armed, with divers presidents, I thought, to set in, with the best strength, I could, and said; That before I descended, to the Record, I would break the *Case*, to him thus. That it was true, we were to proceed, upon the antient *Statute* of *King Edward the* 3. because other *Temporary Statutes* were gone; And therefore, it must be said in the *Indictment*; *Imaginatus est, et Compassavit, Mortem, et finalem Destructionem, Domini Regis*: Then must the particular *Treasons* follow in this manner; viz. *Et quod, ad perimplendum nefandum Propositum suum, composuit, & conscripsit, quendam detestabilem, et venenosum libellum, sive scriptum, in quo inter alia proditoria, continetur*, &c. And then the principal passages of *Treason*, taken forth of the *Papers*, are to be entred, *in hæc Verba*; And with a Conclusion, in the End; *Ad Intentionem, quod Ligeus Populus, et Veri Subditi, Domini Regis, cordialem suum amorem, a Domino Rege retraherent, et ipsum Dominum Regem relinquerent, & Guerram, et Insurrectionem, contra eum, levarent, et facerent*, &c. I have, in this former, followed the antient Stile, of the *Indictments*, for brevity sake, though when we come to the Business it self, we shall enlarge it, according to the use of the later times. This I represented to him, (being a thing he is well acquainted with,) that he might perceive, the Plat-

Platform of that was intended, without any Miſtaking, or Obſcurity. But then I fell to the matter it ſelf, to lock him in, as much as I could, *viz.*

That there be 4. Means or manners, whereby the *Death* of the *King*, is compaſſed, and imagined.

The firſt, by ſome particular *Fact*, or *Plot*.

The ſecond, by *Diſabling* his *Title*; As by affirming, that he is not *lawfull King*; Or that another ought to be *King*; Or that hee is an *Vſurper*; Or a *Baſtard*; Or the like.

The third, by *Subjecting* his *Title*, to the *Pope*; and thereby Making him, of an *Abſolute King*, a *Conditional King*.

The fourth, by *Diſabling* his *Regiment*, and making him appear, to be incapable, or indign, to reign.

Theſe things, I relate to your *Majeſty*, in ſumm, as is fit; which when, I opened to my *Lord*; I did inſiſt a little more upon, with more efficacy and edge, and Authority of *Law*, and *Record*, than I can now expreſs.

Then I placed *Peachams Treaſon*, within the laſt Diviſion, agreeable to divers preſidents, whereof I had the *Records* ready; And concluded, that your *Majeſties* Safety, and Life, and Authority, was thus by Law inſcanſed, and quartered; And that it was in vain, to fortify, on Three of the ſides, and ſo leave you open on the Fourth.

It is true, he heard me, in a grave faſhion, more than accuſtomed, and took a Pen, and took notes of my Diviſions; And when he read the *Preſidents*, and *Records*, would ſay; This you mean falleth within your firſt, or your ſecond, Diviſion. In the end, I expreſly demanded his Opinion, as that, whereto both he, and I was enjoyned. But he deſired me, to leave the *Preſidents*, with him, that he might adviſe upon them. I told him, the reſt of my *Fellows*, would diſpatch their part, and I ſhould be behinde with mine; which I perſwaded my Self, your *Majeſty* would impute, rather to his Backwardneſs, than my Negligence. He ſaid, as ſoon as I ſhould underſtand, that the reſt were ready, he would not be long after, with his Opinion.

For *I. S.* your *Majeſty* knoweth, the day draweth on; And my *Lord Chancellers* Recovery, the Seaſon, and his Age, promiſing, not to be too haſty. I ſpake with him, on *Sunday*, at what time, I found him in Bed, but his Spirits ſtrong, and not ſpent, or wearied; And ſpake wholly of your Buſineſs, leading me from one Matter, to another. And wiſhed, and ſeemed to hope, that hee might attend the day, for *I. S.* and it were, (as he ſaid,) to be his laſt work, to conclude his Services, and expreſs his Affection, towards your *Majeſty*. I preſumed to ſay to him, that I knew your *Majeſty*, would be exceeding deſirous, of his being preſent that day,

ſo

ſo as that it mought be, without prejudice, to his continuance; But that, otherwiſe, your *Majeſtie* eſteemed a *Servant*, more than a *Service*; eſpecially ſuch a *Servant*. Surely, in mine Opinion, your *Majeſty* were better, put off the day, than want his preſence, conſidering the Cauſe of the putting off, is ſo notorious; And then the *Capital*, and the *Criminal*, may come together, the next *Term*.

I have not been unprofitable, in helping to diſcover, and examine, within theſe few dayes, a late *Patent*, by Surreption obtained from your *Majeſty*, of the greateſt *Foreſt*, in *England*, worth 30000 *l.* under Colour, of a Defective Title, for a matter of 400 *l.* The Perſon muſt be named, becauſe the *Patent*, muſt be queſtioned. It is a great Perſon, my *Lord of Shrewsbury*; Or rather, (as I think,) a greater than he, which is my *Lady of Shrewsbury*. But I humbly pray your *Majeſty*, to know this firſt, from my *Lord Treaſurer*; who, methinks, groweth even ſtudious, in your Buſineſs. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties* moſt humble and devoted, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

*The rather, in regard of Mr.* Murray's *Abſence, I humbly pray your* Majeſty, *to have a little regard, to this* Letter.

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## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *touching my* Lord Chancellers *Amendment, and the putting off, of* J. S. *his* Cauſe, February 7. 1614.

*It may pleaſe your excellent* Majeſty,

MY *Lord Chancellor*, ſent for me, to ſpeak with me, this Morning, about 8. of the clock. I perceive, he hath now, that *Signum Sanitatis*, as to feel better his former weakneſs. For it is true, I did a little miſtruſt, that it was but a *Boutade*, of Deſire, and good Spirit, when he promiſed himſelf, ſtrength for Friday, though I was wonn, and carried with it. But now, I finde him, well inclined, to uſe, (ſhould I ſay) your *Liberty*, or rather your *Interdict*, ſignifyed by Mr. *Secretary*, from your *Majeſty*. His *Lordſhip*, ſhewed me alſo, your own *Letter*, whereof he had told me before, but had not ſhewed it me. What ſhall I ſay? I doe much admire, your Goodneſs, for writing ſuch a *Letter*, at ſuch a time.

He had ſent alſo, to my *Lord Treaſurer*, to deſire him, to come to him about that time. His *Lordſhip* came; And, not to trouble your

your *Majeſty*, with circumſtances, both their *Lordſhips* concluded, my Self preſent, and concurring; That it could be no prejudice, to your *Majeſties* Service, to put off the day, for I. S. till the next *Term*. The rather, becauſe there are Seven, of your *Privy Council*, which are at leaſt, Numerus', and part of the Court, which are by Infirmity, like to be abſent; That is, my Lord *Chanceller*, my Lord *Admiral*, my Lord of *Shrewsbury*, my Lord of *Exceter*, my Lord *Zouch*, my Lord *Stanhope*, and Mr. *Chanceller* of the *Dutchy*: wherefore they agreed, to hold a Council, too morrow, in the afternoon, for that purpoſe.

It is true, that I was alwayes of Opinion, that it was no time loſt; And I doe think ſo, the rather, becauſe I could be content, that the Matter of *Peacham*, were firſt ſetled, and put to a point. For there be, perchance, that would make the Example upon I.S. to ſtand for all. For *Peacham*, I expect, ſome account, from my *Fellows*, this day. If it ſhould fall out otherwiſe, then, I hope, it may not, be left ſo. Your *Majeſty*, in your laſt *Letter*, very wiſely, put in a Disjunctive, that the *Iudges*, ſhould deliver an Opinion, privately, either to my Lord *Chanceller*, or to our Selves, diſtributed: His Sickneſs, made the later way, to be taken: But the other may be reſerved, with ſome Accommodating, when we ſee, the ſucceſs of the Former.

I am appointed, this day, to attend my Lord *Treaſurer*, for a Propoſition, of Raiſing Profit, and Revenew, by *Infranchiſing Copyholders*. I am right glad, to ſee the *Patrimonial* part of your Revenew, well look'd into, as well as the *Fiſcal*. And I hope it will ſo be, in other parts, as well as this. *God* preſerve your *Majeſtie*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

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## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *of account, of* Owens *Cauſe, &c.* 11 February, 1614.

*It may pleaſe your excellent* Majeſty,

MY Self, with the reſt, of your *Counſel Learned*, confered with my *Lord Cooke*, and the reſt of the *Iudges*, of the *Kings Bench*, onely, being met at my *Lord's* Chamber, concerning the buſineſs of *Owen*. For although it be true, that your *Maieſty*, in your *Letter*, did mention, that the ſame Courſe, might be held, in the Taking of Opinions, apart, in this, which was preſcribed, and uſed, in *Peachams* Cauſe; yet both my *Lord's* of the *Council*, and we amongſt our Selves, holding it, in a Caſe ſo clear, not needfull; But rather that it would import, a diffidence in us, and deprive us, of the means, to debate it, with the *Iudges*, (if cauſe were) more ſtrong-

ly, (which is ſomewhat,) we thought beſt, rather to uſe this Form.

The *Judges* deſired us, to leave the *Examinations*, and *Papers*, with them, for ſome little time, to conſider, (which is a thing they uſe;) But, I conceive, there will be, no manner of Queſtion, made of it. My *Lord Chief Juſtice*, to ſhew forwardneſs, (as I interpret it,) ſhewed us paſſages of *Suarez*, and others, thereby to prove, that though your *Majeſty*, ſtood not Excommunicate, by particular Sentence, yet by the General *Bulls*, of *Cœna Domini*, and others, you were, upon the matter, Excommunicate; And therefore, that the *Treaſon* was, as *De præſenti*. But I, that foreſee, that if that Courſe ſhould be held, when it commeth to a publick day, to diſſeminate to the Vulgar, an Opinion, that your *Majeſties* Caſe is all one, as if you were *de Facto*, particularly, and expreſly, *Excommunicate*, it would but encreaſe, the danger of your Perſon, with thoſe, that are Deſperate Papiſts; And that it is needleſs; Commended my *Lords* Diligence, but withall, put it by; And fell upon the other Courſe, (which is the true way;) That is, that whoſoever ſhall affirm, *in Diem*, or *ſub Conditione*, that your *Majeſty*, may be deſtroyed, is a *Traytor*, *de præſenti*; For that, he maketh you, but Tennant for Life, at the will of another. And I put, the *Duke* of *Buckinghams* Caſe, who ſaid; That if the *King, cauſed him to be arreſted, of Treaſon, he would ſtab him*; And the Caſe, of the *Impoſtureſs*, *Elizabeth Barton*, that ſaid, *That if King Henry the* 8. *took not his Wife again, Katharine Dowager, he ſhould be no longer King*; And the like.

It may be, theſe particulars, are not worth the Relating. But becauſe, I find nothing in the World, ſo important to your Service, as to have you throughly informed, (the Ability of your Direction conſidered,) it maketh me thus to doe; Moſt humbly praying your *Majeſty*, to admoniſh me, if I be over-troubleſom.

For *Peacham*, the reſt of my Fellowes, are ready, to make their *Report*, to your *Majeſty*, at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as your *Majeſty* ſhall require it. My Self yeſterday, took my Lord *Cooke* aſide, after the reſt were gone, and told him, all the reſt were ready, and I was now to require, his *Lordſhips* Opinion, according to my Commiſſion. He ſaid, I ſhould have it; And repeated that, twice, or thrice, as thinking he had gone too farr, in that kinde of Negative, (to deliver any Opiuion apart,) before; And ſaid, he would tell it me, within a very ſhort time, though he were not that inſtant ready. I have toſſed this Buſineſs, in *omnes partes*, whereof I will give your *Majeſty* knowledge, when time ſerveth. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted,
*Subject*, and *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *about a Certificate, of my* Lord Cooke. Feb. 14. 1614.

*It may please your excellent* Majesty,

I Send your *Majesty*, enclosed, my *Lord Cookes Answers*. I will not call them *Rescripts*; Much less *Oracles*. They are of his own hand, and offered to me, as they are, in writing, though I am glad of it, for mine own Discharge. I thought it my duty, as soon as I received them, instantly, to send them to your *Majesty*; And forbear, for the present, to speak further of them. I, for my part, (though this *Muscovia weather*, be a little too hard, for my *Constitution*;) was ready, to have waited, upon your *Majesty*, this day, all respects set aside; But my *Lord Treasurer*, in respect of the season, and much other Business, was willing to save me. I will only conclude, touching these Papers, with a *Text*, Divided, I can not say; *Oportet isthæc fieri*; But I may say; *Finis autem nondum*. *God* preserve your *Majesty*.

Your *Majesties*, most humble, and devoted *Subject*, and *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *touching Matter, of his* Revenew, *and* Profit. April 25. 1615.

*It may please your* Majesty,

I May remember, what *Tacitus* saith, by occasion, that *Tiberius*, was often, and long, absent, from *Rome*; *In Vrbe, et parvâ, et magnâ, Negotia, Imperatorem simul premunt*; But saith He, *In recessu, dimissis rebus, minoris momenti, summæ rerum magnarum magis agitantur*. This maketh me think, it shall be no Incivility, to trouble your *Majesty*, with business, during your aboad from *London*; Knowing, that your *Majesties* Meditations, are the principal wheel, of your Estate; And being warranted, from a former Commandement, which I received from you.

I doe now, onely send your *Majesty*, these *Papers* enclosed; because I doe greatly desire, so farr forth, to preserve my credit with you, as thus; That whereas lately, (perhaps, out of too much Desire, which induceth too much beleef,) I was bold to say, that I thought it as easie for your *Majesty*, to come out of Want, as to goe forth of your *Gallery*; your *Majesty*, would not take me, for a Dreamer, or a Projectour; I send your *Majesty* therefore, some Grounds of my Hopes. And for that *Paper*, which I have gathered, of *Increasments sperate*, I beseech you, to give me leave, to think,

that if any of the particulars, doe fail, it will be rather, for want of *workmanſhip*, in thoſe that ſhall deal in them, than want of *Materials*, in the Things themſelves. The other *Paper*, hath many Diſcarding Cards; And I ſend it chiefly, that your *Majeſty*, may be the leſs ſurprized, by *Projectors*; who pretend, ſometimes, great Diſcoveries, and Inventions in Things, that have been propounded, and, perhaps, after a better faſhion, long ſince. *God* Almighty preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your Majeſties, moſt humble, and devoted, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

## A Letter, to the King, reporting the Day of Hearing, of I. S. his Cauſe, in the Starre-Chamber. 29 April 1615.

*It may pleaſe your excellent* Majeſty,

I. S. his Day is paſt, and well paſt. I hold it to be *Janus Bifrons*; It hath a good Aſpect, to that which is paſt; And to the Future: And doth both ſatisfie, and prepare. All did well: My *Lord Chief Juſtice*, delivered the Law, for the *Benevolence*, ſtrongly; I would he had done it timely. Mr. *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer* ſpake finely, ſomewhat after the manner, of my late Lord *Privy Seal*; Not all out ſo ſharply, but as elegantly. Sir *Thomas Lake*, (who is alſo new, in that *Court*,) did very well, familiarly, and Counſeller-like. My Lord of *Pembroke*, (who is likewiſe a ſtranger there,) did extraordinarily well, and became himſelf well, and had an evident Applauſe. I meant well alſo; And becauſe my *Information*, was the Ground; having ſpoken out of a few Heads, which I had gathered; (For I ſeldom doe more,) I ſet down, as ſoon, as I came home, curſorily, a Frame of that, I had ſaid; Though I perſwade my ſelf, I ſpake it, with more life. I have ſent it to Mr. *Murray*, ſealed; If your *Majeſty*, have ſo much idle time, to look upon it, it may give ſome light, of the Dayes work: But I moſt humbly pray your *Majeſty*, to pardon the Errours. *God* preſerve you ever.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble *Subject*, and devoted *Servant*.

A

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *concerning the* New Company: August 12. 1615.

*It may please your most excellent* Majesty,

YOur *Majesty*, shall shortly receive *the Bill*, for the *Incorporation*, of the *New Company*; together with *a Bill*, for the *Privy Seal*, being a Dependancy thereof. For this Morning, I subscribed, and docketted, them both. I think it therefore now time, to represent to your *Majesties* high wisdom, that which I conceive, and have had long in my minde, concerning your *Majesties* service, and honourable profit in this Business.

This *Project*, which hath proceeded, from a worthy Service, of the *Lord Treasurer*, I have, from the beginning, constantly affected; As may well appear, by my sundry Labours, from time to time, in the same. For I hold it, a worthy character, of your *Majesties Reign*, and *Times*; Insomuch, as though your *Majesty*, mought have, at this time, (as is spoken,) a great Annual Benefit, for the Quitting of it, yet I shall never be the Man, that should wish your *Majesty*, to deprive your Self, of that *Beatitude*; *Beatius est dare, quam accipere*; In this cause; But to sacrifice your profit, (though as your *Majesties* State is, it be precious to you,) to so great a Good of your *Kingdom*: Although this *Project*, is not without a Profit, immediate, unto you, by the encreasing of *Customes*, upon the *materials*, of *Dyes*.

But here is the Case. The *New Company*, by this *Patent*, and *Privy Seal*, are to have two Things, wholly diverse, from the first Intention; Or rather, *Ex Diametro*, opposite unto the same; which nevertheless, they must, of necessity have, or else the *Work* is overthrown. So as I may call them *Mala Necessaria*, but yet withall *Temporarie*. For, as Men make Warr, to have Peace, so these *Merchants*, must have license, for *whites*, to the end, to banish *whites*; And they must have license, to use *Teyntours*, to the end to banish *Teyntours*.

This is therefore that I say; your *Majesty*, upon these two points, may justly, and with honour, and with preservation of your first Intention, inviolate, demand Profit in the Interim, as long as these unnatural points continue, and then to cease: For your *Majesty*, may be pleased to observe, that they are to have all the *Old Companies* Profit, by the *Trade* of *whites*; They are, again to have, upon the proportion of *Cloathes*, which they shall vent, died, and dressed, the *Flemmings* profit, upon the *Teyntour*. Now then I say; As it had been, too good Husbandry, for a *King*, to have taken profit of them, if the Project could have been effected at once, (as was voiced;) So on the other side, it might be, perchance, too little

tle Husbandry, and Providence, to take nothing of them, for that, which is meerly lucrative to them, in the mean time. Nay, I say further, this will greatly conduce, and be a kinde of Security, to the End desired. For I alwayes feared, and doe yet fear, that when Men, by condition *Merchants*, though never so honest, have gotten into their Hands, the *Trade* of *Whites*, and the *Dispensation* to *Teyntour*; wherein they shall reap profit, for that, which they never sowed; But have gotten themselves Certainties, in respect of the States hopes; They are like enough, to sleep upon this, as upon a Pillow; And to make no haste, to goe on with the rest. And though it may be said, that that is a thing, will easily appear to the State, yet, (no doubt,) means may be devised, and found, to draw the Business in length. So that I conclude, that if your *Majesty*, take a profit of them, in the *Interim*, (considering you refuse profit, from the *Old Company*,) it will be both Spurr, and Bridle, to them, to make them Pace aright, to your *Majesties* End.

This in all humblenes, according to my vowed Care, and Fidelity, being no Mans Man, but your *Majesties*, I present, leave, and submit, to yonr *Majesties* better Judgement; And I could wish, your *Majesty* would speak, with Sir *Thomas Lake* in it; who, besides his good Habit, which he hath in business, beareth, (methinks,) an indifferent Hand in this particular; And (if it please your *Majesty*,) it may proceed, as from your Self, and not as a Motion, or Observation, of mine.

Your *Majesty*, need not, in this, to be streightned in time; As if this must be demanded, or treated, before you sign their *Bill*. For I, foreseeing this, and foreseeing, that many things mought fall out, which I could not foresee, have handled it so, as with their good Contentment, there is a *Power* of *Revocation*, inserted into their *Patent*. And so commending your *Majesty*, to *Gods* blessed, and precious Custody; I rest,

Your *Majesties*, most humble, and devoted,
*Subject*, and *Servant*.

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## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *touching* Ropers *place*. January 22. 1615.

SIR, Sending to the *King*, upon Occasion, I would not fail, to salute you, by my *Letter*; which, that it may be more than two lines, I add this for News; That as I was sitting, by my Lord *Chief Justice*, upon the *Commission*, for the Indicting, of the *Great Person*; One of the *Iudges* asked Him, whether *Roper* were dead? He

He ſaid, He, for his part, knew not; Another of the *Judges* anſwered; It ſhould concern you, my *Lord*, to know it. Whereupon he turned his Speech to me, and ſaid; No, Mr. *Atturney*, I will not wraſtle, now in my latter times. My *Lord*, (ſaid I,) you ſpeak like a wiſe Man. Well, (ſaith he,) they have had no luck with it, that have had it. I ſaid again, *Thoſe dayes be paſt*. Here you have the *Dialogue*, to make you merry. But in ſadneſs, I was glad to perceive he meant not to conteſt. I can but honour, and love you, and reſt,

Your aſſured Friend and
Servant.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *adviſing, how to break off, with the New Company.* February 3. 1615.

