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# English Reprints.

A HARMONY

OF THE

ESSAYS. ETC.

OF

FRANCIS BACON,

Viscount St. Alban, Baron Verulam, &c.

*And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finished, till all be finished.—Letter of Sir Francis Bacon to Mr. Tobie Matthew, dated Graies Inn, Feb. 27. 1610.*

ARRANGED BY

EDWARD ARBER.

*Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.*

LONDON:

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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1 July, 1871.

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CAREFULLY EDITED BY  
EDWARD ARBER,  
*Associate, King's College, London, F.R.C.S., &c.*

A HARMONY OF  
LORD BACON'S  
ESSAYS, & C. 1597-1638.

LONDON:  
5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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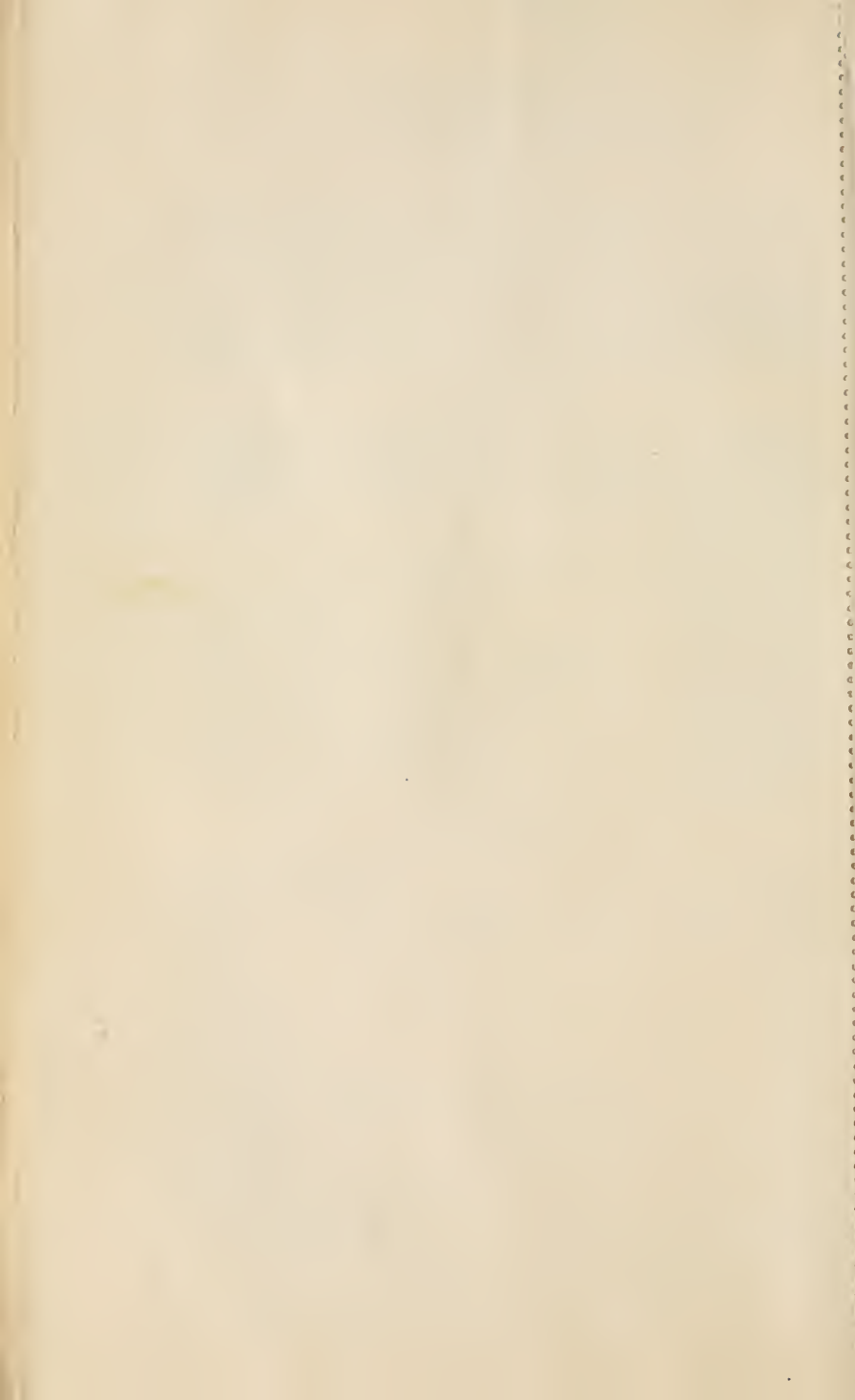
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## PROLOGUE.

**L**iterature as well as Dress has its fashions, its varying modes of expressing the Taste of the day. Since printed English books have been, one kind of Subject or one Style of writing, rather than all others, has been in favour both with writers and readers : just as it was consonant with the intelligence and movements, the social, political, and religious life of the Age. This Subject or Style has maintained its pre-eminence until some change in the national life or the advent of some new strong writer has created interest in a fresh topic or occasioned delight through some new phase of expression. So that as time wore on, not only have books multiplied immensely, but the Literature has vastly increased in species, classes, and kinds of writings. To quote a few late examples. In the last century, the existing style of Essay writing was initiated by Addison and Steele ; English Romances of Travel were founded in De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* ; our earliest modern Novels were written by Richardson, Fielding, and Goldsmith ; and Dr. Johnson compiled the first of our present recognized Dictionaries. Quite recently also, we have seen that fungus variety of Fiction—the Sensation Novel—live its day and pass away. 'To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.'

2. Within the century since Caxton had established the use of printing in England, there had come into vogue ALLEGORICAL VERSE in Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, which kind of composition had recently been revived in Spenser's *Faery Queene*. Another class of poetry, PASTORAL VERSE, had been represented by Barclay's *Egloges*, Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, Lodge's *Phyllis*, Watson's *Melibæus* (in English), and Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd*. The Reforming spirit sometimes had used the lash of SATIRICAL VERSE, as in Roy's *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, and the many unprinted Ballad Invectives and Complaints that have come down to us. Then Classical literature had come in like a flood, and there had arisen a school of severe CRITICISM in Greek, Latin, and English, including such scholars as Sir J. Cheke, Walter Haddon, and Roger Ascham. Then there had been the almost universal habit among Gentlemen of SONNETTING, of which no one knows the entire existing remains. Then had arisen the fashion of PLAYS : Comedies first, arising out of the Miracle, Mystery, and Morality plays : afterwards Tragedy, in imitation of the Dramas of Seneca. Then had come the fashion of collecting the Sonnets and kindred verse into POETICAL MISCELLANIES. So much poetry occasioned DISCUSSIONS AND CONTROVERSIES IN THE ART OF POETRY, begun by Gascoigne and which were destined to continue, with hardly a break, beyond the time of Dryden. Soon after came up the EUPHUISTIC OR

WITTICISM ROMANCES of Lyly, Lodge, Greene and others. Lastly, Hooker had recently introduced a NEW STYLE OF PROSE in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Such had been the growth in variety of English Letters; when Bacon added to it yet another form.

3. Whatever may be assigned as the causes; it is indubitable that as our Literature grew to its highest, it grew more serious. The National Mind had been in training all through the century which was now drawing to a close. Under the influence of Classical and Italian literature its rustical strength had been disciplined into a highly wrought elegance and refinement. It had become endowed with great power of imagery, and, as it were, its face had become resplendent with grace and beauty. All that was æry and blithesome had culminated in the verse of Wyatt, Surrey, Spenser, Lodge, Watson, Daniel, Barnfield, and that new poet Shakespeare, with many an other. At length came, over Writers and Readers alike, a mighty change. Strength fatiated with Gracefulness fought delight in Majesty. Thought turned from idle toys to the full consideration and the perfect expression of the highest Problems cognizant to Man: and to that great Problem, Man himself. He who will contrast the general character of the books published from the appearance of Ascham's *Toxophilus*, 1544, till the first Edition of these *Essays* in 1597, with those onward till the appearance of *Paradise Lost* in 1667; will readily perceive that in each period there was most excellent Strength and Cunning, but that the Spirit was different. In the former, it was the breath of *L'Allegro*; in the latter that of *Il Penseroso*.

This being true of the whole literature it is more palpable and evident in the works of recreation. In these, the Change was, for the most part, from Poetry to Prose, from Fancy to Observation, from Imaginations of Ethereal Grace, Felicity, and Beauty to Characters and Caricatures of men as they were. We exchange Marlowe's Song

*Come with me and be my Love,*

for Earle's description of *A Shee-Precise Hypocrite*: and in like manner, the Sonneteers of the first period are succeeded in equal number by the Character-Writers of the second. It was precisely at this point of Change, that the Euphuistic and Italian Romances were supplanted by Essays.

4. Essays came to us from France. MICHEL, Sieur de MONTAIGNE, published the first two books of his *Essais* at Bourdeaux in 1580; when Bacon was about twenty years of age. Hallam speaks thus highly of their originality, as a new style of writing.

The Essays of Montaigne, the first edition of which appeared at Bordeaux in 1580, make in several respects an epoch in literature, less on account of their real importance, or the novel truths they contain, than of their influence upon the taste and the opinions of Europe. They are the first *provocatio ad populum*, the first appeal from the porch and the academy to the haunts of



busy and of idle men, the first book that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy. In an age when every topic of this nature was treated systematically, and in a didactic form, he broke out without connexion of chapters, with all the digressions that levity and garrulous egotism could suggest, with a very delightful, but, at that time, most unusual rapidity of transition from seriousness to gaiety. It would be to anticipate much of what will demand attention in the ensuing century, were we to mention here the conspicuous writers who, more or less directly, and with more or less of close imitation, may be classed in the school of Montaigne; it embraces, in fact, a large proportion of French and English literature, and especially of that which has borrowed his title of Essays. *Intr. to Lit. of Europe [from 1550—1600]* ii. 169. *Ed.* 1839.

Each book of these *Essais* (the word also came to us from France) forms one of the two volumes. The chapters are shorter than they afterwards became; and there are but few quotations.

The next edition was published at Bourdeaux in 1582; *Edition seconde, renuee et augmentée*, and was contained in one volume. An edition also appeared between 1582 and 1587, but no copy of it is now known. Another edition was published at Paris in 1587. A fifth edition appeared at Paris in 1588. Montaigne died on 4 December 1592: and the last edition of his lifetime appeared at Lyons, with the date 1593. Dr. Payen tells us that "Montaigne although he says 'I add but I do not correct' he did often correct even to very light shadings of expressions." It was his custom to note these corrections and additions in the margins of his own copies. His literary fosterdaughter, Mademoiselle Marie de Jars or Jards, daughter of Guillaume de Jars, lord of Neufoi and de Gournay, and hence commonly called Mademoiselle de Gournay, incorporated these corrections and additions in first posthumous edition of 1595; which forms a principal basis for the modern critical text of Montaigne's greatest work,

5. Every excellent Author establishes a distinct section or group of literature in aftertimes, consecrated to the exposition and illustration of his Writings; which create an ever-increasing commentary through their contact with the fresh mind of successive generations. Just as we have a Chaucer, a Shakespeare, a Milton literature: so is there in France, a Montaigne literature. It may be of assistance to those who would become acquainted with this, to notice a few works through which they may obtain an entrance into it. M. J. F. Payen, M.D. has been a great worker in this field; especially in his most complete *Notice bibliographique sur Montaigne*, Paris, 1837, and his *Documents inédits, ou peu connus sur Montaigne*. Paris, 4 parts of which (250 copies only of some of them being printed,) have appeared, viz. in 1847, 1850, 1855, 1856. M. Alphonse Grün's *La vie publique de Michel Montaigne*, Paris, 1855, (criticized by Dr. Payen in Part 4 of *Documents inédits &c.*), will supply references to many of the French Writers who have written on the great Essayist of France. Two tracts likewise may not be overlooked, "*Montaigne chez lui. Visite de deux Amis à son Chateau*" by MM. E. Galey and L. Lapeyre.

Périgeux, 1861. (150 copies printed): which contains transcripts of the 54 sentences inscribed on the joists of ceiling of the Library which is situated on the second floor of the Library Tower of the Chateau. Also M. Galey's tract in continuation, *Le Fauteuil de Montaigne*, Périgeux. 1865. (200 copies printed).

6. The influence of Montaigne on some of the greatest writers in England is traced by the possession of copies of John Florio's translation of the *Essais* in English, in 1603, by our two chief poets at that time. Both copies are in the British Museum. The one, with prefs-mark C. 28. m. 8., bears on its title-page the signature of *Ben Jonson*, and a Latin note that he bought for seven *solidi* (i.e. shillings) in 1604. The other, with Prefs-mark C. 28. m. 7., has on a fly-leaf opposite the title-page, the signature *Wilm. Shakspeare*. Sir F. Madden, a very great authority, in his *Observations on an Autograph of Shakespeare*, London, 1838, states that this particular autograph "*challenges and defies* suspicion, and has already passed the ordeal of numerous competent examiners, all of whom have, *without a single doubt*, expressed their conviction of its genuineness," p. 6. He further adduces internal evidence from *The Tempest*, of Shakespeare's use of Florio's translation; in which he has been imitated, at a more recent date, by Monsieur V. E. P. Charles in his *Etudes sur W. Shakespeare, Marie Stuart, et l'Arcin*. Paris. 1851.

7. Bacon knew Montaigne, not only as the great French Essayist, but also as the friend of his only full-brother, Anthony. This elder son of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, by his second wife, the Philosopher's mother, was wandering about the continent, chiefly in France, for eleven years, between 1579 and February 1592, during all the time England was rising to her highest effort in the struggle with Spain. In November 1582, within two years of the first appearance of Montaigne's *Essais*, and the year of their second edition, both at Bordeaux; Anthony Bacon came to that city, and there contracted a friendship with the Sieur de Montaigne. Without doubt this acquaintanceship resulted in these French *Essais* being early brought under Bacon's notice; and notwithstanding that their endless ramblings from the subject, so utterly distasteful to him, the novelty of the style of writing no doubt recommended itself to him: and thus he came to note down his own observations, after the method of his own genius. So that on 30 January 1597 he could say that he published them 'as they passed long agoe from my pen.'

Yet it is strange that Bacon ignores his guide. There is no allusion by him to Montaigne in these essays before 1625, under which year he will be found quoted at p. 501. When, in 1612, he was writing his dedication to Prince Henry of his second and revised Text, it pleased him to go back to antiquity for a precedent, and to find in Seneca's *Epistles of Lucillus* the prototype of the modern Essay, see p. 158.

8. At whatever date the first of these Essays were written, they were certainly preceded in *publication* by another work of like kind, which I take to be the earliest publication in the technical form of Essay-writing in our language. It is a very rare little book—for the inspection of which I am indebted to that beneficent friend of this Series, Henry Pyne, Esq.—entitled “*Remedies against Discontentment, drawen into severall Discourses from the writings of auncient Philosophers.* By Anonymous. London. Printed for Rafe Blower. An. Do. 1596.” It was registered at Stationers’ Hall on 2 June 1596. The entry stands at the top of fol. 11. of Register C (1595-1620) as follows:—

1596. 38. Regni Rie Eliz:

	<i>Secundo die Junij!</i>	
Raphe Blower and Tho: Purfoote Junior	} Entred for their copie vnder hands of Mr Hartwell and bothe the wardens a booke intituled <i>Anonymous his Remedies against discontentment.</i>	} vjd.

Who ‘Anonymous’ was I have no idea. He, however, dedicated the *Remedies*, &c., to the Attorney General, Edward afterwards Sir Edward Coke, which dedication is succeeded by the following, *Anonymous to his Friend*.

You earnestlie entreated mee to sende you those small discourses you tooke view of in my studie, not longe since. You haue so great authoritie ouer me that I can not (without breaking the league of friends! ippe!) make that iust excuse vnto you, which I might vnto others. They were onely framed for mine owne priuate vse; and that is the reason I tooke no great paine, to set them foorth anye better, thinking they should neuer see the light. Imagine not to find in them, those subtile questions, and profound discourses which so waightie a matter requireth. It was not my purpose to enter so farre, both in regarde of the weakenes of mine owne forces, as that I did likewise knowe well, that the auncient Philosophers haue lefte vnto vs many volumes of the same subiect, whose perfection I am in no wise able to imitate. But as they all with one accord doe acknowledge thus much, that wee do naturally desire to bee happie, and that there is no meanes in this world to attaine thereunto, but to bridell our affections, and to bring them vnto a sounde temper, which is the onely waye to set our mynde at rest: So did they iudge it requisite, that wee should referre all our labour, watching, and meditation to this end. And in deede it is the course which the best witts of those times, haue taken: yea not onely they who haue been guided by the obscure lighte of nature, but euen those whose thorowe faith haue been enlightened, by the cleare shining of the Sonne beames. From these faire flowers, whiche their labours haue afforded mee, I haue as I passed by, gathered this small heape, and as my time and leasure serued me, distilled them, and kept them as precious. Deeming that the lesser quantitie they they did containe, so much greater shoulde their vertue and power be. For I was long since thus perswaded, that the receiptes which wee seeke, to calme, and appease our mind with all, ought to bee gathered into the fewest words, and shortest precepts that may be, that wee may alwayes haue them about vs. Forasmuch as disquietnes, which stoppeth the passage of felicitie, and with the which we are alwaies to combate, doth for the most part take vs vnawares, and keepe vs at that bay, that if wee haue not still some short, and easie weapons about vs, which we may well handle, we should not be able to defend our selues. I doubt not but your age, and experience, hath long since prouided you those that are of better mettle, better forged, and tempered. But sith that you haue a good opinion of mine, and desire to vse them (as you make me beleue) I do answerable to your desire send them

you. If they please you, it shalbe according to my wish : If they displease, yet is it according to your commundement. Fare you well. Yours *Anonimus.*

'The Discourses conteyned in this Booke' are as follows:—

1. *Howe wee ought to prepare our selues against passions.* 2. *Of the choice of affaires.* 3. *Of foresight.* 4. *Of the vocation of euery man.* 5. *Howe wee ought to rule our life.* 6. *Of the diuersitie of mens actions.* 7. *Of the choice of friends.* 8. *Of dissembling,* 9. *Of vanitie.* 10. *Of prosperitie.* 11. *A comparison of our own estate, with the fortune of other men.* 12. *Of aduersitie.* 13. *Of sorrowe.* 14. *Of the affliction of good men.* 15. *Of other mens faultes.* 16. *Of iniuries, wrongs, and disgraces.* 17. *Of pouertie.* 18. *Of Death.*

Of all these we may giue as a sample, the fifth Discourse. *How we ought to rule our life.*

**I**N mine opinion it is necessarie to hould a certaine firme and staid course of life without changing vpon euery slight occasion. You shall see some who are so infected with this vice, that they alter their manner of life daily, being vnpossible to settle themselues to any thing, like vnto those who neuer haue been at Sea, who when they first set saile, remooue out of a great Ship into a little, and from a little to a great, shewing plainly that they mislike both ; being still Sea-sick and purging their stomach. It is euen so with those who bring their passions with them in those matters they vndertake, seeking dayly a new forme of life and neuer doe effect any thing they begyn. Euerie thing maketh them sick, all things torment them : to haue much busines, to be idle, to serue, to command, to be married, to leade a single life, to haue children, to bee without issue : to bee short, nothing pleaseth them, nothing satisfieth them, but that which they haue not : And such kind of men liue miserably and discontentedly, like vnto those who are restrayned of their libertie, and fettered, liuing in a dayly torment.

There are another sort of men almost like vnto these, who can neuer stand still nor staine in one place, they neuer cease going and comming, they intermedle themselues in euery mans matter without any intreatie, they are wonderfully troubled with busines, and yet they haue nothing at all to do. When they come abroad, yf you demaunde of them whither they go, they straight-waies make answeere I know not, I haue some busines like as others haue. They run about the streetes, and market places, and returne all wearie and disquieted, hauing dispatched nothing at all. For there is nothing that so much wearieith any man as to labour in vaine. It is like ants who climbe vnto the top of a tree, and when they are at the highest haue nothing else to doe but to come downe againe, without reaping any other profit. They goe with such a randome that they carrie all that they meete before them. The Exchange, Powles, and the market places, are ordinarily full of such men. These forge and inuent newes, are deceauers, talking still of men liues, and discoursyng vainely what charges and offices other men haue.

A wise mans actions tend alwaies to a certaine end, he neuer burdeneth himselfe, with more busines then hee can well execute. And to say the troth, *Hee which taketh much vpon him, giueth fortune much power ouer him.*

9. Fourteen pages of entries intervene in the Stationers' Company' Register between the record of *Remedies against Discontentment, &c.*, on the 2d June 1596, in 38 Eliz.; and that of *Essayes, Religious Meditations, &c.* on 5th of February 1597, in 39 Eliz., of which they were the forerunners : For though not quite the very first English Essayist, it was Bacon that *established* in England this new species of writing.

Having thus brought the reader to the threshold of the present Reprint, we close our brief sketch of the advent of the Essay in our national Literature.

## DR. RAWLEY'S LIFE OF LORD BACON.



Knowledge of the manhood of Bacon wonderfully illustrates the drift and method of his Essays, and *vice versâ*. We fortunately possess an early and most authoritative account of him in the following *Life* by his 'first and last Chaplain,' the Rev. WILLIAM RAWLEY, D.D., which first appeared in his *Resuscitatio*, 1657. fol., was revised in the reprint of it of 1661, and is for the most part, the best testimony attainable (viz., that of a credible Eye and Ear witness), expressed with great strength and clearness.

We must therefore accept it, so far as it goes; for Dr. Rawley omits all allusion to Bacon's failings and fall, and touches but lightly upon the more active political and judicial parts of his career. All which parts, however, must be added to the account here given of him, if we would comprehend the enduring and fertile activity of his great powers. It is well also to dwell on such a bright side of Bacon's character as is here presented to us: in order to do him justice: for the character here given is the *general tenour* of his long life; even after dishonour a particular transactions had been incurred, though not always detected and punished. The general character preceded, co-existed, and survived each dishonour; and so Bacon is in a measure, the Solomon of modern times, endowed with wonderful powers, but still succumbing to the temptations that most easily beset his temperament.

Dr. Rawley's narrative, as first printed, is so disfigured with capital letters, and cut to shreds with commas, that, in this instance, we have modernised it.

Before the *Life*, in the edition of 1661, he placed an *Epistle to the Reader*, which begins thus:—"Having been employed as an amanuensis or daily instrument to this honourable Author, and acquainted with his Lordship's 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, than myself. For which cause I have compiled in one, whatsoever bears the true stamp of his Lordship's excellent genius, and hath hitherto slept and been suppressed in this present volume; not leaving anything to a future hand which I found to be of moment and communicable to the public, save only some few Latin works, which, by God's favour and suffrance, shall soon after follow.

It is true that for some of the Pieces herein contained, as his Lordship did not aim at the publication of them but at the preservation only, and prohibiting them from perishing, so as to leave them reposed in some private Shrine or Library.

*The Epistle thus concludes*: "As for this present collection, I doubt not but that it will verify itself in the several parcels thereof, and manifest to all understanding and impartial readers who is the Author of it: by that spirit of perspicuity, and aptness, and conciseness, which runs through the whole work, and is ever an annex of his Lordship's pen.

There is required now; and I have been moved by many, both from foreign nations and at home, who have in price, and been admirers of this honourable Author's conceits and apprehensions; that some memorials might be added concerning his Lordship's life. Wherein I have been more willing than sufficient to satisfy 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 Lordship's worth, there were more need of another Homer to be the trumpet of Achilles' virtues."

## 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 22d day of January in the year of our Lord, 1560. His father was that famous Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, the second Prop of the Kingdom 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 Anne, one of the daughters of Sir ANTHONY COOK, unto whom the erudition of King Edward the Sixth had been committed: a choice Lady and eminent for piety, virtue, 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 than Her Majesty's happy Reign.' With which answer the Queen was much taken.

At the ordinary years of ripeness for the University, or rather somewhat earlier; he was sent by his father to Trinity College in Cambridge, to be educated and bred under the tuition of Doctor JOHN WHITGIFT, then master of that College, afterwards the renowned Archbishop of Canterbury: a prelate of the first magnitude for Sanctity, Learning, Patience, and Humility. Under whom, he was observed to have been more than 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 myself;), he first fell into the dislike of the *Philosophy of Aristotle*. Not for the worthlessness of the Author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes; but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a Philosophy (as his Lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of Works for the benefit of the Life of Man. In which mind he continued to his dying day.

After he had passed the circle of the Liberal 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 AMYAS PAULET, then employed Ambassador Leger 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 sum of money, which he had separated, with intention to have made a competent purchase of land for the livelihood of this his youngest son; (who was only unprovided for, and though he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest in his father's affection); but the said purchase being unaccomplished at his father's death, there came no greater share to him, than his single part or portion of the money divisable amongst five brethren. By which means he lived in some straits and necessities in his younger years. For as for that pleasant site and manor of Gorbambury, he came not to it, till many years after, by the death of his dearest brother, Mr. ANTHONY BACON; a gentleman equal to him in height of wit, though inferior to him in the endowments of learning and knowledge. Unto whom he was most nearly conjoined in affection: they two, being the sole male issue of a second venture.

Being returned from travel, he applied 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 accessory and not as his principal study. He wrote several tractates upon that subject. Wherein, though some great masters in the Law did outgo him in bulk and particularities of cases, yet in the true 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 Queen's Council 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 Gray's Inn; of which House he was a member: where he erected that elegant pile or structure, commonly known by the name of *Lord Bacon's Lodgings*, which he inhabited, by turns, the most part of his life (some few years only 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 livelihood and subsistence: yet his heart and affections were more carried after the affairs and places of State; for which, if the Majesty Royal 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 counsellor, and gave him safe and honourable advice: till, in the end, the Earl inclined too much to the violent and precipitate counsel of others, his adherents and followers; which was his fate and ruin.

His birth and other capacities qualified him above others of his profession, to have ordinary accesses at court; and to come frequently into the Queen's eye: who would often grace him with private and free communication, not only about matters of his profession or business in law; but also about the arduous affairs of state. 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 only one dry reversion of the Register's Office in the Star Chamber, worth about £1600 per annum: for which he waited in expectation, either fully or nearly twenty years. Of which his Lordship would say, in Queen Elizabeth's time, 'That it was, like another man's 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 fell unto him.) Which might be imputed, not so much to Her Majesty's 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 days of his mistress, Queen Elizabeth: yet, after the change and coming 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 Lordship's 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, COUNSEL LEARNED EXTRAORDINARY [25th August 1604] to his Majesty, as he had been to Queen Elizabeth; KING'S SOLICITOR GENERAL [25th June 1607]; His Majesty's ATTORNEY-GENERAL [27th October 1613]; COUNSELLOR OF STATE [*i.e.*, Privy Councillor, 7th June 1616], being yet but Attorney; LORD KEEPER of the Great Seal of England [3d March 1617]; lastly, LORD CHANCELLOR [4th January 1619]; which two last places, though they be the same in authority and power; yet they differ in patent, height, and favour of the prince. Since whose time none of his successors until this present honourable Lord [Lord Clarendon] did ever bear the title of Lord Chancellor. His dignities were first KNIGHT [23d July 1603]; then BARON of VERULAM [11th July 1618]; lastly, VISCOUNT SAINT ALBAN [28th January 1621]; besides other good

gifts and bounties of the hand, which His Majesty gave him; both out of the Broad Seal and out of the Alienation Office, to the value in both of £1800 per annum; which with his Manor of Gorhambury and other lands and possessions, near there unto adjoining, amounting to a third part more, he retained to his dying day.

Towards his rising years, not before, he entered into a married state; and took to wife ALICE, one of the daughters and co-heirs of BENEDICT BARNHAM Esquire, and Alderman of London: with whom he received a sufficiently ample and liberal 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 perpetuate 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 presented with much conjugal love and respect, with many rich gifts and endowments, besides a robe of honour which he invested her withal [*i.e.*, he made her a Peeress], which she wore, until her dying day, being twenty years and more, after his death.

The last five years of his life being withdrawn from civil affairs and from an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies. A thing, whereof his Lordship would often speak during his active life; as if he affected to die 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 et mortis; Historia densi et rari*; not yet printed. *Historia Gravis, et 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 Laws 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. *Counsels Civil and Moral* or his book of *Essays*, 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 *Counsels Civil and Moral*, 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 et Lumine*: both these not yet printed. Lastly, *Sylva Sylvarum* or the Natural History. These were the fruits and productions of his last five years. His Lordship also designed upon the motion and invitation of his late majesty [Charles I.] to have written *The Reign of King Henry the Eighth*; but that work perished in the designation merely. God not lending him life to proceed further upon it than only in one morning's work whereof there is extant an *Ex Ungue Leonem*, already printed in his Lordship's *Miscellany Works*.

There is a commemoration due as well to his abilities and virtues, as to the course of his life. Those abilities which commonly go single in other men, though of prime and observable parts; were all conjoined and met in him. Those are Sharpness of Wit, Memory, Judgment, and Elocution. For the former three, his books do abundantly speak them, which, with what sufficiency he wrote, let the world judge, but with what celerity he wrote them, I can best testify. But for the fourth, his Elocution, I will only set down, what I heard Sir Walter Raleigh once speak of him, by way of comparison (whose judgment may well be trusted). 'That the Earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker but no good penman; that the Earl of Northampton (the Lord Henry Howard) was an excellent penman but no good speaker; but that Sir Francis Bacon was eminent in both.'

I have been induced to think; That if there were a beam 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 or notions from within himself; which notwith-



standing, 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 settled and concocted notion: the production of many years' labour and travail. I myself have seen at the least twelve copies of the *Instauratio* revised, year by year, one after another; and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof; till, at the last, it came to that model, in which it was committed to the press: as many living creatures do lick their young ones till they bring them to their strength of limbs.

In the composing of his books he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness 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 ministerial to matter, and not the principal: and if his style 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, avoid 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 style.

He was no plodder upon books: though he read much; and that, with great judgement, and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors. For he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies; as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other befitting recreation. And yet he would lose no time: inasmuch, 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 meals were refectations of the ear as well as of the stomach: like the *Noctes Atticæ* or *Convivia Deipno Sophistarum*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than 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 man's parts. Neither was he one, that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself or delight to out-vie others, but leave a liberty to the co-assessors 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 skilful and would delight to speak: and for himself he contented no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle.

His opinions and assertions were, for the most part, binding, and not contradicted by any: rather like oracles than discourses. Which may be imputed, either to the well weighing of his sentence by the scales 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 there 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 man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before: so that the author should find his own speech much amended and yet the substance of it still retained. As if it had been natural to him to use good forms; as Ovid spake of his faculty of versifying,

*Et quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.*

[And what I was attempting to write, became a verse.]

When his office called him, as he was of the King's Counsell Learned to charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitals: he was never of an insulting or domineering nature over them, but always 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 pity and compassion. And in Civil Business, as he was Councillor of State, 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 business *suavibus modis*, which was the way that was most according to his own heart.'

Neither was he, in his time, less gracious with the subject than with his Sovereign. He was ever acceptable to the House of Commons when he was a member thereof. Being the King's Attorney and chosen to a place in Parliament; he was allowed and dispensed with to sit in the House, which was not permitted to other Attorneys.

And as he was a good servant to his master: being never in nineteen 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 blood and quality sought to enlist themselves in his retinue. And if he were abused by any of them in their places; it was only the error of the goodness of his nature: but the badges of their indiscretions and intemperances.

This Lord was religious. For though the world be apt to suspect and pre-judge great wits and politicians to have somewhat of the Atheist: yet he was conversant with God. As appeareth by several 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 only so, but that 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 testify. 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 Blood of Christ: and died in the true faith established in the Church of England.

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 ruin and undoing. He was no defamer of any man to his Prince. One day, when a great Statesman 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 majesty's 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 moral but his Christian virtues.

His fame is greater and sounds louder in foreign parts abroad, than at home in his own nation: thereby verifying that Divine sentence, A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country and in his own house. Concerning which, I will give you a taste only, out of a letter written from Italy (the Store-House of refined wits) to the late Earl of Devonshire [*d.* 1628.] then the Lord Cavendish. "I will expect the new Essays 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 myself 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 human affairs, esteem him one of the most capable spirits of this age. And he is truly such."

Now his fame doth not decrease with days since, but rather increase. Divers of his works have been anciently and yet lately translated into other tongues both learned and modern, by foreign pens. Several persons of quality, during his Lordship's life, crossed the seas on purpose to gain an opportunity of seeing him and discoursing with him; whereof one carried his Lordship's picture from head to foot, over with him to 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, the Marquis Fiat, a French nobleman who came ambassador 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 weakness 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 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 foreign 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 only 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 exemplify 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 despatched it, returned it to the author, with this eulogy, 'Commend me to my Lord, and bid him take care to get good paper and ink: for the work is incomparable.' The other, shall be that of Doctor Samuel Collins, late Provost of King's College 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 in a case to begin his studies anew 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 to his universal insight into nature, he may, perhaps, be, to some, an example. For his diet, it was a plentiful and liberal diet, as his stomach would bear it, than a restrained. Which he also commended in his book *The History of Life and Death*. In his younger years, he was much given to the finer and lighter sort of meats, as of fowls and such like: but afterwards, when he grew more judicious, he preferred the stronger meats, such as the shambles afforded, as those meats which breed the more firm and substantial juices of the body and less 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 broth every morning for thirty years together next before his death. And for physic he did indeed live physically but not miserably. For he took only 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 days, immediately before his meal, whether dinner or supper, that it might dry the body less; 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 physic, in an ordinary way, whatsoever hath been vulgarly spoken, he took not. His receipt for the gout, which did constantly ease him of his pain within two hours, is already set down in the end of the *Natural History*.

It may seem the moon had some principal place in the figure of his nativity [!] For the moon was never in her passion or eclipsed, but he was surprised with a sudden fit of fainting: and that, though he observed not, nor took any previous knowledge of the eclipse thereof. And as soon as the eclipse ceased, he was restored to his former strength again.

He died on the 9th day of April in the year 1626; in the early morning of the day, then celebrated for our Saviour's Resurrection, in the 66th year of his age, at the Earl of Arundel's house in Highgate, near London. To which place he casually repaired about a week before; God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle fever, accidentally accompanied with a great

cold; whereby the defluxion of rheum fell so plentifully upon his breast that he died by suffocation. And was buried in St. Michael's Church at Saint Albans; being the place designed for his burial by his last will and testament; both because the body of his mother was interred there, and because it was the only 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 Meutys Knight, formerly his Lordship's secretary, afterwards clerk of the King's Honourable Privy Council, under two kings) representing his full portraiture, in the posture of studying: with an inscription composed by that accomplished gentleman and rare wit, Sir Henry Wotton.

But howsoever his body was mortal, 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.

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### BEN JONSON'S TESTIMONY TO BACON.

In a collection of passages entitled, *Timber; or, Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*; written after 1630. Ben Jonson writes:

"One, though hee be excellent, and the chiefe, is not to bee imitated alone. For never no Imitator, ever grew up to his *Author*; likenesse is alwayes on this side Truth: Yet there hapn'd, in my time, one noble *Speaker*, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, (where hee could spare, or passe by a jest) was nobly *ensorious*. No man ever spake more neatly, more presly, more weightily, or suffer'd lesse emptinesse, lesse idlenesse, in what hee utter'd. No member of his speech but consisted of the owne graces. His hearers could not cough, or looke aside from him, without losse. Hee commanded where hee spoke, and had his Judges angry, and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affection more in his power. The feare of every man that heard him, was, lest hee should make an end." *p.* 101.

"I have ever observ'd it, to have beene the office of a wise Patriot, among the greatest affaires of the *State*, to take care of the *Common-wealth* of Learning. For Schooles, they are the *Seminaries* of State: and nothing is worthier the study of a States-man, then that part of the *Republicke*, which we call the *advancement* of Letters. Witnessse the care of *Iulius Cæsar*; who in the heat of the civill warre, writ his bookes of *Analogie*, and dedicated them to *Tully*. This made the late Lord *S. Albane*, entitle his worke, *nouum Organum*. Which though by the most of superficial men; who cannot get beyond the Title of *Nominals*, it is not penetrated, nor understood; it really openeth all defects of Learning whatsoever; and is a Booke, *Quî longum noto scriptori porriget ævum*.

My conceit of his Person was never increased toward him, by his place, or honours. But I have, and doe reverence him for the greatness, that was onely proper to himselfe, in that hee seem'd to mee ever, by his worke one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had beene in many Ages. In his adversity I ever prayed, that *God* would give him strength: for *Greatnesse* hee could not want. Neither could I condole in a word, or syllable for him; as knowing no Accident could doe harme to vertue, but rather helpe to make it manifest. *p.* 102. *Works.* ii. *Ed.* 1640.

## AUBREY'S GOSSIP.



JOHN AUBREY, in his MS. notes, the dedication of which to Anthony Wood is dated 15th June 1580, which are printed at the end of *Letters written by eminent persons, &c.* London. 1813. gives us the following further information about Lord Bacon.

In his Lordship's prosperity Sr. Fulke Grevil, Lord Brooke, was his great friend and acquaintance, but when he was in disgrace and want, he was so unworthy as to forbid his butler to let him have any more small beer, which he had often sent for, his stomach being nice, and the small beere of Grayes Inne not liking his pallet. This has done his memorie more dishonour then Sr Ph. Sydney's friendship engraven on his monument hath donne him honour.

Richard, Earle of Dorset, was a great admirer and friend of the Ld. Ch. Bacon, and was wont to have Sr Tho. Ballingsley along with him, to remember and putt downe in writing my Lord's sayings at table. Mr. Ben Ionson was one of his friends and acquaintance, as doeth appeare by his excellent verses on his Lops birth day, in his 2nd vol. and in his *Vnderwoods*, where he gives him a character, and concludes, That about his time, and within his view, were borne all the witts that could honour a nation or help studie. He came often to Sr John Danvers at Chelsey. Sir John told me that when his Lop had wrote the *Hist. of Hen. 7*, he sent the manuscript copie to him to desire his opinion of it before it 'twas printed. Qd Sir John, Your Lordship knows that I am no scholar. 'Tis no matter, said my Lord, I know what a scholar can say; I would know what *you* can say. Sir John read it, and gave his opinion what he misliked (which I am sorry I have forgott) which my Ld. acknowledged to be true, and mended it. "Why," said he, "a schollar would never have told me this."

Mr. Tho. Hobbes (Malmesburiensis) was beloved by his Lop., who was wont to have him walke in his delicate groves, when he did meditate: and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it downe, and his Lop. was wont to say that he did it better than any one els about him; for that many times, when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writt, because they understood it not clearly themselves. In short, all that were *great and good* loved and honoured him. Sir Edward Coke, Ld. Chiefe Justice, alwayes envyed him, and would be undervaluing his lawe. I knew old lawyers that remembred it.

He was Lord Protector during King James's progresse into Scotland, and gave audience in great state to Ambassadors in the banquetting house at Whitehall. His Lop. would many time have musique in the next roome where he meditated. The Aviary at Yorke House was built by his Lop; it did cost 300 lib. Every meale, according to the season of the yeare, he had his table strewed with sweet herbes and flowers, which he sayd did refresh his spirits and memorie. When his Lop. was at his country house at Gorhambery. St. Alban's seemed as if the court had been there, so nobly did he live. His servants had liveries with his crest;\* his watermen were more employed by gentlemen then even the kings.

King James sent a buck to him, and he gave the keeper fifty pounds.

He was wont to say to his servant, *Hunt*, (who was a notable thrifty man, and loved this world, and the only servant he had that he could never gett to become bound for him) "The world was made for man (*Hunt*), and not man for the world." *Hunt* left an estate of 1000 lib. *per ann.*, in Somerset.

None of his servants durst appeare before him without Spanish leather bootes: for he would smell the neates leather, which offended him.

\* *A boare.*

The East India merchants presented his Lop. with a cabinet of jewels, which his page, Mr. Cockaine, received, and deceived his Lord.

His Lordship was a good Poet, but conceal'd as appears by his Letters. See excellent verse of his Lop's., which Mr. Farnaby translated into Greeke, and printed both in his *Αυθολογία*, sc.

The world's a bubble, and the life of man,  
Less than a span, &c.

[As this translation by Lord Bacon is not generally known, we give it entire. T. Farnaby's *Epigrammata Selecta*, taken from various authors, with his Greek translations of them upon opposite pages, was published at London in 1629, under the title Η τῆς αυθολογιας Αυθολογια. *Florilegium Epigrammatum Græcorum, eorumque Latino versu à varijs redditorum.*

Among the Epigrams on 'Human life' is one by John Gorræus: after which comes,

Huc elegantem viri clarissimi Domini Verulamij *παρωδιαν* adjicere adlubuit.

*The world's a bubble, and the life of man  
lesse then a span,  
In his conception wretched, from the wombe,  
so to the tombe:  
Curst from the cradle, and brought vp to yeares,  
with cares and feares.  
Who then to fraile mortality shall trust,  
But limmes the water, or but writes in dust.*

*Yet since with sorrow here we liue opprest:  
what life is best?  
Courts are but only superficiall scholes  
to dandle fooles.  
The rurall parts are turn'd into a den  
of sauage men.  
And wher's a city from all vice so free,  
But may be tern'd the worst of all the three?*

*Domesticke cares afflict the husbands bed,  
or paines his head.  
Those that liue single take it for a curse  
or doe things worse.  
Some would haue children, those that haue them, none,  
or wish them gone.  
What is it then to haue or haue no wife,  
But single thraldome, or a double strife?*

*Our owne affections still at home to please,  
is a disease,  
To crosse the sea to any foreine soyle  
perills and toyle,  
Warres with their noyse affright vs: when they cease,  
W'are worse in peace.  
What then remains? but that we still should cry,  
Not to be borne, or being borne to dye. ]*

His Lordship being in Yorke house garden looking on Fishers, as they were throwing their nett, asked them what they would take for their draught; they answered *so much*: his Lop. would offer them no more but *so much*. They drew up their nett, and it were only 2 or 3 little fishes, his Lop. then told them, it had been better for them to haue taken his offer. They replied,

they hoped to haue a better draught; but, said his Lop. *Hope is a good breakfast, but an ill supper,*

Upon his being in disfavour, his servants suddenly went away, he compared them to the flying of the vermin when the house was filling.

One told his Lordship it was now time to look about him. He replied, 'I doe not looke *about* me, I looke *above* me.'

His Lordship would often drinke a good draught of strong beer (March beer) to-bed-wards, to lay his working fancy asleep: which otherwise would keepe him from sleeping great part of the night.

Three of his Lordship's servants [Sir Tho. Meautys, Mr. . . . Bushell, Mr. . . . Idney.] kept their coaches, and some kept race-horses.

. . . His Favourites tooke bribes, but his Lop. alwaye gave judgement *secundem aquum et bonum*. His Decrees in Chancery stand firme, there are fewer of his decrees reuerst, than of any other Chancellor.

He had a delicate, lively hazel eie; Dr. Harvey told me it was like the eie of a viper.

[Aubrey in his *Life of Hobbes*. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 602 of the same work, states. "The Lord Chancellor Bacon loved to converse with him. He assisted his Lordship in translating severall of his essayes into Latin, one I well remember is that, Of the Greatness of Cities: [*? Kingdoms*] the rest I haue forgott. His Lordship was a very contemplative person, and was wont to contemplate in his delicious walks at Gorhambery, and dictate to Mr. Bushell, or some other of his gentlemen, that attended him with ink and paper ready to set downe presently his thoughts"]

Mr. Hobbes told me that the cause of his Lop's death was trying an experiment. As he was taking an aire in a coach with Dr. Witherborne (a Scotchman, Physician to the King) towards Highgate, snow lay on the ground, and it came into my Lord's thoughts, why flesh might not be preserved in snow as in salt. They were resolved they would try the experiment presently. They alighted out of the coach, and went into a poore woman's house at the bottome of Highgate hill, and bought a hen, and made the woman exenterate it, and then stuffed the bodie with snow, and my Lord did help to doe it himselfe. The snow so chilled him, that he immediately fell so extremely ill, that he could not returne to his lodgings. I suppose they at Graye's Inne,) but went to the Earl of Arundell's house at Highgate, where they putt him into a good bed warmed with a panne, but it was a damp bed that had not been layn in about a yeare before, which gave him such a cold that in 2 or 3 dayes, as I remember he [Mr. Hobbes] told me, he dyed of suffocation. *Vol. II. Part i. p. 221-7.*

## INTRODUCTION.

**F**RANCIS BACON, already pondering over the great 'Institution,' wrote the following letter to Lord Burghley (who had taken Bacon's aunt for his second wife) in the year 1591, six years previous to the appearance of the first of these Essays.

It is a most able summary of his life and purposes up to that time, and is expressed with excellent power and earnestness.

*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, do I commend myself 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 feare, 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 *Business* (for the *Contemplative Planet* carrieth me away wholly,) but as a Man born, under an Excellent Sovereign, that deserveth the Dedication, of all Mens Abilities. Besides, I doe not finde, in myself, so much Self-love, but that the greater parts, of my Thoughts are, to deserve well, (if I were able,) of my Friends, 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 commendement, 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 Renew, or some *Office* of *Gain*, that shall be executed by *Deputy*, and so give over, all Care of Service, and become some sorry *Book maker*, or a true *Pioneer*, 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 Lodgings at *Grays Inne*.

[*Resuscitatio*, p. 95. Ed. 1657.]



2. No right judgment can be formed of these Essays, in relation to Bacon's powers: unless some glimpse, however brief and imperfect, be obtained of the 'vast contemplative ends' to which he chiefly consecrated his magnificent powers for the last thirty-five years of his most busy life. Mr. Hallam has given us an excellent sketch of that New Philosophy, which tasked even the mighty intellect of the Lord Chancellor simply to design.

In the dedication of the *Novum Organum* to James in 1620, Bacon says that he had been about some such work near thirty years, "so as I made no haste." "And the reason," he adds "why I have published it now, specially being imperfect, is, to speak plainly, because I number my days, and would have it saved. There is another reason of my so doing, which is to try whether I can get help in one intended part of this work, namely, the compiling of a natural and experimental history, which must be the main foundation of a true and active philosophy." He may be presumed at least to have made a very considerable progress in his undertaking, before the close of the sixteenth century. But it was first promulgated to the world by the publication of his Treatise on the Advancement of Learning in 1605. In this, indeed, the whole of the Baconian philosophy may be said to be implicitly contained, except perhaps the second book of the *Novum Organum*. In 1623, he published his more celebrated Latin translation of this work, if it is not rather to be deemed a new one, entitled *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. I find, upon comparison, that more than two thirds of this treatise are a version, with slight interpolation or omission, from the *Advancement of Learning*, the remainder being new matter. p. 168.

The *Instauratio Magna*, dedicated to James, is divided, according to the magnificent ground-plot of its author, into six parts. The first of these he entitles *Partitiones Scientiarum*, comprehending a general summary of that knowledge which mankind already possess; yet not merely treating this affirmatively, but taking special notice of whatever should seem deficient or imperfect; sometimes even supplying, by illustration or precept, these vacant spaces of science. The first part he declares to be wanting in the *Instauratio*. It has been chiefly supplied by the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum*; yet perhaps even that does not fully come up to the amplitude of this design.

The second part of the *Instauratio* was to be, as he expresses it, "the science of a better and more perfect use of reason in the investigation of things, and of the true aids of the understanding," the new logic, or inductive method, in which what is eminently styled the Baconian philosophy consists. This, as far as he completed it, is known to all by the name of *Novum Organum*. But he seems to have designed a fuller treatise in place of this; the aphorisms into which he has digested it being rather the heads or theses of chapters, at least in many places, that would have been further expanded. (It is entitled by himself. *Pars secunda Summa, digesta in aphorismos.*) And it is still more important to observe, that he did not achieve the whole of this summary that he had promised; but out of nine divisions of his method we only possess the first, which he denominates *prærogativa instantiarum*. Eight others, of exceeding importance in logic, he has not touched at all, except to describe them by name and to promise more. "We will speak," he says, "in the first place, of prerogative instances; secondly, of the aids of induction; thirdly, of the rectification of induction; fourthly, of varying the investigation according to the nature of the subject; fifthly, of prerogative natures (or objects), as to investigation, or the choice of what shall be first inquired into; sixthly, of the boundaries of inquiry, or the synoptical view of all natures in the world; seventhly, on the application of inquiry to practice, and what relates to man; eighthly, on the preparations (*parascensis*) for inquiry; lastly, on the ascending and descending scale of axioms." All these, after the first, are wanting, with the exception of some slightly handled in separate parts of Bacon's writings: and the deficiency, which is so important,

seems to have been sometimes overlooked by those who have written about the *Novum Organum*.

The third part of the *Instauratio Magna* was to comprise an entire natural history, diligently and scrupulously collected from experience of every kind; including under that name of natural history every thing wherein the art of man has been employed on natural substances either for practice or experiment; no method of reasoning being sufficient to guide us to truth as to natural things, if they are not themselves clearly and exactly apprehended. It is unnecessary to observe that very little of this immense chart of nature could be traced by the hand of Bacon, or in his time. His Centuries of Natural History containing about one thousand observed facts and experiments, are a very slender contribution towards such a description of universal nature as he contemplated. These form no part of the *Instauratio Magna*, and had been compiled before [*This is contradictory to Dr. Rawley's statement on next page*]. But he enumerates one hundred and thirty particular histories which ought to be drawn up for this great work. A few of these he has given in a sort of skeleton, as samples rather of the method of collecting facts, than of the facts themselves; namely, the History of Winds, of Life and Death, of Density and Rarity, of Sound and Hearing.

The fourth part, called *Scala Intellectus*, is also wanting with the exception of a very few introductory pages. "By these tables," says Bacon, "we mean not such examples as we subjoin to the several rules of our method, but types and models, which place before our eyes the entire process of the mind in the discovery of truth, selecting various and remarkable instances." These he compares to the diagrams of geometry, by attending to which the steps of the demonstration become perspicuous.

In a fifth part of the *Instauratio Magna* Bacon had designed to give a specimen of the new philosophy which he hoped to raise after a due use of his natural history and inductive method, by way of anticipation or sample of the whole. He calls it *Prodomi, sive Anticipationes Philosophiæ Secundæ*. And some fragments of this part are published by the names of *Cogita et Visa, Cogitationes de Natura Rerum, Filium Labyrinthi*, and a few more, being as much, in all probability, as he had reduced to writing. In his own metaphor, it was to be like the payment of interest, till the principal could be raised, *tanquam fœnus reddatur, donec sors haberi possit*.

For he despaired of ever completing the work by a sixth and last portion, which was to display a perfect system of philosophy, deduced and confirmed by a legitimate, sober, and exact enquiry according to the method which he had invented and laid down. "To perfect this last part is above our powers and beyond our hopes. We may, as we trust, make no despicable beginnings, the destinies of the human race must complete it; in such a manner, perhaps, as men, looking only at the present, would not readily conceive. For upon this will depend not a speculative good, but all the fortunes of mankind and all their power."

And with an eloquent prayer that his exertions may be rendered effectual to the attainment of truth and happiness, this introductory chapter of the *Instauratio*, which announces the distribution of its portions, concludes.

Such was the temple, of which Bacon saw in vision before him the stately front and decorated pediments, in all their breadth of light and harmony of proportion, while long vistas of receding columns and glimpses of internal splendour revealed a glory that it was not permitted to him to comprehend.

In the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and in the *Novum Organum*, we have less, no doubt, than Lord Bacon, under different conditions of life, might have achieved; he might have been more emphatically the high priest of nature, if he had not been the chancellor of James I.; but no one man could have filled up the vast outline which he alone, in that stage of the world, could have so boldly sketched.—*Intro. to the Lit. of Europe*, iii. 168-175, Ed. 1839.

Bacon did 'get help' in his Natural History from his chaplain, Dr. Rawley: and among the many writings of his 'writing time,' *i.e.* from his fall till his death, this work was completed. It was published after his decease under the title of '*Sylva Sylvarum*:' or *A Naturall Historie*, in ten Centuries,' London, 1627. fol., with the following dedication to Charles I. :—

*May it please your most Excellent Maiestie;*

The whole Body of the *Naturall Historie*, either designed, or written, by the late *Lo. Viscount S. Alban*, was dedicated to your *Maiestie*, in his Booke *De Ventis*, about foure yeeres past, when your *Maiestie* was *Prince*: So as there needed no new Dedication of this *Worke*, but only, in all humblenesse, to let your *Maiestie* know, it is yours. It is true, if that *Lo.* had liued, your *Maiestie*, ere long, had bene inuoked, to the Protection of another *Historie*; Whereof, not *Natures Kingdome*, as in this, but these of your *Maiesties*, (during the Time and *Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*) had bene the Subject: Which since it died vnder the Designation meerely, there is nothing left, but your, *Maiesties* Princely Goodnesse, graciously to accept of the Vndertakers Heart, and Intentions; who was willing to haue parted, for a while, with his Darling *Philosophie*, that hee might haue attended your Royall Commandement, in that other *Worke*. Thus much I haue bene bold, in all lowliness, to represent vnto your *Maiestie*, as one that was trusted with his *Lordships Writings*, euen to the last. And as this *Worke* affecteth the *Stampe* of your *Maiesties Royall Protection*, to make it more currant to the *World*, So vnder the *Protection* of this *Worke*, I presume in all humblenesse to approach your *Maiesties* presence; And to offer it vp into your *Sacred Hands*.

Your MAIESTIES most Loyal and Deuoted Subject, W. RAWLEY.

After which Dr. Rawley gives the following Epistle to the Reader, which 'is the same, that should haue been prefixed to this Booke, if his Lordship had liued.' Bacon was singularly fortunate in having such a chaplain: and we are ever indebted to him for such a revelation, both of the spirit and method of the New Philosophy, as hereinafter follows:—

Having had the Honour to bee continually with my *Lord*, in compiling of this *Worke*; And to be employed therein; I haue thought it not amisse (with his Lordships good leaue and liking,) for the better satisfaction of those that shall reade it, to make knowne somewhat of his Lordships Intentions, touching the Ordering, and Publishing of the same. I haue heard his Lordship often say; that if hee should haue serued the glory of his owne Name, hee had been better not to haue published this *Naturall History*: For it may seeme an Indigested Heap of Particulars; and cannot haue that Lustre, which Bookes cast into Methods haue; But that he resolved to preferre the good of Men, and that which might best secure it, before any thing that might haue Relation to Himselfe. And hee knew well, that there was no other way open, to vnloose Mens minds, being bound; and (as it were) Maleficate, by the Charmes of deceiuing Notions, and Theories; and thereby made Impotent for Generation of *VVorkes*: But onely no wher to depart from the Sense, and cleare experience; But to keepe close to it, especially in the beginning: Besides, this *Naturall History* was a Debt of his, being Designed and set downe for a third part of the *Instauration*. I haue also heard his Lordship discourse, that Men (no doubt) will thinke many of the *Experiments* contained in this Collection to be Vulgar or Triuall; Meane and Sordid; Curious and Fruitlesse; and therefore he wisheth, that they would haue perpetually before their Eyes, what is now in doing; And the Difference betwene this *Naturall History*, and others. For those *Naturall Histories*, which are Extant, being gathered for Delight and Vse, are full of pleasant Descriptions

and Pictures; and affect and seek after Admiracion, Rarities, and Secrets. But contrariwise, the Scope which his Lordship intendeth, is to write such a *Naturall History*, as may be Fundamentall to the Erecting and Building of a true *Philosophy*: For the Illumination of the *Vnderstanding*; the Extracting of *Axiomes*; and the producing of many Noble *Works*, and *Effects*. For he hopeth, by this meanes, to acquit Himselfe of that, for which hee taketh *Himselfe* in a sort bound; And that is, the Aduancement of all Learning and Sciences. For hauing in this present VVorke Collected the Materials for the Building; And in his *Novum Organum* (of which his Lordship is yet to publish a Second Part,) set downe the Instruments and Directions for the Worke; Men shall now bee wanting to themselues, if they raise not Knowledge to that perfection, whereof the Nature of Mortall men is capable. And in this behalfe, I haue heard his Lordship speake complainingly; That his Lordship (who thinketh hee deserueth to be an Architect in this building,) should be forced to be a VVork-man and a Labourer; And to digge the Clay, and burne the Brick; And more then that, (according to the hard Condition of the *Israelites* at the latter end) to gather the Strawe and Stubble, ouer all the Fields, to burn the Bricks withall. For he knoweth, that except hee doe it, nothing will be done: Men are so sett to despise the Meanes of their owne good. And as for the *Basenes* of many of the Experiments: As long as they be Gods VVorks, they are Honourable enough. And for the *Vulgarnes* of them; true *Axiomes* must be drawne from plaine Experience, and not from doubtfull; And his Lordships course is, to make VVonders Plaine, and not Plaine things VVonders; And that Experience likewise must be broken and grinded, and not whole, or as it groweth. And for *Vse*; his Lordship hath often in his Mouth, the two kinde of *Experiments*; *Experimenta Fructifera*, and *Experimenta Lucifera*: *Experiments of Vse*, and *Experiments of Light*; And he reporteth himself, whether he were not a strange Man, that should thinke that Light hath no Vse, because it hath no Matter. Further, his Lordship thought good also, to add vnto many of the *Experiments* themselues, some *Glosse* of the *Causes*; that in the succeeding work of *Interpreting Nature*, and *Framing Axiomes*, all things may be in more Readines. And for the *Causes* herein by Him assigned; his Lordship perswadeth Himselfe, they are far more certaine, then those that are rendred by Others; Not for any Excellency of his owne Witt, (as his Lordship is wont to say) but in respect of his continuall Conuersation with *Nature*, and *Experience*. He did consider likewise, that by this Addition of *Causes*, Mens mindes (which make so much hast to find out the *Causes* of things;) would not thinke themselues vtterly lost, in a Vast VVood of *Experience*, but stay vpon these *Causes*, (such as they are) a little, till true *Axiomes* may be more fully discovered. I haue heard his Lordship say also, that one great Reason, why he would not put these Particulars into any exact *Method*, (though he that looketh attentiuely into them, shall finde that they haue a secret Order) was, because hee conceiued that other men would now thinke, that they could doe the like: And so goe on with a further Collection: which if the Method had been Exact, many would haue despair'd to attaine by Imitation. As for his Lordships loue of Order, I can referre any Man to his Lordships Latine Booke, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*; which (if my Iudgment be any thing) is written in the Exactest Order, that I know any Writing to bee. I will conclude with an vsuall Speech of his Lordships. That this VVorke of his *Naturall History*, is the *World*, as GOD made it, and not as Men haue made it; For that it hath nothing of Imagination.

W. Rawley.

After *Sylva Sylvarum* appeared in the same impressiõ, the 'New Atlantis, A Worke vnfinished,' respecting which Dr. Rawley thus writes *To the Reader*.

This *Fable* my Lord devised, to the end that He might exhibite therein, a *Modell* or *Description* of a *Colledge*, instituted for the *Interpreting* of *Nature*, and the *Producing* of *Great* and *Marvellous Works* for the *Benefit* of *Men*; Vnder the name of *Salomons House*, or the *Colledge of the Sixe Dayes Works*. And euen so farre his *Lordship* hath proceeded, as to finish that Part: Certainly, the *Modell* is more Vast, and High, than can possibly be imitated in all things. Notwithstanding most Things therein are within Mens Power to effect. His *Lordship* thought also in this present *Fable*, to haue composed a *Frame* of *Larwes*, or of the *best State* or *Mould* of a *Common-wealth*; But foreseeing it would be a long *Worke*, his *Desire* of *Collecting* the *Naturall History* diuerted him, which He preferred many degrees before it.

This *Worke* of the *New Atlantis* (as much as concerneth the *English Edition*) his *Lordship* designed for this Place; In regard it hath so neare affinity (in one Part of it) with the *Preceding Naturall History*.

W. Rawley.

3. We have thought thus much—and we would suggest that every clause and statement quoted should be thoroughly considered—concerning Bacon's Life and Operations, indispensable to a fair consideration of these Essays. For they formed no essential part of his work; they entered not into his conceptions of the proficiency and advancement of knowledge. Like his *History of Henry VII.*, written at the request of King James, and his intended *History of Henry VIII.*, which he promised to Prince Charles; these Counsels are by-works of his life, the labours, as it were, of his left hand; his right being occupied in grasping the Instauration.

It was indeed the continued success of the small tract of 1597, containing a nearly equal number of Essays and Sacred Meditations, that recommended this form of writing to their author's attention; and induced him—writing rapidly in such few moments as he could spare from the avocations of his legal, political, and court life; or the more engrossing revolency of his Philosophy—to increase them both in number and weight. So in the midst of many other writings they were incessantly corrected and added to, until in the Latin edition of 1638, they assumed their final shape, in that language, in which he thought they might 'last as long as Bookes last.'