*It may pleaſe your excellent* Majeſty,

I Spake, yeſternight, long, with my *Lord Cooke*; And for the *Rege inconſulto*, I conceive by him, it will be, *An amplius deliberandum cenſeo*, (as I thought at firſt,) ſo as, for the preſent, your *Majeſty*, ſhall not need, to renew your Commandement of Stay. I ſpake with him, alſo, about ſome Propoſitions, concerning your *Majeſties* caſual Revenew; wherein, I found him, to conſent with me, fully; Aſſuming, nevertheleſs, that he had thought of them before: But it is one Thing, to have the Vapour of a Thought; Another, to digeſt Buſineſs aright. He, on his part, imparted to me, diverſe Things, of great weight, concerning the Reparatton, of your *Majeſties* Means, and *Finances*, which I heard gladly; Inſomuch, as he perceiving the ſame, I think, was the readier, to open himſelf to me, in one Circumſtance, which he did much inculcate. I concurr fully with him, that they are to be held ſecret: For I never ſaw, but that Buſineſs, is like a Child, which is framed inviſibly in the Wombe; And if it come forth too ſoon, it will be abortive. I know, in moſt of them, the Proſecution muſt reſt, much, upon my Self. But I, that had the Power, to prevail, in the *Farmers* Caſe, of the *French wines*, without the help, of my Lord *Cooke*, ſhall be better able, to goe through theſe, with his help, the ground being no leſs juſt. And this I ſhall ever add of mine own, that I ſhall ever reſpect your *Majeſties* Honour, no leſs than your Profit; And ſhall alſo take care, according to my penſive manner, that that, which is good, for the preſent, have not in it, hidden Seeds of future Inconveniences.

The Matter, of the *New Company*, was referred, to me by the *Lords*, of the *Privy Council*; wherein, after ſome private Speech, with Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, I made that *Report*, which I held, moſt agreeable to Truth, and your *Maieſties* Service. If this *New Company*,

*pany*, break, it muſt either, be put upon the *Patent*, or upon the *Order*, made by themſelves. For the *Patent*, I ſatisfied the *Board*, that there was no Title in it, which was not, either *Verbatim*, in the *Patent*, of the *Old Company*; Or by ſpecial warrant, from the *Table*, inſerted. My *Lord Cooke*, with much reſpect to me, acknowledged, but diſliked the *Old Patent* it ſelf, and diſclaimed, his being at the *Table*, when the Additions were allowed. But, in my Opinion, (howſoever my *Lord Cooke*, to magnify his Science in *Law*, draweth every thing, (though ſometimes unproperly, and unſeaſonably,) to that kinde of Queſtion,) it is not convenient, to break the Buſineſs, upon thoſe Points. For conſidering, they were but Clauſes, that were in the former *Patents*, and in many other *Patents*, of *Companies*; And that the *Additions*, likewiſe, paſſed the Allowance, of the *Table*, it will be, but clamoured, and, perhaps, conceived, that to quarrel them now, is but an Occaſion taken; And that the *Times* are changed, rather than the *Matter*. But that, which preſerveth entire your *Majeſties* Honour, and the Conſtancy of your Proceedings, is to put the Breach, upon their *Orders*.

For this Light, I gave in my *Report*, which the *Table* readily apprehended, and much approved; That if the *Table*, reject their *Orders*, as unlawfull, and unjuſt, it doth free you, from their Contract: For whoſoever contracteth, or undertaketh any thing, is alwayes underſtood, to perform it, by lawfull means; So as, they have plainly abuſed the State; if that which they have undertaken, be either impoſſible, or unjuſt.

I am bold, to preſent this Conſideration, to that excellent Faculty, of your *Majeſties* Judgement; becauſe, I think, it importeth that future Good, which may grow to your *Majeſty*, in the cloſe, of this Buſineſs; That the Falling off, be without all Exception. *God* have you in his precious Cuſtody.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and bounden,
*Subject*, and *Servant*.

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## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *touching the* Lord Chancellers *Sickneſs.* Feb. 9. 1615.

*It may pleaſe your moſt excellent* Majeſty,

I Am glad, to underſtand, by Mr. *Murray*, that your *Majeſty*, accepteth well, of my poor Endeavours, in opening unto you, the paſſages of your Service; That Buſineſs may come the leſs crude, and the more prepared, to your *Royal Judgement*; the perfection whereof, as I cannot expect, they ſhould ſatisfy, in every particular,

cular, so I hope, through my Assiduity, there will result a good *Total*.

My *Lord Chancellers* Sickness, falleth out, *duro Tempore*. I have alwaies known him, a wise Man, and of just Elevation, for *Monarchy*: But your *Majesties* service must not be Mortal. And if you leese him, as your *Majesty* hath, now of late, purchased many Hearts, by depressing the *wicked*: So *God*, doth minister unto you, a Counterpart, to doe the like, by raising the *Honest*. *God* evermore preserve your *Majesty*.

Your *Majesties*, most humble *Subject*,
and bounden *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *of my Lord* Chancellers *Amendment, and the Difference begun, between the* Chancery, *and* Kings Bench, *Feb.* 15. 1615.

*It may please your excellent* Majesty,

I Doe find, (*God* be thanked,) a sensible Amendment, in my *Lord Chanceller*. I was with him yesterday in private conference, about half an Hour: And this day again, at such time, as he did seal, which he endured well, almost the space of an Hour, though the Vapour of Wax, be offensive to him. He is free from a *Feaver*, Perfect in his powers, of *Memory*, and *Speech*; And not hollow, in his *Voice*, nor *Look*; He hath no panting, or labouring, *Respiration*; Neither are his *Coughs* dry, or weak: But whosoever thinketh, his Disease is but *Melancholy*, he maketh no true Judgement of it; For it is, plainly, a formed, and deep *Cough*, with a *Pectoral surcharge*; So that, at times, he doth almost, *Animam agere*. I forbear, to advertise your *Majesty*, of the Care I took, to have Commissions in readiness, because Mr. *Secretary Lake*, hath let me understand, he signifyed as much, to your *Majesty*: But, I hope, there shall be no use, for them, at this time. And, as I am glad, to advertise your *Majesty*, of the Amendment, of your *Chancellers Person*; So I am sorry, to accompany it, with an Advertisement, of the Sickness, of your *Chancery Court*, though, (by the Grace of *God*,) that Cure will be much easier, than the other. It is true, I did lately write to your *Majesty*, that for the Matter, of the *Habeas Corpora*, (which was the third Matter in *Law*, you had given me in charge;) I did think, the Communion in Service, between my Lord *Chanceller*, and my Lord *Chief Justice*, in the great Business of *Examination*, would so joyn them, as they would not square, at this time; But pardon me, (I humbly pray your *Majesty*,) if I have too Reasonable Thoughts.

And yet, that which happened, the last day, of the Term, concerning certain *Indictments*, in the Nature of *Premunire*, preferred into the *Kings Bench*, but not found; Is not so much, as is voiced abroad; (though I must say, it is *omni tempore Nimium, et hoc tempore Alienum*;) And therefore, I beseech your *Majesty*, not to give any Beleeving Ear, to Reports, but to receive the Truth, from me, that am your *Atturney General*, and ought to stand indifferent, for *Jurisdictions*, of all *Courts*; which Account, I cannot give your *Majesty* now, because I was then absent; And some are now absent, which are properly, and authentically, to inform me, touching that which passed. Neither let this, any wayes, disjoynt, your other Business; For there is a time, for all things; And this very Accident, may be turned, to Good. Not that I am of Opinion, that that same Cunning Maxim, of *Separa, & Impera*, which sometimes holdeth in *Persons*, can well take place in *Jurisdictions*; But because, some good Occasion, by this Excess, may be taken, to settle that, which would have been more dangerous, if it had gone out, by little and little. *God* ever preserve your *Majesty*.

Your Majesties, most humble *Subject*, and most bounden *Servant*.

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## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *touching the* Difference, *between the* Court of Chancery, *and the* Kings Bench. Febr. 19. 1615.

SIR, I received, this Morning, from you, two *Letters*, by the same Bearer; The one written before, the other, after his *Majesty* had received my last.

In this *Difference*, between the two Courts, of *Chancery*, and *Kings Bench*; (For so I had rather take it, for this Time, than between the Persons, of my Lord *Chancellor*, and my Lord *Chief Justice*,) I marvail not, if Rumour get way, of true Relation. For I know *Fame* hath *swift wings*; Specially that, which hath *black Feathers*: But within these two dayes, (For sooner I cannot be ready,) I will write unto his *Majesty*, both the Narrative truly, and my Opinion sincerely; Taking much comfort, that I serve such a *King*, as hath *Gods* Property, in discerning truly, of Mens Hearts. I purpose, to speak, with my Lord *Chancellor*, this day; And so to exhibite, that *Cordial*, of his *Majesties Grace*; As I hope, that other Accident, will rather rouze, and raise his Spirit, than deject him, or encline him to Relapse. Mean while, I commend the Wit, of a mean Man, that said this other day; *Well, the next Term, you shall have an old man, come with a Besom of Wormwood, in his*

*his Hand, that will ſweep away all this.* For it is, my Lord *Chancellers* Faſhion, ſpecially towards the Summer, to carry a Poſie of Wormwood. I write this Letter in Haſte, to return your Meſſenger with it. *God* keep you, and long, and happily, may you ſerve his *Majeſty*.

Your true and affectionate Servant.

Sir, *I thank you for your Inward* Letter;
*I have burned it, as you commanded.*
*But the Fire it hath kindled in me, will*
*never be extinguiſhed.*

## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *touching a Motion, to ſwear him Counſeller.* Febr. 21. 1615.

SIR, My Lord *Chancellers* Health, growing with the Dayes, and his Reſignation, being an Uncertainty, I would be glad, you went on, with my firſt Motion, my ſwearing *Privy Counſeller*. This I deſire, not ſo much, to make my Self, more ſure of the other; and to put it paſt Competition; (For herein, I reſt wholly upon the *King*, and your excellent ſelf,) But, becauſe I finde hourly, that I need this Strength, in his *Majeſties* ſervice; Both for my better warrant, and ſatisfaction of my Conſcience, that I deal not in Things, above my Vocation; And for my better Countenance, and Prevailing, where his *Majeſties* ſervice, is, under any pretext, oppoſed, I would it were diſpatched. I remember, a greater Matter than this, was diſpatched, by a Letter, from *Royſton*; which was, the Placing of the *Arch-Biſhop*, that now is: And I imagine, the King did it on purpoſe, that the Act mought appear, to be his own.

My Lord *Chancellor* told me, yeſterday, in plain Terms, that if the *King*, would ask his opinion, touching the Perſon, that he would commend, to ſucceed him, upon Death, or Diſability, he would name me, for the fitteſt Man. You may adviſe, whether uſe, may not be made, of this offer.

I ſent, a pretty while ſince, a *Paper*, to Mr. *John Murrey*; which was, indeed, a little Remembrance, of ſome Things paſt; concerning my honeſt, and faithfull Services to his *Majeſty*; Not by way of Boaſting, (from which I am farr,) but as Tokens, of my ſtudying his Service, uprightly, and carefully. If you be pleaſed, to call for the Paper, which is with Mr. *John Murrey*; And to find a fit time, that his *Maieſty*, may caſt an eye upon it, I think it will doe no Hurt: And I have written to Mr. *Murrey*, to deliver the *Paper*, if you call for it. *God* keep you in all Happineſs.

Your trueſt Servant.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *concerning the* Premunire, *in the* Kings Bench, *againſt the* Chancery. Febr. 21. 1615.

*It may pleaſe your moſt excellent* Majeſty,

I Was yeſterday, in the Afternoon, with my Lord *Chanceller*, according to your Commandement, which I received by the *Maſter of the Horſe*; And finde the *Old Man*, well comforted; Both towards *God*, and towards the World, and that ſame middle Comfort, which is Divine, and Humane, proceeding from your *Majeſty*, being *Gods Lieutenant*, on Earth, I am perſwaded, hath been a great Cauſe, that ſuch a Sickneſs, hath been portable, to ſuch an Age. I did not fail, in my Conjecture, that this *Buſineſs*, of the *Chancery*, hath ſtirred him; He ſheweth to deſpiſe it, but he is full of it; And almoſt, like a young *Duelliſt*, that findeth himſelf behind hand.

I will now, as your *Majeſty* requireth, give you a true Relation, of that which hath paſſed; Neither will I decline, your *Royal* Commandement, for delivering my Opinion alſo, though it be a tender Subject, to write on; But I, that account my Being, but as an Accident to my ſervice, will neglect no duty upon Self-Safety.

Firſt, it is neceſſary, I let your *Majeſty* know, the *Ground* of the *Difference*, between the Two *Courts*; that your *Majeſty*, may the better underſtand the *Narrative*.

There was a *Statute* made, 27 *Edw.*3. Cap. 1. which (no doubt) in the principal Intention thereof, was ordained, againſt thoſe, that ſued to *Rome*; wherein there are Words, ſomewhat general, againſt any, that *queſtioneth, or impeacheth, any Judgement, given in the Kings Courts, or in any other Court.* Vpon theſe doubtfull words (*other Courts,*) the Controverſie groweth. For the ſounder Interpretation, taketh them, to be meant, of thoſe *Courts*, which though, locally, they were not held at *Rome*, or where the *Popes* Chair was, but here within the *Realm*; yet, in their *Juriſdiction*, had their Dependance, upon the Court of *Rome*; As were the *Court* of the *Legate here*, and the *Courts* of the *Arch-Biſhops*, and *Biſhops*, which were then, but ſubordinate Judgement Seats, to that high *Tribunal* of *Rome*. And for this Conſtruction, the Oppoſition of the Words (if they be well obſerved) between the *Kings Courts*, and *other Courts*, maketh very much: For it importeth, as if thoſe other *Courts*, were not the *Kings Courts*. Alſo, the main Scope of the *Statute*, fortifieth the ſame: And laſtly, the Practice of many Ages. The other *Interpretation*, (which cleaveth to the *Letter*,) expoundeth *the Kings Courts*, to be *the Courts of Law*, only, and *other Courts*, to be *Courts of Equity*, as the *Chancery*, *Exchequer-chamber*, *Dutchy*, &c. Though this alſo flyeth, indeed, from the *Letter*, for that all theſe, are the *Kings Courts*.

There

There is also another *Statute*, which is but a simple *Prohibition*, and not with a *Penalty*, of a *Premunire*, (as the other is;) *That after Judgements given in the* Kings Courts, *the parties shall be in Peace, except the Judgement be undone, by Error, or Attaint*, which is a *Legal form*, of *Reversal*. And of this also, I hold, the Sounder *Interpretation* to be, to settle *Possessions*, against *Disturbances*, and not to take away *Remedy*, in *Equity*, where those *Judgements*, are obtained, *ex Rigore Iuris*, and against good Conscience.

But upon these two *Statutes*, there hath been, a late Conceit in some, that if a Judgement, pass, at the Common Law, against any, that he may not, after sue, for Relief in *Chancery*: And if he doth, both *He*, and his *Counsell*, and his *Sollicitours*, yea and the *Iudge* in *Equity* himself, are within the Danger, of those *Statutes*.

Here your *Majesty*, hath the true state, of the *Question*, which I was necessarily to open to you first, because your *Majesty*, calleth for this *Relation*; Not as *Newes*, but as *Business*. Now to the *Historical part*.

It is the Course, of the *Kings Bench*, that they give in Charge to a *Grand Iury*, offences of all Natures, to be presented within *Middlesex*, where the said *Court* is; And the manner is, to enumerate them, as it were, in *Articles*. This was done by *Iustice Crook*, the Wednesday, before the *Term* ended. And that Article, (*If any Man, after a Iudgement given, had drawn the said Iudgement, to a new Examination, in any other Court*) was by him, specially, given in charge; which had not used to be given, in charge before. It is true, it was not solemnly dwelt upon, but, as it were, thrown in amongst the rest.

The last day, of the *Term*; (And that which all Men condemn, the supposed last day, of my *Lord Chancellers* life;) There were two Indictments preferred, of *Præmunire*, for suing in *Chancery*, after *Iudgement* in *Common Law*; The one by *Rich. Glanvile*, the other by *William Allen*: The former against *Courtney*, the party in *Chancery*, *Gibb* the Counseller, and *Deurst* the Clark; The latter, against *Alderman Bowles*, and *Humfry Smith*, parties in *Chancery*; Serjeant *More* the Counseller, *Elias Wood*, Solliciter in the Cause, and Sir *John Tindall*, Mr. of the *Chancery*, and an Assessor, to my *Lord Chancellor*.

For the *Cases* themselves, it were too long, to trouble your *Majesty*, with them; But this I will say; If they were set on, that preferred them, they were the worst Marks-men, that ever were, that set them on. For there could not have been chosen, two such Causes, to the Honour, and Advantage, of the *Chancery*, for the Justness of the *Decrees*, and the Foulness; and Scandal, both of Fact, and person, in those that impeach the *Decrees*.

The *Grand Iury*, consisting, (as it seemeth,) of very Substantial, and Intelligent, Persons, would not finde the *Bills*; Notwithstanding,

ſtanding, they were clamoured by the parties, and twice ſent back, by the *Court*; And in Concluſion, reſolutely, 17 of 19, found an *Ignoramus*: wherein, for that time, I think, *Ignoramus*, was wiſer, than thoſe that know too much.

Your *Majeſty* will pardon me, if I be ſparing, in delivering to you, ſome other Circumſtances, of *Aggravation*, and of Concurrences, of ſome like Matters, the ſame day; as if it had been ſome *Fatal conſtellation*. They be not things, ſo ſufficiently tryed, as I dare put them, into your Ear.

For my Opinion, I cannot but begin, with this *Preface*; That I am infinitely ſorry, that your *Majeſty*, is thus put, to ſalve, and cure, not onely Accidents of *Time*, but Errours of *Servants*: For I account this, a kinde of *Sickneſs*, of my Lord *Cookes*, that comes, almoſt, in as ill a time, as the *Sickneſs*, of my Lord *Chanceller*. And as (I think,) it was one of the wiſeſt parts, that ever he played, when he went down, to your *Majeſty*, to *Roiſton*, and deſired, to have my Lord *Chanceller*, joyned with him; So this was one of the weakeſt parts, that ever he played, to make all the World perceive, that my Lord *Chanceller*, is ſevered from him, at this time.

But for that, which may concern your Service, which is my End, (leaving other Men to their own wayes;) Firſt, my Opinion is plainly, that my Lord *Cooke*, at this time, is not to be diſgraced; Both becauſe, he is ſo well habituate, for that which remaineth, of theſe *Capital Cauſes*; And alſo, for that, which I finde, is in his Breaſt, touching your Finances, and Matters of Repair, of your *Eſtate*. And, (if I mought ſpeak it,) as I think, it were good, his hopes were at an end, in ſome kinde, ſo I could wiſh, they were raiſed, in ſome other.

On the other ſide, this great, and publick Affront, not only to the Reverend, and well deſerving, perſon, of your *Chanceller*; (And, at a time, when he was thought, to lye, on Dying, which was barbarous;) But to your *High Court* of *Chancery*, which is the *Court*, of your abſolute power; May not, (in my Opinion,) paſs lightly, nor end, onely, in ſome Formal Attonement; But Uſe is to be made thereof, for the ſetling of your *Authority*, and ſtrengthning of your *Prærogative*, according to the true Rules of *Monarchy*.

Now to reconcile, and accommodate theſe two Advices, which ſeem almoſt oppoſite. Firſt, your *Majeſty*, may not ſee it, (though I confeſs it be ſuſpicious,) that my Lord *Cooke* was, any way, aforehand, privy to that, which was done; Or that he did ſet it, or animate it; But onely took the Matter, as it came before him; And that his Errour was onely, that at ſuch a time, he did not divert it, in ſome good manner.

Secondly, if it be true, (as is reported,) that any of the *Puiſne Iudges*, did ſtirr this Buſineſs; Or that, they did openly revile, and

and menace the *Jury*, for doing their Conſcience; (As they did, honeſtly, and truly,) I think, that *Iudge*, is worthy, to leeſe his place. And to be plain with your *Majeſty*, I do not think, there is any Thing, a greater *Polychreſton*, or *ad multa utile*, to your Affairs, than upon a juſt, and fit Occaſion, to make ſome Example, againſt the Preſumption, of a *Judge*, in Cauſes, that concern your *Majeſty:* whereby the whole Body, of thoſe *Magiſtrates*, may be contained the better in awe; And it may be, this will light, upon no unfit Subject, of a Perſon, that is Rude, and that no Man cares for.

Thirdly, if there be, no one, ſo much in fault, (which I cannot yet affirm, either way, and there muſt be a juſt *Ground*, *God* forbid elſe;) yet I ſhould think, that the Very Preſumption, of Going ſo far, in ſo high a Cauſe, deſerveth to have that done, which was done in this very caſe, upon the Indictment of *Sergeant Heale*, in *Queen Elizabeths* time; that the Judges, ſhould anſwer it, upon their knees, before your *Majeſty*, or your *Council*, and receive a ſharp Admonition: At which time alſo, my Lord *Wray*, being then *Chief Iuſtice*, ſlipt the Collar, and was forborn.

Fourthly, for the perſons themſelves, *Glanvile*, and *Allen*, which are baſe Fellowes, and turbulent, I think, there will be diſcovered, and proved againſt them, (beſides the preferring of the *Bil's*,) ſuch Combinations, and Contemptuous Speeches, and Behaviours; As there will be good Ground, to call them, and perhaps ſome of their petty *Counſellers*, at *Law*, into the *Starre-Chamber*.

In all this, which I have ſaid, your *Majeſty*, may be pleaſed to obſerve, that I doe not engage you much, in the main point of the *Iuriſdiction*; For which I have a great deal of Reaſon; which I now forbear. But two Things, I wiſh to be done. The one, that your *Maieſty*, take this occaſion, to redouble unto all your *Iudges*, your antient, and true *Charge*, and *Rule*, That you will endure, no Innovating, the Point of *Iuriſdiction*; But will have every *Court*, empaled, within their own Preſidents; And not aſſume to themſelves, new Powers, upon Conceits, and Inventions, of *Law*: The other, that in theſe *high Cauſes*, that touch upon *State*, and *Monarchy*, your *Majeſty* give them ſtraight Charge, that upon any Occaſions intervenient hereafter, they do not make the Vulgar, party to their Conteſtations, by publick Handling them, before they have conſulted with your *Majeſty*, to whom the Reiglement, of thoſe things, onely appertaineth.

To conclude, I am not without hope, that your *Majeſty*, managing this Buſineſs, according to your great Wiſdom; (unto which I acknowledge my Self, not to be worthy, to be Card-holder, or a Candle-holder;) will make profit, of this *Accident*, as a Thing of *Gods* ſending.

Laſtly, I may not forget, to repreſent to your *Majeſty*, that there is

is no Thinking of *Arraignments*, untill theſe Things, be ſomewhat accommodate; And ſome outward, and ſuperficial, Reconciliation, at leaſt, made, between my Lord *Chanceller*, and my Lord *Chief Iuſtice*. For this Accident, is a Banquet, to all the Delinquents Friends. But this is a Thing, that falleth out, naturally, of it Self; In reſpect, of the *Iudges* Going *Circuit*, and my Lord *Chancellers* Infirmity, with Hope of Recovery. And although this ptotraction of Time, may breed ſome doubt of Mutability, yet I have lately learned, out of an excellent *Letter*, of a certain King; *That the Sun ſheweth, ſometimes, watry, to our Eyes, but when the Cloud is gone, the Sun is as before. God* ever preſerve your *Majeſtie.*

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble *Subject*, and bounden *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *of* Advice, *upon the Breach of the* New Company. *Febr*: 25. 1615.

*It may pleaſe your moſt excellent* Majeſty,

YOur Privy Council, have wiſely, and truly, diſcerned, of the *Orders*, and *Demands*, of the *New Company*, that they are unlawfull, and unjuſt; And themſelves, have now acknowledged, the Work impoſſible, without them, by their *Petition* in Writing, now regiſtred, in the *Council-Book*: So as this Concluſion, (of their own making,) is become peremptory, and final to themſelves; And the Impoſſibility confeſſed, the Practice, and Abuſe, reſerved to the Judgement, the *State* ſhall make of it,

This Breach then, of this great Contract, is wholly on their part; which could not have been, if your *Majeſty*, had broken, upon the *Patent*: For the *Patent*, was your *Maieſties* Act; The *Orders*, are their Act; And in the former Caſe, they had not been liable, to further Queſtion, now they are.

There reſt two Things, to be conſidered: The one if they, (like *Proteus*, when he is hard held,) ſhall yet again, vary their ſhape; And ſhall quit their *Orders*, convinced of Injuſtice, and lay their Impoſition onely, upon the *Trade* of *Whites*, whether your *Majeſty*, ſhall further expect? The other, if your *Majeſtie* diſſolve them, upon this Breach, on their part, what is further to be done, for the ſetting of the Trade, again, in joynt, and for your own Honour, and profit? In both which points, I will not preſume to give Opinion, but onely, to break the Buſineſs, for your *Majeſties* better Judgement.

For the firſt, I am ſorry, the Occaſion was given, (by my Lord *Cookes* Speech, at this time, of the Commitment of ſome of them;) That they ſhould ſeek, *Omnem movere lapidem*, to help themſelves.

Better

Better it had been, if (as my Lord *Fenton* said to me, that Morning, very judiciously, and with a great Deal of Foresight;) That, for that time, they should have had, a Bridge, made for them, to be gone. But my Lord *Cooke* floweth, according to his own Tides, and not according to the Tides of Business. The thing, which my Lord *Cook* said, was good, and too little, but, at this time, it was too much. But that is past. Howsoever, if they should goe back, and seek again, to entertain your *Majesty*, with new *Orders*, or *Offers*, (as is said to be intended,) your *Majesty* hath ready, two Answers, of *Repulse*, if it please your *Majesty* to use them.

The one, that this is now the Fourth time, that they have mainly broken, with your *Majesty*, and contradicted themselves. First, they undertook, to dye, and dress, all the *Cloathes* of the *Realm*; Soon after, they wound themselves, into the Trade, of *Whites*, and came down to the proportion contracted. Secondly, they ought to have performed that Contract according to their Subscription, *pro rata*, without any of these *Orders*, and *Impositions*. Soon after, they deserted their Subscription, and had recourse, to these Devices, of *Orders*. Thirdly, if by *Order*, and not by *Subscription*, yet their *Orders*, should have laid it, upon the *Whites*, which is an Unlawfull, and Prohibited, Trade. Nevertheless, they would have brought in, lawfull, and setled *Trades*, full *Manufactures*, *Merchandize* of all Natures, *Poll-Money*, or *Brotherhood-Money*, and I cannot tell what. And now lastly, it seemeth, they would goe Back, to lay it, upon the *Whites*: And therefore, whether you *Majesty*, will any more rest, and build this great Wheel, of your *Kingdom*, upon these broken, and brittle, Pinns, and try Experiments further, upon the Health, and Body, of your *State*, I leave to your *Princely Judgement*.

The other *Answer*, of *Repulse*, is a kinde of Apposing them, what they will doe, after the three years, contracted for? Which is a point, hitherto, not much stirred, though Sir *Lionell Cranfield*, hath ever beaten upon it, in his Speech with me: For after the three years, they are not tyed, otherwayes, than as Trade shall give Encouragement; Of which Encouragement, your *Majesty*, hath a bitter Tast. And if they should hold on, according to the third years Proportion, and not rise on, by further gradation, your *Majesty* hath not your End. No, I fear, and have long feared, that this Feeding of the Foreiner, may be dangerous: For as we may think, to hold up our Cloathing, by Vent of *Whites*, till we can dye, and dresse; So they, (I mean the *Dutch*,) will think to hold up, their Manufacture, of Dying, and Dressing, upon our *Whites*, till they can cloath: So as your *Majesty*, hath the greatest reason, in the World, to make the *New Company*, to come in, and strengthen that part, of their Contract; And they refusing, (as it is confidently beleeved they will,) to make their Default, more visible, to all Men.

For the ſecond main part, of your *Majeſties* Conſultation; That is, what ſhall be done, ſuppoſing an abſolute Breach; I have had ſome Speech, with Mr. *Secretary* Lake, and likewiſe with Sir *Lionell Cranfield*; And, (as I conceive,) there may be three wayes, taken into conſideration. The firſt is, that the Old Company be reſtored, who, (no doubt,) are in Appetite, and (as I finde by Sir *Lionell Cranfield*,) not unprepared; And that the *Licences*; The *one*, that of 30000 *Cloathes*, which was the old *Licence*; The other, that of my Lord of *Cumberlands*, which is, without ſtint, (my Lord of *Cumberland* receiving Satisfaction;) be compounded, into one entire *Licence*, without ſtint; And then, that they, amongſt themſelves, take order, for that profit, which hath been offered to your *Majeſty*. This is a plain, and known way, wherin your *Majeſty*, is not an Actour; onely it hath this, that the Work, of Dying, and Dreſſing, *Cloathes*, which hath been ſo much glorifyed, ſeemeth to be wholly relinquiſhed, if you leave there. The ſecond is, that there be a free *Trade*, of *Cloath*, with this Difference; That the Dyed, and dreſſed, pay no *Cuſtome*, and the Whites *double Cuſtom*, it being a Merchandize prohibited, and onely licentiate. This continueth in life, and fame, the *work* deſired, and will have a popular Applauſe. But I doe confeſs, I did ever think, that Trading, in *Companies*, is moſt agreeable to the *Engliſh* Nature, which wanteth that ſame general Vein, of a *Republick*, which runneth in the *Dutch*; And ſerveth to them, inſtead of a Company. And therefore, I dare not adviſe, to adventure, this great Trade, of the *Kingdom*, (which hath been ſo long, under Government,) in a free, or looſe, Trade. The Third is, a Compounded Way of both, which is; To goe on, with the *Trade*, of *Whites*, by the *Old Company reſtored*; And that your *Majeſties* Profit be raiſed, by Order amongſt Themſelves; Rather than by *double Cuſtom*, wherein you muſt be the Actour: And that, nevertheleſs, there be added a Privilege, to the ſame *Company*, to carry out *Cloathes*, Dyed, and Dreſſed, *Cuſtom-free*; Which will ſtill continue, as a glorious Beam, of your *Majeſties* Royal Deſign. I hope, and Wiſh, at leaſt, that this, which I have written, may be of ſome uſe, to your *Majeſty*, to ſettle, by the Advice, of the *Lords* about you, this great Buſineſs. At the leaſt, it is the Effect, of my Care, and poor Ability, which, if in me be any, it is given me, to no other end, but faithfully, to ſerve your *Majeſty*. *God* ever preſerve you.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble *Subject*,
and bounden *Servant*.

*A*

## *Another* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *touching a Motion, to swear him Counseller.* February 27. 1615.

SIR, I humbly pray you, not to think me over-hasty, or much in Appetite, if I put you in Remembrance, of my Motion, of strengthening me, with the Oath, and Trust, of a *Privy Counseller*; Not for mine own strength, (For as to that, I thank *God*, I am armed within,) but for the Strength, of my Service. The Times, I submit to you, who knoweth them best. But sure I am, there were never Times, which did more require, a *Kings Attorney*, to be well armed, and (as I said once to you,) to wear a Gauntlet, and not a Glove. The *Arraignments*, when they proceed; The *Contention*, between the *Chancery*, and *Kings Bench*; The great Cause, of the *Rege inconsulto*, which is so precious, to the *Kings Prerogative*; Diverse other Services, that concern the *Kings Revenew*, and the *Repair* of his *Estate*. Besides, it pleaseth his *Majesty*, to accept well, of my Relations, touching his Business; which may seem, a kind of *Interloping*, (as the *Merchants* call it,) for one that is no *Counseller*. But I leave all unto you, thinking my Self infinitely bounden unto you, for your great Favours; The Beams whereof, I see plainly, reflect upon me, even from others: So that now, I have no greater Ambition, than this; That, as the *King*, sheweth Himself to you, the best *Master*, so I mought be found, your best *Servant*. In which Wish, and Vow, I shall ever rest.

Most devoted, and affectionate, to obey your Commands.

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *upon some Inclination, of his* Majesty, *to him, for the* Chancellers *Place. April* 1. 1616.

*It may please your most excellent* Majesty,

THe last day, when it pleased your *Majesty*, to express your Self, towards me, farr above that, I can deserve, or could expect, I was surprized, by the *Princes* comming in: I most humbly pray your *Majesty*, to accept these few Lines, of Acknowledgement. I never had great Thought, for my Self, further than to maintain, those great Thoughts, which, I confess, I have, for your Service. I know, what Honour is; And I know, what the Times are. But, I thank *God*, with me, my Service is the Principal; And it is farr from me, under Honourable Pretences, to cover base Desires; which I account then to be, when Men referr, too much to Themselves, especially serving such a *King*. I am afraid of Nothing,

but that the Master of the Horse, your Excellent Servant, and I, shall fall out, who shall hold your Stirrop best. But were you Mounted, and Seated, without Difficulties, and Distastes, in your Business, as I desire, and hope to see you; I should, *ex animo*, desire, to spend the Decline, of my years, in my Studies. Wherein also, I should not forget, to doe him Honour, who, besides his Active, and Politique Vertues, is the best *Penn* of *Kings*; Much more, the best Subject of a *Penn*. *God* ever preserve your *Majesty*.

Your *Majesties*, most humble *Subject*,
And more, and more, obliged
*Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *touching his Swearing* Counseller, *May* 30. 1616.

SIR, The time is, as I should think, now, or never, for his *Majesty*, to finish his good Meaning towards me; If it please him to consider, what is past, and what is to come.

If I would tender my Profit, and oblige Men unto me, by my Place, and Practice, I could have more profit, than I could devise; And could oblige all the World, and offend none; which is a brave Condition, for a Mans Private. But my Heart, is not, on these Things. Yet, on the other side, I would be sorry, that worthless Persons, should make a Note, that I get Nothing, but Pains, and Enemies; And a little Popular Reputation, which followeth me, whether I will, or no. If any thing, be to be done, for your self, I should take infinite Contentment, that my Honour, might wait upon yours: But I would be loath, it should wait upon any Mans else. If you would put your strength, to this Business, it is done; And that done, many Things more, will begin. *God* keep you ever; I rest,

Your true, and devoted, *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *upon the Choice, his* Majesty *gave him, whether he would be sworn* Counseller, *or have Assurance, to succeed the* Chanceller, *June* 3. 1616.

SIR, The *King* giveth me a noble choice; And you are the Man, my Heart ever told me, you were. Ambition would draw

draw me, to the latter part of the Choice; But, in respect of my hearty wishes, that my *Lord Chancellor*, may live long; And the small Hopes I have, that I shall live long, my Self; And above all, because I see, his *Majesties* Service, daily, and instantly, bleedeth; Towards which, I perswade my Self, (vainly perhaps, but yet in mine own thoughts, firmly, and constantly,) that I shall give, when I am of the *Table*, some effectual Furtherance, (as a poor *Thred* of the *Labyrinth*, which hath no other Vertue, but an united Continuance, without Interruption, or Distraction;) I doe accept of the former, to be *Counseller*, for the present, and to give over *pleading* at *Barr*; Let the other Matter rest upon my *Proof*, and his *Majesties* Pleasure; and the *Accidents* of *Time*. For to speak plainly, I would be loath, that my *Lord Chancellor*, to whom I owe most, after the King, and your *Self*, should be locked to his *Successour*, for any Advancement, or Gracing, of me. So I ever remain.

Your true, and most devoted,
and obliged, Servant.

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## *To his very* Honourable *good Friend, Sir* George Villiers, Master *of the* Horse, *to his* Majesty, *and of the most Noble* Order *of the* Garter. *June* 12. 1616.

SIR, I send his *Majesty*, a Draught, of the *Act of Counsel*, concerning the *Judges Letter*; penned, as near as I could, to his *Majesties* Instructions, received in your presence. I then told his *Majesty*, my Memory was not able, to keep way with his; And therefore his *Majesty* will pardon me, for any Omissions, or Errours; And be pleased, to supply, and reform the same. I am preparing, some other Materials, for his *Majesties* excellent Hand, concerning Business, that is comming on. For since his *Majesty*, hath renewed my Heart within me, methinks, I should double my endeavours. *God* ever preserve, and prosper you; I rest.

Your most devoted, and bounden,
Servant.

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## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *for the Restoring of* Doctor Burgis, *to preach. June* 12. 1616.

SIR, I doe think, you may doe your self Honour, and, (that which is more,) doe a good Work, if you will assist, and perfect, a Motion begun, (and that upon a good Ground, both of Sub-

Submiſſion, and Conformity,) for the reſtoring, of Doctor *Burgis*, to Preach; And I wiſh, likewiſe, that if *Graies Inn* ſhould think good, (after he is free from the *State*,) to chuſe him, for their *Preacher*, his *Majeſty* ſhould not be againſt it; For certainly, we ſhould watch him well, if he ſhould flye forth; So as he cannot be placed, in a more ſafe *Auditory*. This may ſeem a Trifle, but I doe aſſure you, I doe ſcarce know a particular, wherein you may open, more honeſt Mouthes, to ſpeak Honour of you, than this. And I doe extremely deſire, there may be a full Cry, from all ſorts of People, (eſpecially the beſt,) to ſpeak, and to trumpet out, your Commendations. I pray you take it to Heart, and doe ſomewhat in it. I reſt.

Your devoted and Bounden
Servant.

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## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *of Advice, concerning* Ireland; *From* Gorhambury, *to* Windſore. *July* 5. 1616.

*SIR*, Becauſe I am uncertain, whether his *Majeſty*, will put to a point, ſome Reſolutions, touching *Ireland*, now at *Windſore*; I thought it my duty, to attend his *Majeſty*, by my *Letter*, and thereby to ſupply my Abſence. For the Renewing, of ſome former *Commiſſions*, for *Ireland*; And the Framing, of a new *Commiſſion*, for the Wards, and the *Alienation*, (which appertain properly to me, as his *Majeſties Atturney*, and have been accordingly referred by the *Lords*;) I will undertake, that they are prepared, with a greater care, and better applications, to his *Majeſties* Service in that *Kingdom*, than heretofore they have been. And therefore of that I ſay no more. And for the *Inſtructions*, of the new *Deputy*, they have been ſet down, by the two *Secretaries*, and read to the *Board*; And being things, of an ordinary nature, I doe not ſee, but they may paſs. But there have been three *Propoſitions*, and *Counſels*, which have been ſtirred, which ſeem to me, of very great Importance; wherein, I think my Self bound, to deliver to his *Majeſty*, my *Advice*, and *Opinion*, if they ſhould now come in *Queſtion*.

The firſt is, touching the *Recuſant Magiſtrates*, of the *Towns*, of *Ireland*, and the *Commonalties* themſelves, their Electours, what ſhall be done? Which Conſultation ariſeth, from the late Advertiſements, of the two *Lords Juſtices*, upon the Inſtance, of the two *Towns*, *Limrick*, and *Kilkenny*; In which Advertiſements, they repreſent the Danger only, without giving any Light, for the Remedy

medy; Rather warily for themſelves, than agreeable to their Duties, and places.

In this point, I humbly pray his *Majeſty*, to remember, that the Refuſal is not, of the *Oath of Allegiance*, (which is not enacted in *Ireland*;) but of the *Oath of Supremacy*, which cutteth deep, into Matter of Conſcience. Alſo, that his *Majeſty* will, out of the depth, of his Excellent Wiſdom, and Providence, think, and as it were, calculate with himſelf; Whether Time, will make more, for the Cauſe of Religion, in *Ireland*, and be ſtill more, and more, propitious; Or whether Deferring Remedies, will not make the Caſe more difficult. For if *Time*, give his *Majeſty* Advantage, what needeth precipitation, to extreme Remedies? But if *Time*, will make the caſe more deſperate, then his *Majeſty*, cannot begin, too ſoon. Now in my Opinion, Time will open, and facilitate Things, for *Reformation* of *Religion* there; And not ſhut up, or lock out, the ſame. For firſt, the *Plantations* going on, and being, principally, of *Proteſtants*, cannot but mate the other party, in Time: Alſo, his *Majeſties* Care, in placing good *Biſhops*, and good *Divines*; In amplifying the *Colledge* there; And in looking, to the Education, of *Wards*, and ſuch like; As they are, the moſt Natural Means, ſo are they like, to be the moſt effectual, and happy, for the Weeding out of *Popery*, without uſing the *Temporal Sword*; So that, I think, I may truly conclude, that the Ripeneſs of *Time*, is not yet come.

Therefore my Advice is, in all Humbleneſs, that this hazardous Courſe, of Proceeding, to tender the Oath, to the *Magiſtrates* of *Towns*, proceed not, but dye by degrees: And yet, to preſerve the Authority, and Reputation, of the former *Council*, I would have ſomewhat done; which is, that there be a proceeding, to *Seizure*, of *Liberties*; But not, by any Act of Power, but by *Quo Warranto*, or *Scire facias*; which is a *Legal Courſe*; And will be the Work of three, or four, *Termes*; By which time, the Matter will ſomewhat cool.

But I would not, (in any caſe,) that the Proceedings, ſhould be with both *Towns*, which ſtand now in contempt, but with one of them, onely: chooſing that, which ſhall be thought moſt fit. For if his *Majeſty*, proceed with both, then all the *Towns*, that are in the like caſe, will think it a common Cauſe; And that it is, but their Caſe too day, and their own too morrow. But if his *Majeſty* proceed, but with one, the Apprehenſion, and Terrour, will not be ſo ſtrong; For they will think, it may be their Caſe, to be ſpared, as well, as proſecuted; And this is the beſt Advice, that I can give to his *Majeſty*, in this Streight; And of this Opinion, ſeemed my *Lord Chanceller*, to be.