4. What kind of writing is an Essay? A question somewhat hard precisely to answer. Usually we are taught that the word Essay (from the French *Essayer*) is synonymous with Assay or Trial-Examination, and equivalent to Attempt. The word, however, both in its earliest and more recent use, is really but a modest depreciation of a man's own Opinions and Reflections. So that, though he should give you his keenest observation, his ripest thought, his clearest utterance; he disclaims their intrinsic importance and value, and bids you take them but for simple Attempts. The word itself has nothing necessarily to do with any specific manner of the writing. Montaigne, Bacon, and Addison, were Master-Essayists; yet their compositions are wholly unlike in style and form.

The vagueness of the name, Essays, has led in recent times to the use of a number of sectional sub-titles. Essays in Philosophy are known as Dissertations or Treatises; Essays in Science as Papers; Essays in Criticism as Reviews; and Essays in Politics as Articles. All these, however, do separate themselves from the true Essay, which seems to be more especially connected as to its subject with Literature and Human Nature. There is also about an Essay a certain good-humoured steadiness quite separating it from Squibs, Skits, and such like; and from bitterness and satire of all kinds. So its weakness is a liability to a wordy dulness; and it requires the hand of a Master for the smooth strong writing of a good Essay.

As regards the substance of an Essay, Bacon's own definition 'disperfed meditations,' may be accepted as true; using Meditation in its *full* sense of 'considerate fixed contemplation,' the going round about a thing, observing its various aspects and prospects.

Of the three writers, Montaigne, Bacon, and Addison; the last is by far the most perfect Essayist. For an Essay is a thing to rest in, just as an Heroic Poem is a thing to soar with. It consists of thought circumscribed to one principal subject. It should be moderately short, concatenated in thought, and modestly illuminated with fancy and illustration. Above all, and this is half the matter, it should be set forth with the greatest possible clearness of expression, the utmost attainable charm of good writing. Some of Addison's papers in the *Spectator* afford examples of the highest finish and skill in English Essay writing.

5. The present Edition, by fixing the latest date assignable for its composition, to every portion of these Essays, explains a certain incongruity of style between many of them, by showing the change that supervened in Bacon's manner of writing them. Of this, the following points may be briefly noted.

a. The composition, correction, and augmentation of these Essays stretched over a period of thirty years. They were commenced under Elizabeth, increased under James I., and assumed their final shape under Charles I. An Author rarely maintains one style for so long a period, let him write much or little. The ordinary changes and vicissitudes of private life tell on us all, and our expression brightens or beclouds, as our years wane. To this must be added the great toil, drive, and occupation of Bacon's public life: and the vast burden of the New Philosophy that constantly rested on his spirit. The marvel is that he ever found time to write the Essays at all.

b. Bacon tells us in *Adv. of Learning*. ii. fol. 20. Ed. 1605. that "In Philosophy, the contemplations of Man doe either penetrate *vnto God*, or are circumscribed to *Nature*, or are reflected or reuerted vpon *himselfe*. Out of which severall inquiries, there doe arise three knowledges, DIVINE PHILOSOPHY, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, and HUMANE PHILOSOPHY or HUMANITIE. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple Character of the power of God, the difference of Nature, and the vse of Man." These Essays in their method and form are simply the turning of his system of investigating Nature vpon Humanity and Society.

c. The first ten Essays are not true Essays. They are severally a succes-

sion of the sharpest Aphorisms, each isolated from the other with a ¶, and otherwise independent. They are devoid of quotation, illustration, and almost of explanation: and appear like a series of oracular sentences.

d. When Bacon, after an interval of fifteen years, came to revise this First text, it was chiefly to expand, qualify, or illustrate it. The additions of absolute new thought are not numerous. But in the second and further revision of 1625, he almost doubled these earliest Essays in length.

e. A striking change in the writing meets us as we come to his *second* Essay. *Of Friendship*, at p. 163, which is the first specimen herein of the final style of 1625. That Essay represents Bacon's last manner, and all the other Essays, in their successive alterations, do but more or less approximate to it. The Essay is now a methodical Discourse, generally under two or three heads. It usually begins with a quotation or an apothegm. It teems with allusions and quotations, with anecdote and repartee: and altogether is a very brilliant piece of writing. Still, however, it is a succession of distinct points, rather than a ramble round one topic.

Thus, much as to the ripening and enrichment of the style, may suffice.

6. Bacon addressed these Counsels, more perhaps than any other of his writings, immediately and directly to his Contemporaries. Think who these included. We cannot stop to enumerate them. From Burleigh to Selden, from Spenser to Milton, they comprised the brightest and greatest intellects of England. It was the golden Age of our National History.

a Writing for his contemporaries, Bacon naturally appealed to phenomena as it was then accounted for. Indeed, he was in this respect somewhat behind the times: for Archbishop Whately asserts [*Essays*, p. xiv. *Ed.* 1856], that he appears to have *rejected* the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo: and it is certainly noteworthy how cautiously he refers to the celestial *Primum Mobile*, leaving it an open question. And so generally: Bacon's argument or counsel is often felicitously true, when the fact adduced in its conclusive proof is now known to be false. As for instance, 'ashes are more generative than dust,' p. 249, that 'out of question' (Astronomy was decidedly his weak point, as human life and character was his strong one) Comets affect 'the grosse and masse of Things,' p. 571. His adducing, as evidence worthy to be considered, the preposterous assertion of an Astrologer, p. 569; and the like.

b. The Essays are an excellent Land Mark in the Constitutional History of England. It helps us towards an understanding of the political system under which our country was ruled under the two first Stuarts, and which but for the Long Parliament, would certainly have drifted on, until England had been made like France came to be under Louis XIV. and his successor. It is startling to hear him so constantly talk of the entire State, as the King's *Estate*, as a nobleman's park might be: it is curious, in a book dedicated to the reigning Favorite, to hear his defence of Favorites, p. 227, and also to mark his instructions, how the King was to suck the brains of his Counsellors, and then palm all off as his own, p. 317; to note his denunciation of Cabinet Councils, p. 319, (a name since applied to a different kind of assembly;) to see him thinking so late as 1625, that there was little danger to a King, from the Commons, and not much danger from the Gentry, p. 307. He seems not to have conceived the possibility of the coming of the English Commonwealth. Thus these Counsels do reflect in many things the times in which they were written.

c. Again, many of these Essays should be read in connection with Macchiavelli's *Discourses upon Livy's First Decade*, which appears to have been a favourite political work with Bacon. The last one *Of Vicissitudes of Things* seems to have altogether suggested by Chap 5, Book 11, of that work, the title of which is, *That the changes of Religion and Languages, together with the changes of floods and pestilence, abolish the memory of things.*

7. There is however a large permanent element in these Essays that will remain a monument 'more durable than brass':

applicable to all ages, because manhood alters not, and ever fresh and sparkling as when first written.

a. An excellence that meets us at once is the subtle mastery of words, the singular beauty of the imagery and similitudes, just as he begins *The Advancement of Learning*. 'In the entrance to the former of these; to clear the way, and as it were to *make silence*:' so among many others we have in this work, 'Imitation is a *globe* of precepts,' p. . . 'Atheists wil ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they *fainted* in it,' p. . . And the like.

Great attention is to be paid to all his words, for their fulness of meaning adds much to the pleasure of the Essays.

b. Consider the infinite *variety* of the thought. Nothing can give us a better idea of his powers, than to realize that Bacon's daily thought was just like these Essays, and his Apothegms. Dr. Rawley states *with what celerity he wrote I can testify*.

c. The general *depth* of the thought. Some phrases seem to be a chapter in themselves. As quoting at random, 'to dash the first Table, against the second; And so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men,' at p. 431, is a whole argument for toleration: his anatomy of a cunning and rotten man, at p. 105: his exquisite summary of our Saviour's miracles at p. 101: and so on *ad infinitum*.

Next comes the testimony of the book to Bacon's moral character.

a. It is contrary to human nature, that one in whose mind such thoughts as these coursed, year after year, only becoming more excellent as he grew older, could have been a bad man. Do men gather grapes of thorns? Be all the facts of his legal career what they may, and it is that section of his life mostly includes any discredit to him: (he was also a Philosopher, Historian, that Essayist, Politician, and what not?) the testimony of this one work, agreeing as it does with the tenour of all his other writings is irresistible, that in the general plan of his purposes and acts, he intended nothing less, nothing else than to be 'Partaker of God's Theater, and so likewise to be partaker of God's Rest,' p. 183. Can we accuse one who so scathes Hypocrites and Imposters, Cunning and Self-wisdom, of having a corrupted and depraved nature? For strength of Moral Power, there is no greater work in the English language.

b. More than this, (it is notable also as a testimony to his character,) there runs right through all an unfeigned reverence for Holy Scripture, not only as a Revelation of Authority, but as itself the greatest written Wisdom. Not because it was so easy to quote, but because it was so fundamentally and everlastingly true, did this great Intellect search the Bible as a great store-house of Civil and Moral, as well as Religious Truths, and so<sup>l</sup> Bacon is another illustration, with Socrates, Plato, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and others, that a deep religious feeling is a necessity to the very highest order of human mind. As he argues at p. 339, *Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe vpon diuine Protection and Fauour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Human Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine.*

8. We have glanced at the connection of this work with Bacon's life and pursuits. We have noticed the change of style perceivable in these Essays. We have touched upon their localism of time and place. We have noted one or two of their permanent constituents; and marked their testimony to Bacon's character.

Here most reluctantly we must leave off, ere we have hardly begun. One parting word. We rise from the study of this work with a higher reverence than ever for its Author; and with the certain conviction that the Name and Fame of Francis Bacon will ever increase and extend through successive ages.



## CONTEMPORARY BIBLIOGRAPHY.

∴ There is still so much uncertainty both as to the earlier and more recent editions of the *Essays*, &c.; that this and the next List must be considered purely tentative. There may be several editions not included in either.

1. 1597. London. 1 Vol. 12mo. *Editio princeps*: see title at p. 3, and sub-titles at pp. 96 and 135.
2. 1598. London. *Essaies. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed.* London. Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to bee solde at the blacke Beare in Chauncery lane. 1598.  
COL. Imprinted at London by Iohn Windet for Humfrey Hooper. 1598.
3. 1606. London. *Same title as No. 2.* Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete streete at the hand and Starre neere Temple barre. 1606.  
[1607-1612. Between these dates was transcribed *Harl. MS.* 5106, of which see title at p. 157.]
4. 1612. London. 1 vol. 12mo. *Second and revised Text*: see title at p. 420.
5. 1612. London. *Same title as No. 2.* Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete-streete at the Hand and Starre, neere Temple barre. This edition was partially printed when the second text, No. 4, came out. The new *Essays* were therefore added at the end of this impression.
6. 1613. London. *Same title as No. 2.* Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temp'le gates. 1613.
7. 1618. London. *Saggi Morali and Della Sapienza degli Antichi.* 1 vol. 8vo. Trans. by TOBY MATTHEW; whose dedication to Cosmo de Medici, Duke of Tuscany, is dated London, 3 July [1618.]
8. 1619. London. *Essays Moraux.* Translated by Sir ARTHUR GORGES. 1 vol. 8vo. *Scutum inuincibile Fides.* A Londres. Chez. Iean Bill.
9. 1621. Bracciano. *Saggi Morali and Sapienza de gl'Antichi.* Trans. 1 vol. 32mo. by ANDREA CIOLI, Secretary of State to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Dedication signed by Pompilio Totti, 24 June 1621.
10. 1621. Paris. 1 vol. 8vo. *Essays Politiques et Moraux.* Trans. by I. BAUDOVIN.
11. 1624. London. The *Essaies of S<sup>r</sup> Francis Bacon Knight, the King's Attorney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Diswasion. Scene and allowed.* Printed at London by I. D. for Elizabeth Iaggard, at the hand and Starre, neere the middle Temple-gate. 1624.
12. 1625. London. 1 vol. 4to. *Final English Edition*: see title at p. 497  
This is the first edition in quarto.

∴ The editions printed for the Iaggard family, viz., Nos. 3, 5, 6, and 11, are considered spurious, and unauthorized.

On the next two pages is shown the order of the *Essays* in the editions published in Bacon's lifetime, and the Latin text of 1638. It will be seen that as the *Essays* grew, there were five different arrangements. The first includes 1, 2, and 3. The Second is that of *Harl. MS.* 5106. The Third comprises 4, 6, 8, and 11. The fourth 7, 9, and 10. The fifth is that of 12, and most subsequent Editions.

*Order of the Essays in Contemporaneous Editions, &c.*

Order of this Edition.	No.	1	2	3	III. 1607-12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	VI. 1638.
	Text. Year.	I. 1597.	II. 1598.	1606.	1607-12	IV. 1612.	1612.	1613.	Italian 1618.	French 1619.	Italian 1621.	French 1621.	1624.	V. 1625.	
FIRST GROUP.															
1.	<i>Of Studies.</i>	1	1	1	11	29	1	29	26	29	26	26	29	50	48
2.	<i>Of Discourse.</i>	2	2	2	12	19	2	19	16	19	16	16	19	32	32
3.	<i>Of Ceremonies and Respects.</i>	3	3	3	10	30	3	30	27	30	27	27	30	52	50
4.	<i>Of Followers and Friends.</i>	4	4	4	14	32	4	32	29	32	29	29	32	48	46
5.	<i>Of Suitors.</i>	5	5	5	15	31	5	31	28	31	28	28	31	49	47
6.	<i>Of Expense.</i>	6	6	6	8	18	6	18	15	18	15	15	18	28	28
7.	<i>Of Regiment of Health.</i>	7	7	7	7	17	7	17	14	17	14	14	17	30	30
8.	<i>Of Honour and Reputation</i>	8	8	8	21	—	8	39	35	39	35	35	39	55	53
9.	<i>Of Faction.</i>	9	9	9	20	34	9	34	36	34	36	36	34	51	49
10.	<i>Of Negotiating.</i>	10	10	10	16	33	10	33	30	33	30	30	33	47	45
	SACRED MEDITATIONS.	Yes	Yes	Yes	—	—	Yes	Yes	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—
	COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.	Yes	Yes	Yes	—	—	Yes	Yes	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—
SECOND GROUP.															
11.	<i>Of Friendship.</i>	—	—	—	1	13	23	13	11	13	11	11	13	27	27
12.	<i>Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.</i>	—	—	—	2	16	26	16	13	16	13	13	16	23	23
13.	<i>Of Nobility.</i>	—	—	—	3	7	17	7	5	7	5	5	7	14	14
14.	<i>Of Goodness &amp; Goodness, &amp;c.</i>	—	—	—	4	3	13	3	1	3	1	1	3	13	13
15.	<i>Of Beauty.</i>	—	—	—	5	24	31	24	21	24	21	21	24	43	41
16.	<i>Of Seeming Wise.</i>	—	—	—	6	20	27	20	17	20	17	17	20	26	26
17.	<i>Of Ambition.</i>	—	—	—	9	22	29	22	19	22	19	16	22	36	35
18.	<i>Of Riches.</i>	—	—	—	13	21	28	21	18	21	18	18	21	34	34
19.	<i>Of Despatch.</i>	—	—	—	17	11	21	11	9	11	9	9	11	25	25
20.	<i>Of Deformity.</i>	—	—	—	18	25	32	25	22	25	22	22	25	44	42
21.	<i>Of Youth and Age.</i>	—	—	—	19	23	30	23	20	23	20	20	23	42	40
22.	<i>Of Marriage and Single Life.</i>	—	—	—	22	5	15	5	3	5	3	3	5	8	8
23.	<i>Of Parents and Children.</i>	—	—	—	23	6	16	6	4	6	4	4	6	7	7
24.	<i>Of Great Place.</i>	—	—	—	24	8	18	8	6	8	6	6	8	11	11
25.	<i>Of Empire.</i>	—	—	—	25	9	19	9	7	9	7	7	9	19	19
26.	<i>Of Counsel.</i>	—	—	—	26	10	20	10	8	10	8	8	10	20	20

27. <i>Of Atheism.</i>						14		12	14	16
28. <i>Of Superstition.</i>						15		—	15	17
29. <i>Of Praise.</i>						35		31	35	51
30. <i>Of Nature in Men.</i>						26		23	26	86
31. <i>Of Custom and Education.</i>						27		24	27	39
32. <i>Of Fortune.</i>						28		25	28	88
33. <i>Of Death.</i>						2		37	2	2
34. <i>Of Seditions and Troubles.</i>						—		38	—	15
THIRD GROUP.										
35. <i>Of Unity in Religion.</i>						1		—	1	3
36. <i>Of Cunning.</i>						4		2	4	22
37. <i>Of Love.</i>						12		10	12	10
38. <i>Of Judicature.</i>						36		32	36	54
39. <i>Of Vain Glory.</i>						37		33	37	52
40. <i>Of Greatness of Kingdoms.</i>						38		34	38	29
FOURTH GROUP.										
41. <i>Of Truth.</i>						—		—	—	1
42. <i>Of Revenge.</i>						—		—	—	4
43. <i>Of Adversity.</i>						—		—	—	5
44. <i>Of Simulation, &amp;c.</i>						—		—	—	6
45. <i>Of Envy.</i>						—		—	—	9
46. <i>Of Boldness.</i>						—		—	—	12
47. <i>Of Travel.</i>						—		—	—	18
48. <i>Of Delays.</i>						—		—	—	21
49. <i>Of Innovations.</i>						—		—	—	24
50. <i>Of Suspicion.</i>						—		—	—	24
51. <i>Of Plantations.</i>						—		—	—	31
52. <i>Of Prophecies.</i>						—		—	—	33
53. <i>Of Masques and Triumphs.</i>						—		—	—	—
54. <i>Of Usury.</i>						—		—	—	37
55. <i>Of Building.</i>						—		—	—	41
56. <i>Of Gardens.</i>						—		—	—	45
57. <i>Of Anger.</i>						—		—	—	46
58. <i>Of Vicissitude of Things.</i>						—		—	—	55
59. <i>Of Fame.</i>						—		—	—	58

# LATER BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BEING THE ISSUES, SUBSEQUENT TO LORD BACON'S DEATH.

*For Contemporary Bibliography, see pp. xxxi-xxxiii. \*Editions not seen.*

In the present Reprint, there are virtually Nine versions of the Five following Texts, viz. :—

(1.) *The Essays or Counsels, &c.* in English of 1597, 1598, 1607-12, and 1628; together with their translation into Latin, under the title of (2.) *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum* (SER. FID.) of 1638.

Also the (3.) *Meditationes Sacræ* (MED. SACRÆ.) in Latin of 1597, and their English version (4.) *Sacred Meditations* (SAC. MED.) of 1598.

Finally, the English text of (5.) *The Colours of Good and Evil* (COLS. of G. and E.)

By *Text 1612, Text 1625, Text 1638*, is intended that the general order of these Editions has been followed: not any guarantee as to the fidelity of the re-impression. In this case, as in so many other instances, many errors have silently crept into some of the later editions: no punishment having yet been invented sufficient to daunt Editors from intentional falsification by unmarked addition or omission in what they put forth as the writings of other men.

## I. AS A SEPARATE PUBLICATION.

### A. Essays alone.

#### English.

42. 1798. London. Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political.  
1 vol. 8vo. *An absurd impression of six copies only, in which a page of type smaller than this one is printed on a leaf four times its height and five times its width.*
- \*45. 1812. London. Essays, Moral, Economical, Political.  
1 vol. 8vo.
50. 1825. London. 1 vol. 12mo. Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political.
52. 1828. London. 1 vol. 16o. Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political.  
*Illustrated with four steel engravings [!] by R. Westell, R.A., viz. Busbecq's story, see p. 201; the Mouse-woman, p. 363; the Sybil's offer, p. 524; He that considereth the wind, &c. p. 31.*
60. 1851. London [Paris.] The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral. Ed.  
1 vol. 8vo. by A. SPIERS, PH.D.
63. 1855. London. Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political. *The*  
7 vol. 32mo. *smallest edition as yet printed.*
64. 1856. London. Bacon's Essays; with annotations by RICHARD  
1 vol. 8vo. WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin.  
*Bacon's Antitheta are placed after each corresponding Essay, and the footnotes consist of illustrative quotations showing the meaning of words. The annotations swell the book to over 500 large pages and are good reading but too diffuse for purposes of study.*
68. 1857. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Second edition of No. 64.*
69. 1858. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Third edition of No. 64.*
70. 1858. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Fourth edition of No. 64.*
71. 1860. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Fifth edition of No. 64.*
75. 1864. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Sixth edition of No. 64.*
78. 1868. London. Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral. Ed. by S. W.  
1 vol. 16o. SINGER.  
*A reprint of No. 67, without Wisdom of the Ancients.*

#### Latin. (*Sermones Fideles, &c.*)

21. 1641. Lug. Bat. *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.* *The*  
[Leyden] 1 vol. 12mo. *early foreign Latin editions have Cols. of Good and Evil, with other pieces, at the end.*

22. 1644. Lug. Bat. [Leyden.] *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.*  
1 vol. 12mo.
23. 1662. Amsterdam. *Sermones Fideles, Ethlici, Politici, Œconomici.*  
1 vol. 12mo. *Graesse.*
- \*29. 1685. Amsterdam. *Sermones Fideles, Ethlici, Politici, Œconomici.*  
1 vol. 12mo. *Graesse.*

*Retranslations from the Latin.*

33. 1720. London. Lord Bacon's Essays, or Counsels Moral and Civil.  
2 vols. 8vo. Translated from the Latin by WILLIAM WILLYMOTT,  
LL.D., who thus apologises for his publication:  
"Wanting an *English* Book for my Scholars to Translate, which might improve them in Sense and Latin at once. (Two Things which should never be divided in Teaching) I thought nothing more proper for that Purpose than Bacon's Essays, provided the English, which is in some places grown obsolete, were a little reformed, and made more fashionable (!)"  
*The work mainly consists of the Essays, but there are added to it some passages translated from De Augustinis Scientiarum.*

41. 1787. London. The Essays. *A reprint of No. 33.*  
2 vols. 8vo.

Italian.

- \*18. 1639. Venice. 1 vol. 12mo. *Opere Morali. Graesse.*

B. Sacred Meditations alone.

*No edition published.*

C. Colours of Good and Evil alone.

*No edition published.*

II. WITH ONE OR TWO OTHER WORKS BY LORD BACON.

A. Essays *with* Sacred Meditations only.

*No edition published.*

B. Essays *with* Colours of Good and Evil only.

English.

13. 1629. London. The Essayes or Covnsels, Civil and Morall, of Francis  
1 vol. 4to. Lo. Verulam, Viscovnt St. Alban. Newly enlarged. London,  
Printed by Iohn Haviland, and are sold by R. Allott.
14. 1632. London. The Essayes or Covnsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis  
1 vol. 4to. Lo. Vervlam, Viscovnt St. Alban. *Newly enlarged.* London,  
Printed by Iohn Haviland, in the little old Bayley. 1632.
19. 1639. London. The Essayes or Covnsels, Civil and Morall, of Francis  
1 vol. 4to. Lo. Verulam, Viscovnt St. Alban. With a Table of the  
Colours, or Apparances of Good and Evil, and their Degrees,  
as places of Perswasion, and Disswasion, and their several Fallaxes,  
and the Elenches of them. Newly enlarged. London: Printed by Iohn Beale, 1639.
62. 1853. London. The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral, with a Table  
1 vol. 8vo. of the Colours of Good and Evil. Ed. by T. MARKBY, M.A.
71. 1862. London. Bacon's Essays and Colours of Good and Evil. Ed.  
1 vol. 8vo. by W. A. WRIGHT, M.A. [Text 1625, with Text 1597 in  
an Appendix.] *A most excellent edition: the briefest but most erudite of notes, which will facilitate the labours of all future editors, and to which I gratefully acknowledge my own indebtedness.*

74. 1863. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Second edition of No. 71.*  
 76. 1865. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Third edition of No. 71.*  
 77. 1867. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Fourth edition of No. 71.*  
 79. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Fifth edition of No. 71.*

C. Essays with both Sacred Meditations  
and Colours of Good and Evil.

15. 1634. London. The *Essaies* of S. Francis Bacon Knight, the *King's*  
 1 vol. 12mo. *Attorney Generall* [! *The Ex-Lord Chancellor had been*  
*now dead eight years.*] His Religious Meditations. Places  
 of Perswasion and Disswasion. *Seene and allowed.* Printed  
 at London by I. D. for *Elizabeth Iaggard*, at the hand  
 and starre neere the middle Temple-gate.  
 80. 1871. JULY 1. London 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints.* See title at *p. i.*  
*We have been much surprised to find that the present Re-*  
*print—the only one in recent times containing all that*  
*Bacon himself separately published in connection with*  
*the Essays—should be the first re-impression of the Sacred*  
*Meditations—apart from any collection of his works—*  
*since the above issue of 1634.*

D. Essays with Wisdom of the Ancients.

English.

59. 1845. London. The *Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral, and Wisdom*  
 1 vol. 8vo. of the Ancients. Ed. by BASIL MONTAGU.  
 65. 1857. [1856.] London. The *Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral, with*  
 1 vol. 8vo. the *Wisdom of the Ancients.* Ed. by S. W. SINGER, F.S.A.

E. Essays with both Colours of Good and Evil  
and Wisdom of the Ancients.

English.

- \*24. 1664. London. 1 vol. *Lowndes.*  
 26. 1668. London. The *Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral, with The*  
 1 vol. 12mo. *Colours of Good and Evil and The Wisdom of the Ancients.*  
*Apparently a re-issue, with an altered date, of No. 24,*  
*as the Imprimatur is dated June 6, 1663.*  
 27. 1669. London. *A re-issue of the previous article with an altered date.*  
 1 vol. 12mo.  
 30. 1691. London. The *Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral . . . .*  
 1 vol. 8vo. *With a Table of the Colours of Good and Evil. Whereunto*  
*is added The Wisdom of the Ancients. Enlarged by the*  
*Honourable Author himself, and now more Exactly Pub-*  
*lished.*  
 32. 1701. London. *A Reprint of No. 30.*  
 1 vol. 8vo. *'To this edition is added the Character of Queen Eliza-*  
*beth; never before Printed in English.'* [*This is an in-*  
*correct claim: it had already so appeared in 'Resusci-*  
*tatio,' 1657.]*

F. Essays, with The Advancement of Learning.

56. 1840. London. *Essays with Advancement of Learning.* With illus-  
 1 vol. 8vo. trations. *Eng. Cat.*

G. Essays, with the Apophthegmes.

48. 1819. London. *Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political.*  
 1 vol. 12mo.

H. Colours of Good and Evil, *with other pieces.*

## French.

20. 1640. Paris. *L'Artisan de la Fortune, &c.* Translated by I. BAUDOIN [? BAUDOVIN] *Ses Sophismes ou les apparences du Bien, et du Mal*, occupy pp. 223-288.
44. 1802-3. London. The Miscellaneous Writings, &c. Vol. i. includes 2 vols. 8vo. *Colours of Good and Evil.*

## III. WITH COLLECTIONS OF LORD BACON'S WORKS.

## A. PARTIAL COLLECTIONS.

## Latin.

17. 1638. London. *Operum Moralium et Civilium* . . . Tomus. Ed. 1 vol. fol. by RAWLEY, D.D. *The standard Latin text. It contains only 56 Essays: Of Prophecies and Of Masques and Triumphs not being included in this Translation.*
25. 1665 [1664] Frankfurt. *Opera Omnia, &c.* Ed. by J. B. SCHONWETTER. 1 vol. fol.

## French.

16. 1637. Paris. *Les Œuvres Morales et Politiques.* Translated by I. BAUDOIN. 56 *Essays* occupy pp. 1-332. *Of Superstition and Of Religion are not translated.*

## English.

34. 1723. London. The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon. Methodized and made English, from the Originals, by PETER SHAW, M.D. Supplement 11 contained in Vol. iii., pp. 63-164, consists of '*Interiora Rerum* or *Essays.*' These are grouped into three classes, viz., *Essays on Moral Subjects, on Economical Subjects, and on Political Subjects*, and are stated to be "enrich'd by the Addition of several Pieces, originally written in LATIN, by the Author, and never translated into English." *The reader will be surprised to find that these 'Pieces' are the 'Sacred Meditations,' already printed several times in English.*
43. 1802. London. The Works, &c. Besides the '*Essays*,' lix. 270, and 4 vols. 8vo. '*Cols. of Good and Evil*,' ii. 90-15, this edition consists of a '*Miscellany of Lord Bacon's productions:*' principally of a translation of the *Novum Organum.*
61. 1852. London. *Bohn's Standard Library.* The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon. Ed. by JOSEPH DEVEY, M.A. 1 vol. 8vo.

## B. COMPLETE COLLECTIONS.

*These began in 1730. Since then there have only been attempted until now Six distinct Texts of the collected Writings of the great Philosopher. Each of them has been a vast improvement upon what had gone before; until in the life-work of Mr Spedding and his coadjutors, we know Lord Bacon as our forefathers never did, and even better than his own contemporaries.*

*All these Collections are of course in Latin-English.*

35. 1730. London. OPERA OMNIA, &c. Ed. by JOHN BLACKBOURNE. 4 vols. fol. *This is the first of what we may be termed the modern editions. It has the three dedications (1) to Anthony Bacon, 1597; (2) to Sir John Constable, 1612; and (3) the*

*Duke of Buckingham, 1625. Text 1625. There are 60 Numbered Essays. The spurious Of a King being No. 14, and Of Fame, being No. 60.*

ESS. occupy iii. 299-383. MED. SACRÆ ii. 396-403. COLS. of G. and E. iii. 384-395. SAC. MED. and SER. FID. do not occur in this edition.