The Second *Propoſition* is this: It may be, his *Majeſty* will be moved, to reduce, the Number, of his *Council*, of *Ireland*, which is now almoſt Fifty, to Twenty, or the like Number; In reſpect, that

that the Greatneſs of the Number, doth both embaſe the *Authority*, of the *Council*, and divulge the Buſineſs. Nevertheleſs, I hold this *Propoſition*, to be rather ſpecious, and ſolemn, than needfull, at this time; For certainly, it will fill the *State*, full of Diſcontentment; which, in a Growing, and unſetled Eſtate, ought not to be.

This I could wiſh, that his *Majeſty*, would appoint a ſelect *Number*, of *Counſellours* there, which might deal, in the *Improvement*, of his *Revenew*; (Being a Thing not fit to paſs, through too many Hands;) And the ſaid ſelected *Number*, ſhould have dayes of Sitting, by themſelves. At which, the reſt of the *Council*, ſhould not be preſent; which being once ſetled, then other principal Buſineſs of *State*, may be handled at thoſe Sittings, and ſo the reſt begin to be diſuſed, and yet retain their Countenance, without Murmur, or Diſgrace.

The Third *Propoſition*, as it is moved, ſeemeth to be pretty, if it can keep promiſe: For it is thus. That a Means, may be found, to re-enforce his *Majeſties Army*, by 500, or a 1000 Men; And that, without any Penny Encreaſe, of Charge. And the Means ſhould be, that there ſhould be a Commandement of a Local Removing, and transferring ſome *Companies*, from one *Province*, to another: whereupon it is ſuppoſed, that many, that are planted, in Houſe, and Lands, will rather leeſe their Entertainment, than remove; And thereby, new Men may have their Pay, and yet the old, be mingled in the *Country*, for the Strength thereof.

In this *Propoſition*, two things may be feared: The one, *Diſcontent* of thoſe, that ſhall be put off: The other, that the Companies ſhall be ſtuffed with *Novices*, and *Tyrones*, inſtead of *Veterani*. I wiſh therefore, that this *Propoſition*, be well debated, ere it be admitted. Thus having performed that, which Duty binds me to; I commend you, to *Gods* beſt preſervation.

Your moſt devoted, and bounden
Servant.

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## A Letter, *from the* Kings Atturney General, *to the* Maſter *of the* Horſe, *upon the ſending, of his* Bill, *for* Viſcount.
*Auguſt* 5. 1616.

SIR, I ſend you the *Bill*, for his *Majeſties Signature*, reformed, according to his *Majeſties* Amendments, both in the two places, (which, I aſſure you, were both altered, with great Judgement;) And in the Third place, which his *Majeſty* termed a *Queſtion* onely. But he is an idle Body, that thinks his *Majeſty*, asks an idle *Queſtion*; And therefore, his *Majeſties* Queſtions, are to be anſwered,

red, by *Taking away*, the Cauſe of the *Queſtion*, and not by *Replying*.

For the *Name*, his *Majeſties Will*, is a *Law*, in thoſe things; And to ſpeak Truth, it is a well-ſounding, and Noble Name, both here, and abroad: And being your proper *Name*, I will take it, for a good Sign, that you ſhall give Honour, to your *Dignity*, and not your Dignity to you. Therefore I have made it *Viſcount Villiers*: And for your *Baronry*, I will keep it for an *Earldom*: For though the other, had been more orderly, yet that is as uſual, and both alike good in *Law*.

For *Ropers* place, I would have it, by all means, diſpatched. And therefore, I marvail, it lingreth. It were no good manners, to take the Buſineſs, out of my Lord *Treaſurers* hands; And therefore, I purpoſe, to write to his *Lordſhip*, if I hear not from him, firſt, by Mr. *Deckom*. But if I hear of any Delay, you will give me leave, (eſpecially ſince the *King* named me,) to deal with Sir *John Roper*, my Self; For neither I, nor my *Lord Treaſurer*, can deſerve any great thanks of you, in this Buſineſs, conſidering the *King* hath ſpoken to Sir *John Roper*, and he hath promiſed; And beſides, the thing it ſelf, is ſo reaſonable, as it ought, to be as ſoon done, as ſaid. I am now gotten, into the *Countrey*, to my Houſe, where I have ſome little Liberty, to think of that, I would think of, and not of that, which other Men, Hourly break my Head withall, as it was at *London*. Upon this, you may conclude, that moſt of my Thoughts, are of his *Majeſty*; And then, you cannot be farr off. *God* ever keep you, and proſper you. I reſt alwayes,

Your true, and moſt devoted,
Servant.

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## A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, upon the Sending, his Patent, of Viſcount Villiers, to be Signed. Auguſt 12. 1616.

SIR, I have ſent you, now, your Patent, of Creation, of Lord *Blechley*, of *Blechly*, and of *Viſcount Villiers*. *Blechley* is your own; And I liked, the ſound of the Name, better than *Whaddon*: But the Name, will be hid, for you will be called *Viſcount Villiers*. I have put them both in a *Patent*, after the manner of the Patent of Arms, where *Baronries* are joyned. But the chief Reaſon was, becauſe I would avoid double *Prefaces*; which had not been fit: Nevertheleſs *Ceremony* of *Roabing*, and otherwiſe, muſt be double: And now, becauſe I am in the *Country*, I will ſend you, ſome of my *Country Fruits*, which, with me, are good *Meditations*; which, when I am in the *City*, are choaked with Buſineſs.

After that the *King*, ſhall have watred, your new *Dignities*, with his Bounty, of the Lands, which he intends you; And that, ſome other things, concerning your means, which are now likewiſe in Intention, ſhall be ſetled upon you; I doe not ſee, but you may think, your private Fortunes eſtabliſhed; And therefore, it is now time, that you ſhould refer your Actions, chiefly, to the Good, of your *Soveraign*, and your *Country*. It is the life, of an Oxe, or a Beaſt, alwaies to eat, and never to exerciſe; But Men are born, (eſpecially *Chriſtian Men*,) not to cramm in their *Fortunes*, but to exerciſe their *Vertues*; And yet, the other, have been the unworthy, and, ſometimes, the unlucky humour, of great Perſons, in our Times; Neither will your further *Fortune*, be the further off. For aſſure your ſelf, that *Fortune*, is of a womans Nature, that will ſooner follow you by ſlighting, than by too much Wooing: And in this Dedication, of your Self to the Publick, I recommend unto you, principally, that which I think, was never done, ſince I was born; And which not done, hath bred, almoſt, a Wilderneſs, and Solitude, in the *Kings* Service: which is, that you countenance, and encourage, and advance, able, and vertuous Men, in all Kindes, Degrees, and Profeſſions. For in the time of ſome late great Counſellours, when they bare the Sway, able Men, were by deſign, and of purpoſe, ſuppreſſed: And though, now ſince, Choice goeth better, both in *Church*, and *Commonwealth*, yet Money, and Turn-Serving, and Cunning Canviſes, and Importunity, prevail too much. And in places of Moment, rather make Able and Honeſt Men, yours, than advance thoſe, that are otherwiſe, becauſe they are yours: As for Cunning and Corrupt Men, you muſt, I know, ſometimes uſe them, but keep them at a diſtance; And let it appear, that you make uſe of them, rather than that they lead you. Above all, depend wholly, (next to *God*,) upon the *King*; And be ruled, (as hitherto you have been,) by his Inſtructions; For that's beſt for your Self. For the *Kings* Care, and Thoughts, concerning you, are according to the Thoughts, of a *great King*; whereas your Thoughts, coucerning your Self, are, and ought to be, according to the Thoughts of a *Modeſt Man*. But let me not weary you. The Summe is, that you think *Goodneſs*, the beſt part of *Greatneſs*; And that you remember, whence your Riſing comes, and make return accordingly. *God* ever keep you.

*A*

## *A* Letter, *to the* King, *touching Sir* George Villiers *Patent*, *for* Baron *of* Blechley, *and* Viſcount Villiers. Auguſt 12. 1616.

*It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,*

I Have ſent, Sir *George Villiers Patent*, drawn again, containing alſo a *Baronry*; The Name, *Blechley*, which is his own; And to my Thinking, ſoundeth better, than *Whaddon*. I have included both, in one *Patent*, to avoid a double *Preface*, and as hath been uſed, in the *Patents*, of *Earls*, of like nature. Nevertheleſs, the *Ceremony* of *Roabing*, and otherwiſe, is to be double, as is alſo uſed, in like caſe of Earls.

It reſteth, that I expreſs unto your *Majeſty*, my great Joy, in your Honouring, and Advancing, this *Gentleman*: whom to deſcribe, not with Colours, but with true Lines, I may ſay this; Your *Majeſty*, certainly, hath found out, and choſen, a ſafe Nature, a capable Man, and honeſt Will; Generous and Noble Affections, and a Courage well lodged; And one that, I know, loveth your *Majeſty*, unfeignedly; And admireth you as much, as is in a Man, to admire his *Soveraign*, upon Earth. Onely, your *Majeſties School*, (wherein, he hath already ſo well profited, as in this Entrance upon the Stage, being the Time of greateſt Danger, he hath not committed any manifeſt Errour;) will add Perfection, to your *Majeſties* comfort, and the great Contentment, of your *People*. *God* ever preſerve, and proſper, your *Majeſty*. I reſt in all Humbleneſs,

Your *Majeſties*, moſt bounden, and moſt devoted, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *upon the Sending, of his* Patent, *for the Creation*, *of* Viſcount, *Sealed Auguſt* 20. 1616.

*SIR*, I took much Contentment, in that, I perceive by your *Letter*, that you took, in ſo good part, the Freedom of my Advice; And that your Self, in your own Nature, conſented therewith. Certainly, no Service is comparable, to good Counſell; And the Reaſon is, becauſe no Man, can doe ſo much, for another, as a Man, may doe for himſelf: Now good *Counſel*, helpeth a Man, to help himſelf. But you have ſo happy a *Maſter*, as ſupplyeth all. My Service, and good will, ſhall not be wanting.

It was graciouſly, and kindly, done alſo, of his *Majeſty*, towards me, to tell you, that you were beholding to me. But it muſt be then, for Thinking of you, as I doe; For otherwiſe, for Speaking, as I think, it is but the part of an Honeſt Man. I ſend you your *Patent*, whereof *God* give you Joy: And I ſend you here, incloſed, a little Note of Remembrance, for that part of the *Ceremony*, which concerneth the *Patent*: For as for other *Ceremonies*, I leave to others.

My *Lord Chanceller*, diſpatcht your *Patent*, preſently, upon the Receit; And writ to me, how glad he was of it, and how well he wiſhed you. If you writ to him, a few words of Thanks, I think, you ſhall doe well. *God* keep you, and proſper you. I ever reſt

Your true, and moſt devoted,
*Servant.*

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## *A* Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *acknowledging the* Kings *Favour in granting, ſome Sute of his. Auguſt* 22. 1616.

SIR, I am more, and more, bound, unto his *Majeſty*, who, I think, knowing me, to have other Ends, than Ambition, is contented, to make me Judge, of mine own Deſires. I am now beating my Brains, (amongſt many Cares, of his *Majeſties* Buſineſs,) touching the Redeeming the Time, in this Buſineſs of *Cloath*. The great Queſtion is; How to miſs, or how to mate the *Flemmings*; How to paſs by them, or how to paſs over them.

In my next Letter, I ſhall alter your Stile; But I ſhall never, whilſt I breath, alter mine own Stile; In being

Your true, and moſt devoted,
Servant.

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## The Lord Keepers *Letter*, to the Univerſity, in anſwer, of their Congratulation, at his firſt Comming to that place:

### *To the Renowned Univerſity of* Cambridge, *his Dear, and Reverend,* Mother.

I Am Debtor to you of your *Letters*, and of the Time, likewiſe, that I have taken, to anſwer them; But as ſoon as I could chuſe, what to think on, I thought good, to let you know, That although, you

you may erre much, in your valuation of me, yet you ſhall not be deceived, in your Aſſurance: And for the other part alſo, though the manner be, to mend the *Picture*, by the *Life*; yet I would be glad, to mend the *Life*, by the *Picture*, and to become, and be, as you expreſs me to be. Your Gratulations, ſhall be no more welcom to me, than your Buſineſs, or occaſions; which I will attend; and yet not ſo, but that I ſhall endeavour, to prevent them, by my care of your Good. And ſo I commend you, to *God's* goodneſs.

Your moſt loving, and aſſured
*Friend*, and *Sonne*,
Fr. Bacon. *C. S.*

*Gorhambury*, *Apr.* 12. 1617.

## *A* Letter *of King* James, *written to his* Lordſhip, *when he was* Lord Chanceller, *with his* Majeſties *own Hand*, *upon the ſending to him*, *his* Book, *of* Inſtauratio Magna, *then newly publiſhed.*

*My Lord*, I Have received your *Letter*, and your *Book*, than the which, you could not have ſent, a more acceptable Preſent unto me. How thankfull I am for it, cannot better be expreſſed by me, than by a firm Reſolution, I have taken; Firſt, to read it thorough, with care, and attention; Though I ſhould ſteal, ſome Hours, from my Sleep; Having otherwiſe, as little ſpare time, to read it, as you had, to write it. And theu to uſe the liberty, of a true Friend, in not ſparing, to ask you the queſtion, in any point, whereof I ſhall ſtand in doubt; (*Nam ejus eſt Explicare, cujus eſt Condere*;) As, on the other part, I will willingly give, a due commendation, to ſuch places, as, in my opinion, ſhall deſerve it. In the mean time, I can, with comfort, aſſure you, that you could not have made choice, of a Subject, more befitting your place, and your univerſal, and Methodick, Knowledge; And, in the general, I have already obſerved, that you jump with me, in keeping the midd way, between the two Extremes; As alſo in ſome particulars, I have found, that you agree fully, with my opinion. And ſo praying *God*, to give your *Work*, as good Succeſs, as your Heart can wiſh, and your Labours deſerve, I bid you heartily farewell.

*James Rex.*

*Octob.* 16. 1620.

OTHER

OTHER

# LETTERS,

BY THE SAME

## Honourable Authour,

Written in the Dayes of

# QVEEN ELIZABETH.



LONDON,
Printed by *F. L.* for *William Lee*, at the sign of the *Turks-Head*, in *Fleetstreet*, 1657.

# LETTERS,

BY THE SAME

Honourable Author

Written in the Days of

QUEEN

ELIZABETH.



LONDON,

Printed by E. T. for William Lee, at the Sign of the Turk's-Head, in Fleetstreet, 1673.

# OTHER LETTERS, WRITTEN BY THE SAME Honourable Authour.

## To my *Lord* of *Essex.*

*My singular good* Lord,



May perceive, by my *Lord Keeper*, that your *Lordship*, as the time served, signified unto him, an Intention, to conferr with his *Lordship*, at better opportunity; Which; in regard, of your several, and weighty occasions, I have thought good, to put your *Lordship*, in remembrance of; That now, at his Comming to the *Court*, it may bee executed; Desiring your good *Lordship*, nevertheless, not to conceive, out of this my diligence, in soliciting this matter, that I am, either much in *Appetite*, or much in *Hope*. For as for *Appetite*; The *Waters* of *Parnassus*, are not like, the *Waters*, of the *Spaw*, that give a Stomach; But rather, they quench *Appetite*, and *Desires*. And for *Hope*; How can he hope much, that can allege no other Reason, than the Reason of an Evil *Debter*; who will perswade his *Creditour*, to lend him new Summes, and to enter further in with him, to make him satisfie the old? And to her *Majesty*, no other Reason, but the Reason of a *waterman*; *I am her first Man*, of those, who serve in *Counsel* of *Law*. And so, I commit your *Lordship*, to *Gods* best preservation.

*These Letters following, I find not, in his Lordships Register-Book, of Letters; But I am enduced, by the Stile, and other Characters, to own them, to be his.*

## To my Lord of Essex.

*My* Lord,

CONceiving that your *Lordship*, came now up, in the person of a good *Servant*, to see your *Soveraign Mistris*; which kinde of *Complements*, are many times, *Instar magnorum Meritorum*; And therefore, that it would be hard for me, to find you, I have committed, to this poor Paper, the humble Salutations of him, that is more yours, than any Mans; And more yours, than any Man. To these Salutations, I add, a due, and joyfull Gratulation, confessing that your *Lordship*, in your last conference with me, before your Journey, spake not in vain, *God* making it good; That you trusted, we should say, *Quis putasset?* Which, as it is found true, in a happy sense, so I wish, you doe not find, another *Quis putasset*, in the manner, of taking, this so great a *Service*. But, I hope, it is, as he said; *Nubecula est*, *citò transibit*: And that your *Lordships* Wisdom, and Obsequious Circumspection, and Patience, will turn all to the best. So referring all, to some time, that I may attend you, I commit you to *Gods* best preservation.

## To my Lord of Essex.

*My* Lord,

I Am glad, your *Lordship*, hath plunged, out of your own businesse. Wherein, I must commend your *Lordship*, as *Xenophon* commended, the *State*, of his *Country*; which was this; *That having chosen, the worst Form of Government, of all others, they governed the best, in that kinde. Hoc, Pace, et Veniâ tuâ*, according to my *Charter*. Now, as your *Lordship* is my Witnesse, that I would not trouble you, whilst your own Cause was in hand; (Though that I know, that the further from the *Term*, the better the time, was to deal for me;) So that being concluded, I presume, I shall be one, of your next Cares. And having communicated with my *Brother*, of some course, either to persit the first, or to make me some other way; Or rather, by seeming to make me some other way, to perfit the first, wherewith he agreed to acquaint your *Lordship*; I am desirous, for mine own better satisfaction, to speak with your *Lordship*, my self; Which I had rather, were somewhere else, than at Court; And as soon, as your *Lordship*, well assign me, to wait on you. And so in, &c.

## *To Sir* Robert Cecil.

*SIR,*

YOur *Honour* knoweth, my Manner is, though it be not the wiſeſt way, yet taking it for the honeſteſt, to doe, as *Alexander* did, by his Phyſician; *In drinking the Medicine, and delivering the Advertiſement, of Suſpition*: So I truſt on, and yet do not ſmother, what I hear. I doe aſſure you, *Sir*, that by a wiſe Friend of mine, and not factious toward your *Honour*, I was told, with aſſeveration, that your Honour, was bought, by Mr. *Coventry*, for 2000. Angels; And that you wrought, in a contrary ſpirit, to my *Lord* your *Father*. And he ſaid further, that from your *Servants*, from your *Lady*, from ſome *Counſellours* that have obſerved you in my buſineſs, he knew, you wrought, under hand, againſt me. The truth of which Tale, I doe not believe; you know the Event will ſhew, and *God* will right. But as I reject this Report, (though the Strangeneſs of my Caſe, might make me credulous;) ſo I admit a Conceit, that the laſt Meſſenger, my *Lord*, and your ſelf uſed, dealt ill with your *Honours*; And that VVord, (*Speculation*,) which was in the *Queens* mouth, rebounded from him, as a Commendation: For I am not ignorant, of thoſe little Arts. Therefore, I pray, truſt not him again, in my matter. This was much to write, but I think my Fortune, will ſet me at liberty, who am weary of aſſerviling my Self, to every Mans charity. Thus I, &c.

## *To Sir* John Stanhope.

*SIR,*

YOur good promiſes ſleep, which it may ſeem, now, no time to awake. But that I doe not finde, that any general Kalender, of Obſervation of time, ſerveth for the *Court*: And beſides, if that be done, which I hope, by this time, is done; And that other matter ſhall be done, which we wiſh may be done, I hope to my poor Matter, the one of theſe great Matters, may clear the way, and the other give the occaſion. And though my *Lord Treaſurer* be abſent; whoſe Health, nevertheleſſe, will enable him, to be ſooner at *Court*, than is expected; eſpecially if this hard weather, (too hard to continue,) ſhall relent; yet we abroad ſay, his *Lordſhips* ſpirit may be there, though his perſon be away. Once I take for a good ground, that her *Majeſties* Buſineſs, ought to keep, neither Vacation, nor Holyday; either in the Execution, or in the Care and preparation, of thoſe, whom her *Majeſty* calleth, and uſeth: And therefore, I would think, no time barred, from remembring that, with ſuch diſcretion, and reſpect, as appertaineth

neth. The Conclusion shall be, to put you in minde, to maintain that which you have kindly begun, according to the Reliaunce, I have, upon the Sincerity, of your Affection, and the Soundnesse of your Judgement. And so I commend you, to *Gods* preservation.