37. 1740. London. WORKS, &c. With several additional Pieces never before printed in any Edition of his Works. To which is prefixed a new life of the author. [by DAVID MALLET.] *The Second Collected Text. It was published by Subscription both in Small and Large Paper. It has the 3 Dedications: and embraces 60 unnumbered Essays. Text 1625, with Of a King and Of Fame in the same position as in previous edition.*
- ESS. occupy iii. 299-383. COLS. of G. and E., iii. 384-393. MED. SACRÆ, ii. 396-403. No SAC. MED. nor SER. FID.
38. 1753. London. WORKS, &c. A new edition. [Also edited by MALLET.] *The Third Collected Text, and the last edition in folio.*
- 3 Deds. Text 1625. 58 numbered Essays: Of a King, and Of Fame are unnumbered at the end. Also Text 1638.
- ESS. occupy i. 377-447. SER. FID. iii. 623-682. MED. SACRÆ. iii. 744-748. COLS. OF G. AND E. i. 365-375. No SAC. MED.
39. 1765. London. WORKS. [The English Part edited by Rev. JOHN GAMBOLD; the Latin by W. BOWYER: Lowndes.] *The Fourth Collected Text and the first in 4to. As this edition was the standard one for upwards of 60 years, it may be advisable to quote thus much from the Advertisement:*
- Two Gentlemen, now deceased, Robert Stephens, Esq., Historiographer Royal, and John Locker, Esq., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, both of whom had made a particular Study of Lord Bacon's Writings, and a great Object of their Industry the correcting from original or authentic Manuscripts, and the earliest and best Editions, whatever of his Works had been already published, and adding to them such, as could be recovered, that had never seen the Light.
- Mr. Stephens dying in November, 1732, his Papers came into the hands of Mr. Locker, whose Death, on the 30th of May 1760, prevented the World from enjoying the Fruits of his Labours, tho' he had actually finished his Correction of the fourth Volume of Mr. Blackburne's Edition, containing the Law-Tracts, Letters, &c. After his Decease his Collections, including those of Mr. Stephens's, were purchased by Dr. Birch, the use of which he is glad of this Opportunity of giving to the Public."
- 3 Dedications, Text 1625. 58 Essays. Of a King, and Of Fame are at the end, unnumbered. Also Text 1638.
- ESS. occupy i. 445-527. SER. FID. v. 347-432. MED. SACRÆ. v. 525-531. COLS. OF G. AND E. i. 435-444. The SAC. MED. do not occur.
40. 1778. London. THE WORKS, &c. *A Re-issue of 1765 Edition, No. 5 vols. 4to. 39, and the last in 4to.*
44. 1803. London. THE WORKS, &c. *A Reprint of 1765 Edition, No. 39. 10 vols. 8vo. The first Edition in Octavo.*
47. 1819. London. THE WORKS, &c. *A Reprint of 1803 Edition, No. 10 vols. 8vo. 44, which is a Reprint of 1765. No. 39.*
49. 1824. London. THE WORKS, &c. *A Reprint of 1803 Edition. So that even so late as this, there was nothing more than the information and criticism of 1765.*



# Effayes.

Religious Meditations.

Places of perfwasion and  
diffwasion.

Seene and allowed.



AT LONDON,  
Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are  
to be sold at the blacke Beare  
in Chauncery Lane.

1 5 9 7.

To M. Anthony Bacon  
*his deare Brother.*



Quing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the staie of them had bin troublefome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to aduventure the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should fet them forth to bestow vpon them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the staie of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated vpon my selfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind, and I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations and Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the preferuation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30. of Ianuarie. 1597.

*Your entire Louing brother.* Fran. Bacon.

## Eſſaies.\*

1. *Of ſtudie.*
2. *Of diſcourſe.*
3. *Of Ceremonies and reſpects.*
4. *Of followers and friends.*
5. *Sutors.†*
6. *Of expence.*
7. *Of Regiment of health.*
8. *Of Honour and reputation.*
9. *Of Faction.*
10. *Of Negotiating.*

\* In the 1598 Edition, the Contents precede 'The Epistle Dedicatorie.

† Of Sutors, in 1598 Edition.

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

## [1.] Of Studies.



Studies serue for  
pastimes, for  
ornaments and  
for abilities.

Their chiefe vse for pas-  
time is in priuatenes  
and retiring; for ornamente  
is in discourse, and for  
abilitie is in iudgement.

For expert men can exe-  
cute,

but learned men are fittest  
to iudge or censure.

¶ To spend too much time  
in them is slouth, to vse  
them too much for orna-  
ment is affectation: to  
make iudgement wholly  
by their rules, is the  
humour of a Scholler.

¶ They perfect *Nature*, and  
are perfected by ex-  
perience.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 11. Of Studies.



Studies serue for  
Pastymes, for  
Ornamentes, and  
for Abilities.

Theire cheif vse for Pas-  
tyme is in Privatenes  
and retyreing; for Ornament  
is in Discourse, and for  
Ability is in Iudgement.

For expert Men cann exe-  
cute,

but learned Men are fittest  
to iudge, or censure.

To spend too much tyme  
in them is *Sloth*, to vse  
them too much for orna-  
ment, is affectacion, to  
make Iudgment wholly  
by their rules, is the  
humor of a S[c]holler.

They perfect *Nature*, and  
are perfected by *Ex-  
perience*.

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Studiis, et Lectione Librorum*, 'of studies and the reading of books.'

<sup>2</sup> Studies. *Studia, et Lectiones Librorum*, 'studies and the reading of books.'

<sup>3</sup> Delight. *Meditationum Voluptati*, 'for delight in meditation.'

<sup>4</sup> Ornament. *Orationis Ornamento*, 'ornament of discourse.'

<sup>5</sup> Ability. *Negotiorum Subsidio*, 'assistance in business.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

## 29. Of Studies.



Studies ferue for  
Delight, for  
Ornament, and  
for Ability;

their chiefe vse for delight, is, in priuatnesse, and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse, and for abilitie, is in iudgement.

For expert men can execute,

but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure.

To spend too much time in them, is *Sloth*; to vse them too much for ornament, is *affectation*; to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the *humour of a Scholer*.

They perfect *Nature*, and are perfected by Experience.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

50. Of Studies.<sup>1</sup>

*Tudies*<sup>2</sup> ferue for  
Delight,<sup>3</sup> for  
Ornament,<sup>4</sup> and  
for Ability.<sup>5</sup>

Their Chiefe Vse for Delight, is in Priuatenesse and Retiring; For Ornament, is in Discourse;<sup>6</sup> And for Ability, is in the Iudgement and Disposition of Businesse.

For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars,<sup>7</sup> one by one; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are *Learned*.

To spend too much Time in *Studies*, is Sloth<sup>8</sup>; To vse them too much for Ornament, is Affectation<sup>9</sup>; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler.<sup>10</sup>

They perfect *Nature*, and are perfected by Experience :

<sup>6</sup> Discourse. *In Sermonem tam Familiari, quam Solemni*, 'in discourse both friendly and formal.'

<sup>7</sup> Iudge of particulars. *In specialibus, iudicio non malo utuntur*, 'and in particulars use no bad judgment.'

<sup>8</sup> Sloth. *Speciosa quadam Socordia*, 'a kind of plausible sloth.'

<sup>9</sup> Affectation. *Affectatio mera est, quæ seipsam prodit*; 'is mere affectation which betrays itself.'

<sup>10</sup> Humour of a Scholler. *Scholam omnino sapit, nec bene succedit*. 'savours altogether of the school, and does not succeed well.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ Craftie men contime\* them, simple men admire them, † wise men vse them:

For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisdom without them: and aboue them wonne by obseruation.

¶ Reade not to contradict, nor to belieue,

but to waigh and consider.

¶ Some bookes are to bee tasted, others to bee swallowed, and some few to bee chewed and digested: That is, some bookes are to be read only in partes; others to be read, but cursorily, and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention.

\* contemne, in 1598 edition.

<sup>11</sup> Vse them. *Quantum par est*, 'as much as is right.'

<sup>12</sup> Confute. *Disputationum Præliis concertandi*; 'engage in battles of discussion.'

Craftie Men contemne them; simple Men admire them, and wise men vse them:

Ffor they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisdom without them, and above them won by obseruacion.

Reade not to contradict, nor to belieue,

but to weighe and Consider.

Some bookes are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; That is, some bookes are to be reade onely in partes, others to be read but not curiously, and some few to be read wholly, and with dilligence, and attention.

† and, added in 1598 edition.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Crafty men contemne them, simple men admire them, and wise men vse them.

For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisdom without them, and about them, wonne by obseruation.

Read not to contradict, nor to beleue,

but to weigh and consider.

Some bookes are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. That is, some bookes are to be read only in parts; other to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence, and attention.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

For Naturall Abilities, are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by *Study*: And *Studies* themselves, doe giue forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by experience.

Crafty Men Contemne *Studies*; Simple Men Admire them; and Wise Men Vse them:<sup>11</sup>

For they teach not their owne Vse; But that is a Wisdom without them, and about them, won by Obseruation.

Reade not to Contradict, and Confute;<sup>12</sup> Nor to Beleue and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider.<sup>13</sup>

Some *Bookes* are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed,<sup>14</sup> and Some Few to be Chewed and Digested: That is, some *Bookes* are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously;<sup>15</sup> And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention.

<sup>13</sup> Weigh and Consider. *Ut addiscas, ponderes, et iudicio tuo aliquatenus utaris.* 'to learn, weigh, and use your judgment somewhat.'

<sup>14</sup> Swallowed. *Deglutire, cursimque legere,* 'swallowed and read rapidly.'

<sup>15</sup> Curiously. *Non multum temporis, in iisdem evolvendis, insumendum,* 'but not much time to be spent in turning them over.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ Reading maketh a full man, conference a readye man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had neede haue a great memorie, if he conferre little, he had neede haue a present wit,\* and if he reade little, he had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that he doth not.

¶ Histories make men wise, Poets wittie: the Mathematickes subtle, naturall Phylosophie deepe: Morall graue, Logicke and Rhetoricke able to contend.



Reading maketh a full Man, conference a ready Man, and Writing an exact Man. And therefore if a Man write litle, he had neede have a great memorie; if he conferre litle, he had neede haue a present witt, and if hee reade litle, hee had neede have much Cunning to seeme to knowe that he doth not.

*Histories* make men wise, *Poetts* wittie, the *Mathematicks* subtle, *Naturall Philosophie* deepe, *Morall* grave, *Logick* and *Rhetoricke* able to contend.



\* if he confer little, haue a present wit, *in* 1598 edition.

<sup>16</sup> Flashy. *Insipidi*, 'tasteless.'

<sup>17</sup> Full man. *Copiosum et bene instructum*, 'full and well informed.'

<sup>18</sup> Conference. *Disputationes et Colloquia*, 'discussions and conference.'

<sup>19</sup> Ready. *Promptum et facilem*, 'ready and fluent.'

<sup>20</sup> Writing. *Scriptio autem, et Notarum Collectio*, 'writing, and the collection of notes.'

<sup>21</sup> Exact Man. *Perlecta in animo imprim't, et altius figit*, 'prints what is read on the mind and fixes it deeper.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Reading maketh a full man, Conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, hee had neede haue a great memory; if he confer little, hee had neede haue a present wit, and if he read little, hee had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that hee doth not.

*Histories* make men wise, *Poets* wittie, the *Mathematickes* subtill, *Naturall Philosophie* deepe, *Morall graue*, *Logicke* and *Rethoricke* able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores.* Nay, thear is no stond or

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Some *Bookes* also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would be, onely in the lesse important Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of *Bookes*: else distilled *Bookes*, are like Common distilled Waters, Flashy<sup>16</sup> things.

Reading maketh a Full man;<sup>17</sup> Conference<sup>18</sup> a Ready<sup>19</sup> Man; And Writing<sup>20</sup> an Exact<sup>21</sup> Man. And therefore, if a Man Write little,<sup>22</sup> he had neede haue a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he had need haue a Present Wit; And if he Reade litle, he had need haue much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth not.

*Histories* make men Wise; *Poets* Witty; The *Mathematicks* Subtill; *Naturall Philosophy* deepe; *Morall Graue*; *Logick* and *Rhetorick* Able to Contend.<sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup>*Abeunt studia in Mores.*<sup>a</sup> Nay there is no Stond<sup>25</sup> or

<sup>a</sup> 'Manners are changed through studies.' Ovid, *Her.* xv. 83. Bacon's own paraphrase is, "Studies haue an influence and operation vpon the manners of those that are conuersant in them." *Adv. of L. Bk. 1. p. 13, Ed. 1605.*

<sup>22</sup> Write little. *In notando, segnis sit, aut fastidiosus*, 'is slothful or averse to taking notes.'

<sup>23</sup> Able to Contend. *Pugnacem, et ad Contentiones alacrem*, 'pugnacious and ready for contention.'

<sup>24</sup> (*Ut ait ille*,) 'as he says.'

<sup>25</sup> Stond. Omitted in the Latin.

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.	III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
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<sup>26</sup> Impediment. *Impedimentum aliquod insitum, aut naturale*, 'any implanted or natural impediment.'

<sup>27</sup> To beat ouer Matters. *Ad Transcursus Ingenii segnis sit*, 'slow in the motion of his mind to and fro.'

<sup>28</sup> Call vp. *Accersere, et arripere dextre*, 'call up and skilfully lay hold of.'

<sup>29</sup> Special Recet. *Ex Literis, Medicinas proprias comparare sibi possint*, 'may obtain special medicines from literature.'

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impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies : like as diseases of the body may haue appropriate exercifes. Bowling is good for the Stone and Raines ; Shooting for the longs and breast ; gentle walking for the stomacke ; riding for the head ; and the like. So if a mans wit be wandring, let him study the *Mathematiks* ;

if his wit be not apt to distinguish, or find difference, let him study the *Schoolemen* ;

if it bee not apt to beat ouer matters and to find out resemblances,

let him study *Lawyers cases*. So euerie defect of the mind may haue a speciall receipt.

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Impediment<sup>26</sup> in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit *Studies* : Like as Diseases of the Body, may haue Appropriate Exercifes. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines ; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast ; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke ; Riding for the Head ; And the like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks* ; For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away neuer so little, he must begin again : If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the *Schoolemen* ; For they are *Cymini sectores*.<sup>a</sup>

If he be not Apt to beat ouer Matters,<sup>27</sup> and to call vp<sup>28</sup> one Thing, to Proue and Illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cases* : So euerie Defect of the Minde, may haue a Speciall Receipt.<sup>29</sup>



<sup>a</sup> "Antoninus Pius . . . was called *Cymini Sector*, a caruer, or diuider of Comine seede, which is one of the least seedes : such patience hee had and settled spirite, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes." *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. I. p. 35, Ed. 1605.

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

## [2.] Of Discourse.

**S**ome in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit in being able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what shoulde bee thought. Some haue certaine Common places and Theames wherein they are good, and want varietie, which kinde of pouertie is for the most part tedious, and nowe and then ridiculous.

¶ The honourablest part of talke, is to guide\* the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else.

¶ It is good

to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument, tales with reasons, asking of questions, with telling of opinions, and iest with

\* giue, in 1598 edition.

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Discursu Sermonum*, 'of the discourse of speech.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 12. Of Discourse.

**S**ome in their discourse desier rather Commendacion of witt, in being able to hould all argumentes, then of Iudgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certaine Commonplaces, and theames wherein they are good and want variety; which kinde of povertie is for the most part tedious, and now, and then ridiculous.

The honorablest kind of Talke, is to give the occasion, and againe to moderate, and passe to somewhat els :

It is good

to varie, and mixe speech of the presente occasion with of Argument, Tales, with reasons, asking of Questions, with telling of opinions, and ieste with

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

## 19. Of Discourse.



Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in

being able to hold all Arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some haue certaine common places, and theames wherein they are good, and want variety: which kind of pouerty is for the most part tedious, and now and then ridiculous.

The honorablest kind of talke, is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else.

It is good

to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument: tales with reasons; asking of questions, with telling of opinions: and lest with

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British Museum Copy.

32. Of Discourse.<sup>1</sup>

Some in their *Discourse*, desire rather Commendation of Wit, in

being able to hold all Arguments, then of Iudgment, in discerning what is True: As if it were a Praise, to know<sup>2</sup> what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some haue certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are good,<sup>3</sup> and want Variety:<sup>4</sup> Which kinde of Pouerty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceiued Ridiculous.

The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to giue the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce.

It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conuersation, to vary, and entermingle Speech, of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons, Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and lest with

<sup>2</sup> Know. *Inuenire*, 'to discover.'

<sup>3</sup> Are good. *Luxuriantur*, 'are fertile.'

<sup>4</sup> Want Variety. *Cætera steriles et jejuni*, 'otherwise barren and meagre.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.  
earnest.

¶ But some thinges are  
priuiledged from iest,

namely Religion, matters  
of state, great persons, any  
mans present businēsse of  
importance, and any case  
that deserueth pittie.

¶ He that questioneth much  
shall learne much, and con-  
tent much, specially if hee  
applie his questions to the

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.  
earnest.

But somethinges are  
priuiledged from ieste,

namely Religion, Matters  
of State, great Persons, any  
mans presente businēsse of  
importance, and anie case  
that deserveth pittye;

He that questioneth much  
shall learne much, and con-  
tent much, specially if he  
apply his questions to the

<sup>5</sup> For it is a dull Thing, &c. *Satiētatē siquidem et Fastidium parit. in aliquo Subjecto diutius hærere*, 'for to stick to any subject too long produces satiety and digust.'

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earnest.

But some things are  
priviledged from iest,  
  
namely religion, matters  
of State, great persons, any  
mans present businesse of  
importance, and any case  
that deserueth pittie;

and generally men ought  
to finde the difference be-  
tweene saltneffe and bitter-  
neffe. Certainly he that  
hath a *Satyricall* vaine, as  
he maketh others afraid of  
his wit, so he had need be  
afraid of others memory.  
He that questioneth much  
shall learne much, and con-  
tent much: specially if he  
applie his questions to the

V. 1625. æt. 65.  
Earnest: For it is a dull  
Thing to Tire, and, as we  
say now, to Iade, any Thing  
too farre.<sup>5</sup>

As for Iest, there be cer-  
taine Things, which ought  
to be priviledged from it;  
Namely Religion, Matters  
of State, Great Persons, Any  
Mans present Businesse of  
Importance, And any Case  
that deserueth Pittie. Yet  
there be some, that thinke  
their Wits haue been  
asleepe; Except they dart  
out somewhat, that is Pi-  
quant, and to the Quicke:<sup>6</sup>  
That is a Vaine, which  
would be brideled;

*Parce Puer stimulis, et  
fortius utere Loris.<sup>a</sup>*

And generally, Men ought  
to finde the difference, be-  
tween Saltneffe and Bitter-  
neffe. Certainly, he that  
hath a Satyricall vaine, as  
he maketh others afraid of  
his Wit, so he had need be  
afraid of others Memory.  
He that questioneth much,  
shall learne much, and con-  
tent much; But especially, if  
he apply his Questions, to the

<sup>a</sup> *Spare, boy, the whip and tighter hold the reins.* Ovid, *Met.* ii. 127.

<sup>6</sup> Dart . . . Quicke: *Acutum aliquem et mordacem Sarcasmum in quem-  
piam contorscrit,* 'they dart out at some one some sharp and biting sarcasm.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

skill of the person of whom he asketh, for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

skill of the person of whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge.

¶ If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to knowe, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not.

¶ Speech of a mans selfe is not good often,

If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to knowe, you shall be thought another time to knowe that you know not.

Speache of a Mans selfe is not good often,

<sup>7</sup> Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh. *Ad captum et peritiam Respondentis*, 'to the understanding and skill of the answerer.'

<sup>8</sup> 'To please themselves in Speaking. *Scientiam suam ostentandi*, 'to show his knowledge.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

skill of the persons of whom he asketh: For he shall giue them occasion to please themfelues in speaking, and himfelfe shal continually gather knowledge.

If you difsemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought an other time to know that you know not. Speech of a mans selfe is not good often,

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh:<sup>7</sup> For he shall giue them occasion, to please themfelues in Speaking,<sup>8</sup> and himfelfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leaue other Men their Turnes to speak.<sup>9</sup> Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take vp all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians vse to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards.

If you difsemble sometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speech of a Mans Selfe ought to be feldome, and well chofen. I knew One, was wont to say, in Scorne; *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speakes so much of Himfelfe:*

<sup>9</sup> Let him be sure, to leaue . . . to speak. *Etiā qui Sermonis Familiaris Dignitatem tueri cupit, aliis vices loquenai relinquat,* 'also he who wishes to preserve the dignity of friendly conversation, should leave other men their turns to speak.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

and there is but one case, wherein a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

and there is but one case wherein a Man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as wherevnto himself pretendeth;

¶ Discretion of speach is more then eloquence, and to speake agreeably to him,

Discrecion of speach is more then Eloquence, and to speake agreeably to him,

<sup>10</sup> But one Case. *Vix occurrit Casus aliquis, . . . præter unum,* 'there scarcely occurs any case . . . but one.'

<sup>11</sup> Speech of Touch. *Sermo alios pungens et vellicans,* 'speech which stings or twits others.'

<sup>12</sup> Field. *Campi aperti, in quos spatiari licet; Non viæ Regiæ, quæ deducit*

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially, if it bee such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth. Speech of touch toward others, should bee sparingly vsed; for discourse ought to bee as a field, without comming home to any man.

Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speake agreeably to him

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And there is but one Case,<sup>10</sup> wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe, with good Grace; And that is in commending Vertue in Another; Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himselfe pretendeth. Speech of Touch<sup>11</sup> towards Others, should be sparingly vsed: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field,<sup>12</sup> without comming home to any Man. I knew two *Noble-men*, of the West Part of *England*; Whereof the one was giuen to Scoffe, but kept euer Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would aske of those, that had beene at the Others Table; *Tell truly, was there neuer a Flout or drie Blow*<sup>13</sup> giuen; To which the Guest would answer; *Such and such a Thing passed*: The Lord would say;<sup>14</sup> *I thought he would marre a good Dinner.*<sup>15</sup>

*Discretion of Speech*, is more then *Eloquence*; And to speak agreeably to him,

*Domus*, 'an open field in which a man may ramble, not the King's highway which leads home.'

<sup>10</sup> Drie blow. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>11</sup> The Lord would say. *At ille, utpote alterius Æmulus*, 'to which he, as the other's rival.'

<sup>12</sup> Good Dinner. *Prandium bonum malis Condimentis*, 'a good dinner, with bad sauces.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

with whome we deale is more then to speake in good wordes or in good order.

¶ A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution sheweth slownesse: and a good reply or second speech, without a good set speech sheweth shallownesse and weaknes, as wee see in beastes that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turne.

¶ To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to vse none at all is blunt.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

with whom wee deale, is more then to speake in good wordes, or in good order.

A good continued Speache without a good speech of interlocucion sheweth slownes; and a good Reply or second speech, without a good settled speech sheweth shallownes, and Weakenes, as wee see in beastes, that those that are Weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the tourne.

To vse too manie circumstances, ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to vse none att all is blunte.



<sup>16</sup> Shallownesse and Weaknesse. *Penuriam, et Scientiam minime fundatam*, 'poverty and knowledge ill founded.'

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with whom wee deale, is more then to speake in good words, or in good order.

A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution, sheweth flowneffe: and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallownesse and weaknesse: as we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turne.

To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to vse none at all, is blunt.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

with whom we deale, is more then to speake in good Words, or in good Order.

A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse.<sup>16</sup> As we see in Beasts that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, and the Hare.

To vse<sup>17</sup> too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To vse none at all, is Blunt.<sup>18</sup>



<sup>17</sup> Vse. *Orationem vestire*, 'to clothe a speech with.'

<sup>18</sup> Blunt. *Abruptum quiddam est, et ingratum*, 'is blunt and disagreeable.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

## [3.] Of Ceremonies and Respects.



E that is onely  
reall had need  
haue exceeding  
great parts of  
vertue, as the stone had  
neede bee rich that is fet  
without foyle. ¶ But  
commonly it is in praise

as

it is in gaine.  
For as the prouerbe is true,  
*That light gaines make  
heauie Purfes*: Because  
they come thicke, whereas  
great come but now and  
then, so it is as true that  
fmal matters winne great  
commendation: because  
they are continually in vse  
and in note, whereas the  
occasion of any great ver-  
tue commeth but on  
holy-daies.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 10. Of Ceremonies and Respects.



Ee that is onely  
reall had neede  
haue exceeding  
great partes of  
vertue, as the Stone had  
neede to be riche that is  
fett without foyle. But  
commonly it is in praise

as

it is in gaine;  
For as the Proverbe istrue,  
*That light gaines make  
heauie purfes*; Because  
they come thicke, whereas  
great come, but now, and  
then; so it is as true, that  
fmale matters wynn great  
commendacion, because  
they are contynually in vse,  
and in note, Whereas the  
occasion of anie great ver-  
tue cometh but on  
holie dayes.

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Cæremoniis Civilibus et Decoro*, 'of civil ceremonies and propriety.'

<sup>2</sup> Rich. *E purissimis et nitidissimis*, 'most pure and bright.'

<sup>3</sup> Commendation of Men. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>4</sup> Gettings. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> Matters. *Virtutes*, 'virtues.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

30. Of Ceremonies and  
Respects.

**E**e that is onely  
reall, had need  
haue exceeding  
great parts of  
vertue: as the stone had  
neede to be rich that is set  
without foile. But com-  
monly it is in praise,  
as  
it is in gaine:  
For as the prouerbe is true,  
*That light gaines make  
heauie purfes,* because  
they come thicke, whereas  
great come, but now and  
then: so it is true, that  
small matters winne great  
commendation, because  
they are continually in vse,  
and in note. Whereas the  
occasion of any great ver-  
tue, commeth but on  
holie daies.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

52. Of Ceremonies and  
Respects.<sup>1</sup>

**E**e that is only Reall,  
had need haue  
Exceeding great  
Parts of Vertue:  
As the Stone had need to  
be Rich,<sup>2</sup> that is set without  
Foile. But if a Man marke  
it well, it is in praise and  
Commendation of Men,<sup>3</sup> as  
it is in Gettings<sup>4</sup> and Gaines:  
For the Prouerbe is true,  
*That light Gaines make  
heauy Purfes;* For light  
Gaines come thick, whereas  
Great come but now and  
then. So it is true, that  
Small Matters<sup>5</sup> win great  
Commendation, because  
they are continually in Vse,  
and in note:<sup>6</sup> whereas the  
Occasion of any great Ver-  
tue,<sup>7</sup> commeth but on  
Festiualls.<sup>8</sup> Therefore it doth  
much adde, to a Mans Re-  
putation, and is, (as Queene  
*Isabella*<sup>9</sup> said) *Like perpetu-  
all Letters Commendatory,* to  
haue good<sup>10</sup> *Formes.*

<sup>6</sup> In Vse and in note. *Quia perpetuus earum usus est; Tum in obseruationem Hominum incurrunt:* 'because their use is continual, and they meet the observation of men.'

<sup>7</sup> Great Vertue. *Virtutis alicujus magna exercende,* 'of exercising any great virtue.'

<sup>8</sup> Festiualls. *Raro admodum obtingit,* 'happens but rarely.'

<sup>9</sup> Isabella. *Regina Castiliana,* 'Queen of Castile.'

<sup>10</sup> Good. *Discretis et decoris,* 'discreet and proper.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

¶ To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them, for so shal a man obserue them in others and let him trust himselfe with the rest : for if he care

to expresse them hee shall leese their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery fillable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his minde too much to small obseruations?

¶ Not to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect; especially they be not to bee omitted to straungers and strange natures.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

To attaine good Fourmes, it sufficeth not to dispise them, for so shall a Man obserue them in others, and lett him trust himself with the rest ; For if he care

to expresse them, hee shall leese their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein every Syllable is measured. How can a Man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his minde too much to finale obseruations?

Not to vse Ceremonies at all is to teach others not to vse them againe, and to diminisheth respect, especially they be not to be omitted to Straungers and formall Natures.

<sup>11</sup> Behauiour. *Vultus, et Gestus, et Externa alia*, 'look, carriage, and other externals.'



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To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them: For so shal a man obserue them in others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he care

to expresse them, hee shall lose their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery fillable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small obseruations?

Not to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe; and so diminisheth respect:

especially they bee not to be omitted to strangers, and formall natures.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man obserue them in Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Vnaffected. Some Mens Behauiour,<sup>11</sup> is like a Verse, wherein euery Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Obseruations?

Not to vse *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach Others not to vse them againe; And so diminisheth *Respect*<sup>12</sup> to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling vpon them, and Exalting them about the Moone,<sup>13</sup> is not only Tedious, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Conueying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst

<sup>11</sup> Diminisheth Respect. *Teipsum facies viliozem*, 'make yourself cheaper.'

<sup>13</sup> Exalting them about the Moone. *Locutio plane Hyperbolica*, 'speech which is clearly extravagant.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

¶ Amongst a mans Peires a man shall be sure of familiaritie, and therefore it is a good title to keepe state; amongst\* a mans inferiours one shall be sure of reuerence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar.

¶ Hee that is too much in any thing, so that he giue an other occasion of fatietie, maketh himselfe cheape.

¶ To applie ones selfe to others is good, so it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not vpon facilitie.

¶ It is a good precept generally in seconding another: yet to adde somewhat of ones owne; as if you will graunt his opinion, let it be with some distinction, if you wil follow his

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Amongest a Mans Peeres a man shall be fuer of familiarity, and therefore it is good a litle to keepe state; amongest a Mans inferiours one shall be fuer of Reverence, and therefore it is good a litle to be familiar.

He that is too much in anie thing, soe that he giveth another occasion of fatietie, maketh himself cheape.

To apply ones self to others is good, soe it be with demonstracion that a man doth it vponn regard, and not vponn facility.

It is a good precept generally in seconding another; yet to add somewhat of ones owne; as if you will graunt his opinion, lett it be with some distinction, if you will followe his

\* amonge, in 1598 edition.

<sup>14</sup> Kind of conueying, &c. *Est proculdubio Modus, artificiosæ cujusdam Insinuationis, in Verbis ipsis, inter Formulas communes, qui Homines reuera inescat, et mirifice afficit,* 'there is certainly a kind of cunning insinuation in the words themselves, among common compliments, which indeed allures men, and is of wonderful effect.'

<sup>15</sup> Hit vpon it. *Ejus viam calleat,* 'knows the way of it.'

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Amongst a mans Peeres, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state: amongst a mans inferiours one shall be sure of Reuerence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar.

Hee that is too much in any thing, so that hee giueth another occasion of satietie, maketh himself cheap.

To apply ones selfe to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not vpon facility.

It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, Yet to adde somewhat of ones owne; as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction, if you will follow his

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Complements, which is of Singular vse,<sup>14</sup> if a Man can hit vpon it.<sup>15</sup>

Amongst a Mans Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State.<sup>16</sup> Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reuerence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar.<sup>17</sup>

He that is too much in any Thing,<sup>18</sup> so that he giueth another Occasion of Sacietie, maketh himselfe cheape.