## To my Lord of Essex.

*It may please your good* Lordship,

I Am very sorry, her *Majesty* should take my Motion to travail, in offence. But surely, under her *Majesties* Royal Correction, it is such an Offence, as it should be, an offence to the Sun, when a Man, to avoid the scorching heat thereof, flyeth into the shade. And your *Lordship* may easily think, that having now these twenty years, (For so long it is, and more, since I went, with Sir *Amyas Paulett*, into *France*, from her *Majesties* royal Hand,) I made Her *Majesties* Service, the Scope of my life: I shall never finde a greater grief than this, *Relinquere Amorem Primum*. But since, *principia Actionum, sunt tantùm, in nostrâ potestate*; I hope, her *Majesty*, of her Clemency, yea and Justice, will pardon me, and not force me, to pine here, with Melancholy. For though mine Heart be good, yet mine Eyes will be sore; So as I shall have no pleasure, to look abroad: And if I should otherwise be affected, her *Majesty*, in her Wisdom, will but think me, an impudent Man, that would face out a disgrace. Therefore, as I have ever found you, my good *Lord*, and true Friend, so I pray, open the matter so, to her *Majesty*, as she may discern the necessity of it, without adding hard Conceit, to her Rejection; Of which, I am sure, the latter I never deserved. Thus, &c.

## To the Lord Treasurer.

*It may please your good* Lordship,

I Am to give you humble Thanks, for your favourablr opinion, which by *Mr. Secretaries* report, I finde, you conceive of me, for the obtaining of a good place, which some of my honourable Friends, have wished unto me, *Nec Opinanti*. I will use no reason, to perswade your *Lordships* Mediation, but this; That your *Lordship*, and my other Frends, shall in this, begg my life, of the *Queen*; For I see well, the Barr will be my Beer, as I must, and will use it, rather than my poor Estate, or Reputation, shall decay. But I stand indifferent, whether *God* call me, or her *Majesty*. Had I that in possession, which by your *Lordships* onely means, against the greatest opposition, her *Majesty* graunted me, I would never

never trouble her *Majesty*, but serve her still voluntarily, without pay. Neither, doe I, in this, more, than obey my Friends Conceits, as one that would not be, wholly wanting to my Self. Your *Lordships* good opinion, doth somewhat confirm me, as that I take comfort in, above all others; Assuring your *Lordship*, that I never thought so well of my Self, for any one thing, as that I have found a fitness, to my Thinking, in my Self, to observe, and revere, your Vertues. For the Continuance whereof, in the prolonging, of your dayes, I will still be your Beadsman; And accordingly, at this time, commend your *Lordship*, to the *Divine Protection*.

## *To* Foulk Grevil.

*SIR*,

I Understand of your paines, to have visited me; For which I thank you. My *Matter* is an endlesse *Question*. I assure you, I had said; *Requiesce anima mea*: But now, I am otherwise put, to my *psalter*; *Nolite confidere*. I dare go no farther. Her *Majesty*, had by set speech, more than once, assured me, of her Intention, to call me to her service; which I could not understand, but of the place, I had been named to. And now, whether *Invidus Homo hoc fecit*; Or whether my *Matter*, must be an *Appendix* to my *Lo: of Essex* sute; Or whether her *Majesty*, pretending to prove my Ability, meaneth, but to take advantage, of some Errours, which, like enough, at one time, or other, I may commit; Or what it is; But her *Majesty*, is not ready, to dispatch it. And what though the *Mr. of the Rowles*, and my *Lo: of Essex*, and your self, and others, think my case without doubt; yet in the mean time, I have a hard condition, to stand so, that whatsoever service, I do to her *Majesty*, it shall be thought to be, but *servitium viscatum*, lime-twiggs, and Fetches, to place my self; And so I shall have Envy, not Thanks. This is a Course, to quench all good spirits, and to Corrupt every Mans Nature; which will, I fear, much hurt, her *Majesties* Service, in the end. I have been like a piece of Stuff, bespoken in the shopp: And if her *Majesty*, will not take me, it may be, the selling by parcels, will be more gainfull. For to be, as I told you, like a Child, following a Bird, which when he is neareſt, flyeth away, and lighteth a little before, and then the Child after it again, and so in *Infinitum*, I am weary of it: As also, of wearying my good Friends; Of whom, Nevertheless, I hope, in one course or other, gratefully to deserve. And so, not forgetting your Businesse, I leave to trouble you, with this idle *Letter*, being but *Justa*, *& Moderata Querimonia*. For indeed, I do confesse, *primus Amor*, will not easily be cast off. And thus again, I commend me to you.

To

## *To the* Lord Treasurer Burghley.

*Most* Honourable, *and my very good* Lord.

I Know, I may commit an Errour, in writing this *Letter*, both in a time, of great, and weighty Businesse; As also, when my self, am not induced thereto, by any new particular occasion: And therefore, your *Lordship* may impute to me, either Levity, or Ignorance, what appertaineth to good respects, and forwardnesse of Dealing; Especially to an *Honourable Person*, in whom there is such concurrence, of *Magnitudo Honoris, & Oneris*; As it is hard to say, whether is the greater. But I answer my self first, that I have ever noted it, as a part, of your *Lordships* excellent Wisedome, *Parvis componere Magna*; That you do not exclude inferiour matters, of Accesse, amongst the Care of great. And for my self, I thought, it would better manifest, what I desire to expresse, if I did write out of a deep, and settled consideration, of mine own Duty, rather than upon the spurre of a particular Occasion. And therefore, (my singular good *Lord*) *Ex abundantiâ cordis*, I must acknowledge, how greatly, and diversly, your *Lordship* hath vouchsafed, to tye me unto you, by Many your Benefits. The Reversion of the *Office*, which your *Lordship* Onely procured unto me, and carried through great, and vehement, Opposition, though it yet bear no fruit, yet it is one of the faireſt Flowers, of my poor Estate; your *Lordships* constant, and serious Endeavours, to have me *Solliciter*: your late honourable Wishes, for the place of the *Wards*: Together with your *Lordships* Attempt, to give me way, by the Remove of Mr. *Solliciter*; They be Matters, of singular obligation; Besides many other favours, as well by your *Lordships* Graunts, from your Self, as by your Commendation to others, which I have had for my help; And may justly perswade my Self, out of the few Denials, I have received, that fewer mought have been; if mine own Industry, and good happ, had been answerable to your *Lordships* Goodnes. But on the other side, I most humbly pray your *Lordships* pardon, if I speak it. The time is yet to come, that your *Lordship* did ever use, or command, or employ me, in my profession, in any Services, or Occasions, of your *Lordships* own, or such as are near unto your *Lordship*: which hath made me, fear, sometimes, that your *Lordship* doth more honourably affect me, than throughly discern, of my most humble, and dutifull Affection, to your *Lordship* again. Which if it were not in me, I knew not, whether I were unnaturall, unthankfull, or unwise. This causeth me, most humbly to pray your *Lordship*; (And I know mine own case too well, to speak it as weening, I can do your *Lordship* service, but as willing to do it;) To believe, that your *Lordship* is, upon just *Title*, a principall Owner, and proprietary, of

that,

that, I cannot call *Talent*, but *Mite*, that *God* hath given me; which I ever do, and ſhall, devote to your ſervice. And in like humble manner, I pray your *Lordſhip*, to pardon mine Errours, and not to impute unto me, the Errours of any other; (which I know alſo, themſelves, have, by this time, left, and forethought:) But to conceive of me, to be a Man, that daily profitteth in Duty. It is true, I do, in part, comfort my ſelf, ſuppoſing that it is my Weakneſſe, and inſufficiency, that moveth your *Lordſhip*, who hath ſo generall a command, to uſe others more able. But let it be as it is; For Duty onely, and Homage, I will boldly undertake, that Nature, and true Thankfulneſſe, ſhall never give place, to a politick dependance. Laſtly, I moſt humbly deſire your *Lordſhip*, to continue unto me, the good favour, and countenance, and Encouragement, in the Courſe of my poor Travails; whereof I have had, ſome taſte, and experience; For the which, I yield your *Lordſhip*, my very humble good thanks. And ſo again, craving your *Honours* pardon, for ſo long a *Letter*, carrying ſo empty an offer, of ſo unpuiſſant a ſervice; But yet a true, and unfeigned, ſignification, of an honeſt, and vowed duty; I ceaſe, commending your *Lordſhip*, to the preſervation, of the *Divine Majeſty*.

## *To my* Lord of Eſſex.

*Moſt* Honourable, *and my Singular good* Lord,

I Cannot but importune your *Lordſhip*, with thanks, for your *Lordſhips* remembring my name, to my *Lord Keeper*; which being done, in ſuch an Article of time, could not, but be exceedingly enriched, both in demonſtration, and effect: which I did well diſcern, by the manner of expreſſing thereof, by his *Lordſhip*, again to me. This accumulating of your *Lordſhips* Favours, upon me, hitherto, worketh onely this effect; That it raiſeth my mind, to aſpire, to be found worthy of them; And likewiſe, to merit, and ſerve you, for them. But whether I ſhall be able to pay my vowes, or no, I muſt leave that to *God*, who hath them in *depoſito*. Whom alſo, I moſt inſtantly beſeech, to give you fruit of your actions, beyond that your Heart can propound. *Nam Deus major eſt corde*. Even to the *Environing* of his *Benedictions*, I recommend your *Lordſhip*.

*To*

## To Sir Thomas Lucy.

SIR, There was no Newes, better welcom to me, this long time, than that, of the good Succeſs, of my Kinſman; wherein, if he be happy, he cannot be happy alone, it conſiſting of two parts. And I render you, no leſs kinde Thanks, for your aid, and Favour, towards him, than if it had been for my Self; Aſſuring you, that this Bond of Alliance, ſhall, on my part, tye me, to give all the Tribute, to your good Fortune, upon all occaſions, that my poor Strength can yield. I ſend you, ſo required, an *Abſtract*, of the *Lands* of *Inheritance*; And one *Leaſe* of great value, which my *Kinſman* bringeth; with a Note, of the *Tenures*, *Valews*, *Contents*, and *State*, truly, and perfectly, drawen; whereby you may perceive, the *Land* is good *Land*, and well countenanced, by ſcope of *Acres*, *Woods*, and *Royalties*; Though the *Total* of the *Rents*, be ſet down, as it now goeth, without Improvement: In which reſpect, it may ſomewhat differ, from your firſt Note. Out of this, what he will aſſure in *Jointure*, I leave it, to his own kindneſs; For I love not to meaſure Affection. To conclude, I doubt not, your *Daughter*, mought have married, to a better *Living*, but never to a better *Life*; Having choſen a *Gentleman*, bred to all Honeſty, Vertue, and Worth, with an Eſtate convenient. And if my Brother, or my Self, were either Thrivers, or Fortunate, in the *Queens* Service, I would hope, there ſhould be left, as great an Houſe, of the *Cookes*, in this Gentleman, as in your good Friend, Mr. *Atturney General*. But ſure I am, if *Scriptures* fail not, it will have as much of Gods Bleſſings and Sufficiency, is ever the beſt Feaſt, &c.

## To Sir Robert Cecil, *at his Being in* France.

*It may pleaſe your* Honourable Lordſhip,

I Know you will pardon, this my Obſervance, in writing to you, empty of matter, but out of the fulneſs of my Love. I am ſorry, that as your time of Abſence, is prolonged, above that was eſteemed at your *Lordſhips* ſetting forth; So now, upon this laſt Advertiſement, received from you, there groweth an Opinion, amongſt better than the vulgar, that the Difficulties alſo of your Negotiation, are encreaſed. But becauſe, I know the Gravity, of your Nature, to be, not to hope lightly, it maketh me to deſpair the leſs. For you are *Natus ad Ardua*: And the Indiſpoſition, of the Subject, may honour the Skill of the Workman. Sure I am, Judgement, and Diligence, ſhall not want in your *Lordſhips Self*: But this was not my purpoſe; Being onely to ſignifie unto your *Lordſhip*, my continual, and inceſſant, love towards you, thirſting

sting after your Return, for many respects. So I commend you ever, to the good preservation, of the *Divine Majesty*. *Grayes Inne.*

At your *Honours* Commandement, ever, and particularly.

## *To Sir* Robert Cecil.

My *singulvr good* Lord,

THe Argument of my *Letters*, to your *Lordship*, rather encreaseth, than spendeth; It being only the Desire, I have, to salute you: which by your absence is more augmented, than abated. For me to write your *Lordship* Occurrences, either of *Scotish* Braggs, or *Irish* Plaints, or *Spanish* Ruffling, or *Low-Countrey* States, were, (besides that it is *alienum quiddam*, from mine own humour,) To forget, to whom I write; save that you, that know true Advertisements, sometimes desire, and delight, to hear common Reports; As we, that know, but common Reports, desire to hear the Truth. But to leave such, as write to your Fortunes, I write to your self, in regard of my love to you; you being as near to me, in Hearts Bloud, as in Bloud of Descent. This day, I had the Contentment, to see your *Father*, upon Occasion: And methought, his *Lordships* Countenance, was not decayed, nor his Cough vehement; But his Voice, was as faint, all the while, as at first. Thus wishing your *Lordship*, a happy, and speedy Return, I commend you, to the *Divine Majesty*.

## *To the* Queen.

*It may please your* sacred Majesty,

I Would not fail, to give your *Majesty*, my most humble, and due Thanks, for your *Royal* choice, of such Commissioners, in the great *Starre-chamber* Cause; Being persons, besides their Honour, of such Science, and Integrity. By whose Report, I doubt not, but your *Majesty*, will finde that, which you have been heretofore enfotmed, (both by my Lord *Keeper*, and by some much meaner person,) touching the Nature, of that Cause, to be true. This preparatory Hearing, doth already assail me, with new, and enlarged Offers, of Composition; which if I had born a minde, to have hearkned unto, this matter had been quenched long agoe, without any benefit to your *Majesty*. But your *Majesties* Benefit, is to me, in greater regard, than mine own particular: Trusting to your *Majesties* gracious disposition, and *Royal* word, that your

*Majesty*, will include me, in any extraordinary Course, of your *Soveraign* pleasure, which your *Majesty* shall like, to take, in this Cause. The other Man, I spoke to your *Majesty* of, may, within these two Terms, be in the same streights, between your *Majesties* Justice, and Mercy, that this Man now is, if your *Majesty* be so pleased. So most humbly craving pardon, for my presuming, to seek accesse, for these few Lines, I recommend your *Majesty*, to the most precious Custody, and best preservation, of the *Divine Majesty*.

Your *Majesties*, most humble, and entirely obedient, *Servant*, and *Subject*.

## To the Queen.

*It may please your* Majesty,

*Written by Mr. Bacon, for my Lord of Essex.*

IT were great simplicity in me, to look for better, than that your *Majesty*, should cast away my *Letter*, as you have done Me; were it not, that it is possible, your *Majesty*, will think to find somewhat in it, whereupon your displeasure may take hold; And so Indignation, may obtain that of you, which Favour could not. Neither mought I, in reason, presume to offer, unto your *Majesty*, dead lines, my self being excluded as I am; Were it not upon this onely Argument, or Subject; Namely, to clear my self, in point of *Duty*. *Duty*, though my State, lye buried in the Sands; And my Favours, be cast upon the Waters; And my Honours, be committed to the Wind; Yet standeth surely built, upon the *Rock*, and hath been, and ever shall be, unforced, and unattempted. And therefore, since the *world*, out of Errour, and your *Majesty*, I fear, out of *Art*, is pleased to put upon me; That I have so much, as any Election, or Will, in this my Absence, from Attendance; I cannot but leave, this Protestation, with your *Majesty*; That I am, and have been, meerly a patient, and take my self, onely to obey, and execute your *Majesties* will. And indeed, *Madam*, I had never thought it possible, that your *Majesty*, could have so dis-interessed your self of me; Nor that you had been so perfect, in the Art of forgetting; Nor that after a Quintessence of Wormwood, your *Majesty* would have taken so large a Draught of Poppy; As to have passed, so many Summers, without all Feeling of my Sufferings. But the onely Comfort I have, is this, that I know your *Majesty* taketh Delight, and Contentment, in executing, this Disgrace upon me. And since your *Majesty*, can find no other use of me, I am glad yet, I can serve for that. Thus making my most humble petition, to your *Majesty*, that in Justice, (Howsoever you may by strangeness, untye, or by violence cut Asunder all other Knotts,) your *Majesty*, would not touch me, in that which is indissoluble;

That

That is, point of *Duty*: And that your *Majesty* will pardon, this my un-warranted presumption, of writing, being to such an end: I cease in all Humblenesse;

Your *Majesties* poor, and never so unworthy *Servant*,
*Essex*.

## *To my* Lord of Essex.

*It may please your* Lordship,

THat your *Lordship* is, in *Statu quo prius*, no Man taketh greater gladnesse, than I do; The rather, because I assure my self, that of your *Eclipses*, as this hath been the longest, it shall be the least; As the *Comicall Poet* saith; *Neque illam tu satis noveras, neque te illa, hoc ubi sit, ibi non vivitur.* For if I may be so bold, as to say what I think: I believe, neither your *Lordship* looked to have found her *Majesty*, in all points, as you have done; Neither her *Majesty*, per case, looked, to find your *Lordship*, as she hath done. And therefore, I hope, upon this experience, may grow more perfect Knowledge, and upon Knowledge, more true Consent; VVhich I, for my part, do infinitely wish, as accounting these Accidents to be like the *Fish Remora*; which, though it be not great, yet hath it a hidden propriety, to hinder the sailing of the ship. And therefore, as bearing unto your *Lordship*, after her *Majesty*, of all publick persons, the second Duty, I could not but signifie unto you, my affectionate Gratulation. And so, I commend your good *Lordship*, to the best preservation, of the *Divine Majesty*.

From *Grayes Inne*.

## *To my* Lord Treasurer Burghley.

*My* Lord,

WIth as much confidence, as mine own honest, and faithfull Devotion unto your Service, and your honourable Correspondence unto me, and my poor estate, can breed in a Man, doe I commend my self unto your *Lordship*. I waxe now somewhat ancient; One and thirty yeares, is a great deal of sand, in the Houre-glasse. My Health, I thank *God*, I find confirmed; And I do not fear, that Action shall impair it; Because I account, my ordinary course of Study, and Meditation, to be more painfull, than most parts of Action are. I ever bare a mind, (in some middle place, that I could discharge,) to serve her *Majesty*; Not

as a Man, born under *Sol*, that loveth *Honour*; Nor under *Jupiter*, that loveth *Businesse*; (For the *Contemplative Planet*, carrieth me away wholly,) but as a Man, born under an Excellent *Soveraign*, that deserveth the Dedication, of all Mens Abilities. Besides, I doe not finde, in my self, so much Self-love, but that the greater parts, of my Thoughts are, to deserve well, (if I were able,) of my Frends, and namely of your *Lordship*; who being the *Atlas*, of this *Commonwealth*, the *Honour* of my *House*, and the second *Founder* of my poor *Estate*, I am tyed, by all duties, both of a good *Patriot*, and of an unworthy *Kinsman*, and of an Obliged *Servant*, to employ whatsoever I am, to doe you Service. Again, the Meanness of my Estate, doth somewhat move me: For though I cannot accuse my Self, that I am either prodigal, or sloathfull, yet my Health is not to spend, nor my Course to get. Lastly, I confesse, that I have, as vast *Contemplative Ends*, as I have moderate *Civil* Ends: For I have taken all Knowledge, to be my *Province*; And if I could purge, it of two sort of Rovers, whereof the one, with frivolous Disputations, Confutations, and Verbosities; The other, with blind Experiments, and Auricular Traditions, and Impostures; hath committed so many spoils; I hope, I should bring in, Industrious Observations, grounded Conclusions, and profitable Inventions and Discoveries, the best State of that *Province*. This, whether it be Curiosity, or Vain-glory, or Nature, or, (if one take it favourably,) *Philanthropia*, is so fixed in my minde, as it cannot be removed. And I doe easily see, that *Place* of any *Reasonable Countenance*, doth bring commandement, of more *Wits*, than of a Mans own; which is the Thing I greatly affect. And for your *Lordship*, perhaps you shall not finde more Strength, and less Encounter, in any other. And if your *Lordship*, shall finde now, or at any time, that I doe seek, or affect, any place, whereunto any that is nearer unto your *Lordship*, shall be concurrent, say then, that I am a most dishonest Man. And if your *Lordship*, will not carry me on, I will not doe as *Anaxagoras* did, who reduced himself, with Contemplation, unto voluntary poverty; But this I will doe, I will sell the *Inheritance*, that I have, and purchase some *Lease*, of quick Revenew, or some *Office* of *Gain*, that shall be executed by *Deputy*, and so give over, all Care of Service, and become some sorry *Booke-maker*, or a true *Pioner*, in that *Mine of Truth*, which (he said,) *lay so deep*. This which I have writ unto your *Lordship*, is rather Thoughts, than Words, being set down without all Art, Disguizing, or Reservation. Wherein I have done honour, both to your *Lordships* Wisdom, in judging, that that will be best believed of your *Lordship*, which is truest; And to your *Lordships* good Nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so, I wish your *Lordship*, all Happiness, and to my Self, Means and Occasion, to be added, to my faithfull desire, to doe you Service. From my Lodging at *Grays Inne*.

## *To the* Lord Treasurer Burghley.

*My singular good* Lord,

YOur *Lordships* comfortable Relation, of her *Majesties* gracious Opinion, and Meaning towards me, though, at that time, your leisure gave me not leave, to shew how I was affected therewith; yet upon every Representation thereof, it entreth, and striketh, more deeply into me, as both my Nature, and Duty, presseth me, to return some Speach of Thankfulness. It must be, an exceeding Comfort, and Encouragement to me; setting forth, and putting my Self, in way, towards her *Majesties* service, to encounter with an Example, so private, and domestical, of her *Majesties* gracious Goodness, and Benignity; Being made good, and verified, in my *Father*, so far forth, as it extendeth, to his *Posterity*; Accepting them, as commended by his service, during the Nonage, (as I may term it,) of their own Deserts. I, for my part, am very well content, that I take least part, either of his Abilities of Minde, or of his Wordly Advancement; Both which he held, and received, the one of the Gift of *God* immediately, the other of her *Majesties* Gift: Yet, in the loyal, and earnest Affection, which he bare to her *Majesties* Service, I trust, my portion shall not be with the least, nor in proportion with the youngest Birth. For methinks, his President, should be a silent charge, upon his Blessing, unto us all, in our Degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her *Majesties* Service, both the use, and spending, of our Lives. True it is, that I must needs acknowledge my self, prepared, and furnished thereunto, with nothing, but with a Multitude, of Lacks, & Imperfections; But calling to mind, how diversely, and in what particular providence, *God* hath declared himself, to tender the State, of her *Majesties* Affairs, I conceive, and gather hope, that those, whom he hath, in a manner, prest, for her *Majesties* Service, by working, and imprinting in them, a single, and zealous minde, to bestow their duties therein; He will see them, accordingly appointed, of Sufficiency convenient, for the Rank, and Standing, where they shall be employed: So as under this her *Majesties* Blessing, I trust, to receive, a larger allowance, of *Gods* Graces. And as I may hope for this, so I can assure, and promise, for my Endeavour, that it shall not be in fault: But what Diligence, can entitle me unto, that, I doubt not, to recover. And now seeing, it hath pleased her *Majesty*, to take knowledge, of this my Mind, and to vouchsafe, to appropriate me, unto her Service, preventing any desert of mine, with her Princely liberality; First, I am humbly, to beseech your *Lordship*, to present to her *Majesty*, my more than humble Thanks, for the same: And withall, having regard, to mine own unworthiness, to receive such Favour; And to the small possibility, in me, to satisfie, and answer, what her *Majesty* conceiveth;

ceiveth; I am moved to become, a moſt humble *Suter* to her *Majeſty*, that this Benefit alſo, may be affixed, unto the other: which is; That if there appear in me, no ſuch Towardneſs, of Service, as it may be her *Majeſty*, doth benignly value, and aſſeſs me at; by reaſon of my ſundry wants, and the diſadvantage of my Nature, being unapt to lay forth, the Simple Store, of thoſe inferiour Gifts, which God hath allotted unto me, moſt to view; yet that it would pleaſe her Excellent *Majeſty*, not to account my Thankfulneſs, the leſs, for that my Diſability is great, to ſhew it; But to ſuſtain me, in her *Majeſties* gracious opinion, whereupon I onely reſt, and not upon any expectation of Deſert, to proceed from my Self, towards the Contentment thereof. But if it ſhall pleaſe *God*, to ſend forth an occaſion, whereby my faithfull Affection, may be tryed, I truſt, it ſhall ſave me labour, for ever making, more proteſtation of it hereafter. In the mean time, howſoever it be not made known to her *Majeſty*, yet *God* knoweth it, through the daily ſollicitations, wherewith I addreſs my ſelf unto him, in unfeigned prayer, for the Multiplying, of her *Majeſties* proſperities. To your *Lordſhip* alſo, whoſe Recommendation, I know right well, hath been material, to advance, her *Majeſties* good opinion, of me, I can be but a bounden Servant. So much may I ſafely premiſe, and purpoſe to be, ſeeing publick, and private Bonds, vary not, but that my Service, to her *Majeſty*, and your *Lordſhip*, draw in a Line. I wiſh therefore, to ſhew it, with as good proof, as I can ſay it, in good faith, &c.

Your *Lordſhips*, &c.

## To Sir Robert Cecil.

*It may pleaſe your good* Honour;

I Am apt enough, to contemn *Mendacia Famæ*; yet it is with this Diſtinction; As *Fame* walks among Inferiours, and not as it hath Entrance into ſome Ears. And yet, nevertheleſs, in that kinde alſo, I intend to avoid a ſuſpicious ſilence, but not to make any baſe *Apology*. It is blown about the Town, that I ſhould give opinion, touching my Lord of *Eſſex* Cauſe; Firſt, that it was a *Præmunire*; And now laſt, that it reached to *High Treaſon*. And this Opinion, ſhould be given, in oppoſition, to the Opinion, of the *Lord Chief Juſtice*, and of Mr. *Atturney General*. *Sir*, I thank *God*, whatſoever Opinion, my Head ſerveth me to deliver, to her *Majeſty*, being asked, My Heart ſerveth me to maintain, the ſame honeſt Duty, directing me, and aſſiſting me. But the utter untruth of this Report, *God*, and the *Queen* can witneſs; And the Improbability of it, every Man that hath Wit, more or leſſe, can conceive. The Root of this, I diſcern to be, not ſo much, a light,

and

and humorous Envy, at my Acceſſes to her *Majeſty*; (which of her *Majeſties* grace, being begun in my firſt years, I would be ſorry ſhe ſhould eſtraunge in my laſt years; (For ſo I account them, reckoning by *Health*, not by *Age*;) As a deep Malice, to your Honourable Self; upon whom, by me, through nearneſs, they think, to make ſome Aſperſion. But as I know no Remedy, againſt Libels, and Lies; So I hope, it ſhall make, no manner of Diſſeverance, of your *Honourable* good Conceits, and Affection towards me; which is the Thing I confeſſe to fear. For as for any violence, to be offered to me, wherewith my Friends tell me, to no ſmall terrour, that I am threatned; I thank *God*, I have the privy Coat, of a good Conſcience; And have, a good while ſince, put off any fearfull care of Life, or the Accidents of Life. So deſiring to be preſerved, in your good Opinion, I remain.

## *To the* Queen.

*It may pleaſe your moſt excellent* Majeſty,

I Preſume, according to the Ceremony, and good manner of the Time, and my accuſtomed Duty, in all Humbleneſſe, to preſent your *Majeſty*, with a ſimple Gift; Almoſt as farre from anſwering my Mind, as ſorting with your Greatneſſe; And therewith wiſh, that we may continue to reckon on, and ever, your *Majeſties* happy yeares of *Reign*: And they that reckon upon any other Hopes, I would they mought reckon ſhort, and to their Coſt. And ſo craving pardon, moſt humbly, I commend your *Majeſty*, to the preſervation, of the *Divine Goodneſſe*.

## *To the* Queen.

*It may pleaſe your moſt excellent* Majeſty,

I Moſt humbly entreat your *Majeſty*, not to impute my abſence, to any weakneſſe of mind, or unworthineſſe. But I aſſure your *Majeſty*, I do find Envy beating ſo ſtrongly upon me, ſtanding as I do, (if this be to ſtand,) as it were not Strength of Mind, but Stupidity, if I ſhould not decline the Occaſions; Except I could doe your *Majeſty* more Service, than I can, any wayes diſcern, that I am able to doe. My Courſe towards your *Majeſty*, (*God* is my witneſſe,) hath been pure, and unleavened: And never poor *Gentleman*, (as I am perſwaded,) had a deeper, and truer deſire, and care of your glory, your ſafety, your Repoſe of Mind, your ſervice: Wherein, if I have exceeded, my outward vocation, I moſt hum-

humbly crave your *Majesties* pardon, for my presumption. On the other side, if I have come short, of my inward vocation, I most humbly crave *Gods* pardon, for *quenching the Spirit*. But in this mind, I find such solitude, and want of comfort; which I judge to be, because I take Duty too exactly, and not according to the Dreggs, of this Age; wherein the old *Antheme*, mought never be more truly sung; *Totus mundus in maligno positus est*. My Life hath been threatned, and my Name libelled, which I count an Honor. But these are the practices of those, whose despairs are dangerous; But yet not so dangerous as their Hopes: Or else the Devices of some, that would put out, all your *Majesties* lights, and fall on reckoning, how many years you have reigned; which I beseech our *blessed Saviour* may be doubled; And that I may never live, to see, any Eclipse of your glory, Interruption of safety, or Indisposition of your *person*; which I commend to the *Divine Majesty*, who keep you, and fortifie you.

## *To my* Lord Hen. Howard.

*My* Lord,

THere be very few besides your self, to whom I would perform this Respect. For I contemn *Mendacia Famæ*, as it walkes among Inferiours; Though I neglect it not, as it may have entrance, into some Eare. For your *Lordships* Love, rooted upon good opinion, I esteem it highly, because I have tasted of the Fruits of it; And we both have tasted, of the best waters, in my accompt, to knit minds together. There is shaped a Tale, in *Londons* Forge, that beateth apace at this time; That I should deliver opinion, to the *Queen*, in my *Lord of Essex* cause. First, that it was *premunire*; And now last, that it was *High Treason*; And this opinion, to be in opposition, and Encounter, of the *Lord chief Justices* Opinion, and the *Atturney Generalls*. My *Lord*, (I thank *God*) my wit serveth me not, to deliver any Opinion, to the *Qeen* which my Stomach, serveth me not, to maintain: One, and the same, Conscience of Duty, guiding me, and fortifying me. But the untruth of this *Fable*, *God*, and my *Soveraign*, can witnesse; And there I leave it: Knowing no more Remedy against *lies*, than others doe against *libells*. The Root, no question of it, is; partly, some light-headed Envy, at my Accesses to her *Majesty*; Which being begun, and continued, since my childhood, as long as her *Majesty*, shall think me worthy of them, I scorn those, that shall think the contrary. And another Reason is, the Aspersion of this Tale; And the Envy thereof, upon some greater Man, in regard of my Nearnesse. And therefore, (my *Lord*) I pray you, answer for me, to any person, that you think worthy, your own Reply, and my defence.

fence. For my *Lord of Essex*, I am not servile to him, having regard to my superiours Duty. I have been much bound unto him. And on the other side, I have spent more time, and more thoughts, about his well-doing, than I ever did about mine own. I pray *God*, you his Friends, amongst you, be in the right. *Nulla Remedia, tam faciunt dolorem, quam quæ sunt salutaria.* For my part, I have deserved better, than to have my Name, objected to Envy, or my Life, to a Ruffians violence. But I have the privy Coat, of a good Conscience. I am sure, these Courses, and Bruits, hurt my *Lord* more than all. So having written to your *Lordship*, I desire exceedingly, to be preferred, in your good Opinion, and Love. And so leave you, to *Gods* Goodnesse.

## *The* Earl *of* Essex Letter, *to the* Councill, *at his Embarquing for* Spain. *June* 1596.

*My very good* Lords;

HAving taken order, for all things, that belong to our *Land-Forces*; And staying onely, till the *Shipps* be ready, to take in our *Souldiers*, I am come aboard, as well to draw other Men, by my example, to leave the shore; As to have time, and leasure, to ask account of my self, what other duty I have to do, besides the Governing of those *Troups*; And the using of them to good purpose. In which Meditation, as I first study, to please my most gracious *Soveraign*, as well as to serve her; So my next care is, to leave your *Lordships* well satisfied, of my passed Carriage, since I was nominated to this Service; And apt, to make favourable Construction, of what I shall do hereafter.

In my past Carriage, I will neither plead Merit, nor Excuse Imperfections: For whatsoever, I shall be able to do, I know, is lesse than I owe; And besides, my Faults, my very Faith, and Zeal, (which are the best things in me,) do make me commit Errours. But I would fain, approve the Matter it self, of undertaking this service, to have been good, howsoever my former have been erroneous; Or at least, my Intent, and Ends, unblameable, though my Judgement were faulty. Your *Lordships* know, it hath been the Wisedome of all Times, rather to attempt, and do something, in another Countrey, than to attend an Enemy, and be in danger much, in our own. And if this Rule, among the *Ancients*, was generally held true, it might be better allowed of us, in particular cases, where a State, little in Territory, not extraordinarily rich, and defended onely with it self, shall have to doe, with another State, that hath *Many*, and *ample Dominions*, the *Treasure* of the *Indies*, and all the *Mercenaries*, of *Christendome*, to serve it. For we have, as the *Athenians*,

*ans* had, with the auncient uſurping *Philip*; *Prælium Facile, Bellum Difficile*. Therefore, it is our Diſadvantage, to draw the Warr into Length. And if any Man, in this *Kingdom*, ſhould be allowed, to perſwade to prevention, he might be one, that ſaw the *Spaniard* at home, apprehend an Invaſion, with greater Terrour, than he makes it abroad: And that was a Witneſs, how an Handfull of Men, neither armed, victualled, nor ordered, as they ſhould be, landed, marched, and had done what they liſted, if either the *Ships* had come up, or they had had any proviſions, to make a Hole in a Wall, or to break open a Gate. But though the Counſel be good for ſome *States*, and for ours, at ſome times, yet the Opportunities ought to be watched, and it muſt appear, that this it is, which is now taken. The Opportunity, for ſuch Service, I take to be, when either the Enemy, May receive the moſt hurt; Or when he is likelieſt, to attempt againſt us, if he be not empeached. The Hurt, that our Eſtate ſhould ſeek, to doe him, is; To intercept his Treaſure, whereby we ſhall cut his Sinnews, and make Warr upon him, with his own Money; And to beat, or at leaſt diſcontinew him, from the Sea, whereby her *Majeſty* ſhall be, both ſecured from his Invaſions, and become *Miſtris* of the Sea; which is the Greatneſs, that the *Queen* of an *Iſland*, ſhould moſt aſpire unto. In matter of Profit, we may, this Journey, moſt hurt him, and benefit our Selves; Since he hath, (as is agreed on by all Men,) more *Caracks*, to come home now, than ever any year before. Beſides many good Advantages, which will be offered, if we command the Coaſt. And to give him a Blow, and diſcountenance him by Sea, now is the Time, when he hath declared his Ambition, to command the Seas; And yet, ſo divided his *Fleets*; Some appointed to be ſet out, and yet ſcant in readineſs; others upon point of Comming home, and not fit to defend themſelves, if either they be met at Sea, or found in Harbour; And all ſo diſperſed, in ſeveral places, as if at any time, we might doe good, that way, it is now. And whether he will make Warr upon us, if we let him alone; Let his Sollicitations, Offers, and Gifts to the *Rebells* of *Ireland*; Hi, beſieging, and winning of *Calais*, and thoſe parts of *France*, that front upon us; And his ſtrengthening himſelf by Sea, by ſo many means; Let theſe things (I ſay,) tell us. So as, if we will, at any time, allow the Counſel of prevention, to be reaſonable, we muſt now confeſs it, to be opportune. But whatſoever the Counſel were, I am not to be charged with it, For as I was not the Contriver, nor Offerer, of the Project, ſo if I had refuſed to joyn with him, that did invite me to it, I ſhould have been thought, both Incompatible, and Backward, in her *Majeſties* Service. I ſay not this, for that I think the Action ſuch, as it were Diſadvantage, to be thought the Projector of it; But I ſay, and ſay truly, that my *Lord Admiral* deviſed it, preſented it to her *Majeſty*, and had as well the Approbation

probation of her *Majeſty*, and the Aſſent of ſuch of your *Lordſhips*, as were acquainted with it, as my Promiſe to goe with him. One thing, (I confeſs,) I above all Men, am to be charged withall: That is; That when her *Majeſties*, the Cities of *London*, and the States of the *Low-Countries* charge was paſt, the Men levied, and marching, to the *Rendez-vous*; I could not ſee, how with her *Majeſties* Honour, and Safety, the Journey might be broken. Wherein, although I ſhould be carried with paſſion, yet I pray your *Lordſhips* conſider, who, almoſt, that had been in my Caſe, named to ſuch an Action, voiced throughout *Chriſtendom*, and engaged in it, as much as I was worth; And being the Inſtrument, of drawing, more voluntary Men, of their own charge, than ever was ſeen theſe many years: Who (I ſay,) would not have been ſo affected? But farr be it from me, in an *Action*, of this importance, to weigh my Self, or my particular Fortunes. I muſt beſeech your *Lordſhips*, to remember, that I was, from time to time, warranted, by all your opinions, delivered both amongſt your ſelves, and to her *Majeſty*: Which tieth you all, to allow the Counſel. And that being graunted, your *Lordſhips*, will call that Zeal, which maketh a Man conſtant, in a good Counſel, that would be Paſſion, in an evil, or a doubtfull. I confeſs, her *Majeſty*, offered us Recompence, for all our charges and loſſes. But, (my *Lords*,) I pray your *Lordſhips* conſider, how many Things, I ſhould have ſold, at once, for money. I will leave mine own reputation as too ſmall a Matter to be mentioned. But I ſhould have ſold; The Honour of her *Majeſty*; The ſafety of the *State*; The Contentment of her *Confederates*; The Fortune and Hope, of many my poor *Countrey-Men*; And The Poſſibility, of giving a *Blow*, to that *Enemy*, that ought ever to be hateſull, to all true *Engliſh Hearts*. I ſhould have ſold all this, for private profit. Therefore, though I ask pardon of her *Majeſty*, and pray your *Lordſhips*, to mediate it for me, that I was carried by this Zeal ſo faſt, that I forgat thoſe Reverend Forms, which I ſhould have uſed; yet I had rather, have my *Heart*, out of my Body, than this Zeal, out of my *Heart*. And now, as I have laid before your *Lordſhips*, my paſt carriage, and entring into this *Action*; So I beſeech your *Lordſhips*, give me leave, to prepare you, to a favourable Conſtruction, of that, which I ſhall doe hereafter. In which Sute, I am reſolved, neither to plead the Hazarding of Life, nor ſpending of my Subſtance, in a Publick Service; To the end, that I might find your *Lordſhips*, (who are *publick perſons*,) more favourable *Judges*: But will confeſs, that I receive, ſo much Favour, and Honour, by this Truſt, and Employment, as when I have done all I can, I ſhall ſtill be behind hand. This Sute only I make, that your *Lordſhips*, will neither have too great an Expectation, of our Actions, nor too little; Leſt all we doe, ſeem either Nothing, or to be done by Chance. I know, we muſt be tyed, to doe no more, than ſhall be

for her *Majeſties* Service, nor no leſs. In which ſtrait way, though it be hard for ſo weak a Man as my Self, to walk upright; yet the Example, of our raw Souldiers, may comfort, an unſufficient *General.* For they, till they grow perfect, in all their Orders, and Motions, are ſo afraid to be out, and with ſuch a continual heedfulneſs, obſerve, both themſelves, and thoſe that are near them, that they doe keep, almoſt, as good order, at the firſt, as ever after. I am ſure, I am as diſtruſtfull of my Self, as they. And becauſe I have more Senſe of Duty, I ſhall be more Induſtrious. For *Sea Service*, the Judgement of my *Honourable Companion*, ſhall be my Compaſs. And for *Land*, his Aſſent, and the Advice of thoſe her *Majeſty* hath named, as *Counſellors* at Warr, ſhall be my Warranties. It will be Honour to her *Majeſty*, and a great Aſſurance to her State, if we either bring home wealth, or give the *King* of *Spain*, a blow by Sea. But to have made a continual Diverſion, and to have left, as it were, a Thorn, ſticking in his Foot, had been a Work worthy, of ſuch a *Queen*, and of ſuch a *Preparation.* For then, her *Majeſty*, ſhould have heard no more, of his Intentions for *Ireland*, and Attempts upon the *Coaſt* of *France*; Or his drawing, of *Ships*, or *Galley's*, into theſe *Narrow Seas*; But ſhould at once, have delivered all *Chriſtendom*, from his fearfull *Uſurpation.* Wherein, as She had been great in *Fame*, for ſuch a general preſervation; So ſhe had been as great in *Power*, in making, all the Enemies of *Spain*, in *Chriſtendom*, to depend upon Her. She ſhould be *Head* of the Party; She onely might be ſaid, to make the *Warrs* with *Spain*, becauſe ſhe made them to purpoſe; And they all, but as her Aſſiſtants, and Dependants. And laſtly, as the End of the *Warrs* is *Peace*; So ſhe might have had *Peace*, when ſhe would, and with what Conditions ſhe would, and have included, or left out, whom ſhe would. For ſhe only, by this courſe, ſhould force him, to wiſh for Peace, and ſhe had the means in her hands, to make the Conditions. And as eaſie it had been, to have done this, as to have performed leſſer Services. The Objections againſt this, will be, *Hazard*, and *Charge*. *Hazard*, to hold any Thing of his, that is ſo Mighty a *King*: And *Charge*, to ſend ſuch Supplies, from time to time, as will be needfull. For *Hazard*, It is not the *Hazard*, of the *State*, or the *Whole*, as are the *Hazards*, of a *Defenſive Warr*, whenſoever we are enforced to fight: But it is onely, a *Hazard* of ſome few, and ſuch *Commanders*, as ſhall be ſet out, for ſuch a Service. And thoſe alſo, that ſhall be ſo *hazarded*, ſhall be in leſſe danger, than if they were put, into any Frontire Places, of *Fraunce*, or of the *Low-Countries.* For they ſhould not be left, in any part of the *Main*, or *Continent* of *Spain*, or *Portugall*, where the Enemy might bring an Army, to attempt them; (Though I doubt not, but after he had once tried, what it were, to beſiege two or three thouſand *Engliſh*, in a place, well fortified, and where they had a *Port* open, he would grow