To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good; So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it vpon Regard,<sup>19</sup> And not vpon Facility.

It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his

<sup>14</sup> Keepe State. *Reprime te paululum, et dignitatem tuam*, 'repress yourself a little and keep your dignity.'

<sup>17</sup> Be Familiar. *Benigne te gerere, et cum Familiaritate quadam, non incongruum est*, 'to bear yourself kindly and with a certain familiarity is not unsuitable.'

<sup>18</sup> In any Thing. *In Sermone aliquo aut re*, 'in any discourse or thing.'

<sup>19</sup> Regard. *Comitate et Urbanitate*, 'courtesy and politeness.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsell, let it be with al-leadging further reason.



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mocion, lett it be with condicion, if you allowe his Counsaile, lett it be with al-leadginge further reason.



<sup>20</sup> Alleging further Reason. *Novi alicujus Argumenti pondus addas, propter quod in Partes ejus transire vidcaris*, 'add the weight of some new reason, on account of which you seem to take his part.'

<sup>21</sup> Men had need beware. *Cavendum imprimis, ne Magister in Cæremoniis et Formulis habeatis: Id enim si fiet, utcunque Virtute vera emineas,*

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motion; let it be with condition; if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had neede beware how they be too perfit in complements. For be they neuer so sufficient otherwise, their enuiers will bee sure to giue them that attribute to the disadvantage of their greater vertue. It is losse also in businesse to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in obseruing times and oportunities. *Salomon* saith *He that considereth the wind shall not sowe, and hee that looketh to the clowdes, shall not reape.* A wise man will make more oportunities then he findes.



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Motion, let it beewith Condition; If you allow his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason.<sup>20</sup> Men had need beware,<sup>21</sup> how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they neuer so Sufficient otherwise, their Enuiers will be sure to giue them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is losse also in businesse, to be too full of *Respects*, or to be too Curious in Obseruing Times and Oportunities. *Salomon* saith; *He that considereth the wind, shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape.* A wise Man will make more Oportunities then he findes.

Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Device, but free for Exercise or Motion.



*audies tamen ab Invidis, in Nominis tui Detrimentum. Urbanus tantum et Affectator,* 'you must beware first of all of being considered a master of ceremonies and compliments, for if so, however eminent you are in true worth, you will be called by your enuiers, to the detriment of your name, only polite and zealous.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

No variations in Text II.

## [4.] Of followers and friends.



Costly followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his traine longer, hee make his wings shorter, I reckon to be costly not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearysome and importune in futes. Ordinary following ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recomendation and protection from wrong.

Factionous followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whome they raunge themselves, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other, whereupon commonly infueth that ill intelligence that we many times see betweene great personages.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 14. Of followers and freinds.



Costlie followers are not to be liked, least while a Man maketh his traine longer, he make his wings shorter; I reckon to be costlie not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearysome and ymportune in suites. Ordinarie Followers ought to challenge noe higher condicions, then countenance, recommendacion and pro-teccion from wronges.

Ffactionous Followers are worse to be liked, which followenot vponn affection to him with whom they range themselves, but vponn discontentment conceiued against some other; Wherevponn commonlyen-fueth, that ill intelligence, that wee many tymes see betweene great parsonages.

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Clientibus, Famulis, et Amicis.* 'Of followers, servants, and friends.'

<sup>2</sup> Wings Shorter. *Ne dum quis Caudæ pennas adauget, Alarum pennas*

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

## 32. Of Followers and friends.



Costly followers are not to be liked, lest while a man maketh his traine longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinarie followers ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious fellowes are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other. Whereupon commonly ensueth, that ill intelligence, that we many times see betweene great personages. Likewise glorious followers

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

48. Of Followers and friends.<sup>1</sup>

Costly Followers are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter.<sup>2</sup> I reckon to be Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary Followers ought to challengeno Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious Followers<sup>3</sup> are worse to be liked, which Follow not vpon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but vpon Discontentment Conceiued against some Other: Whereupon Commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious Followers, who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow,

*præscindat*, 'lest while a man increases the feathers of his tail, he cuts off the feathers of his wings.'

<sup>3</sup> Factious Followers. *Clientes autem et Amici factiosi adhuc magis vitandi*, 'factious followers and friends are the more to be avoided.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ The following by certaine States anfwereable to that which a great perfon himfelfe profeffeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imployed in the warres, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuile, and well taken euen in Monarchies, fo it be without too much pompe or popularitie.

¶ But the moft honorable kind of following is to bee followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and defert in all fortes of perfons, and

The followeing by certaine States, anfwereable to that which a great perfon himfelfe profeffeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene ymployed in the warres, and the like hath ever beene a thing Civill, and well taken even in Monarchies, fo it be without too much pompe, or popularitie.

But the moft honorable kind of following is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and defert in all fortes of perfons; and

<sup>4</sup> Honour from a Man. *Si quis vere rem reputet*, 'if one consider the thing truly.'

<sup>5</sup> In great Fauour. *Apud Dominos suos, sæpenumero in summo pretio habentur*, 'are often held in great esteem by their masters.'



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are full of inconueniency; for they teint businesse through want of secrecy, and they export honor from a man and make him a returne in enuy.

The following by certaine States, answerable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imploid in the warres, and the like, hath euer beene a thing ciuill, and will taken euen in Monarchies so it be without too much pompe or popularity.

But the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and defart in all sort of persons. And

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are full of Inconuenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie, And they Export Honour from a Man,<sup>4</sup> and make him a Returne in Enuie. There is a Kinde of *Followers* likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Fauour;<sup>5</sup> For they are Officious, And Commonly Exchange Tales.

The *Following* by certaine *Estates of Men*, answerable to that, which a Great Person himselfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath euer beene a Thing Ciuill,<sup>6</sup> and well taken euen in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie.

But the most Honourable Kinde of *Following*, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to aduance Vertue and Desert, in all Sorts of Persons.<sup>7</sup> And

<sup>6</sup> Ciuill. *Decora*, 'honourable.'

<sup>7</sup> All Sorts of Persons. *Ut quis Patronum se profiteatur eorum qui Virtute et Meritis clarent, cujuscunque Ordinis sint, vel Conditionis,* 'to profess one's self a patron of those who are remarkable for worth or desert, of whatever order or condition.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able.

In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, for, to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolente, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vse men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankfull, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour.

¶ It is good not to make too much of any man at first, because one cannot holde out that proportion.

¶ To be gouerned by one is not good,

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yet where there is noe eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able.

In gouernement it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, For to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vse them with much difference, and eleccion is good, For it maketh the persons preferred more thankfull, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour.

It is good not to make too much of anie Man at the first, because one cannott hold out that proporcion.

To be gouerned by one is not good,

<sup>8</sup> To take with. *Patrocinari*, 'to patronize.'

<sup>9</sup> Actiue. *Industrii et satagentes*, 'industrious and active.'

<sup>10</sup> Claime a Due. *Quandoquidem Ordinis Paritas æquas Gratia Conditiones, tanquam ex debito, poscit*, 'because the equality of rank demands as a due, equal conditions of fauour.'

<sup>11</sup> Because all is of Fauour. *Neque ex hoc merito conqueratur quispiam.*

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yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able.

In government it is good to use men of one rancke equally: For to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claime a due. But in fauour to use men with much difference and election, is good; For it maketh the persons preferred more thankfull, and the rest more officious; because all is of fauour.

It is good not to make too much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion.

To be gouerned  
by one is not good,

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yet, where there is no Eminent Oddes in Sufficiency, it is better to take with<sup>8</sup> the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Active<sup>9</sup> Men are of more use, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due.<sup>10</sup> But contrariwise in Fauour, to use Men with much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Because all is of Fauour.<sup>11</sup>

It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man at the first; Because One Cannot hold out that Proportion.<sup>12</sup>

To be gouerned<sup>13</sup> (as we call it) by One, is not safe, For

*cum omnia ex gratia, non ex debito prodeant.* 'nor can any one deservedly complain of this, because all is of fauour, not of due.'

<sup>12</sup> Proportion. *Nam quæ tractu temporis sequentur, vix istis initiis respondere possunt,* 'for what will follow in the course of time, can scarcely answer to your beginning.'

<sup>13</sup> Gouerned. *Fingi et regi,* 'to be moulded and gouerned.'

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and to be distracted with  
many is worfe ;

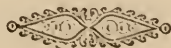
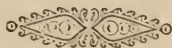
but to take aduife of  
friends is euer honor-  
able : *For lookers on many  
times see more then game-  
sters, And the vale best  
discouereth the hill.*

¶ There is little friendship  
in the worlde, and least of  
all betweene equals, which  
was wont to bee magnified.  
That that is, is betweene  
superiour and inferiour,  
whose fortunes may com-  
prehend the one the other.

and to be distracted with  
manie is worfe ;

but to take advise of  
frendes is ever honor-  
able. *For lookers on manie  
tymes see more, than game-  
sters, and the vale best  
discouereth the hill.*

There is litle frendshipp  
in the world, and least of  
all betweene equalls which  
was wont to be magnified.  
That that is, is betweene  
*Superiour* and inferiour,  
whose fortunes may com-  
prehend the oneth[e] other.



<sup>14</sup> Speake ill. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>15</sup> Talke more boldly of. *Amicum illum nostrum Contumeliis afficere non verebuntur*; 'will not feare to attach contumely to our friend.'

<sup>16</sup> Distracted. *Plurium potestati subijci, et veluti in partes distrahi*, 'to be under the power of several, and as it were distracted.'

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and to bee distracted with many, is worse;

but to take aduise of some few friends, is euer honourable, *For lookers on many times see more then gamsters, and the vale best discouereth the hill.*

There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene *Superiour* and *Inferiour*, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

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it shewes Softnesse, and giues a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill<sup>14</sup> of a Man immediatly, will talke more boldly of<sup>15</sup> Those, that are so great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted<sup>16</sup> with many is Worse; For it makes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change.

To take Aduise of some few Friends is euer Honourable<sup>17</sup>; *For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamsters; And the Vale<sup>18</sup> best discouereth the Hill.*

There is Little Friendship in the World,<sup>19</sup> and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified.<sup>20</sup> That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.



<sup>17</sup> Honourable. *Honorabili sane et utile*, 'really honourable and profitable.'

<sup>18</sup> The Vale. (*Ut adagio dicitur*.) *vallis*, '(as is said in the adage) the vale.'

<sup>19</sup> Little Friendship. *Amicitia vera in Orbe, rara admodum*, 'true friendship in the world is very rare.'

<sup>20</sup> Magnified. *Apud Veteres*, 'amongst the ancients.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

For Variations of II., see footnotes.

[5.] Of Sutes.\*

Anie ill matters  
are  
vndertaken, andmany good matters  
with ill  
mindes.

Some embrace Sutes which neuer meane to deale effectually in them. But if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to winne a thanke or take a second reward.

Some take holde of Sutes onely for an occasion to croffe some other, or to make an information wherof they could not otherwise haue an apt pre-

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS. 5106.*

15. Of Sutors.

Anie ill matters  
are  
vndertaken, andmanie good matters  
with ill  
mindes.

Some embrace Suites which never meane to deale effectually in them. But if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they wilbe content to wyne a thanke, or take a second reward ;

Some take hold of suites onely for an occasion to croffe some other, or to make an Informacion, whereof they could not otherwise have an apt pre-


\* Of Sutors, in 1598 Edition.

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Embrace. *In manus suas recipiunt, et operam auide pollicentur*, 'take suits into their hands and eagerly promise assistance.'

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## 31. Of Sutors.

Anie ill matters  
are  
vndertaken, and

many good matters  
with ill  
mindes.


Some embrace suits which  
neuer meane to deale  
effectually in them, but  
if they see there may be  
life in the matter by some  
other meane, they will be  
content to winne a thanke,  
or take a second reward,  
or at least to make vse in  
the meane time of the  
Sutors hopes.

Some take hold of suits  
only for an occasion  
to crosse some other, or  
to make an Information  
whereof they could not  
otherwise haue apt pre-

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

## 49. Of Sutors.

Any ill Matters  
and Proiects are  
vndertaken; And  
Priuate *Sutes* doe  
Putrifie the Publique Good.  
Many Good Matters are  
vndertaken with Bad  
Mindes; I meane not  
onely Corrupt Mindes; but  
Craftie Mindes, that intend  
not Performance.

Some embrace<sup>1</sup> *Sutes*, which  
neuer meane to deale  
effectually in them; But  
if they see, there may be  
life in the Matter,<sup>2</sup> by some  
other meane, they will be  
content to winne<sup>3</sup> a Thanke,  
or take a Second Reward,  
or at least to make Vse, in  
the meane time, of the  
*Sutors* Hopes.<sup>4</sup>

Some take hold of *Sutes*,  
onely for an Occasion,  
to Crosse some other;<sup>5</sup> Or  
to make an Information,  
whereof they could not  
otherwise haue apt Pre-

<sup>2</sup> Life in the Matter. *Rem aliorum conatu successuram*, 'that the matter will succeed by the endeavour of others.'

<sup>3</sup> Be content to winne. *Aucupabuntur*, 'will try to catch.'

<sup>4</sup> Hopes. *Spes dum Negotium vertitur*, 'hopes while the business is moving.'

<sup>5</sup> Some other. *Negotiis aliorum, quæ simul tractantur*, 'the business of others, which is being treated at the same time.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

cept,\* without care what become of the Sute, when that turne is ferued.

Nay some vndertake Sutes with a full purpose to let them fall, to the ende to gratifie the aduerse partie or competitor.

¶ Surely there is in forte a right in euerie Sute, either a right of equitie, if it be a Sute of controuerfie; or a right of desert, if it bee a Sute of petition. If affection leade a man to fauor the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carrie it. If affection lead a man to fauour the lesse worthy in desert, let him doe it, without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer.

¶ In Sutes a man doth not well vnderstand, it is

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

text, without care what become of the fuite, when that tourne is ferued.

Nay some vndertake fuites with a full purpose to lett them fall, to the end to gratifie the aduerse partye or Competitour.

Suerly there is in forte a right in every fuite, either a right of Equity if it be a fuite of Controverfie, or a right of desert, if it be a suite of petition. If affection lead a man to fauour the wrong side in Iustice, lett him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter, then to carrie it. If affection leade a Man to fauour the lesse worthie in desert, lett him doe it, without depraving, or disabling the better deseruer.

In Suites a Man doth not well vnderstand, it is

\* pretext, in 1598 Edition.

<sup>6</sup> Entertainment. *Pontem sternant*, 'to lay a bridge.'

<sup>7</sup> In some sort. *Si quis rem ritè perpendat*, 'if a man weigh the matter rightly.'

<sup>8</sup> In euerie Sute. *Comitatur omnem Petitionem*, 'accompanies every suit.'



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text, without care what become of the suite when that turne is ferued.

Nay, some vndertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end to gratifie the aduerse party or competitor.

Surely there is in fort a right in euery suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controuersie or a right of defart, if it be a suit of peti[ti]on. If affection leade a man to fauor the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carry it. If affection leade a man to fauor the lesse worthy in defart, let him doe it without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer.

In suits a man doth [not] well vnderstand, it is

V. 1625. æt. 65.

text; without Care what become of the *Sute*, when that Turne is ferued: Or generally, to make other Mens Businesse, a Kinde of Entertainment,<sup>6</sup> to bring in their owne.

Nay, some vndertake *Sutes*, with a full Purpose, to let them fall; To the end, to gratifie the Aduerse Partie, or Competitour.

Surely, there is, in some fort,<sup>7</sup> a Right in euery *Sute*:<sup>8</sup> Either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Sute* of Controuersie<sup>9</sup>; Or a Right of Defert, if it be a *Sute* of Petition.<sup>10</sup> If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the Wrong Side in Iustice, let him rather vse his Countenance, to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to fauour the lesse Worthy in Defert,<sup>11</sup> let him doe it without Deprauing or Disabling<sup>12</sup> the Better Deseruer.

In *Sutes*, which a man doth not well vnderstand, it is

<sup>9</sup> Controuersie. *Iustitiæ*, 'justice.'

<sup>10</sup> Petition. *Gratiæ*, 'favour.'

<sup>11</sup> In Desert. *Merentem, in causa Gratiæ*, 'in desert, in a cause of favour.'

<sup>12</sup> Deprauing or disabling. *Abstineat saltem ab omni Calumnia et Male-dicentia*, 'let him abstain from all calumny and evil-speaking.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

good to referre them to some friend of trust and iudgement, that may report whether he may deale in them with honor.

¶ Sutes are so distasted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deserued, is growen not onely honourable but also gracious.

¶ In Sutes of fauour the first comming ought to take little place, so far forth consideration may bee had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter coulde not otherwise haue bene had but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note.

¶ To be ignorant of the

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good to referre them to some freind of trust and Iudgement, that may report whether he may deale in them with honour.

Suitors are so distasted with delayes, and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Suites at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in Challenging noe more thankes then one hath deserved, is growne not onely honorable but alsoe gracious.

In suites of favor the first commeing ought to take litle place, so farr fourth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have bene had, but by him, advantage be not taken of the note.

To be ignorant of the

<sup>13</sup> Suitors are so distasted. *His temporibus . . . cruciantur*, 'in these times . . . are so tortured.'

<sup>14</sup> Reporting the successe barely. *Successum ejus qualem-qualem animo simplici referendo*, 'reporting the success truly, whatever it is.'

<sup>15</sup> So farre forth . . . for his Discouerie. [This passage is thus rendered

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good to referre them to some friend of trust and iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with honour.

Sutors are so distasted with delaies and abufes, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in fuits at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thanks then one hath deserued, is growne not onlie honourable, but also gracious. In fuits of fauour, the first comming ought to take little place: so farre forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue been had, but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other meanes.

To be ignorant of the

in the Latin] *Eo usque Supplicantis Fides, in re illa patefacienda, valere possit, ut si Notitia ejus aliunde quam per eum haberi non potuisset; Hoc ei fraudi non sit, sed potius remuneratur,* 'so that the trust of the suitor, in making the thing known, may avail that if the knowledge of it could not be had, except through him, it may be no disadvantage to him, but let him be rather rewarded.'

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good to referre them, to some Friend of Trust and Iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose.

*Sutours* are so distasted<sup>13</sup> with Delayes, and Abufes, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale in *Sutes* at first, and Reporting the Successe barely,<sup>14</sup> and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deserued, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Sutes* of Fauour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: <sup>15</sup> So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, coulde not otherwise haue beene had, but by him, Aduantage bee not taken of the Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort, Recompenced for his Discouerie.<sup>15</sup>

To be Ignorant of the

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

value of a Sute is simplicitie, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience.

¶ Secrecie in Sutes is a great meane of obtaining, for, voicing them to bee in forwardnes may discourage some kinde of futers, but doth quicken and awake others.

¶ But tyming of the Sutes is the principall, tyming I saye not onely in respect of the person that shoulde graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

value of a Suite is simplicitie, as well, as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of Conscience.

Secresie in suites is a great meane of obtayning, for voyceing them to be in forwardnes may discourage some kind of fuitours, but doth quicken and awake others.

But tymeing of the Suites is the principall, tymeing I say not onely in respect of the person, that should graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it.

<sup>16</sup> Ignorant of the Right. *Æquitatem ejusdem oscitanter prætervehi*, 'to be carelessly carried beyond the right.'

<sup>17</sup> Choice of his Meane. *Ejus, cui Petitionis tuæ curam demandes*, 'to whom you entrust the care of your suit.'

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value of a suit is simplicity, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience.

Secrecie in suites is a great meane of obtaining; For voicing them to be in forwardnesse, may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others.

But timage of the suits is the principall. Timing I say not onely in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it.

Let a man in the choise of his meane, rather chuse the fittest meane then the greatest meane, and rather them that deale in certaine things then those that are generall.

The reparation of a deniall is sometimes equall to the first grant, if a man shew himselfe neither dejected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas vt æquum feras;*<sup>a</sup> is a good rule where

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value of a *Sute*, is Simplicity; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right<sup>16</sup> thereof, is Want of Conscience.

Secrecie in *Sutes*, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voicing them, to be in Forwardnesse, may discourage some Kinde of *Sutours*; But doth Quicken and Awake Others.

But Timing of the *Sute*, is the Principall. Timing, I say, not onely in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to Crosse it.

Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane,<sup>17</sup> rather choose the Fittest Meane, then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall.

The Reparation<sup>18</sup> of a Deniall, is somtimes Equall to the first Grant, If a Man shew himselfe, neither dejected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas vt Æquum feras;*<sup>a</sup> is a good Rule, where

<sup>a</sup> *Thou seekest unjustly, that thou mayest do justice.* Quintilian *Inst. Orat.* iv. 5, 16.

<sup>18</sup> Reparation. *Denegatæ Petitionis iteratio*, 'the repetition of a suit refused.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it bee not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.



Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputacion.



<sup>19</sup> Rise in his Sute. *Gradibus quibusdam, ad id quod petis ascendere, et aliquid saltem impetrare,* 'rise by certain steps to what you desire, and at least gain something.'

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a man hath strength of fauour; but otherwise a man were better rest in his suit; for hee that would haue ventured at first to haue lost the sutor, will not in the conclusion lose both the sutor and his owne former fauor.

Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his Letter; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.



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a Man hath Strength of Fauour: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his *Sute*;<sup>19</sup> For he that would haue ventured at first to haue lost the *Sutour*, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the *Sutour*, and his owne former Fauour.

Nothing is thought so Easie a Request, to a great Person, as his Letter; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation.

There are no worse Instruments,<sup>20</sup> then these Generall Contriuers of *Sutes*: For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.



<sup>20</sup> No worse Instruments. *Non invenitur in Rebuspublicis perniciosius Hominum Genus*, 'there is found no more dangerous kind of man in states.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

No variations in Text II.

## [6.] Of Expence.

**R**iches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary Expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntarie vndoing may be as well for a mans cuntry, as for the kingdome of heauen. But ordinary expence ought to be limited by a mans estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceite and abuse of seruants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bills may be lesse then the estimation abroad.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 8. Of Expences.

**R**iches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary Expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntarie vndoing may be as well for a Mans Countrey, as for the kingdome of *Heaven*. But ordinary Expence ought to be limited by a Mans estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceite, and abuse of seruauntes, and ordered to the best shewe; that the Billes may be lesse, then the estimation abroad.

¶ It is no basenes for the      It is noe basenes for the

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Spending. *Destinantur sumptibus*, 'are intended for spending.'

<sup>2</sup> Vndoing. *Paupertas*, 'poverty.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

## 18. Of Expences.



*Riches* are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion, for voluntary vndoing may be as well for a mans Countrey, as for the kingdome of *Heauen*. But ordinarie expence, ought to be limited by a mans estate and gouerned with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceit, and abuse of seruants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be lesse then the estimation abroad.

It is no baseness for the

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

## 28. Of Expence.



*Riches* are for Spending;<sup>1</sup> And Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limited by the Worth of the Occasion: For *Voluntary Vndoing*,<sup>2</sup> may be as well for<sup>3</sup> a Mans Country, as for the *Kingdome of Heauen*. But *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limited by a Mans Estate; And gouerned with such regard, as it be within his Compasse; And not subiect to Deceit and Abuse of Seruants; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bills may be lesse, then the Estimation abroad.

Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Euen hand,<sup>4</sup> his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be, but to the Halfe of his Receipts; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part.

It is no Baseness, for the

<sup>3</sup> May be aswell for. *Debetur*, 'is due to.'

<sup>4</sup> Euen hand. *Qui Diminutionem Fortunarum suarum pati nolit*, 'who does not wish to suffer a decrease of his fortune.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

greatest to descend and looke into their owne estate. Some forbear it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But *Woundes cannot bee cured without searching.*

¶ Hee that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whom he employeth, yea and change them after. For new are more timorous and lesse subtle.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

greatest to descende, and looke into their owne estate. Some forbear it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But *Woundes cannott bee cured without searchinge.*

¶ Hee that cannott looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whom he ymployeth, yea and change them often. Ffor new are more timorous and lesse subtle.

<sup>5</sup> Descend and looke. *Si rationes suas diligenter inspiciant*, 'if they look diligently into their affairs.'

<sup>6</sup> Some. *Complures*, 'very many.'

<sup>7</sup> Doubting. *Aversatione quadam, ne*, 'from a certain dislike, lest they.'

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greatest to descend and looke into their owne estates. Some forbear it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into malancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But wounds cannot bee cured without searching.

He that cannot looke into his owne estate at all, had neede both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often: for new are more timorous, and lesse subtil.

He that can looke into his estate but seldome, had neede turne all to certainties.

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Greatest, to descend and looke,<sup>5</sup> into their owne *Estate*. Some<sup>6</sup> forbear it, not vpon Negligence alone, But doubting<sup>7</sup> to bring themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken.<sup>8</sup> But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching.

He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all,<sup>9</sup> had need both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and lesse Subtile.

He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoueth him to turne all to Certainties.<sup>10</sup>

A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in some kinde of *Expence*, to be as Sauing againe, in some other. As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Sauing in Apparell: If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Sauing in the Stable: And the like. For he that

<sup>8</sup> Broken. *Nimio accisas*, 'too much impaired.'

<sup>9</sup> At all. *Commode*, 'conveniently.'

<sup>10</sup> Certainties. *Quæ Computationi subjacent, in certos Reditus atque etiam Sumptus vertere*, 'to turn what is subject to calculation into certain revenues and expenses.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

¶ In clearing of a mans estate, hee may as well hurt himselfe in being too suddaine, as in letting it runne on too long, for hastie selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest.

¶ He that hath a state to repaire may not despise small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges then to stoupe to pettie gettings.

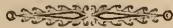
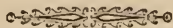
¶ A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begunne must continue. But in matters that returne not, he may be more magnificent.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

In clearing of a Mans estate, he may aswell hurt himself in being too suddaine, as in letting it run on too long, For hastie Selling is commonly as disadvantageable, as Interest.

He that hath a State to repayer may not dispise smale thinges; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges, then to floupe to pettie Gettings;

A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun must contynue. But in matters that retourne not, hee may be more magnificent.



<sup>11</sup> Estate. *Perplexa et obærata Re Familiari*, 'estate perplexed and involved in debt.'

<sup>12</sup> Gaineth vpon. *Medetur*, 'heals.'

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In cleering of a mans estate, hee may aswell hurt himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it run on to long. For hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that cleeres at once will relapse: For finding himselfe out of straight, hee wil reuert to his customes. But hee that cleereth by degrees, induceth an habite of frugality, and gaineth aswell vpon his minde as vpon his estate. Certainly who hath a state to repaire may not despise small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges, then to slooppe to petty gettings.

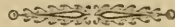
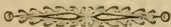
A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun must continue. But in matters that return not, he may bee more magnificent.

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is Plentifull in *Expences* of all Kindes, will hardly be preferued from Decay.

In Clearing of a Mans Estate,<sup>11</sup> he may aswell hurt Himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as Disadvantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once, will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights, he will reuert to his Customes: But hee that clear-eth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth<sup>12</sup> as well vpon his Minde, as vpon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repaire, may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is lesse dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to slooppe to pettie Gettings.

A Man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne not,<sup>13</sup> he may be more Magnificent.<sup>14</sup>



<sup>13</sup> Matters that returne not. *Sumptibus, qui non facile redeunt*, 'expences that do not easily return.'

<sup>14</sup> Magnificent. '*Splendidiorem et magnificentiorem*, 'more splendid and magnificent.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

## [7.] Of Regiment of health.



Here is a wifdome in this beyond the rules of Phificke. A mans owne obferuation what he finds good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the beft *Phyficke* to preferue health.

But it is a fafer conclusion to fay, This agreeth\* well with me, therefore I will continue it, then this I finde no offence, of this therefore I may vfe it. For ftrenth of nature in youth paffeth ouer many exceffes, which are owing a man till his age.

¶ Diferne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the fame things ftill.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 7. Of Regiment of health.



Here is a Wifedome in this beyond the rules of *Phifick*. A mans owne obferuacion what he findes good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the beft *Phificke* to preferue health ;

But it is a fafer conclusion to faie, This agreeth not well with mee, therefore I will not continue it, then this, I finde noe offence of this, therefore I may vfe it. For ftrenth of nature in youth, paffeth over manie exceffes, which are oweing a Man till his age.

Diferne of the commeing on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the fame thinges ftill.

\* not, inserted here in 1598 edition.

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> There is a wifdome in this. *In Regimine Valetudinis, invenire est quandam Prudentiam*, 'in the regiment of health there is a certain wisdom to be found.'

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17. Of Regiment of  
health.

Here is a wisdom  
in this, beyond  
the rules of  
*Physicke*. A mans  
owne obseruation what he  
findes good of, and what hee  
findes hurt of, is the best  
*Physicke* to prese[r]ue  
health.

But it is a safer conclusion  
to say; this agreeth not well  
with mee, therefore I will  
not continue it; then this, I  
finde no offence of this,  
therefore I may vse it: for  
strength of nature in youth,  
passeth ouer many excesses,  
which are owing a man  
till his age.

Discerne of the comming  
on of yeares, and thinke  
not to doe the same things  
still. Certainly most lusty  
old men catch their death  
by that aduventure; For  
age will not be defied.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

30. Of Regiment of  
Health.

Here is a wisdom  
in this,<sup>1</sup> beyond  
the Rules of  
*Physicke*: A Mans  
owne Obseruation, what he  
findes Good of, and what he  
findes Hurt of, is the best  
*Physicke* to preferue  
Health.

But it is a safer Conclusion  
to say; *This agreeth not well  
with me,*<sup>2</sup> *therefore I will  
not continue*<sup>3</sup> *it*; Then this; *I  
finde no offence of this,  
therefore I may vse it*. For  
Strength of Nature in youth,  
passeth ouer many Excesses,  
which are owing<sup>4</sup> a Man  
till his Age.

Discerne of the comming  
on of Yeares, and thinke  
not, to doe the same Things  
still;

For  
Age will not be Defied.

<sup>2</sup> Agreeth. *Hoc sensi mihi nocuisse*, 'I have felt that this injures me.'

<sup>3</sup> Continue. *Utar*, 'use.'

<sup>4</sup> Owing. *Tandem velut debita exigentur*, 'will be at last exacted like debts.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

¶ Beware of any suddain change in any great point of diet, and if necessitie inforce it, fit the rest to it.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Beware of anie suddaine change in any great pointe of Dyett, and if necessity inforce it, fitt the rest to it.