quickly

quickly weary, of thoſe Attempts;) But they ſhould be ſo lodged, as the Seat, and Strength, of the place, ſhould warrant their Safety; So that, to pull her *Majeſties* Men, out of it, ſhould be a harder Task, than to conquer any Countrey, that ſtands on firm land, by him: And to let *Engliſh* quietly poſſeſſe it, ſhould ſo much prejudice him, as he were not able to endure it. And for *Charge*, there need not ſo much be expended, but that it might eaſily be born. And the Place, being well choſen, and the *Warr* well conducted, in a ſhort time, there would not onely ariſe enough, to pay the *Charge*; But great Profit to her *Majeſty*, and wealth to our *Countrey*, would grow, from the *place*, that ſhould be held. For in a ſhort time, a great part, of the *Golden Indian Stream*, might be turned, from *Spain*, to *England*; And her *Majeſty* be made, to give Law, to all the *world* by Sea, without her *Charge*. Beſides, this fearfull Enemy, which is now a Terrour, to all *Chriſtendome*, ſhould be ſo weakened, in Strength, Reputation, and Purſe, as her *Majeſty* ſhould, for ever after, have an eaſie Enemy of him. It may be your *Lordſhips* will deſire to know the *Place*, that ſhould be attempted; The *Meanes*, firſt to take it, then to hold it; The *Commodity*, or *Advantage*, that might grow, to this *Eſtate* by it. But that, with your *Lordſhips* leave, ſhall be reſerved till my Next. This is onely to beſeech you, for our dear *Sovereigns* ſake, for the Glory, and Wellfare, of Her, and her Eſtate, that you will think upon this generall Propoſition. And if your *Lordſhips* find it reaſonable, that you will move it to the *Queen*: By whom if I be commanded, to ſet down the *Hypotheſis*, or to deſcend unto particulars, I will offer my *Project*, with this Condition, that if I adviſe any Thing, that the *Counſell* of *warr*, ſhall think dangerous, it may be rejected: Or if my ſelf be Actour in any Thing, belonging to this Project, wherein her *Majeſty* receives diſhonour, that I may anſwer it, with my Life. And yet your *Lordſhips* know, I am matched with thoſe, in whom I have no particular Intereſt: But I muſt attribute, their Aſſenting to me, to my good happ, to take the better part. In my *Lord*, with whom I am joyned, I find ſo much Honour, and Service, as I doubt not, but our Unity in Affection, will make an Unity in Counſell, Action, and Government. I have troubled your *Lordſhips*, with a tedious *Letter*, begun in a Day of Leaſure, and finiſhed in the midſt, of our troubleſome Buſineſſe. I pray your *Lordſhips*, pardon the Errours in it; And keep ſo honourable an Opinion of me, as I be not condemned by you, upon any Complaints, Advertiſements, or Reports, till I have given anſwer to them. For as the Nature of my Place, is ſubject to Envy, and Detraction; So a little Body, full of ſharp Humours, is hardlieſt kept in Temper. And all the diſcontented *Humours*, of an Army, do make their greateſt Quarrell, to him that commands the *Army*; Not ſo much for his Faults, as for becauſe he bridles theirs. And ſo commend-

mending your good *Lordships*, to *Gods* Divine protection, I rest;

At your *Lordships* commandment,
*Robert Essex.*

## To my Lord of Essex, from Mr. Bacon.

*My singular good* Lord;

I Will no longer, dissever part of that, which I meant to have said, to your *Lordship*, at *Barnhelmes*, from the *Exordium*, which I then made. Whereunto I will onely adde this; That I humbly desire your *Lordship*, before you give accesse, to my poor Advice, to look about, even jealously a little, if you will, and to consider: First, whether I have not reason to think, that your *Fortune* comprehendeth mine: Next, whether I shift my *Counsell*, and doe not *constare nibi*; For I am perswaded, there are some, would give you the same Counsell now, which I shall, but that they should derogate from that, which they have said heretofore: Thirdly, whether you have taken hurt, at any time, by my carefull and Devoted Counsell: For although, I remember well, your *Lordship* once told me, that you having submitted, upon my well-meant Motion, at *Nonsuch*, (the place, where you renewed a *Treaty*, with her *Majesty*, of obsequious kindnesse,) she had taken advantage of it; yet I suppose, you do since believe, that it did much attemper a cold Malignant Humour, then growing upon her *Majesty*, toward your *Lordship*, and hath done you good in consequence. And for my being against it, now lately, that you should not *estrange* your self, although I give place to none, in true Gratulation; Yet neither do I repent me of safe Counsell; Neither do I judge of the whole *Play*, by the First *Act*. But whether I counsell you the best, or for the best, Duty bindeth me, to offer to you, my wishes. I said to your *Lordship*, last time; *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit. Wine the Queen*; If this be not the Beginning, of any other Course, I see no end. And I will not now speak, of Favour of Affection, but of other Correspondence, and Agreeablenesse: which, whensoever it shall be conjoyned, with the other of Affection, I durst wager my life, (let them make what *Prosopopœas* they will, of her *Majesties* Nature;) That in you, she will come to the *Question* of; *Quid fiet Homini, quem Rex vult honorare?* But how is it now? A Man, of a Nature, not to be ruled; That hath the Advantage, of my Affection, and knoweth it; Of an Estate, not grounded to his Greatnesse; Of a popular Reputation; Of a Military Dependance: I demand, whether there can be a more dangerous Image, than this, represented to any *Monarch* living; Much more to a *Lady*, and of her *Majesties* Apprehension? And

is

is it not more evident, than Demonstration it self, that whilest this Impression continueth, in her *Majesties* Breast, you can finde, no other Condition, than Inventions, to keep your Estate, bare, and low; Crossing, and Disgracing your Actions; Extenuating, and Blasting of your Merit; Carping with Contempt, at your Nature, and Fashions; Breeding, nourishing, and fortifying, such Instruments, as are most Factious against you; Repulses, and Scorns, of your Friends, and Dependants, that are true, and stedfast; winning, and inveigling away from you, such as are Flexible, and wavering; Thrusting you into odious Employments, and Offices, to supplant your Reputation; Abusing you, and Feeding you, with Dalliances, and Demonstrations, to divert you, from Descending, into the serious Consideration, of your own Case; yea, and percase Ventring you, in perillous, and desperate, Enterprises. Herein, it may please your *Lordship*, to understand me; For I mean nothing less, than that these Things, should be plotted, and intended, as in her *Majesties Royal* Minde towards you; I know the Excellency, of her *Nature*, too well. But I say, wheresoever the formerly described Impression, is taken, in any *Kings* Breast, towards a *Subject*, these other recited Inconveniences, must of necessity, of politick consequence, follow; In respect, of such *Instruments*, as are never failing, about *Princes*; which spy into their Humours, and Conceits, and second them; And not only second them, but in seconding encrease them; Yea and, many times, without their knowledge, pursue them, further than Themselves would. Your *Lordship*, will ask the *Question*, wherewith the *Athenians*, were wont to interrupt their *Orators*, when they exaggerated their dangers; *Quid igitur agendum est?*

I will tell your *Lordship*, *Quæ mihi nunc in mentem veniunt*; Supposing, nevertheless, that your Self, out of your own Wisdom, upon the case, with this Plainness, and Liberty, represented to you, will finde out, better Expedients, and Remedies. I wish a Cure applied, to every, of the five former *Impressions*, which I will take, not in order, but as I think, they are of weight.

For the removing the *Impression*, of your *Nature*, to be *Opiniastre*, and not *Rulable*; First, and above all things, I wish, that all Matters past, which cannot be revoked, your *Lordship* would turn altogether, upon Insatisfaction, and not upon your *Nature*, or proper *Disposition*. This String you cannot, upon every apt occasion, harp upon too much. Next, whereas I have noted you, to fly, and avoid, (in some respect justly,) the Resemblance, or Imitation, of my Lord of *Leicester*, and my *Lord Chancellor Hatton*; yet I am perswaded, (howsoever I wish your *Lordship*, as distant, as you are, from them, in Points of *Favour*, *Integrity*, *Magnanimity*, and *Merit*;) That it will doe you much good, between the *Queen*, and you, to allege them, (as oft as you finde occasion,) for Authours, and Patterns. For I doe not know, a readier mean, to make

make her *Majesty* think, you are in your right way. Thirdly, when at any time, your *Lordship*, upon occasion, happen in Speeches, to doe her *Majesty* right, ( for there is no such Matter, as Flattery, amongst you all, ) I fear, you handle it, *Magis in speciem adornatis verbis, quam ut sentire videaris.* So that a Man, may read Formality, in your Countenance; Whereas your *Lordship* should doe it, familiarly, *Et oratione fidâ.* Fourthly, your *Lordship*, should never be, without some Particulars afoot, which you should seem to pursue, with Earnestness, and Affection; And then let them fall, upon taking Knowledge, of her *Majesties* Opposition, and Dislike. Of which, the weightiest Sort may be, if your *Lordship* offer to labour, in the behalf of some, that you favour, for some of the Places, now voyd; Chusing such a Subject, as you think her *Majesty*, is like to oppose unto: And if you will say, that this is, *Conjunctum cum alienâ Injuriâ*; I will not answer; *Hæc non aliter constabunt*; But I say; Commendation from so good a Mouth, doth not hurt a Man, though you prevail not. A less weighty Sort of Particulars, may be, the Pretence of some *Journeys*, which, at her *Majesties* request, your *Lordship* mought relinquish; As if you would pretend a *Journey*, to see your *Living*, and *Estate*, towards *Wales*, or the like: For as for great Forein *Journeys*, of Employment, and Service, it standeth not with your Gravity, to play, or Stratageme, with them. And the lightest sort of particulars, which yet are not to be neglected, are, in your *Habits*, *Apparel*, *Wearings*, *Gestures*, and the like.

The *Impression*, of greatest prejudice, next, is that, of a *Militar Dependance*. Wherein, I cannot sufficiently wonder, at your *Lordships* course; That you say, the *Warrs* are your *Occupation*; And goe on, in that course: Whereas, if I mought have advised your *Lordship*, you should have left that *Person*, at *Plimmouth*; More than, when in *Counsell*, or in commending fit persons, for service for *Warrs*, it had been in season. And here, (my *Lord*,) I pray mistake me not. I am not to play now, the Part of a *Gownman*, that would frame you best, to mine own turn. I know what I owe you. I am infinitely glad of this last *Journey*, now it is past: The rather, because you may make, so Honourable a full Point, for a time. You have Property good enough, in that Greatness. There is none can, of many years, ascend, near you, in competition. Besides, the Disposing of the Places, and Affairs, both, concerning the *Warrs*, ( you encreasing in other Greatness, ) will, of themselves, flow to you; which will preserve that *Dependance*, in full measure. It is a Thing, that of all Things, I would have you retain, the Times considered: And the Necessity of the Service, for other reason, I know none. But I say; Keep it in Substance, but abolish it in shewes, to the *Queen*. For her *Majesty* loveth *Peace*. Next she loveth not *Charge*. Thirdly, that kinde of *Dependance*, maketh a Suspected *Greatness*. Therefore,

*Quod*

*Quod instat agamus.* Let that be a sleeping Honour a while; And cure the *Queens* mind in that point. Therefore again, whereas I heard your *Lordship* designing to your self, the *Earl Marshals* place, or the place of *Master* of the *Ordnance*, I did not, in my mind, so well like of either; Because of their Affinity, with a *Martiall Greatnesse*. But of the *Places*, now void, in my Judgement, and discretion, I would name you, to the place, of *Lord Privy Seal*. For first, it is the Third Person, of the great *Officers*, of the *Crown*. Next, it hath a kind, of Super-Intendence, over the *Secretary*. It hath also an Affinity, with the *Court* of *Wards*, in regard of the *Fees*, from the *Liveries*. And it is a fine Honour, quiet place, and worth a Thousand pounds by year. And my *Lord Admirall's Father*, had it, who was a *Martiall* Man. And it fits a Favourite, to carry her *Majesties Image* in *Seal*, who beareth it best expressed in *Heart*. But my chief Reason is, that which I first alleged, to divert her *Majesty*, from this *Impression*, of a *Martiall Greatnesse*. In concurrence whereof, If your *Lordship*, shall not remit any thing of your former diligence, at the *Starr-chamber*; If you shall continue, such Intelligences, as are worth the cherishing; If you shall pretend, to be as *Bookish*, and *Contemplative*, as ever you were; All these Courses, have both their Advantages, and uses in themselves otherwise, and serve exceeding aptly to this purpose. Whereunto, I add one Expedient more, stronger than all the rest; And for mine own confident Opinion, void of any prejudice, or danger of Diminution, of your *Greatnesse*; And that is, the Bringing in, of some *Martiall* Man, to be of the *Councill*; Dealing directly with her *Majesty* in it, as for her Service, and your better assistance; Chusing nevertheless some Person, that may be known, not to come in against you, by any former Division. I judge the fittest, to be, my *Lord Mount-joy*, or my Lord *Willoughby*. And if your *Lordship*, see deeplier into it, than I do, that you would not have it done, in effect; Yet in my Opinion, you may serve your turn, by the pretence of it, and stay it nevertheless.

The Third *Impression* is, of a *Popular Reputation*; which, because it is a Thing, good in it self, being obtained as your *Lordship* obtaineth it, that is, *Bonis artibus*; And besides, Well governed, is one of the best Flowers, of your *Greatnesse*, both present, and to come; It would be handled tenderly. The onely way is, to quench it *Verbis*, and not *Rebus*. And therefore to take all Occasions, to the *Queen*, to speak against *Popularity*, and *Popular Courses*, vehemently; And to taxe it in all others: But, nevertheless, to go on, in your Honourable *Common-wealth Courses*, as you do. And therefore, I will not advise you, to cure this, by dealing in *Monopolies*, or any *Oppressions*. Onely, if in *Parliament*, your *Lordship* be forward for *Treasure*, in respect of the *Warrs*, it becommeth your *Person* well. And if her *Majesty* object *Popularity* to you at any time, I would say to her; A *Parliament* will shew that; And so feed her with Expectation.

The Fourth *Impreſsion*, of the Inequality, between your *Eſtate* of *Meanes*, and your *Greatneſſe* of *Reſpects*, is not to be neglected. For believe it, (my *Lord*,) that till her *Majeſty* find you, carefull of your *Eſtate*, ſhe will not onely think you, more like to continue, chargeable to her, but alſo have a Conceit, that you have higher Imaginations. The *Remedies* are; Firſt, to profeſſe it, in all ſpeeches to her. Next, in ſuch Sutes, wherein both Honour, Gift, and Profit, may be taken, to communicate freely with her *Majeſty*, by way of enducing her, to grant, that it will be this Benefit to you. Laſtly, to be plain with your *Lordſhip*; (For the *Gentlemen* are ſuch, as I am beholding to;) Nothing can make the *Queen*, or the *World*, think ſo much, that you are come, to a provident Care, of your Eſtate, as the Altering of ſome of your *Officers*: Who, though they be as true to you, as One Hand to the Other; Yet *Opinio Veritate major*. But if, in reſpect of the *Bonds*, they may be entred into, for your *Lordſhip*, you cannot ſo well diſmiſſe your ſelf of them, this cannot be done, but with *Time*.

For the *Fifth*, and Laſt, which is, of the Advantage of a *Favourite*: As ſevered from the reſt, it cannot hurt; So joyned with them, it maketh her *Majeſty*, more fearfull, and ſhadowy, as not knowing her own ſtrength. The onely Remedy to this, is; To give way, to ſome other *Favourite*, as in particular you ſhall find, her *Majeſty* enclined; So as the Subject hath no ill, nor dangerous Aſpect, towards your ſelf. For otherwiſe, whoſoever ſhall tell me, that you may not have ſingular uſe, of a *Favourite*, at your Devotion; I will ſay, he underſtandeth not the *Queens Affection*, nor your *Lordſhips Condition*. And ſo I reſt.

*October* 4. 1596.

## *To Sir* Robert Cecil.

*SIR*,

I Forbear not to put in Paper, as much as I thought, to have ſpoken to your *Honour*, too day, if I could have ſtayed; Knowing, that if your Honour, ſhould make other uſe of it, than is due to good meaning; And then I am perſwaded you will; Yet to perſons of Judgement, and that know me otherwiſe, it will rather appear, (as it is,) a preciſe Honeſty, and this fame, *Suum cuique tribuere*, than any Hollowneſſe to any. It is my luck ſtill, to be a kinn to ſuch Things, as I neither like in nature; nor would willingly meet with, im my Courſe; But yet cannot avoid, without ſhew of baſe Timorouſneſſe, or elſe of unkind, or ſuſpicious ſtrangeneſſe.

Some *Hiatus* in the Copy.

And

And I am of one Spirit ſtill. I ever liked the *Galeniſts*, that deal with good Compoſitions; And not the *Paracelſians*, that deal with theſe fine *Separations* : And in *Muſick*, I ever loved eaſie Ayers, that goe full, all the parts together; And not theſe ſtrange points, of Accord, and Diſcord. This I write not, I aſſure your *Honour*, officiouſly; Except it be, according to *Tullies Offices*; that is, *Honeſtly*, and *Morally*. For though, I thank *God*, I account upon the proceeding, in the *Queens* Service, or not proceeding, both ways; And therefore, neither mean to fawn, nor retire; yet I naturally deſire good opinion, with any Perſon, which for Fortune, or Spirit, is to be regarded; Much more with a *Secretary* of the *Queens*, and a *Couſin Germain*; And one, with whom, I have ever thought my Self, to have ſome ſympathy, of Nature, though Accidents have not ſuffered it to appear. Thus not doubting of your *Honourable* Interpretation, and uſage, of that I have written, I commend you, to the Divine preſervation. From *Grayes Inn*.

## *To my* Lord *of* Eſſex.

*It may pleaſe your good* Lordſhip,

I Pray *God*, her *Majeſties* weighing, be not like the weight, of a Ballance; *Gravia deorſum, Levia ſurſum*. But I am as far, from being altered, in Devotion towards Her, as I am from Diſtruſt, that ſhe will be altered, in opinion towards me, when ſhe knoweth me better. For my Self, I have loſt ſome *Opinion*, ſome *Time*, and ſome *Means*; This is my Account : But then, for *Opinion*, it is a Blaſt, that goeth, and commeth; For *Time*, it is true, it goeth, and commeth not; But yet I have learned, that it may be redeemed.

For *Means*, *I value that moſt*; And the rather, becauſe I am purpoſed, not to follow, the *Practice* of the *Law*: (If her *Majeſtie* command me, in any particular, I ſhall be ready, to do her, willing Service;) And my Reaſon is onely, becauſe it drinketh too much Time, which I have dedicated to better purpoſes. But even, for that point of *Eſtate*, and *Means*, I partly lean, to *Thales* Opinion; *That a Philoſopher may be rich, if he will*. Thus your *Lordſhip* ſeeth, how I comfort my Self : To the Encreaſe whereof, I would fain pleaſe my Self, to beleeve that to be true, which my Lord *Treaſurer* writeth; Which is, that it is more, than a *Philoſopher*, morally can diſgeſt. But without any ſuch high Conceit, I eſteem it, like the pulling out, of an Aking Tooth, which I remember, when I was a Child, and had little *Philoſophy*, I was glad of, when it was done. For your *Lordſhip*, I doe think my Self, more beholding to you, than to any Man. And I ſay, I reckon my Self, as a *Common*; (Not Popular, but *Common*;) And as much, as is lawfull,

to be enclosed of a *Common*; So much your *Lordship* shall be sure to have.

Your *Lordships*, to obey your Honourable Commands, more setled, than ever.