¶ To be free minded, and chearefully disposed at howers of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercife, is the best precept of long lasting.

To bee free minded, and cheerefully disposed at howers of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercife, is the best precept of long lasting.

<sup>5</sup> Then one. *Quam unum Magnum*, 'than one great one.'<sup>6</sup> Apparell. *Vestium, Mansionis*, 'apparel, habitation.'<sup>7</sup> It. *Ad Consuetam*, 'to the accustomed course.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Beware of any sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things then one.

To be free minded and cherefullie disposed at houres of meat, and of sleepe, and of exercife, is the best precept of long lasting.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State; That it is safer to change Many Things, then one.<sup>5</sup> Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe, Exercife, Apparell,<sup>6</sup> and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou shalt iudge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so, as if thou doest finde any Inconuenience by the Change, thou come backe to it<sup>7</sup> againe: For it is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome,<sup>8</sup> from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine owne Body.<sup>9</sup>

To be free minded, and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercife, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde; Auoid Enuie; Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill

<sup>8</sup> Held good and wholesome. *Sunt salubria*, 'are wholesome.'

<sup>9</sup> Body. *Corporis tui unici Constitutioni*, 'the constitution of thy body alone.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

¶ If you flie Physicke in health altogether, it will be too strange to your body, when you shall neede it, if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect when sicknesse commeth.

If you fly Phisicke in health altogether, it wilbe too strange for your body when you shall neede it; If you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect, when sicknesse commeth.

¶ Despise no new accident in the body, but aske opinion of it.

Dispise noe new accident in thie body, but aske opinion of it.

<sup>10</sup> Communicated. *Alte pressam, et non communicatam*, 'pressed down, and not communicated.'

<sup>11</sup> Wonder. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>12</sup> Strange. *Ingratior*, 'too unpleasant.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

If you fly Phisicke in health altogether, it will bee too strange for your body, when you shall need it: if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect, when sicknesse commeth.

Despise no new accident in your body, but aske opinion of it.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

and knottie Inquisitions; Ioyes, and Exhilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated.<sup>10</sup> Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Ioy; Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder,<sup>11</sup> and Admiration, and therefore Nouelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Obiects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature.

If you flie Physicke in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange<sup>12</sup> for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect,<sup>13</sup> when Sicknesse commeth. I commend rather, some Diet, for certaine Seasons, then frequent Vse of *Physicke*, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it lesse.

Despise no new<sup>14</sup> Accident, in your Body, but aske Opinion<sup>15</sup> of it.

<sup>13</sup> Extraordinary Effect. *Detrahet de viribus et efficacia ejus*, 'it will detract from its strength and efficacy.'

<sup>14</sup> New. *Novum et insuetum*, 'new and unaccustomed.'

<sup>15</sup> Opinion. *Consilium Medicorum*, 'opinion of physicians.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

¶ In sickeneffe respect health principally, and in health aCtion. For those that put their bodies to indure in health, may in most sickeneffes which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet and tendring.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

In sicknes respect health principally, and in health accion. Ffor those that putt their bodyes to endure in health, may in most sickneffes which are not verie sharpe, be cured onely with dyett, and tendering.

¶ Physitians are some of them so pleasing and conformable\* to the humours of the patient, as they

Phisitians are some of them soe pleasing and conformable to the humors of the Patient, as they

\* Comfortable, in 1598 Edition.

<sup>16</sup> Action. *Corpore tuo utere, nec sis nimis delicatus*, 'use your body and be not too delicate.'

<sup>17</sup> Tendering. *Corporis Regimine paulo exquisitiorè, . . . absque multa Medicatione*, 'by a little more careful tendering of the body without much doctoring.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet and tendering.

*Celsus* could neuer haue spoken it as a Physitian had he not been a wise man withall: when he giueth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting. That a man doe varie and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more being extreame; vse fasting, and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleepe, but rather sleepe, sitting and exercise. but rather exercise, and the like. So shall nature bee cherished and yet taught masteries.

Physitians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humors of the Patient, as they

V. 1625. æt. 65

In *Sicknesse*, respect *Health* principally; And in *Health, Action*.<sup>16</sup> For those that put their Bodies, to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses* which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet, and Tendering.<sup>17</sup>

*Celsus*<sup>a</sup> could neuer haue spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a Wise Man withall; when he giueth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man doe vary, and enterchange Contraries; But with an Inclination to the more benigne Extreme: Vse Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise. but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries.<sup>18</sup>

*Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable<sup>19</sup> to the Humor of the Patient, as they

<sup>a</sup> A. C. Celsus. *De re medica*. i. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Masteries. *Robur acquirat*, 'acquire strength.'

<sup>19</sup> Conformable. *Erga Aegrum, et ejus Desideria, tam sunt indulgentes*, 'are so indulgent to the sick and his desires.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

preffe not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to Arte for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not bee found in one man, compound two of both sorts, and forget not to call as wel the best a[c]quainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his facultie.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

preffe not the true cure of the disease; and some other are soe regular in proceedinge according to Art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condicion of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one Man, combyne two of both fortes. and forgett not to call aswell the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of, for his facultye.



<sup>20</sup> Regular. *Regulares et rigidi*, 'regular and rigid.'

<sup>21</sup> Condition. *Conditionem et Naturam*, 'condition and nature.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

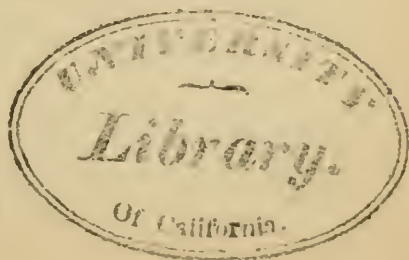
preffe not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular, in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of both sorts: and forget not to call aswell the best acquainted with your bodie, as the best reputed of, for his faculty.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

preffe not the true Cure of the Disease; And some other are so Regular,<sup>20</sup> in proceeding according to Art, for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition<sup>21</sup> of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; Or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort: And forget not to call, aswell the best acquainted<sup>22</sup> with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty




<sup>22</sup> The best acquainted. *Guarum, non minus quam*, 'not less acquainted than.'



I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

No variations in Text II.

## [8.] Of Honour and reputation.


 HE winning of Honour is but the revealing of a mans vertue and worth without disadvantage, for some in their actions doe affect Honour and reputation, which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some darken their vertue in the shew of it, so as they be vnder-valewed in opinion.

¶ If a man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, or attempted and giuen ouer, or hath beene atchieued, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more Honour then by effecting a matter of greater difficultie or vertue, wherein he is but a follower.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 21. Of Honor and reputation.

 He true Wynning of *Honor* is but the revealing of a Mans vertue and worth without disadvantage; For some in their accions doe affect honour and reputacion, which sorte of Men are commonly much talked of, but inwardlie litle admired; and some darken their vertue in the shewe of it, so as they be vndervalued in opinion.

If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath beene atchieved, but not with soe good Circumstance, he shall purchase more honor, then by effecting a matter of greater difficultie, or vertue, wherein he is but a Follower.

If a Man consider wherein others have given distast,

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Winning. *Vere, et jure optimo, Acquisitio*, 'the true and rightful winning.'

<sup>2</sup> Honour. *Honoris et Existimationis*, 'honour and reputation.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Of Honour and  
reputation.[*This Essay does not occur  
in the 1612 Edition.*]

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

55. Of Honour and  
Reputation.

He Winning<sup>1</sup> of  
*Honour*,<sup>2</sup> is but  
the Reuealing of  
a Mans Vertue  
and Worth, without Disad-  
uantage.<sup>3</sup> For some in their  
ACTIONS, doe Wooue and af-  
fect<sup>4</sup> *Honour*, and *Reputa-  
tion*: Which Sort of Men, are  
commonly much Talked of,  
but inwardly little Admired.  
And some, contrariwise,  
darken their Vertue, in the  
Shew of it; So as they be  
vnder-valued in opinion.  
If a Man performe that  
which hath not beene at-  
tempted before; Or at-  
tempted and giuen ouer;  
Or hath beene atchieued,  
but not with so good Cir-  
cumstance; he shall pur-  
chase more *Honour*, then  
by Effecting a Matter of  
greater Difficulty, or Ver-  
tue, wherein he is but a  
Follower.

<sup>3</sup> Without disadvantage. *Dextre et absque detrimento*, 'dexterously and without disadvantage.'

<sup>4</sup> Wooue and affect. *Proci Famæ sunt, et veluti Venatores*, 'are wooers and as it were hunters of fame.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

[*This Essay does not occur  
in the 1612 Edition.*]

If a Man so temper<sup>5</sup> his Actions, as in some one of them, hee doth content euerie Faction, or Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller.

A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then the Carying of it through can *Honor* him.

*Honour*, that is gained and broken vpon Another,<sup>6</sup> hath the quickest Reflection; Like Diamonds<sup>7</sup> cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in Outshooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe.<sup>8</sup>

Discreet Followers and Seruants helpe much to *Reputation*.<sup>9</sup> *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat.*<sup>a</sup>

Enuy, which is the Canker<sup>10</sup> of *Honour*, is best extinguished, by declaring a

<sup>a</sup> *All Fame proceeds from servants.* Cicero. *De petitione consulatus.* v.

<sup>8</sup> In their owne Bowe. *In iis, in quibus ipsi summe gloriantur,* 'surpass them in those things on which they chiefly pride themselves.'

<sup>9</sup> *Omnis Fama. Ita Quintus Cicero, omnis, &c.*, 'thus Q[uintus] Cicero says, *Omnis, &c.*'

<sup>10</sup> Canker. *Tinea et teredo,* 'moth and worm.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

Mans felfe in his ends, rather to feeke merite then fame, and by attributing a mans fucceffes rather to diuine prouidence and felicitie then to his vertue or policie.

¶ The true Marfhalling of the degrees of Soueraigne honour are thefe.

In the firft place are *Conditores*, founders of ftates.

In the fecond place are *Legiflatores* Lawgiuers, which are alfo called fecond founders, or *Perpetui principes*, becaufe they governe by their ordinances after they are gone.

In the third place are *Liberatores*, fuch as compound the long miferies of ciuill warres, or deliuer their

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Mans felfe in his endes, rather to feeke meritt, then fame, and by attributing a mans fucceffes rather to diuine prouidence, and felicitye, then to his vertue or pollicie.

The true Marfhalling of the degrees of Sovereigne honor are theis.

In the firft place are *Conditores*, Founders of States.

In the fecond place are *Legiflatores*, Law givers which are alfo called fecond Founders or *Perpetui Principes*, becaufe they governe by their ordinances after they are gone.

In the third place are *Liberatores*, Such as compound the long miferies of Ciuill warres, or deliver their

<sup>11</sup> *Saluatores. Seruatores Patriarum suarum*, 'preservers of their country.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

[*This Essay does not occur  
in the 1612 Edition.*]

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Mans Selfe, in his Ends, rather to seeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing a Mans Successes, rather to diuine Prouidence and Felicity, then to his owne Vertue or Policy.

The true Marshalling of the Degrees of *Soueraigne Honour* are these.

In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States, and Common-Wealths*: Such as were *Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael.*

In the Second Place are *Legis-latores, Lawgiuers*; which are also called, *Second Founders, or Perpetui Principes*, because they Gouverne by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Iustinian, Eadgar, Alphonfus of Castile, the Wise, that made the Siete Partidas.*

In the Third Place, are *Liberatores, or Saluatores.*<sup>11</sup> Such as compound the long Miseries of Ciuill Warres, or deliuer their

<sup>11</sup> Alphonso X. of Castile, surnamed 'The Wise' [*b.* 1226—*d.* 4 Apr. 1284], was the author of a legal Code, called *Las siete partidas*, from its seven parts or sections. It was first printed at Seville in 1491; and a copious Latin index of it by G. Lopez à Tourar appeared at Salamanca in 1576.

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

Countries from seruitude  
of frangers or tyrants.

In the fourth place are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores imperii*, such as in honourable warres enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Inuaders.

And in the last place are *Patres patriæ*, which raigne iustly and make the times good wherein they liue.

Degrees of honour in subiects are

first *Participes curarum*, those vpon whome Princes doe discharge the greatest waight of their affaires, their *Right handes* (as wee call them.)

The next are *Duces belli*, great leaders, such as are Princes, Lieutenants, and do them notable seruices

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Countryes from seruitude  
of Strangers or Tyrantes.

In the fourth place are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperii*, such as in honorable warres enlarge their Territories, or make noble defence against Invaders.

And in the last place are *Patres patriæ*, which reigne iustly and make the tymes good wherein they live.

degrees of honor in Subiectes are

first *Participes curarum*, those vpon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest weight of their affaires, their *Right handes* (as wee call them.)

The next are *Duces belli*, great leaders, such as are Princes Liuetenautes and doe them notable seruices

<sup>12</sup> Noble defence. *Defensione strenua et Nobili*, 'energetic and noble defence.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52. V. 1625. æt. 65.

Countries from Seruitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As *Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, K. Henry the 7. of England, K. Henry the 4. of France.*

In the Fourth Place, are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperij*; Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence<sup>12</sup> against Inuaders.

And in the Last Place, are *Patres Patriæ*; which reigne iustly, and make the Times good, wherein they liue.<sup>13</sup> Both which last Kindes, need no Examples, they are in such Number.

Degrees of *Honour* in *Subiects* are;

First, *Participes Curarum*; Those vpon whom<sup>14</sup> Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affaires; Their *Right Hands*, as we call them.

The Next are, *Duces Belli, Great Leaders*; Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Seruices

[*This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.*]

<sup>13</sup> Make the Times good. *Temporibus felicibus, quamdiu vivunt, Cives suos beant*, 'bless their subjects with happy times while they live.'

<sup>14</sup> Vpon whom. *Quorum humeris*, 'on whose shoulders.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

in the wars.

The third are *Gratiofi*,  
 fauorites, such as exceede  
 not this scantling to bee  
 follace to the Soueraigne  
 and harmeleffe to the  
 people.

And the fourth *Negotiis*  
*pares*, such as haue great  
 place vnder Princes, and  
 execute their places  
 with sufficiencie.



III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

in the Warres.

The third are *Gratiofi*  
 fauorites such as exceede  
 not this scantling to be  
 folace to the Sovereigne,  
 and harmeles to the  
 People.

And the fourth *Negotiis*  
*pares*, such as have great  
 place vnder Princes, and  
 doe execute their places  
 with sufficiencye.



<sup>15</sup> Exceed not this Scantling. *Non ultra hoc potes sunt*, 'have no power beyond this.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52. V. 1625. æt. 65.

[*This Effay does not occur  
in the 1612 Edition.*]

in the Warres.

The Third are, *Gratiosi, Fauourites*; Such as exceed not this Scantling;<sup>15</sup> To be Solace to the Soueraigne, and Harmelesse to the People.

And the Fourth, *Negotijs pares*; Such as haue great Places vnder Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency.

There is an *Honour* likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as *Sacrifice themselves, to Death or Danger, for the Good of their Country*: As was *M. Regulus*, and the Two *Decij*.



I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

## [9.] Of Faction.



Anie haue a newe wisedome, indeed, a fond opinion; That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to gouerne his proceedings according to the respects of Factions, is the principall part of pollicie. Whereas contrariwise, the chiefeft wisedome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of feuerall Factions doe neuerthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one, But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be neglected.

¶ Meane men must adheare, but great men that haue strength in themselves were better to maintaine themselves indifferent and neutrall; yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderatly, as he be a man of the one Fac-

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 20. Of Faction.



Anie haue an opinion not wise;

That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to gouerne his proceedings according to the respects of factions, is the principall part of policie. Whereas contrary wise, the chiefeft wisedome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein Men of severall factions doe neverthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one, But I say not that the consideration of ffactions is to be neglected.

Meane men must adhere, but great men that haue strength in themselves were better to maintaine themselves indifferent, and neutrall; yet euen in beginners to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one Fac-

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

2 TITLE. *De Factionibus*, 'of factions.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

## 34. Of Faction.



Any haue an opinion not wise;

That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to gouerne his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is the principall part of pollicy: whereas contrariwise, the chiefeft wisdom is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of feuerall factions doe neuerthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected.

Meane men

must adhere, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent, and neutrall. Yet euen in beginners to adhere so moderatly, as he be a man of the one fac-

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

51. Of Faction.<sup>1</sup>

Any haue an Opinion not wise;

That for a Prince to Gouverne his Estate; Or for a Great Person to gouerne his Proceedings, according to the Respect of *Factions*, is a Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiefeft Wisdom is, either in Ordering those Things, which are Generall, and wherein Men of Seuerall *Factions* doe neuerthelesse agree; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons,<sup>2</sup> one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions*, is to be Neglected.

Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere; But Great Men, that haue Strength in themselues, were better to maintaine themselues Indifferent, and Neutrall. Yet euen in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as hee be a Man of the one *Fac-*

<sup>2</sup> Dealing with Correspondence, &c. *Vel in palpandis, conciliandis et tractandis singulis.* 'or in touching, conciliating, and treating with particular persons.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

tion, which is passablest with the other, commonly giueth best way.

¶ The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in coniunction.

¶ When one of the Factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth which is good for a second Faction.\*

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

tion, which is passablest with thother, commonly giveth best way.

The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in coniunction ;

When one of the Factions is extinguished, the remainyng subdivideth, which is good for a second.

\* Faction, omitted in 1598 Edition.

<sup>3</sup> Most Passable. *Et tamen Parti adversæ minime odiosus*, 'and still is not odious (*i.e.* the man) to the adverse faction.'

<sup>4</sup> Giueth best Way. *Viam quandam sternit ad Honores, per Medium Factionum*, 'paves a way to honours by means of factions.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

tion, which is passablest with the other, commonly giueth best way.

The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in coniunction.

When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth: which is good for a second.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

tion, which is most Passable<sup>3</sup> with the other, commonly giueth best Way.<sup>4</sup>

The Lower and Weaker *Faction*, is the firmer<sup>5</sup> in Coniunction: And it is often seene, that a few, that are Stiffe,<sup>6</sup> doe tire out,<sup>7</sup> a greater Number, that are more Moderate.

When One of the *Factions* is Extinguished, the Remaining Subdiuideth:

As the *Faction*, betweene *Lucullus*, and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while,<sup>8</sup> against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*: But when the Senates Authority was pulled Downe, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soone after brake. The *Faction* or Partie of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were ouerthrowne,

<sup>3</sup> Firmer. *Firmior et constantior*, 'firmer and more consistent.'

<sup>4</sup> Stiffe. *Obstinati et pertinaces*, 'obstinate and persevering.'

<sup>7</sup> Tire out. *In fine defatigare et depellere*, 'in the end tire out and displace.'

<sup>8</sup> Held out a while. *In satis magno Vigore*, 'with sufficient vigour.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

It is commonly seene that men once placed, take in with the contrarie faction to that by which they enter.

It is commonly seene, that Men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter.

¶ The Traitor in Factions lightly goeth away with it, for when matters haue stucke long in ballancing, the winning of some one

The Traitor in ffactions lightly goeth away with it, For when matters have stuck long in ballancinge, the wyinning of some one

<sup>9</sup> Brake and Subdiuided. *Cum Partibus suis, paulo post dissilierunt*, 'with their parties soon after divided.'

<sup>10</sup> Proue ciphars and Casheer'd. *Potestate omni excidunt*, 'fall out of all power.'

<sup>11</sup> Once Placed. *Postquam Voti compotes sint, et in Dignitate quam ambierunt collocati*, 'when they have obtained their wish and are placed in the dignity which they desired.'

IV.	1612.	æt. 52.	V.	1625.	æt. 65.
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then soone after *Antonius* and *Oclavianus* brake and Subdiuided.<sup>9</sup> These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Priuate *Factions*. And therefore, those that are Seconds in *Factions*, doe many times, when the *Faction* Subdiuideth, proue Principals: But many times also, they proue Ciphars and Casheer'd:<sup>10</sup> For many a Mans Strength is in opposition; And when that faileth, he groweth out of vse.

It is commonly seene, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that, by which they enter.

It is commonly seene, that Men once Placed,<sup>11</sup> take in with the Contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter; Thinking belike that they haue the First Sure;<sup>12</sup> And now are Readie for a New Purchase.

The Traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it: for when matters haue stucke long in balancing, the winning of some one

The Traitour in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it;<sup>13</sup> For when Matters haue stucke long in Ballancing, the Winning of some one

<sup>12</sup> That they haue the First Sure, &c. *Se de alterius Factionis Affectu et Studiis, jamdudum certos esse; Itaque ad Amicos novos conciliandos se comparare,* 'that they have been long sure of the goodwill and zeal of the other faction, and so prepare themselves to gain new friends.'

<sup>13</sup> Lightly goeth away with it. *Plerunque rem obtinet,* 'commonly gets an advantage.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

man casteth them, and hee  
getteth all the thankes.



III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Man casteth them, and he  
getteth all the thankes.



<sup>14</sup> Truenesse to a Mans Selve. *A Consilio callido, quandoquidem proximus sibi quisque sit*, 'from a crafty plan, since each man is nearest to himself.'

<sup>15</sup> Haue often in their Mouth. *De quo Vox illa, in Vulgus volitat*, 'about whom this saying is common among the people.'



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

man casteth them and he getteth all the thankes. The euen carriage betweene two factions, proceedeth not alwaies of moderation, but of a true-nesse to a mans selfe, with end to make vse of both. Certainly in *Italie* they hold it a little suspect in Popes, when they haue often in their mouth *Padre Commune*, and take it to be a signe of one that meaneth to referre all to the greatnesse of his own house.



V. 1625. æt. 65.

Man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Euen Carriage betweene two *Factions*, proceedeth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a True-nesse to a Mans Selfe,<sup>14</sup> with End to make vse of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they haue often in their Mouth,<sup>15</sup> *Padre commune*: And take it, to be a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the Greatnesse of his owne House.

Kings had need beware, how they Side themselues, and make themselues as of a *Faction* or *Partie*:<sup>16</sup> For Leagues, within the State, are euer Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soueraigntie, and make the King, *Tanquàm vnus ex nobis*:<sup>a</sup> As was to be seene, in the *League of France*.

When *Factions* are carried too high,<sup>17</sup> and too vio-

<sup>a</sup> *As one of us.*

<sup>16</sup> Faction or Partie. *Factioni alicui Subditorum suorum*, 'any faction of their subjects.'

<sup>17</sup> Carried too high. *Manu forti, et palam, concertant*, 'contend with the strong hand and openly.'

I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

lently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes; And much to the Preiudice, both of their Authoritie, and Businesse.

The Motions of *Factions*, vnder Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the *Astronomers* speake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may haue their Proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the Higher Motion, of *Primum Mobile*.



I. & II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8. III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52

For Variations of II., see footnotes.

*Harleian MS.* 5106.

[10.] Of Negociating.

16. Of Negociatinge.

**T** is generally better to deale by speech then by letter, and by the mediation of a thirde then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man woulde draw an answere by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter.

**T** is generally better to deale by speach, then by letter and by the mediacion of a third, then by a mans self; Letters are good when a Man would drawe an aunswere by letter back againe, or when it may serue for a mans Iustificacion afterwards to produce his owne letter.

To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with inferiours.

To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with Inferiours.

¶ In choyce of instru- In choise of Instru-

VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Justification. *Vbi sua intersit*, 'when it may be to a man's profit.'

<sup>2</sup> Letter. *Exemplaria Literarum, quas scripsit, producere, et monstrare*, 'to produce and show the copy of the letter which he wrote.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

## 33. Of Negotiating.

**T**is generallie better to deale by speach, then by letter, and by the mediation of a third, then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter, or where it may bee danger to bee interrupted or heard by Peeres. To deale in person is good when a mans face breeds regard, as commonly with inferiours, or in tender cases where a mans eie vpon the countenance of him with whom one speaketh, may giue him a direction how farre to goe, and generally where a man will referue to himselfe libertie either to disaduowe, or to expound. In choise of instru-

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

## 47. Of Negotiating.

**T**is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third, then by a Mans Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serue, for a Mans Iustification,<sup>1</sup> afterwards to produce his owne Letter;<sup>2</sup> Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To *deale in Person* is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours;<sup>3</sup> Or in Tender Cases,<sup>4</sup> where a Mans Eye, vpon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may giue him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will referue to himselfe Libertie, either to Disavow, or to Expound.<sup>5</sup> In Choice of *Instru-*

<sup>3</sup> Inferiours. *In Colloquio cum Inferiore*: 'in conversation with an inferior.'

<sup>4</sup> Tender cases. *Rebus, quas extremis tantum digitis tangere convenit*; 'in cases which should be touched only with the tips of the fingers.'

<sup>5</sup> Expound. *Interpretandi ea quæ dixerit*, 'to expound what he has said.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

ments it is better to choofe men of a plainer forte that are like to doe that that is committed to them; and to reporte backe againe faithfully the fucceffe, then thofe that are cunning to contriue out of other mens bufineffe fomewhat to grace themfelues, and will helpe the matter in reporte for fatisfactions fake.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

mentes it is better to choofe men of a playner forte, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to reporte backe againe faithfully the fucceffe, then thofe that are cunning to contriue out of other mens bufineffe fomewhat to grace themfelves, and will helpe the matter in report for fatisfactions fake.

<sup>6</sup> Instruments. *In tractando per alios*, 'in treating by means of others.'

<sup>7</sup> Better. *Cautius et melius*, 'safer and better.'

<sup>8</sup> Grace themfelues. *Qui ex aliorum Negotiis, aliquid in se Honoris aut Vtilitatis transferre, callidi sunt*, 'that are cunning to transfer to themselves some honour or profit from other men's business.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

ments it is better to choofe men of a plainer fort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report backe againe faithfully the fucceffe, then thofe that are cunning to contriue out of other mens bufines, fomewhat to grace themfelues, and will helpe the matter in report for fatisfaction fake.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

*ments*,<sup>6</sup> it is better,<sup>7</sup> to choofe Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back againe faithfully the Succeffe; Then thofe, that are Cunning to Contriue out of other Mens Bufineffe, fomewhat to grace themfelues;<sup>8</sup> And will helpe the Matter, in Report,<sup>9</sup> for Satisfaction fake. Vfe alfo, fuch Perfons, as affect the Bufineffe, wherein they are Employed; For that quickneth<sup>10</sup> much; And fuch, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expoftulation, Faire fpoken Men for Perfwasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry and Obferuation, Froward and Abfurd Men for Bufineffe that doth not well beare out it Selfe.<sup>11</sup> Vfe alfo fuch, as haue bene Luckie, and Preuailed before in Things wherein you haue Employed them; For that breeds Confidence, and

<sup>9</sup> Help the Matter, in Report. *Atque ea, quæ referent, verbis emollient, ut impense placeant*, 'and smoothe by their words what they report to give great pleasure.'

<sup>10</sup> Quickneth. *Industriam acuit*, 'sharpeneth industry.'

<sup>11</sup> Beare out it Selfe. *Quæ aliquid iniqui habent*, 'which have something unjust about them.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

¶ It is better to found a person with whome one deales a farre off, then to fal vppon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprise him by some shorte question.

¶ It is better dealing with men in appetite then with those which are where they would be.

¶ If a man deale with an other vppon conditions, the starte or first performance is all, which a man can not reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other partie that he shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he bee counted the honeste man.

¶ All practife is to discover or to worke: men discover themselves in trust,

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

It is better to sound a person with whom one deales a farre of, then to fall vppon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprise him by some shorte question.

It is better dealing with men in appetite, then with those which are where they would be.

If a man deale with an other vppon condicions, the start, or first performance is all, which a man cannott reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or els a man can perswade the other partie, that he shall still neede him in some other thing, or els that he be counted the honeste Man.

All practize is to discover, or to worke: Men discover themselves in trust,

<sup>12</sup> Striue. *Omnem Lapidem movebunt*, 'will move every stone.'

<sup>13</sup> Sound . . . . afar off. *Primo leviter degustare, et quasi ex longinquo*, 'to try lightly at first, and as if from afar off.'

<sup>14</sup> Surprize. *Irretire et opprimere*, 'entangle and surprise.'

<sup>15</sup> Men in Appetite. *Qui in Ambitu sunt*, 'who are striving for honour.'



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It is better to found a person with whom one deales a farre off, then to fall vpon the point at first, except you meane to surprise him by some short question.

It is better dealing with men in appetite, then with those which are where they would bee.

If a man deale with an other vpon conditions, the start or first performance is all, which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other party, that hee shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the honestest man.

All practise is to discouer or to worke: Men discouer themselues in trust,

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they will striue<sup>12</sup> to maintaine their Prescription.

It is better, to found<sup>13</sup> a Person, with whom one *Deales*, a farre off, then to fall vpon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize<sup>14</sup> him by some Short Question.

It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite,<sup>15</sup> then with those that are where they would be.

If a man *Deale* with another vpon Conditions, the Start or First Performance<sup>16</sup> is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honestest Man.<sup>17</sup>

All Practise<sup>18</sup> is to *Discouer*, or to *Worke*. Men *Discouer* themselues, in Trust,<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Start or First Performance. *Prima veluti Occupatio, aut Possessio Votorum, in præcipuis numeranda*, 'the first seizure, as it were, or the possession of one's wishes, is to be considered the chief point.'

<sup>17</sup> Honestest Man. *Pro Homine imprimis integro et verace*, 'for a man especially upright and truthful.'

<sup>18</sup> Practise. *Negotiatio*, 'negotiation.'

<sup>19</sup> In Trust. *Vel Animum suam communicando*, 'either by communicating their minds.'

I. &amp; II. 1597-8. æt. 37-8.

in passion, at vnwares and of necessitie, when they would haue somewhat donne, and cannot find an apt precept.\* If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions and so leade him, or his ends, and so winne him, or his weakenesses§ or disadvantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him and so governe him.

¶ In dealing with cunning persons, we must euer consider their endes to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

FINIS.



III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

in passion, att vnawarres and of necessitie when they would haue somewhat done, and cannott finde an apt pretext. If you would worke any Man, you must either knowe his nature, and fashions, and so leade him, or his endes, and so persuade him, or his weakenes, or disadvantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so governe them.

In dealing with cunning persons, wee must ever consider their endes, to interprete their speeches, and it is good to say litle to them, and that which they least looke for.



\* pretext, in 1598 Edition.

§ weaknesse, in 1598 Edition.

<sup>20</sup> In Passion. *Vel cum Ira commoti sunt, nec se bene cohibere sciunt;* 'or when moved with anger and unable to restrain themselves.'

<sup>21</sup> Work any Man. *Si quem ad Nutum fingere cupias, ut inde efficias aliquid,* 'if you would work any man to your will to gain anything thereby.'

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

in passion, at vnawares, and of necessity, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so leade him; or his endes, and so perswade him; or his weaknes or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so gouerne them.

In dealing with cunning persons, we must euer consider their endes to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for



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In Passion,<sup>20</sup> At vnawares; And of Necessitie, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you woulde *Worke any Man*,<sup>21</sup> you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disaduantages, and so Awe him; or those that haue Interest<sup>22</sup> in him, and so Gouerne him.

In *Dealing* with Cunning Persons, we must euer Consider their Ends,<sup>23</sup> to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

In all *Negotiations* of Difficultie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Businesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.



<sup>22</sup> Those that haue Interest. *Aut denique Amici ejus, qui plurimum apud eum valent, conciliandi*, 'or lastly, you must conciliate his friends, who have the greatest influence with him.'

<sup>23</sup> Consider their Ends. *Verbis eorum minime credendum, nisi Fines et Intentiones eorum habeas Verborum Interpretes*, 'their words must be but little believed, unless you have their ends and intentions to interpret their words.'



# SACRED MEDITATIONS.

*The Latin Version of 1597.* TEXT I.

PLACED ON OPPOSITE PAGES TO

*The English Version of 1598.* TEXT II.



OF THE  
COLOURS OF GOOD & EVIL.

*First Published in 1597.* TEXT I.

Literal corrections of 1598 edition, Text II, are shown between [ ].



M E D I T A -  
T I O N E S  
S A C R Æ.



L O N D I N I.  
Excudebat Iohannes Windet.

1 5 9 7.

[ No separate title.

The text follows on immediately after the *Essaies.*]



- 1 De operibus Dei, et hominis
- 2 De miraculis Seruatoris
- 3 De columbina innocentia, et serpentina prudentia
- 4 De exaltatione Charitatis
- 5 De mensura curarum
- 6 De Spe terrestri
- 7 De Hypocritis.
- 8 De impostoribus.
- 9 De generibus Imposturæ.
- 10 De Atheismo.
- 11 De Hæresibus.
- 12 De Ecclesia, et Scripturis



*Meditationes sacræ.*

*OF the workes of God and man.*

*Of the miracles of our Saviour.*

*Of the innocencie of the Doue, and the wisedome of the  
Serpent.*

*Of the exaltation of Charitie.*

*Of the moderation of Cares.*

*Of earthly hope.*

*Of Hipocrites.*

*Of Impostors.*

*Of the severall kinds of Imposture.*

*Of Atheisme.*

*Of Heresies.*

*Of the Church and the scriptures.*



# MEDITATIO- NES SACRÆ.

## De operibus Dei et hominis.



*V*idit Deus omnia quæ fecerant manus eius, et erant bona nimis: homo autem conuersus, ut videret opera quæ fecerunt manus eius, inuenit quoddam omnia erant vanitas, et vexatio spiritus.

Quare si opera Dei operaberis, sudor tuus ut unguentum aromatum, et feruatio tua ut Sabbathum Dei. Laborabis in sudore bonæ conscientiæ, et feruabere in otio sanctissimæ contemplationis. Si autem post magnalia hominum persequeris, erit tibi in operando stimulus et angustia, et in recordando fastidium, et exprobratio. Et merito tibi euenit (ô homo) ut cum tu qui es opus Dei, non retribuas ei beneplacenciam; etiam opera tua reddant tibi fructum similem amaritudinis.

## De miraculis Seruatoris.

Bene omnia fecit.



*V*erus plausus; Deus cum uniuersa crearet, vidit quoddam singula, et omnia erant bona nimis. Deus verbum in miraculis quæ edidit (omne autem miraculum est noua

Of the workes of God and man.



God beheld all things which his hands had made, and lo they were all passing good. But when man turned him about, and tooke a view of the works which his hands had made, he found all to bee vanitie and vexation of spirit: wherefore if thou shalt worke in the workes of God, thy sweat shall bee as an ointment of odours, and thy rest as the Sabbath of God. Thou shalt trauaile in the sweate of a good conscience, and shall keepe holyday in the quietnesse and libertie of the sweetest contemplations. But if thou shalt aspire after the glorious actes of men, thy working shall bee accompanied with compunction and strife, and thy remembrance followed with distast and vprauidings, and iustly doeth it come to passe towards thee (O man) that since thou which art Gods worke doest him no reason in yeelding him well pleasing seruice, euen thine owne workes also should rewarde thee with the like fruit of bitternesse.

Of the miracles of our Saviour.

*He hath done all things well.*



True confession and applause: God when hee created all things, saw that euery thing in particular, and all things in generall were exceeding good. God the worde in the miracles which hee wrought (now euery miracle is a new creation and not according to

*creatio, et non ex lege primæ creationis) nil facere voluit, quod non gratiam, et beneficentiam omninò spiraret. Moses edidit miracula, et profligavit Ægyptios pestibus multis; Elias edidit, et oclusit cælum ne plureret super terram; et rursus eduxit de cælo ignem dei super duces, et cohortes; Elizeus edidit, et euocauit vrsas è deserto quæ laniarent impuberes; Petrus Ananiam sacrilegum hypocritam morte; Paulus Elimam magum cæcitate percussit: Sed nihil huiusmodi fecit Iesus. Descendit super eum spiritus in forma columbæ, de quo dixit, Nescitis cuius spiritus sitis, spiritus Iesu, spiritus columbinus, fuerunt illi serui dei, tanquam boues dei triturantes granum, et conculcantes paleam: sed Iesus Agnus dei sine ira, et iudicijs. Omnia eius miracula circa corpus humanum, et doctrina eius circa animam humanam. Indiget corpus hominis alimento, defensione ab externis, et curâ. Ille multitudinem piscium in retibus congregauit, vt vberiore victum hominibus preberet, ille alimentum aquæ in dignius alimentum vini ad exhilarandum cor hominis conuertit. Ille ficum, quòd officio suo ad quod destinatum fuit, ad cibum hominis videlicet non fungeretur, areferi iussit. Ille penuriam piscium, et panum ad alendum exercitum populi dilatavit: Ille ventos quòd nauigantibus minarentur corripuit: Ille claudis motum cæcis lumen, mutis sermonem, languidis sanitatem, leprosis carnem mundam, demoniacis animum integrum, mortuis vitam restituit. Nullum miraculum iudicij, omnia beneficentiæ, et circa corpus humanum, nam circa diuitias non est dignatus edere miracula; nisi hoc vnicum, vt tributum daretur Cæsari.*

the first creation) would do nothing which breathed not towards men fauour and bountie. Moyfes wrought miracles and scourged the Egyptians with many plagues. Elias wrought miracles and shut vp heauen that no raine should fall vpon the earth, and againe brought downe from heauen the fire of God vpon the captaines and their bands. Elizeus wrought also and called Beares out of the defart to deuour yong children. Peter stroke Ananias the sacrilegious hypocrite with present death, and Paule Elimas the forcerer with blindnesse, but no such thing did Iesus, the spirit of God descended downe vpon him in the forme of a Doue, of whom he said, *You knowe not of what spirit you are.* The spirite of Iesus is the spirit of a Doue, those seruants of God were as the Oxen of God treading out the corne and trampling the strawe downe vnder their feete, but Iesus is the Lambe of God without wrath or iudgementes. All his miracles were consummate about mans bodie, as his doctrine respected the soule of man. The body of man needeth these things, sustenance, defence from outward wronges, and medicine, it was he that drew a multitude of fishes into the nets that hee might giue vnto men more liberall prouison. He turned water, a lesse worthy nourishment of mans body, into wine a more worthy, that glads the heart of man. He sentenced the Figge tree to wither for not doing that duetie whereunto it was ordayned, which is to beare fruit for mens foode. He multiplied the scarcitie of a few loues and fishes to a sufficiency to victuaile an host of people. He rebuked the winds that threatned destruction to the seafaring men: He restored motion to the lame, light to the blinde, speech to the dumbe, health to the sick, cleannesse to the leprous, a right mind to those that were possessed, and life to the dead. No miracle of his is to bee found to haue beene of iudgement or reuenge, but all of goodnesse and mercy, and respecting mans bodie; for as touching riches he did not vouchsafe to do any miracle, saue one onely that tribute might be giuen to Cesar.

De Columbina innocentia, et Serpentina  
prudentia.

Non accipit stultus verba prudentiæ, nisi ea dixeris quæ  
versantur in corde eius.



*I*udicio hominis deprauato et corrupto, omnis  
quæ adhibetur cruditio et persuasio irrita  
est, et despectui quæ non ducit exordium  
a deteclione, et representatione malæ com-  
plexionis animi sanandi, quem admodum inutiliter  
adhibetur medicina non pertentato vulnere. Nam  
homines malitiosi, qui nihil sani cogitant, præoccupant  
hoc sibi, ut putent bonitatem ex simplicitate morum,  
ac inscitia quadam, et imperitia rerum humanarum  
gigni. Quare nisi perspexerint ea quæ versantur in  
corde suo, id est, penitissimas latebras malitiæ suæ per-  
lustratas esse, ei qui suafum molitur, de ridiculo habent  
verba prudentiæ; Itaque ei qui ad bonitatem aspirat, non  
solitariam, et particularem, sed feminalem, et genitiuam  
quæ alios trahat, debent esse omninò nota, quæ ille vocat  
Profunda Satanæ; ut loquatur cum auctoritate et  
insinuatione vera: Hinc est illud, Omnia probate, quod  
bonum est tenete. Inducens electionem iudiciosam ex  
generali examinatione: Ex eodem fonte est illud; Estote  
prudentes sicut serpentes, innocentes sicut columbæ.  
Non est deus serpentis, nec venenum nec aculeus, quæ  
non probata debeant esse, nec pollutionem quis timeat,

## Of the innocency of the Doue, and wisdom of the Serpent.

*The foole receyueth not the words of wisdom, except thou discouer to him what he hath in his heart.*



O a man of a peruerse and corrupt iudgement all instruction or persuasion is fruitlesse and contemptible, which beginnes not with discouerie, and laying open of the distemper and ill complexion of the mind which is to be recured as a plaster is vnseasonably applyed before the wound be searched: for men of corrupt vnderstanding that haue lost al sound discerning of good and euill, come posselt with this preiudicate opinion, that they think al honesty and goodnes proceedeth out of a simplicity of manners, and a kind of want of experience and vnacquaintance with the affaires of the worlde. Therefore except they may perceiue that those thinges which are in their hartes, that is to say, their owne corrupt principles, and the deepest reaches of their cunning and rottenesse to bee thoroughly founded and knowne to him that goeth about to perswade with them they make but a play of the words of wisdom. Therefore it behooueth him which aspiere to a goodnes (not retired or particular to himselfe, but a fructifying and begetting goodnesse, which should draw on others) to know those pointes, which he called in the Reuelation the deepes of Sathan. That hee may speake with authoritie and true insinuation. Hence is the precept: *Try all things and hold that which is good*, which indureth a discerning election out of an examination whence nothing at all is excluded, out of the same fountain ariseth that direction: *Be you wise as serpents, and innocent as doues*. There are neither teeth nor stinges, nor venime, nor wreathes and fouldes of serpents which ought not to be all known, and as far as ex-

*nam et sol ingreditur latrinas, nec inquinatur, nec quis se deum tentare credat, nam ex præcepto est, Et sufficiens est Deus ut vos immaculatos custodiat.*

### De exaltatione Charitatis.

Si gauisus sum ad ruinam eius qui oderat me, et exaltaui quòd inuenisset eum malum.



*Detestatio Iob; amicos redamare, est charitas publicanorum ex fœdere utilitatis, versus inimicos autem bene animatos esse, est ex apicibus iuris Christiani, et imitatio diuinitatis. Rursum tamen huius charitatis complures sunt gradus, quorum primus est inimicis respicientibus ignoscere, ac huius quidem charitatis etiam apud generosas feras umbra quedam, et imago reperitur; nam et leones in se submittentes, et prostermentes non ulterius scuire perhibentur. Secundus gradus est inimicis ignoscere, licet sint duriores, et absque reconciliationum piaculis. Tertius gradus est non tantum veniam, et gratiam inimicis largiri, sed etiam merita, et beneficia in eos conferre. Sed habent hi gradus, aut habere possunt, nescio quid potius ex ostentatione, aut saltem animi magnitudine quàm ex charitate pura. Nam cum quis virtutem ex se emanare, et effluere sentit, fieri potest ut is efferatur, et potius virtutis suæ fructu quàm salute, et bono proximi delectetur. Sed si aliunde malum aliquod inimicum tuum deprehendat, et*



amination doth lead, tryed: neyther let any man here feare infection or pollution, for the funne entreth into sinkes and is not defiled. Neyther let any man thinke that herein he tempteth God, for this diligence and generality of examination is commanded, and *God is sufficient to preferue you immaculate and pure.*

### Of the exaltation of Charitie.

*If I haue reioyced at the ouerthrow of him that hated me, or tooke pleasure when aduersity did befall him.*



*He detestation or renouncing of Iobe.* For a man to loue againe where he is loued, it is the Charitie of Publicanes contracted by mutuall profite, and good offices, but to loue a mans enemies is one of the cunningest pointes of the lawe of Christ, and an imitation of the diuine nature. But yet againe of this charitie there be dyuers degrees, whereof the first is to pardon our enemies when they repent: of which charitie there is a shadow and image euen in noble beastes, for of Lyons it is a receyued opinion, that their fury and fiercenesse ceaseth towards any thing that yeeldeth and prostrateth it selfe. The seconde degree is to pardon our enemies, though they persist and without satisfactions and submissions. The thirde degree is not onely to pardon and forgiue and forbear our enemies, but to deserue well of them, and to do them good. But all these three degrees either haue or may haue in them a certaine brauery and greatnes of the minde, rather then pure Charity: for when a man perceyueth vertue to proceede and flow from himselfe, it is possible that he is puffed vp and takes contentment rather in the fruit of his owne vertue, then in the good of his neighbors: but if any euill ouertake the enemy from any other coast, then from thy selfe, and thou in the inwardest motions of thy

*tu in interioribus cellulis cordis graueris, et angustieris, nec, quasi dies ultionis, et vindictæ tuæ aduenisset, læteris; hoc ego fastigium, et exaltationem charitatis esse pono.*

### De mensura curarum.

Sufficit diei malitia sua.



*Odus esse in curis humanis debet, alioqui et inutiles sunt, et quæ animum opprimant, et iudicium confundant, et profanæ, et quæ sapiant animum, qui perpetuitatem quandam in rebus mundanis sibi spondeat. Hodierni enim debemus esse ob breuitatem æui, et non crastini, sed et ille ait, Carpenteres diem, Erunt enim futura præsentia vice sua; Quare sufficit sollicitudo præsentium. Neque tamen curæ moderatæ, siue sint æconomicæ, siue publicæ, siue rerum mandatarum notantur. Sed hic duplex est excessus. Primus cùm curarum series in Longitudinem nimiam, et tempora remotiora extendimus, ac si providentiam diuinam apparatus nostro ligare possemus, quod semper etiam apud Ethnicos infaustum et insolens fuit. Fere enim qui Fortunæ multum tribuerunt, et ad occasiones præsentis alacres, et præsid fuerunt, sælicitate magna riji sunt. Qui autem altum sapientes, omnia curata et meditata habere confisi sunt, infortunia subierunt. Secundus excessus est, cùm in curis immoramur diutiùs quàm opus est ad iustam deliberationem, et ad decretum faciendum. Quis enim nostrum est, qui tantum curet, quantum sufficit, ut se explicet, vel sese explicare non posse iudicet, et*

hart beest grieved and compaffionate and doeft no waies infult as if thy dayes of right and reuenge were at the laft come. This I interprete to be the height and exaltation of Charity.

### Of the moderation of cares.

*Sufficient for the day is the euill thereof.*



Here ought to bee a m[e]an fare in worldly cares otherwise they are both vnprofitable, as those which oppresse the mind and astonish the iudgement, and prophane as those which fauour of a mind which promifeth to it selfe a certain perpetuity in the things of this world: for we ought to be daies-men, and not to morrowes men, confidering the shortnesse of our time, and as he saith: *Laying hold on the present day*: for future things shall in their turnes become present: therefore the care of the present sufficeth: and yet moderate cares (whether they concerne our particular or the common wealth, or our friends) are not blamed. But herein is a twofold exceffe, the one when the chaine or thread of our cares extended and spunne out to an ouer great length, and vnto times too farre off, as if we could bind the diuine prouidence by our prouisions, which euen with the heathen was alwaies found to be a thing insolent and unluckie, for those which did attribute much to fortune, and were ready and at hand to apprehende with alacritie the present occasions, haue for the most part in their actions beene happye. But they who in a compasse wisdom haue entred into a confidence that they had belayed all euent, haue for the most parte encountred misfortune. The second exceffe is, when we dwel longer in our cares then is requisite for due deliberating or firme resoluing: for who is there amongst vs that careth no more then sufficeth eyther to resolue of a course, or to conclude vpon an

*non eadem sæpe retrahet, et in eodem cogitationum circuitu inutiliter hæreat, et denique evanescat? Quod genus curarum, et diuinis et humanis rationibus aduersissimum est.*

### De Spe terrestri.

Melior est oculorum visio, quàm animi progressio.



*Ensus purus in singula meliorem reddit conditionem, et politiam mentis, quàm istæ imaginationes et progressiones animi. Natura enim animi humani etiam in ingenijs grauissimis est, ut à sensu singulorum statim progrediatur, et saliat, et omnia auguretur fore talia, quale illud est quod præsentem sensum incutit, si boni est sensus facilis est ad spem indefinitam, si mali est sensus, ad metum: vnde illud, Fallitur augurio spes bona sæpe suo, et contra illud, Pessimus in dubijs augur. Sed tamen timoris est aliquis fructus, præparat enim tolerantium, et acuit industriam; Non vlla laborum ô virgo noua mî facies inopauè surgit. Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi. Spes vero inutile quiddam videtur. Quorsùm enim ista anticipatio boni? Attende, si minùs eueniat bonum quàm speres, bonum licet sit, tamen quia minùs sit, videtur damnum potiùs quàm lucrum ob excessum spei. Si par et tantum sit, et euentus sit spei æqualis, tamen flos boni per spem decerpitur, et videtur ferè obsoletum, et fastidio magis finitimum. Si maior sit successus spe, videtur aliquid*

impossibilitie, and doth not still chewe ouer the same thinges, and treade a mace in the same thoughtes, and vanissheth in them without issue or conclusion, which kind of cares are most contrary to all diuine and humane respects.

### Of earthly hope.

*Better is the sight of the eye, then the apprehension of the mind.*



**D**Vre sense receiuing euery thing according to the naturall impressiō makes a better state and gouernment of the mind then these same imaginatiōs and apprehensions of the mind: for the minde of man hath this nature and propertie, euen in the grauest and most settled wits, that from the sense of euery particular, it doeth as it were bound and spring forward, and take holde of other matters foretelling to it self that all shal proue like vnto that which beateth vpon the present sense: if the sense be of good, it easily runnes into an vnlimited hope, and into a like feare, when the sense is of euill, according as is said:

*The oracles of hopes doth oft abuse.*

And that contrary,

*A frowarde southfayer is feare in doubts.*

But yet of feare there may bee made some vse, for it prepareth patience, and awaketh industry.

*No shape of ill comes new or strange to me.*

*All sorts set downe, yea and prepared be*

But hope seemeth a thing altogether vnprofitable, for to what ende serueth this conceit of good. Consider and note a little if the good fall out lesse then thou hopest, good though it bee, yet lesse because it is, it seemeth rather losse then benefite through thy excessse of hope: if the good proue equall and proportionable in euent to thy hope, yet the flower thereof

*lucri factum, verum est; sed annon melius fuisset sortem  
 lucrificasse nihil sperando quàm usuram minùs sperando?  
 Atque in rebus secundis ita operatur spes; in malis autem  
 robur verum animi soluit. Nam neque semper spei ma-  
 teria suppetit, et destitutione aliqua vel minima spei, uni-  
 uersa fere firmitudo animi corrui, et minorem efficit digni-  
 tatem mentis, cum mala tolleramus alienatione quadam, et  
 errore mentis, non fortitudine et iudicio. Quare satis leuiter  
 finxere Poetæ spem antidotum humanorum morborum  
 esse, quòd dolores eorum mitiget, cum sit reuera incensio  
 potiùs, et exasperatio, quæ eos multiplicari, et recrudescere  
 faciat. Nihilominùs fit, ut plerique hominum imagina-  
 tionibus spei et progressibus istis mentis omninò se  
 dedant, ingrati que in præterita obliti ferè præsentium  
 semper iuuenens, tantùm futuris immincant. Vidi vniuer-  
 fos ambulantes sub sole cum adolescente secundo, qui  
 confurget post eum; quod pessimus morbus est, et  
 status mentis infanissimus. Quæras fortasse annon  
 melius sit, cum res in dubia expectatione positæ sint, bene  
 diuinare, et potiùs sperare quàm diffidere, cum spes maio-  
 rem tranquillitatem animi conciliet. Ego sane in omni  
 mora, et expectatione tranquillum, et non fluctuantem  
 animi statum ex bona mentis politia, et compositione, sum-  
 mum humanæ vitæ firmamentum iudico. Sed eam tran-  
 quillitatem, quæ ex spe pendeat, ut leuem et infirmam  
 recuso. Non quia non conueniat tam bonæ quàm malæ*

by thy hope is gathered, so as when it comes, the grace of it is gone, and it seemes vsed and therefore sooner draweth on faciety: admit thy successe proue better then thy hope, it is true gaine seemes to be made: but had it not bene better to haue gayned the principall by hoping for nothing then the encrease by hoping for lesse. And this is the operation of Hope in good fortunes, but in misfortunes it weakeneth all force and vigor of the mind: for neither is there alwaies matter of hope, and if there be, yet if it faile but in part, it doth wholly ouerthrow the constancie and resolution of the mind, and besides though it doeth carry vs through, yet is it a greater dignitie of mind to beare euilles by fortitude and iudgement, then by a kind of absenting and alienation of the mind from thinges present to thinges future, for that it is to hope. And therefore it was much lightnesse in the Poets to faine Hope to be as a counterpoyson of humane deceases, as to mitigate and asswage the fury and anger of them, whereas in deede it doth kindle and enrage them, and causeth both doubling of them and relapses. Notwithstanding we see that the greatest number of men giue themselues ouer to their imaginations of hope and apprehensions of the mind, in such sort that vngratefull towards thinges past, and in a manner vnmindfull of things present, as if they were euer children and beginners, they are still in longing for things to come. *I saw all men walking vnder the sunne resort and gather to the second person, which was afterwarde to succede, this is an euill disease and a great idlenesse of the mind.*

But perhaps you will aske the question, whether it be not better when thinges stand in doubtfull termes, to presume the best, and rather hope wel then distrust, specially seeing that hope doeth cause a greater tranquillitie of minde.

Surely I doe iudge a state of minde, which in all doubtfull expectations is setled and stoteth not, and doeth this out of a good gouernment and composition of the affections, to be one of the principall supports

*ex sana et sobria coniectura præuidere, et præsupponere, ut actiones ad probabilitatem euentuum magis accommodemus; modò sit hoc officium intellectus ac iudicij cum iusta inclinatione affectus. Sed quem ita spes coercuit; ut cum ex vigilanti et firmo mentis discursu meliora, ut magis probabilia sibi prædixerit, non in ipsa boni anticipatione immoratus sit, et huiusmodi cogitationi, ut somnio placido indulserit? Atque hoc est quod reddit animum leuem, tumidum, inæqualem, peregrinantem. Quare omnis spes in futuram vitam cœlestem consumenda est. Hic autem quanto purior sit præsentium sensus absque infectione, et tinctura imaginationis, tanto prudentior et melior anima vitæ summæ breuis spem nos vetat meliorare longam.*

### De Hypocritis.

Misericordiam volo, et non Sacrificium.



*Omnis iactatio Hypocritarum est in operibus primæ tabulæ legis, quæ est de reuerentibus Deo debitis. Ratio duplex est, tum quòd huiusmodi opera maiorem habent pompam Sanctitatis, tum quòd cupiditatibus eorum minùs aduersentur. Itaque redargutio hypocritarum est, ut ab operibus sacrificij remittantur ad opera misericordiæ, unde illud,*



of mans life: But that assurance and repose of the mind, which onely rides at anchor vpon hope. I do reiect as wauering and weake, not that it is not conuenient to foresee and presuppose out of a sound and sober coniecture as well the good as the euill, that thereby we may fit out actions to the probabilities and likelihoods of their euent, so that this be a worke of the vnderstanding and iudgement with a due bent and inclination of the affection: But which of you hath so kept his hopes within limites, as when it is so that you haue out of a watchfull and strong discourse of the minde fet downe the better successe to bee in apparancy the more likely you haue not dwelt vpon the very muse and forethought of the good to come and giuing scope and fauour to your minde to fall into such cogitations as into a pleasant dreame: and this it is which makes the mind light, frothy, vnequall and wandring: wherefore all our hope is to bee bestowed vpon the heauenly life to come. But here on earth the purer our fence is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and the wiser soule.

*The summe of life to little doth amount,  
And therefore doth forbidde a longer count.*

### Of Hipocrites.

*I demand mercy and not sacrifice.*



All the boasting of the Hipocrite is of the workes of the first table of the law, which is of adoration and dutie towards God: wherof the reason is double both because such workes haue a greater pompe and demonstration of holinesse, and also because they do lesse crosse their affections and desires, therefore the way to conuict Hipocrites, is to sende them from the workes of sacrifice to the workes of mercy, whence commeth that saying.

Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et patrem hæc est, visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum, *et illud*, Qui non diligit fratrem suum quem vidit, Deum quem non vidit quomodo potest diligere? *Quidam autem altioris et inflatioris Hypocrisiæ seipfos decipientes, et existimantes se arctiore cum Deo conuersatione dignos, officia charitatis in proximum vt minora negligunt. Qui error monasticæ vitæ non principium quidem dedit, (nam initia bona fuerunt,) sed excessum addidit. Rectè enim dictum est, Orandi munus magnum esse munus in ecclesia, et ex vsu ecclesiæ est, vt sint cætus hominum à mundanis curis soluti, qui assiduis et deuotis precibus Deum pro ecclesiæ statu sollicitent. Sed huic ordinationi illa hypocrisia finitima est, nec vniuersa institutio reprobatur, sed spiritus illi se efferentes cohibentur: nam et Enoch qui ambulauit cum Deo, prophetizauit, vt est apud Iudam, atque fructum suæ prophetiæ ecclesiam donauit. Et Iohannes Bapt. quem Principem quidam vitæ monasticæ volunt, multo ministerio functus est tum prophetizationis, tum Baptizationis. Nam ad alios istos in deum officiosos refertur illa interrogatio, Si iustè egeris, quid donabis Deo, aut quid de manu tua accipiet. Quare opera misericordiæ sunt opera discretionis hypocritarum. Contra autem fit cum hæreticis, nam vt hypocritæ simulata sua sanctitate versus Deum, iniurias suas versus homines obducunt; ita hæretici moralitate quadam versus homines, blasphemias suas contra Deum insinuant.*

*This is pure and imaculate religion with God the father, to visite Orphanes and widowes in their tribulations. And that saying: He that loueth not his brother whome he hath seene, how can hee loue God whom hee hath not seene.*

Now there is another kind of deeper and more extrauagant hipocrisie, for some deceiuing themselues, and thinking themselues worthy of a more neere accessse and conuersation with God do neglect the duties of charity towards their neighbour, as inferior matters, which did not in deede cause originally the beginning of a monastical life (for the beginnings were good) but brought in that excesse and abuse which are followed after: for it is truly said, *That the office of praying is a great office in the Church.* And it is for the good of the Church, that there bee consorts of men freed from the cares of this world, who may with dayly and deuout supplications and obseruances sollicite the diuine maiestie, for the causes of the Church. But vnto this ordinance that other Hipocrisie is a nigh neyghbour, neyther is the generall institution to be blamed, but those spirites which exalt themselues too high to be refrained: for euen *Enoch*, which was saide to walke with God, did prophesie, as is deliuered vnto us by Iude, and did indowe the Church with the fruite of his prophesie which hee left: and Iohn Baptist vnto whom they did referre as to the authour of a monastical life, trauailed and exercised much in the ministerie both of prophesie and baptizing, for as to these others who are so officious towards God, to them belongeth that question: *If thou do iustly what is that to God, or what profite doeth he take by thy handes?* wherefore the workes of mercy are they which are the workes of distinction, whereby to find out Hypocrites. But with Heretikes it is contrary, for as Hipocrites with their dissembling holinesse towards God doe palliate and couer their iniuries towards men: So Heretikes by their moralitic and honest carriage towards men insinuate and make way for their blasphemies against God.

### De Impostoribus.

Siue mente excedimus Deo, siue sobrii fumus vobis.



*Era est ista effigies, et verum temperamentum viri, cui Religio penitus in præcordijs infedit, et viri operarij Dei. Conuersatio ei quæ cum Deo est, plena excessus, et zeli, et extasis. Hinc gemitus ineffabiles, et exultationes, et raptus spiritus, et agones. At quæ cum hominibus est, plena mansuetudinis, et sobrietatis, et morigerationis; Hinc Omnia omnibus factus sum, et huiusmodi. Contra fit in hypocritis et impostoribus: Ii enim in populo et ecclesia incendunt se et excedunt, et veluti sacris furoribus afflati omnia miscent. Si quis autem eorum solitudines, et separatas meditationes, et cum Deo conuersationes introspeciat, deprehendet eas non tantum frigidas, et sine motu, sed plenas malitiæ et fermenti, sobriij Deo, mente excedentes populo.*

### De generibus imposturæ.

Deuita prophanas vocum nouitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ.

Ineptas et aniles fabulas deuita.

Nemo vos decipiat in sublimitate sermonum.