## To my Lord of Essex.

*My singular good* Lord,

YOur *Lordships*, so Honourable minding my poor *Fortune*, the last year, in the very Entrance, into that great Action, (which is a time of less leisure;) And in so liberal an Allowance, of your Care, as to write three Letters, to stirr me up Friends, in your absence; Doth, after a sort, warrant me, not to object to my Self, your present Quantity of affairs, whereby to silence my Self, from Petition of the like Favour. I brake, with your *Lordship*, my self, at the *Tower*; And I take it, my *Brother*, hath since renewed, the same Motion; Touching a Fortune, I was in thought to attempt, *in Genere Oeconomico*. *In Genere Politico*, certain Cross Winds, have blown contrary. My Sute to your *Lordship* is, for your several *Letters*, to be left with me, dormant, to the *Gentlewoman*, and either of her *Parents*. Wherein, I doe not doubt, but as the Beams of your Favour, have often dissolved, the Coldness of my Fortune; So in this Argument, your *Lordship* will doe the like, with your Penn. My Desire is also, that your *Lordship* would vouchsafe unto me, as out of your care, a general *Letter*, to my *Lord Keeper*, for his *Lordships* holding me, from you, recommended; Both, in the Course, of my *Practice*, and in the Course, of my Employment, in her *Majesties* Service. Wherein, if your *Lordship* shall, in any *Antitheſis*, or *Relation*, affirm, that his *Lordship* shall have no less Fruit of me, than of any other, whom he may cherish, I hope, your *Lordship* shall engage your Self, for no Impossibility. Lastly, and chiefly, I know not, whether I shall attain, to see your *Lordship*, before your *Noble Journey*: For *Ceremonies*, are Things, infinitely, inferiour to my Love, and to my Zeal. This let me, with your allowance, say unto you, by Penn. It is true, that in my well-meaning Advices, out of my love to your *Lordship*, and, perhaps, out of the State, of mine own minde, I have sometimes perswaded, a Course differing: *Ac tibi pro tutis insignia Facta placebunt:* Be it so: yet remember, that the Signing of your Name, is nothing, unless it be, to some good *Patent*, or *Charter*, whereby your *Country* may be endowed, with Good, and Benefit. Which I speak, both to move you, to preserve your *Person*, for further Merit, and Service of her *Majesty*, and your *Country*; And likewise, to referr this *Action*, to the same end. And so, in most true, and fervent,

vent, prayers, I commend your *Lordship*, and your Work in hand, to the Preservation, and Conduct, of the *Divine Majesty*; So much the more watchfull, as these Actions, doe, more manifestly, in *shew*, though alike in *Truth*, depend upon his *Divine Providence*.

## *To my* Lord *of* Canterbury.

*It may please your* Grace;

I Have considered the *Objections*, perused the *Statutes*, and framed the *Alterations*; Which I send; Still keeping my self, within the Brevity of a *Letter*, and Form of a *Narration*; Not entring, into a Form of Argument, or Disputation: For, in my poor Conceit, it is, somewhat, against the *Majesty*, of *Princes* Actions, to make too curious, and striving *Apologies*; But rather, to set them forth plainly; And so, as there may appear an Harmony, and Constancy in them, so that one part upholdeth another. And so I wish your *Grace* all prosperity. From my poor Lodging, this, &c.

Your *Graces*, most dutifull,
*Pupil*, and *Servant*.

## *To my* Lord *of* Essex.

*My singular good* Lord,

THe Message, it pleased your *Lordship*, to send me, was to me delivered doubtfully. Whether your *Lordship* said, you would speak with me, at the *Starr-chamber*, or with Mr. *Philip*. If with me, it is needless; For Gratitude imposeth upon me Satisfaction: If with Mr. *Philipp*, it will be too late; Because somewhat must (perchance) be done that day. This Doubt not solved, maketh me Write again; The rather, because, I did liberally, but yet privately affirm, your *Lordship* would write; Which if I make not good, it may be a Discouragement. Your *Lordships letter*, though it have the Subject, of Honour, and Justice, yet it shall have the Secrecy, of a Thing done, upon Affection. I shall ever, in a firm duty, submit my Occasions, though great, to your *Lordships* Respects, though small: And this is my Resolution; That when your *Lordship* doth for me, you shall encrease my *Obligation*; When you refuse to doe for me, you shall encrease my *Merit*. So leaving the Matter, wholly, to your *Lordships* pleasure, I commend your *Lordship*; to the preservation, of the *Divine Majesty*. From *Graies Inn*.

Your *Lordships* ever most humbly bounden.

A

# CONFESSION OF THE FAITH:

WRITTEN,

By the Right Honourable,

## FRANCIS BACON,

BARON of *VERULAM*,

VISCOVNT *St. ALBAN*.



LONDON,
Printed by *F. Leach*, for *William Lee*, at the sign of the *Turks-Head*, in *Fleetstreet*, 1657.

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# CONFESSION

OF THE

# FAITH.

WRITTEN

By the Right Honourable

*FRANCIS BACON,*

*Baron of* VERULAM, &c.



Believe, that Nothing is without beginning, but *God*: No *Nature*, no *Matter*, no *Spirit*, but one, onely, and the same *God*. That *God*, as he is Eternally Almighty, Onely Wise, Onely Good, in his *Nature*; So he is Eternally *Father*, *Sonne*, and *Spirit*, in *Persons*.

I believe, that *God*, is so *Holy*, *Pure*, and *Jealous*, as it is impossible for him, to be pleased in any *Creature*, though the *Work* of his own *Hands*: So that, neither *Angel*, *Man*, nor *World*, could stand, or can stand, one Moment, in his Eyes, without beholding the same, in the Face of a *Mediatour*: And therefore, that before *Him*, with whom all Things are present, the *Lamb* of *God*, was slain, before all *Worlds*: Without which eternall Counsell of his, it was impossible for *Him*, to have descended to any Work of *Creation*; But He should

have enjoyed, the Bleſſed, and Individuall Society, of *three Perſons*, in *Godhead*, onely, for ever.

But that, out of his Eternall, and infinite, *Goodneſſe*, and *Love*, purpoſing to become a *Creatour*, and to communicate to his *Creatures*, He ordained, in his Eternall Counſell, that one *Perſon*, of the *Godhead*, ſhould be united, to one *Nature*, and to one Particular of his *Creatures*; That ſo, in the *Perſon*, of the *Mediatour*, the true Ladder, mought be fixed, whereby *God* mought deſcend to his *Creatures*, and his *Creatures* mought aſcend to *God*: So that *God*, by the Reconcilement, of the *Mediatour*, turning his Countenance towards his *Creatures*, (though not in equall Light, and Degree,) made way, unto the Diſpenſation, of his moſt holy, and ſecret Will; whereby ſome of his *Creatures*, mought ſtand, and keep their ſtate; Others mought, (poſſibly) fall, and be reſtored; And others mought fall, and not be reſtored, in their Eſtate, but yet remain in *Being*, though under Wrath, and Corruption; All with Reſpect, to the *Mediatour*: VVhich is the great *Myſtery*, and perfect *Center*, of all *Gods* wayes, with his *Creatures*; And unto which, all his other *works*, and *Wonders*, doe but ſerve, and referr.

That he choſe, (according to his good pleaſure,) *Man*, to be that *Creature*, to whoſe *Nature*, the *Perſon*, of the Eternall *Son* of *God*, ſhould be united: And amongſt the *Generations* of *Men*, elected a ſmall *Flock*, in whom, (by the Participation of *Himſelf*,) He purpoſed, to expreſſe, the *Riches* of his *Glory*; All the Miniſtration of *Angels*, Damnation of *Devils*, and *Reprobates*, and Univerſall Adminiſtration of all *Creatures*, and Diſpenſation of all Times, having no other End, but as the VVayes, and *Ambages* of *God*, to be further glorified in his *Saints*; who are one with their *Head*, the *Mediatour*, who is one with *God*.

That by the Vertue of this his Eternall Counſell, He condeſcended of his own good pleaſure, and according to the Times, and Seaſons, to himſelf known, to become a *Creatour*; And by his eternall *word*, created all things; And by his eternall *Spirit*, doth comfort, and preſerve them.

That he made all things, in their firſt Eſtate, *Good*; And removed from himſelf, the Beginning of all Evil, and Vanity, into the *Liberty*, of the *Creature*; But reſerved, in himſelf, the Beginning, of all *Reſtitution*, to the *Liberty* of his *Grace*: Uſing, nevertheleſſe, and turning, the Falling, and Defection of the *Creature*, (which to his *Preſcience* was eternally known,) to make way to his eternall Counſell, touching a *Mediatour*, and the VVork he purpoſed to accompliſh in *Him*.

That God created *Spirits*, whereof ſome kept their ſtanding, and others fell. He created *Heaven*, and *Earth*, and all their *Armies*, and Generations; And gave, unto them, conſtant, and everlaſting, *Lawes*, which we call *Nature*; which is nothing, but the

*Lawes*

*Lawes* of the *Creation*; which *Lawes*, nevertheleſſe, have had three *Changes*, or *Times*; and are to have, a Fourth, or *Laſt*. The Firſt, when the *Matter* of *Heaven*, and *Earth*, was created without *Forms*: The Second, the *Interim* of *Perfection*, of every Dayes *work*; The Third, by the *Curſe*; which, notwithſtanding, was no new *Creation*; And the Laſt, at the End of the *world*, the Manner whereof is not yet fully revealed: So as the *Lawes* of *Nature*, which now remain, and govern inviolably, till the end of the *world*, began to be in force, when *God* firſt reſted from his *works*; and ceaſed to create; But received, a Revocation, in part, by the *Curſe*; Since which Time, they change not.

That notwithſtanding, *God* hath reſted, and ceaſed from *Creating*, ſince the firſt *Sabbath*, yet nevertheleſſe, he doth accompliſh, and fulfill his Divine VVill, in all Things, great and ſmall, ſingular, and generall, as fully, and exactly, by *Providence*, as he could by *Miracle*, and new Creation; Though his working be not immediate, and direct, but by compaſs; Not violating *Nature*, which is his own *Law*, upon the *Creature*.

That, at the firſt, the *Soul* of *Man*, was not produced by *Heaven*, or *Earth*, but was breathed immediately from *God*; So that the Wayes, and proceedings of *God*, with *Spirits*, are not included in *Nature*; That is, in the *Lawes*, of *Heaven*, and *Earth*; But are reſerved, to the *Law*, of his ſecret Will, and Grace; wherein *God* worketh ſtill, and reſteth not, from the Work of *Redemption*, as he reſteth from the Work of *Creation*: But continueth working, till the end of the VVorld; What time, that *work* alſo, ſhall be accompliſhed, and an eternal *Sabbath* ſhall enſue. Likewiſe, that whenſoever *God* doth tranſcend, the *Law* of *Nature*, by *Miracles*, (which may ever ſeem as new *Creations*,) He never commeth, to that point, or paſs, but in regard of the work of *Redemption*; which is the greater, and whereto all *Gods Signes, and Miracles*, doe referr.

That *God* created *Man* in his own *Image*, in a *Reaſonable Soul*, in *Innocency*, in *Free-will*, and in *Soveraignty*: That he gave him a *Law*, and *Commandement*, which was in his power to keep, but he kept it not: That *Man* made a total Defection from *God*, preſuming to imagine, that the Commandements, and Prohibitions of *God*, were not the *Rules*, of *Good* and *Evil*; But that *Good*, and *Evil*, had their own principles, and beginnings: And luſted, after the Knowledge, of thoſe imagined Beginnings; To the end, to depend no more upon *Gods* will, revealed, but upon himſelf, and his own Light, as a *God*: Than the which, there could not be a *Sinne*, more oppoſite, to the whole *Law* of *God*. That yet, nevertheleſſe, this great *Sinne*, was not originally moved, by the Malice of *Man*, but was inſinuated, by the Suggeſtion, and Inſtigation, of the Devil; who was the Firſt *Defected Creature*; and fell of Malice, and not by Temptation.

That upon the *Fall* of *Man*, Death, and Vanity, enter'd, by the *Justice* of *God*; And the *Image* of *God*, in *Man*, was defaced; And *Heaven*, and *Earth*, which were made for *Mans* use, were subdued to Corruption, by his *Fall*; But then that instantly, and without Intermission of Time, after the *Word* of *Gods Law*, became, through the *Fall* of Man, frustrate as to obedience, there succeeded the greater *Word*, of the *Promise*; that the *Righteousness* of *God*, mought be wrought by *Faith*.

That as well the Law of *God*, as the *Word* of his *Promise*, endure the same for ever: But that they have been revealed, in several manners, according to the Dispensation, of Times. For the *Law* was first imprinted, in that Remnant of Light, of *Nature*, which was left after the *Fall*, being sufficient to accuse: Then it was more manifestly expressed, in the *written Law*; And was yet more opened, by the *Prophets*; And lastly expounded, in the true perfection, by the *Son* of *God* the great *Prophet*, and perfect *Interpreter*, as also *Fulfiller* of the Law: That, likewise, the *Word* of the *Promise*, was manifested, and revealed; First by immediate *Revelation*, and *Inspiration*; After by *Figures*, which were of two *Natures*: The one, the *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*, of the Law; The other, the Continual History, of the *Old world*, and *Church* of the *Jewes*, which though it be *literally* True, yet is it, pregnant of a perpetual *Allegory*, and *shadow*, of the *Work*, of the *Redemption*, to follow. The same *Promise*, or *Euangile*, was more clearly revealed, and declared, by the *Prophets*; And then by the *Son* himself; And lastly, by the *Holy Ghost*, which illuminateth the *Church*, to the end of the *World*.

That, in the *Fulness of Time*, according to the *Promise*, and *Oath*, of a *chosen* Lignage, descended, the blessed *Seed* of the *Woman*, *Jesus Christ*, the onely begotten *Son* of *God*, and *Saviour* of the *World*: who was conceived, by the Power, and Overshadowing, of the *Holy Ghost*; And took *Flesh* of the *Virgin Mary*: That the *Word*, did not onely take *Flesh*, or was joyned to *Flesh*, but was made *Flesh*, though without *Confusion* of *Substance*, or *Nature*; So as the Eternal *Son* of *God*, and the ever-blessed *Son* of *Mary*, was one *Person*; So one, as the *Blessed Virgin*, may be truly, and Catholiquely called, *Deipara*, the Mother of *God*: So one, as there is no Unity in *Universal Nature*, not that, of the *Soul*, and *Body*, of *Man*, so perfect: For the three Heavenly *Vnities*, (whereof that is the second,) exceed all Natural *Vnities*: That is to say; The *Vnity*, of the three *Persons*, in *Godhead*; The *Vnity*, of *God*, and *Man*, in *Christ*; And the *Vnity*, of *Christ*, and the *Church*; the *Holy Ghost*, being the *Worker*, of both these latter *Vnities*; For by the *Holy Ghost*, was *Christ Incarnate*, and quickned, in *Flesh*; And by the *Holy Ghost*, is Man regenerate, and quickned, in *Spirit*.

That *Jesus* the *Lord*, became, in the *Flesh*, a *Sacrificer*, and *Sacrifice* for *Sin*; A *Satisfaction*, and *Price*, to the *Justice*, of *God*; A Me-

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*rter*, of *Glory*, and the *Kingdom*; A *Pattern*, of all *Righteousnes*; A *Preacher* of the *Word*, which *Himself* was; A *Finisher* of the *Ceremony*; A *Corner-Stone*, to remove the Separation between, *Jew*, and *Gentile*; An *Intercessour* for the *Church*; A *Lord* of *Nature*, in his *Miracles*; A *Conqueror*, of *Death*, and the *Power of Darknes*, in his *Resurrection*; And that he fulfilled the whole Counsel of *God*; Performed all his Sacred *Offices*, and *Annoynting* on *Earth*; Accomplished the whole *Work* of the *Redemption*, and Restitution of *Man*, to a State, Superiour to the *Angels*; (whereas the State of *Man*, by *Creation*, was Inferiour;) And reconciled and established, all Things, according to the Eternal VVill, of the *Father*.

That in time, *Jesus* the *Lord*, was born, in the dayes of *Herod*; And suffered, under the Government, of *Pontius Pilate*, being *Deputy* of the *Romans*; And under the *High Priesthood*, of *Caiphas*; And was betrayed by *Judas*, one of the twelve *Apostles*; And was crucified at *Hierusalem*; And after a true, and naturall, *Death*, and his *Body* layed in the *Sepulchre*, the third day, He raised Himself, from the Bonds of *Death*, and arose, and shewed Himself, to many *chosen VVitnesses*, by the space of divers dayes; And at the end of those dayes, in the sight of many, ascended into *Heaven*; where he continueth his *Intercession*; And shall from thence, at the day appointed, come in greatest glory, to judge the *World*.

That the *Sufferings*, and *Merits* of *Christ*, as they are sufficient, to do away the *Sinns*, of the whole *World*; so they are onely effectuall to those, which are *Regenerate* by the *Holy Ghost*; VVho breatheth where he *will*, of *Free Grace*; which *Grace*, as a *Seed Incorruptible*, quickeneth the *Spirit* of *Man*, and conceiveth him anew a *Son* of *God*, and *Member* of *Christ*: So that *Christ*, having *Mans Flesh*, and *Man* having *Christs Spirit*, there is an open passage, and Mutuall Imputation; whereby *Sin*, and *Wrath*, was conveyed to *Christ*, from *Man*; And *Merit*, and *Life*, is conveyed to *Man*, from *Christ*: VVhich *Seed* of the *Holy Ghost*, first figureth in us, the *Image* of *Christ* slain, or crucified, through a lively *Faith*; And then reneweth in us, the *Image* of *God*, in *Holinesse*, and *Charity*; though both imperfectly, and in degrees farre differing, even in *Gods Elect*; As well, in regard, of the *Fire* of the *Spirit*, as of the *Illumination* thereof; which is, more, or lesse, in a large proportion; As namely, in the *Church* before *Christ*; VVhich yet, nevertheless, was partaker, of one, and the same Salvation, with us. And of one, and the same Means, of Salvation, with us.

That the *Work* of the *Spirit*, though it be not tyed, to any *Means*, in *Heaven*, or *Earth*, yet it is ordinarily dispensed, by the *Preaching* of the *Word*; The *Administration* of the *Sacraments*; The *Covenants* of the *Fathers*, upon the *Children*; *Prayer*; *Reading*; The *Censures* of the *Church*; The *Society* of the *Godly*; The *Crosse*, and *Afflictions*; *Gods Benefits*; His *Judgements* upon *others*; *Miracles*; The *Contemplation* of his *Creatures*; All which, (though some be more prin-

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cipall,) God useth, as the Means of *Vocation*, and Conversion of his *Elect*; Not derogating from his power, to call immediately by his Grace; and at all *Howers* and *Moments*, of the *Day*; (That is, of Mans *Life*,) according to his good pleasure.

That the *Word* of *God*, whereby his *will* is revealed, continued in *Revelation*, and *Tradition*, untill *Moses*; And that the *Scriptures*, were from *Moses* Time, to the times of the *Apostles*, and *Evangelists*; In whose *Age*, after the comming of the *Holy Ghost*, the *Teacher* of all *Truth*, the *Book* of the *Scriptures*, was shut, and closed, so as not to receive any new Addition; And that the *Church*, hath no power, over the *Scriptures*, to *teach*, or *command* any Thing, contrary to the *written Word*; But is as the *Ark*, wherein the *Tables* of the First *Testament* were kept, and preserved; That is to say, the *Church*, hath onely the *Custody*, and *Delivery* over, of the *Scriptures*, committed unto the same; Together with the *Interpretation* of them, but such onely, as is conceived from themselves.

That there is an *Universall*, or *Catholick Church* of *God*, dispersed over the face of the *Earth*; which is *Christs Spouse*, and *Christs Body*; Being gathered, of the *Fathers* of the *old World*, of the *Church* of the *Jewes*, of the *Spirits* of the *Faithfull Dissolved*, and the *Spirits* of the *Faithfull Militant*, and of the *Names*, yet to be born, which are already written, in the *Book* of *Life*. That there is also, a *Visible Church*, distinguished by the outward VVorks of *Gods* Covenant, and the Receiving of the *Holy Doctrine*, with the Use of the *Mysteries* of *God*, and the *Invocation*, and *Sanctification* of his *Holy Name*. That there is also an Holy *Succession*, in the *Prophets*, of the *New Testament*, and *Fathers* of the *Church*, from the time, of the *Apostles*, and *Disciples*, which saw our *Saviour* in the *Flesh*, unto the *Consummation*, of the *Work* of the *Ministry*; which *persons*, are called from *God*, by *Gift*, or inward *Anointing*; And the *Vocation* of *God*, followed by an *outward Calling*, and *Ordination of the Church*.

I believe, that the *Soules* of those that dye in the *Lord*, are blessed, and *rest* from their *Labours*, and enjoy the *Sight* of *God*; yet so, as they are in Expectation of a further *Revelation* of their *Glory*, in the *last Day*. At which time, all *Flesh* of *Man*, shall arise, and be changed, and shall appear, and receive, from *Jesus Christ*, his *Eternall Judgement*; And the *Glory*, of the *Saints*, shall then be *full*; And the *Kingdome*, shall be given up, to *God* the *Father*: From which Time, all things shall continue for ever, in that Being, and State, which then they shall receive: So as there are three *Times*, (if Times they may be called,) or parts of Eternity. The first, the *Time* before beginnings, when the *Godhead* was onely, without the Being, of any *Creature*; The Second, the *Time* of the *Mystery*, which continueth from the *Creation*, to the *Dissolution* of the *World*: And the Third, the *Time*, of the *Revelation*, of the *Sonnes* of *God*; which Time is the last, and is everlasting without change.

FINIS.

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