*Res sunt sermones, et veluti stili imposturæ. Primum genus est eorum qui statim vt aliquam materiam nacli sunt, artem conficiunt, vocabula artis imponunt, omnia in*

## Of Impostors.

*Whether we be transported in mind it is to Godward.  
Or whether we be sober it is to youwarāes.*



His is the true image and true temper of a man, and of him that is Gods faithfull workeman, his carriage and conuerſation towards God is full of paſſion, of zeale, and of tranſiſſes, thence proceed grones vnſpeakeable, and exultinges, likewise in comfort, rauishment of ſpirit and agonies. But contrariwise his cariage and conuerſation towards men is full of mildneſſe, ſobrietie, and appliable demeanor. Hence is that ſaying, *I am become all things to all men*, and ſuch like. Contrary it is with Hipocrites and Impoſters, for they in the church and before the people ſet themſelues on fire, and are caried as it were out of themſelues, and becomming as men inſpired with holy furies, they ſet heauen and earth together: but if a man did ſee their ſolitarie and ſeperate meditations, and conuerſation whereunto God is onely priuy, he might towards God find them not onely cold and without vertue, but alſo full of ill nature, and leauen: *Sober enough to God, and transported onely towards men.*

## Of the ſenerall kinds of Impoſture.

*Auoid prophane ſtrangenenes of wordes and oppoſitions  
of knowledg, falſely ſo called.*

*Auoid fond and idle fables:*

*Let no man deceiue you by high ſpeech:*



Here are three formes of ſpeaking, which are as it were the ſtile and phraſe of impoſture: the firſt kind is of them, who as ſoone as they haue gotten any ſubiect or matter, doe ſtraight caſt it into an arte,

*distinctiones redigunt, inde posita vel themata educunt, et ex quæstionibus, et responsionibus oppositiones conficiunt: Hinc Scholasticorum quisquiliæ et turbæ. Secundum genus est eorum, qui vanitate ingenij, vt sacri quidem Poetæ, omnem exemplorum varietatem ad mentes hominum tractandas confingunt, vnde vitæ patrum, et antiquorum hæreticorum figmenta innumera. Tertium genus eorum, qui mysterijs, et grandiloquijs, allegorijs, et allusionibus omnia implet: quod genus mysticum et gnosticum complures hæretici sibi delegerunt. Primum genus sensum et captum hominis illaqueat, secundum allicit, tertium stupefacit, seducunt vero omnia.*

### De Atheismo.

Dixit insipiens in corde suo; non est Deus.



*Primum dixit in corde, non ait, cogitavit in corde; hoc est, non tam ita sentit penitus, sed vult hoc credere, quoniam expedire sibi videt, vt non sit Deus omni ratione sibi hoc suadare, et in animum inducere conatur; et tanquàm thema aliquod, vel positum, vel placitum asserere, et astruere, et firmare studet. Manet tamen ille igniculus luminis primi, quo Diuinitatem agnoscimus, quem prorsus extinguere, et stimulum illum ex corde euellere frustra nititur. Quare*

inventing newe tearmes of art, reducing all into diuisions and distinctions, thence drawing assertions or positions, and so framing oppositions by questions and answeres, hence issueth the copwebbes and clatterings of the Schoolemen.

The seconde kinde is of them who out of the vanity of their wit (as Church poets) doe make and deuise all variety of tales, stories, and examples, whereby they may leade mens mindes to a beliefe, from whence did growe the Legendes and infinite fabulous inuentions and dreames of the ancient heretikes.

The third kinde is of them, who fill mens ears with misteries, high parables, Allegories, and illusions: which misticall and profound forme many of the hereticks haue also made choyce of. By the first kind of these, the capacitie and wit of man is fettered and entangled: by the seconde it is trayned on and inueigled: by the thirde it is astonished and enchanted, but by euery of them the while it is seduced and abused.

### Of Atheisme.

*The foole hath said in his heart there is no God.*



First it is to be noted that the Scripture saith, the foole hath said in his heart, and not he hath thought in his heart, that is to say, he doth not so fully thinke it in iudgement, as he hath a good will to bee of that beliefe, for seeing it makes not for him that there shoulde bee a God, he doeth seeke by all meanes accordingly, to persuaide and resolute himselfe, and studies to affirme, proue and verifie it to himselfe as some theame or position, al which labor, notwithstanding that sparkle of our creation light, whereby men acknowledge a Deitie, burneth still within, and in vayne doth he striue vtterly to alienate it or put it out, so that it is out of the corruption of his heart and will, and not out of the naturall apprehension of his braine and con-

*ex malitia voluntatis suæ, et non ex natiuo sensu, et iudicio hoc supponit, vt ait comicus Poeta. Tunc animus meus accessit ad meam sententiam, quasi ipse alter esset ab animo suo. Itaque Atheista magis dixit in corde, quàm sentit in corde, quòd non sit Deus. Secundò, dixit in corde, non ore locutus est, sed notandum est hoc metu legis et famæ fieri, Nam vt ait ille, Negare Deos difficile est in concione populi, sed in concessu familiari expeditum. Nam si hoc vinculum tollatur è medio, non est hæresis quæ maiore studio se pandere, et spargere, et multiplicare nitatur quàm Atheismus. Nec videas eos qui in hanc mentis insaniam immerfi sunt, aliud ferè spirare, et importunè inculcare, quàm verba atheismi, vt in Lucretio Epicureo, qui ferè suam in Religionem inuectiuam singulis alijs subiectis intercalarem facit. Ratio videtur esse, quòd Atheista cum sibi non satis acquiescat æstiuans, nec sibi satisficiens, et crebra suæ opinionis deliquia in interioribus patiens ab aliorum assensu refocillari cupit. Nam rectè dictum est. Qui alteri opinionem approbare sedulò cupit, ipse diffidit. Tertiò inspiens est, qui hoc in corde dixit, quòd verissimum est, non tantum quòd diuina non sapiat, sed etiam secundum hominem. Primò enim ingenia, quæ sunt in Atheismum proniora, videas ferè leuia, et dicacia, et audacula, et insolentia: eius denique compositionis, quæ prudentiæ, et grauitati morum aduersissima est. Secundò inter viros politicos, qui altioris ingenij et latioris cordis fuerunt,*



ceit, that he doth fet downe his opinion, as the comi-  
call Poet faith: *Then came my mind to bee of mine opin-  
ion*, as if himfelfe and his mind had beene two diuers  
things: Therefore the Atheist hath rather saide and  
helde it in his heart, then thought or belieued in his  
heart that there is no God. Secondly it is to be ob-  
serued, that hee hath saide in his heart, and not spoken  
it with his mouth. But again you shall note, that this  
smothering of this perswasion within the hart commeth  
to passe for feare of government and of speech amongst  
men: for as he saith, *To deny God in a publike argu-  
ment were much, but in a familiar conference were cur-  
rant enough*. For if this bridle were remoued, there is  
no heresie which would contende more to spread and  
multiply, and disseminate it self abroad then atheisme,  
neither shall you see those men which are drencht in  
this frensie of minde to breath almost any thing els, or  
to inculcate euen without occasion, any thing more  
then speech tending to Atheisme, as may appeare in  
Lucrefias the Epicure, who makes of his inuectiues  
against religion, as it were a burthen or verse of  
returne to all his other discourfes: the reason  
seemes to bee, for that the Atheist not relying suffi-  
ciently vpon him self, floting in mind, and vn-  
satisfied and induring within many faintings, and as it were  
fals of his opinion, desires by other mens opinions  
agreeing with his to be recouered and brought againe:  
for it is a true saying:

*Who so laboureth earnestly to proue an opinion to an  
other, himfelfe distrusts it.*

Thirdly, it is a foole that hath so saide in his heart,  
which is most true, not onely in respect that he hath  
no taste in those thinges which are supernaturall and  
diuine: but in respect of humane and ciuile wisedome:  
for first of all, if you marke the wits and dispositions  
which are inclyned to Atheisme, you shall finde them  
light, scoffing, impudent, and vayne: briefly, of such a  
constitution, as is most contrarie to wisedome and  
morall grauitie. Secondly, amongst states men and

*Religionem non arte quadam ad populum adhibuerunt, sed interiore dogmate coluere, ut qui prouidentie et fortunæ plurimum tribuerint. Contra qui artibus suis, et industrijs, et causis proximis, et apparentibus omnia ascripserunt, et ut ait Propheta, Retibus suis immolarunt, pusilli fuerunt politici, et circumforanei, et magnitudinis actionum incapaces. Tertio, in physicis et illud affirmo parum Philosophiæ naturalis, et in ea progressum liminarem ad Atheismum opiniones inclinare. Contra multum Philosophiæ naturalis, et progressum in ea penetrantem ad Religionem animos circumferre. Quare atheismus stultitiæ et inscitie ubique conuictus esse videtur, ut merito sit dictum, Insipientium non est Deus.*

### De Hæresibus.

Erratis nescientes scripturas, neque potestatem Dei.



*Anon iste mater omnium canonum aduersus hæreses. Duplex erroris causa, ignoratio voluntatis Dei, et ignoratio, vel leuior contemptatio potestatis dei. Voluntas dei reuelatur magis per scripturas scrutamini, potestas magis per creaturas contemplantini. Ita asserenda plenitudo potestatis Dei, ne maculemus voluntatem. Ita asserenda bonitas volun-*

politikes, those which haue been of greatest depths, and compasse, and of largest and most vniuerfall vnderstanding, haue not onely in cunning made their profit in seeming religious to the people, but in truth haue beene toucht with an inwarde fence of the knowledge of Dyetic, as they which you shall euermore note to haue attributed much to fortune and prouidence.

Contrariwise, those who ascribed all thinges to their owne cunnings and practises, and to the immediate and apparent causes: and as the Prophet saith, *haue sacrificed to their owne nets*, haue beene alwaies but petty counterfait states men, and not capable of the greatest actions. Lastly, this I dare affirme in knowledge of nature, that a little naturall philosophie: and the first entrance into it doth dispose the opinion to Atheisme: But on the other side much naturall philosophie, and wading deepe into it, will bring about mens mindes to religion: wherefore Atheisme euery way seems to be ioined and combined with folly and ignorance, see that nothing can bee more iustly allotted to be the saying of fooles then this, *there is no God*.

### Of Heresies.

*You erre not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God.*



His Cannon is the mother of al Canons against Heresie: The causes of error are two: the ignorance of the wil of God, and the ignorance or not sufficient consideration of his power, the will of God is more reuealed by the Scriptures, and therefore the precept is, *Search the Scriptures*: the will [? power] of God is more reuealed by the creatures, and therefore the precept is: *Beholde and consider the creatures*: So is the fulnesse of the power of God to bee affirmed,

tatis, ne minuamus potestatem. Itaque Religio vera sita est in mediocritate inter superstitionem cum hæresibus superstitiosis ex vna parte, et Atheismum cum hæresibus prophanis ex altera. Superstitio repudiata luce scripturarum, seque dedens traditionibus prauis vel apocryphis, et nouis reuelationibus, vel falsis interpretationibus scripturarum multa de voluntate Dei fingit, et somniat, à scripturis deuia et aliena. Atheismus autem et Theomachia contra potestatem Dei insurgit, et tumultuatur, verbo dei non credens, quod voluntatem eius reuelat ob incredulitatem potestatis eius, cui omnia sunt possibilia. Hæreses autem quæ ex isto fonte emanant, grauiores videntur cæteris. Nam et in politijs atrocius est potestatem et maiestatem Dei minuere, quam famam principis notare. Hæresum autem quæ potestatem Dei minunt, præter Atheismum purum tres sunt gradus, habentque vnum et idem mysterium: (Nam omnis antichristianismus operatur in mysterio, id est sub imagine boni) hoc ipsum, vt voluntatem dei ab omni asperfione malitiæ liberet. Primus gradus est eorum, qui duo principia constituunt paria, ac inter se pugnantia, et contraria, vnum boni, alterum mali. Secundus gradus est eorum, quibus nimium læsa videtur maiestas Dei in constituendo aduersus eum principio affirmatiuo et actiuo. Quare exturbata tali audacia, nihilo minùs inducunt contra deum principium negatiuum et priuatiuum. Nam volunt esse opus ipsius materiæ et creaturæ internum, et

as wee make no imputation to his will, so is the goodnesse of the will of God to be affirmed, as we make no derogation from his power: Therefore true religion seated in the meane betwixt Superstition, with superstitious heresies on the one side, and Atheisme, with prophane heresies on the other: Superstition reiecting the light of the scriptures, and giuing of it self ouer to vngrounded traditions and writings doubtfull and not Canonically, or to newe reuelations, or to vntrue interpretations of the Scriptures themselves doth forge and dreame many things of the vwill of God, which are strange and farre distant from the true sence of the scriptures: But Atheisme and Theomachie rebelleth and mutineth against the power of God, giuing no faith to his worde, which reuealeth his will, vpon a discredit and vnbeliefe of his power, to whom all things are possible. Now those heresies which spring out of this fountain seeme more haynous then the other: for euen in ciuile gouernment it is held an offence in a higher degree to deny the power and authority of a prince, then to touch his honour and fame. Of these heresies which derogate from the power of God beside plain atheisme, there are three degrees, and they haue all one and the same mystery: for all Antichristianity worketh in a misterie, that is, vnder the shadow of good, and it is this to free and deliuer the will of God from all imputation and aspersiō of ill. The first degree is of those who make and suppose two principles contrary and fighting one against the other, the one of good, the other of euill.

The second degree is of them to whome the Maiestie of God seemes too much wronged in setting vppe and erecting against him another aduerse and opposite principle, namely such a principle as should bee actiue and affirmatiue, that is to say, cause or fountaine of any essence or being: therefore reiecting all such presumption they doe neuerthelesse bring in against God: a principle negatiue and priuatiue, that is a cause of

*natiuum, et substantiuum, ut ex se vergat et relabatur ad confusionem, et ad nihilum, nescientes eiusdem esse omnipotentiae ex aliquo nihil facere, cuius ex nihilo aliquid. Tertius gradus est eorum, qui arclant et restringunt opinionem, priorem tantum ad actiones humanas, quae participant ex peccato, quas volunt substantiuè, absque nexu aliquo causarum, ex interna voluntate et arbitrio humano pendere, statuuntque latiores terminos scientiae Dei, quàm potestatis, vel potius eius partis potestatis Dei, (nam et ipsa scientia potestas est) qua scit quàm eius, quàm mouet, et agit, ut præsciat quaedam otiose, quæ non prædestinet et præordinet. Et non absimile est figmento, quod Epicurus introduxit in Democritismum, ut fatum olleret, et fortunæ locum daret, declinationem videlicet atomi, quod semper à prudentioribus inanissimum commentum habitum est. Sed quicquid a deo non pendet, ut autore, et principio, per nexus et gradus subordinatos id loco Dei erit, et nouum principium, et Deaster quidem. Quare meritò illa opinio respuitur, ut læsio et diminutio maiestatis et potestatis Dei. Et tamen admodum rectè dicitur, quòd Deus non fit author mali, non quia non author, sed quia non mali.*

not being and subsisting, for they will haue it to be an inbred proper worke, and nature of the matter and creature it selfe, of it selfe to turne aganie and resolute into confusion and nothing, not knowing that it is an effect of one and the same omnipotencie, to make nothing of somewhat, as to make somewhat of nothing. The third degree is of those, who abridge and restrain the former opinion onely to those humane actions which pertaine of sinne: which actions, they will haue to depende substantiually and originally, and without any sequelle or subordination of causes vpon the will, and make and set downe and appoint larger limites of the knowledge of God then of his power, or rather of that parte of Gods power (for knowledge it selfe is a power whereby he knoweth) then of that by which hee moueth and worketh, making him fore-know some things idlie and as a looker on, which hee doeth not predestinate nor ordayne: Not vnlike to that deuise which Epicurus brought into Democritus opinion, to take away destinie and make way to Fortune, to witte, the start and flippe of Attemus, which alwaies of the wiser sort was reiected as a most friuolous shift. But whatsoever depends not of God, as Author and Principle by inferiour linkes and degrees, that must needs bee in place of God, and a new principle, and a certaine vsurping God: wherefore worthily is that opinion refused as an indignitie and derogation to the maiestie and power of God, and yet it is most truly affirmed, that God is not the author of euill, not because he is not author, but because not as of euill.

### De ecclesia et Scripturis.

Proteges eos in tabernaculo tuo a contradictione  
linguarum.



*Contradictiones linguarum ubique occurrunt extra tabernaculum Dei. Quare quocumque te verteris, exitum controuersiarum non reperiens nisi huc te receperis. Dices, verum est, nempe in unitatem ecclesiæ. Sed aduerte. Erat in tabernaculo Arca, et in Arca Testimonium vel tabulæ legis. Quid mihi narras corticem Tabernaculi, sine nucleo testimonij? Tabernaculum ad custodiendum et tradendum testimonium erat ordinatum. Eodem modo et ecclesiæ custodia, et traditio per manus scripturarum demandata est, sed anima Tabernaculi est testimonium.*

FINIS.





Of the Church and the Scriptures.

*Thou shalt protect them in thy tabernacle, from the contradiction of tongues.*



He contradiction of tongues doeth euery where meet with vs out of the tabernacle of God, therefore whither soeuer thou shalt turne thy selfe, thou shalt find no ende of controuersies, except thou withdraw thy selfe into that tabernacle, thou wilt say, t'is true, and that it is to bee vnderstood of the vntie of the church: But heare and note, there was in the tabernacle the Arke, and in the Arke the testimony or tables of the lawe: what doest thou tell me of the huske of the tabernacle without the kernel of the testimonie. The tabernacle was ordained for the keeping and deliuering ouer from hand to hande of the testimony. In like manner the custodie and passing ouer of the scriptures is committed vnto the Church. But the life of the tabernacle is the testimony.

[A PRELIMINARY NOTE TO  
THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

**I**T would seem that among his early studies, Bacon was led to enquire into the nature and powers of human Imagination as a means for obtaining knowledge. What flesh and blood are to the Body, what love and friendship are to the Soul; that is imagination to the Spirit of man. It is a warm, exhilarating, active source of Thought. By it we can realize perfection, beauty, and felicity never to be seen by mortal eyes. It is the creative power in Poetry, Fiction, Painting, and in much of the Fine Arts. It is a comfort to Man; both as an Earthly Hope in the midst of his troubles, and as a recreation from the toil of his other faculties.

Imagination as a Guide in the establishing of his New Philosophy, Bacon utterly rejected. Yet it is not to be universally put aside. We could not do so if we would. The intuition of women often outstrips the reason of men in true judgment; and God, who has honoured this faculty as He has done the rest, has taught truth to man through his imagination, in the sublime visions of the Old and New Testament.

We must think to what an abuse, Imagination had been substituted for Enquiry down to Bacon's time; in considering this description.

There is yet a much more important and profound kinde of Fallacies in the Minde of Man. . . . The force whereof is such, as it doth not dazle, or snare the vnderstanding in some particulars, but doth more generally, and inwardly infect and corrupt the state thereof. For the mind of Man is farre from the Nature of a cleare and equall glasse, wherein the beames of things should reflect according to their true incidence; Nay, it is rather like an enchanted glasse, full of superstition and Imposture, if it bee not delivered and reduced. *Adv. of Learning. ii. fol. 55. Ed. 1605.*

Nothing can be stronger than these Meditations of 1597--

Pure sence receiuing euery thing according to the naturall impression makes a better state and gouernment of the mind then these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind: for the minde of man hath this nature and propertie, enen in the grauest and most settled wits, that from the sence of euery particular, it doeth as it were bound and spring forward, and take holde of other matters fortelling to it self that all shal proue like vnto that which beateth vpon the present sence.

That assurance and repose of the mind which only rides at ancor vpon hope. I do reiect as wauering and weake.

Here on earth the purer our sence is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and wiser soule. *See pp. 111-115*

And he sums up his judgement on this faculty in the Apothegm of Heraclitus. *Dry Light is the best Soul.*

2. Bacon, in the second book of *The Advancement of Learning* also tells us.

The dutie and Office of *Rhetoricke* is, *To apply Reason to Imagination*, for the better moouing of the will; For wee see *Reason* is disturbed in the Administration thereof by three meanes; by *Illaquation* [*i.e.* Entanglement], or *Sophisme* [*i.e.* Falacy], which pertaines to *Logicke*: by *Imagination* or *Impression*, which pertaines to *Rhetoricke*, and by *Passion* or *Affection*, which pertaines to *Moralitie*. And as in Negotiation with others; men are wrought by cunning, by Importunitie, and by vehemencie; So in this Negotiation within our selues, men are vndermined by *Inconsequences*, sollicited and importuned, by *Impressions* or *Observations*: and transported by *Passions*. *Fol. 66. Ed. 1605.*

There is a seducement that worketh by the strength of the Impression, and not by the subtiltie of the Illaquation, not so much perplexing the Reason, as ouer-ruling it by the power of the *Imagination*. *Fol. 55. Ed. 1605.*

Colours of Good and Evil are Impreffions perplexing and ouer ruling the Reason by the power of the Imagination. Being Good in the cafes where they hold true; and Evil where such Impreffions are fallacious.

3. Bacon was further of this opinion.

I doe not finde the Wisedome and diligence of *Aristotle* well pursued, who began to make a collection of *the popular signes and colours of good and euil, both simple and comparatiue*, which are as the *Sophismes* of *Rhetoricke*, (as I touched before.) For Example,

SOPHISMA.

[The Sophism.]

*Quod laudatur, bonum; Quod vituperatur, malum.*

[What is praised is good: what is abused is bad.]

REDARGVTIO.

[The Confutation].

*Laudat venales, qui vult extrudere merces.*

[He who wishes to sell his goods, praises them.]

*Malum est, Malum est (inquit Emptor) sed cum recesserit, tum gloriabitur.*

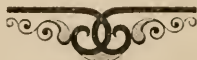
[It is naught, it is naught, sayth the buyer: but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth. PROVERBS xx. 14.]

The defects in the labour of *Aristotle* are three: One, that there be but a few of many; another, that their *Elenches* are not annexed; and the third, that he conceiued but a part of the vse of them: for their vse is not onely in probation, but much more in Impression. For many fourmes are equall in *Signification*, which are differing in *Impression*: as the difference is great in the piercing of that which is sharpe, and that which is flat, though the strength of the percussion be the same. *Adv. of Learning. Bk. ii. fol. 68. Ed. 1605.*

4. To these three quotations; we can add in further elucidation of the intention of this fragment, a copy of its dedication while in a manuscript state. We give it in the modernized form given by Mr. Spedding. (*Works.* vii. 70. *Ed.* 1858.)

Mr. FRANCIS BACON *of The Colours of Good and Evil,*  
*to the LORD MOUNTJOYE.*

I send you the last part of the best book of Aristotle of Stagira, who (as your Lordship knoweth) goeth for the best author. But (saving the civil respect which is due to a received estimation) the man being a Grecian and of a hasty wit, having hardly a discerning patience, much less a teaching patience, both so delivered the matter, as I am glad to do the part of a good househen, which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasants' eggs. And yet perchance some that shall compare my lines with Aristotle's lines, will muse by what art, or rather by what revelation I could draw these conceits out of that place. But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge that I had my light from him; for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent. Wherein as I do him right, being myself a man that am as free from envying the dead in contemplation, as from envying the living in action or fortune: so yet nevertheless still I say, and I speak it more largely than before, that in perusing the writings of this person so much celebrated, whether it were the impediment of his wit, or that he did it upon glory and affectation to be subtile, as one that if he had seen his own conceits clearly and perspicuously delivered, perhaps would have been out of love with them himself; or else upon policy to keep himself close, as one that had been a challenger of all the world, and had raised infinite contradiction: to what cause soever it is to be ascribed, I do not find him to deliver and unwrap himself well of that he seemeth to conceive, nor to be master of his own knowledge. Neither do I for my part also, (though I have brought in a new manner of handling this argument to make it pleasant and light-some,) pretend so to have overcome the nature of the subject, but that the full understanding and use of it will be somewhat dark, and best pleasing the tastes of such wits as are patient to stay the digesting and soluting unto themselves of that which is sharp and subtile. Which was the cause, joined with the love and honour which I bear to your Lordship, as the person I know to have many virtues and an excellent order of them, which moved me to dedicate this writing to your Lordship; after the ancient manner, choosing both a friend, and one to whom I conceive the argument was agreeable. *The original transcript is Harl. MS. 6797, art. 6.]*





O F

The Coulers of good  
and euill a frag-  
ment.





- 1 *C*Vi ceteræ partes vel sectæ secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vindicent melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur fumere, secundas autem ex vero tribuere.
- 2 Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior id toto genere melius.
- 3 Quod ad veritatem refertur maius est quàm quod ad opinionem. Modus autem, et probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet hæc est. Quod quis si clam putaret fore factururus non esset.
- 4 Quod rem integram feruat bonum quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentia genus est, potentia autem bonum.
- 5 Quod ex pluribus constat, et diuisibilius est maius quàm quod ex paucioribus et magis vnum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert, fortiùs autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti, et impedit comprehensionem.
- 6 Cuius priuatio bona, malum, cuius priuatio mala bonum.
- 7 Quod bono, vicinum bonum, quod a bono remotum malum.
- 8 Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, maius malum, quod ab externis imponitur minus malum.
- 9 Quod opera, et virtute nostra partum est, maius bonum, quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortune delatum est, minus bonum.
- 10 Gradus priuationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutionis, et rursus gradus inceptiois maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.



IN deliberatiues the point is what is good and what is euill, and of good what is greater, and of euill what is the lesse.

So that the perswaders labor is to make things appeare good or euill, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be performed by true and solide reasons, so it may be represented also by coulers, popularities and circumstances, which are of such force, as they sway the ordinarie iudgement either of a weake man, or of a wise man, not fully and considerately attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the subiect in appearance, and so to leade to error, they are of no lesse vse to quicken and strengthen the opinions and perswasions which are true: for reasons plainly deliuered, and alwaies after one manner especially with fine and fastidious mindes, enter but heauily and dully; whereas if they be varied and haue more life and vigor put into them by these formes and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddainely win the minde to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe iudgement, nothing can be of greater vse and defence to the minde, then the discouering and reprehension of these coulers, shewing in what cases they hold, and in what cases they deceiue: which as it cannot be done, but out of a very vniuersall knowledge of the nature of things, so being performed, it so cleareth mans iudgement and election, as it is the lesse apt to slide into any error.





A Table of Coulers, or  
apparances of good and euill,  
and their degrees as places of  
perswasion and diffwasion; and  
their feuerall fallaxes, and  
the elenches of them.

[1] *Cui ceteræ partes vel sectæ secundas vnanimiter deserunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vindicent melior reliquis videtur, nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero et merito tribuere.*



O Cicero went about to proue the Secte of *Academiques* which suspended all asseueration, for to be the best, for sayth he, aske a *Stoicke* which Philosophie is true, he will preferre his owne: Then aske him which approacheth next the truth, he will confesse the *Academiques*. So deale with the *Epicure* that will scant indure the *Stoicke* to be in sight of him, as soone as he hath placed himselfe, he will place the *Academiques* next him.

So if a Prince tooke diuers competitors to a place, and examined them feuerallie whome next themselues they would rathest commend, it were like the ablest man should haue the most second votes.

The fallax of this couler hapneth oft in respect

of enuy, for men are accustomed after themselves and their owne faction to incline to them which are softest and are least in their way in despite and derogation of them that hold them hardest to it. So that this couler of melioritie and preheminance is oft a signe of enervation and weakeneffe.

2 *Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior, id toto genere melius.*



Pertaining to this are the fourmes; *Let vs not wander in generalities: Let vs compare particular with particular, etc.* This appearance though it seeme of strength and rather Logicall then Rhetoricall, yet is very oft a fallax.

Sometimes because some things are in kinde very casuall, which if they escape, proue excellent, so that the kinde is inferior, because it is so subiect to perill, but that which is excellent being proued is superior, as the blossome of March and the blossome of May, whereof the French verse goeth.

*Bourgeon de Mars enfant de Paris,  
Si vn eschape, il en vaut dix.*

So that the blossome of May is generally better then the blossome of March; and yet the best blossome of March is better then the best blossome of May.

Sometimes, because the nature of some kindes is to be more equall and more indifferent, and not to haue very distant degrees, as hath bene noted in the warmer clymates, the people are generally more wise, but in the Northerne climate the wits of chiefe are greater. So in many Armies, if the matter should be tryed by duell betweene two Champions, the victory should go on one side, and yet if it be tryed by the grosse, it would go of the other side; for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kindes go by a more certaine nature, as by discipline in warre.

Lastly, many kindes haue much refuse which counteruale that which they haue excellent; and therefore generally mettall is more precious then stone, and yet a dyamond is more precious then gould.

3 *Quod ad veritatem refertur maius est quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem et probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinet, hæc est, quod quis si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset.*



O the Epicures say of the Stoicks felicitie placed in vertue, That it is like the felicitie of a Player, who if he were left of his Auditorie and their applause, he would streight be out of hart and countenance, and therefore they call vertue *Bonum theatrale*. But of Riches the Poet sayth :

*Populus me sibilat,  
At mihi plaudo.*

And of pleasure.

*Grata sub imo  
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulate pudorem.*

The fallax of this couler is somewhat subtile, though the aunswere to the example be readie, for vertue is not chosē *propter auram popularem*. But contrariwise, *Maxime omnium teipsum reuerere*, So as a vertuous man will be vertuous in *solitudine*, and not onely in *theatro*, though percase it will be more strong by glory and fame, as an heate which is doubled by reflexion; But that denieth the supposition, it doth not reprehend the fallax whereof the reprehension is a low [Alow], that vertue (such as is ioyned with labor and conflict) would not be chosē but for fame and opinion, yet it followeth not that the chiefe motiue of the election should not be reall and for it selfe, for fame may be onely *causa impulsiva*, and not *causa constituens*, or *efficiens*. As if there were two horses, and the one would doo better

without the spurre then the other: but agayne, the other with the spurre would farre exceede the doing of the former, giuing him the spurre also, yet the latter will be iudged to be the better horse, and the fourme as to say, *Tush, the life of this horse is but in the spurre*, will not serue as to a wise iudgemente: For since the ordinary instrument of horsemanship is the spurre, and that it is no manner of impediment nor burden, the horse is not to bee accounted the lesse of, which will not do well without the spurre, but rather the other is to be reckoned a delicacie then a vertue, so glory and honor are as spurres to vertue: and although vertue would languish without them, yet since they be alwayes at hand to attend vertue, vertue is not to be sayd the lesse, chosen for it selfe, because it needeth the spurre of fame and reputation: and therefore that position, *Nota eius rei quod propter opinionem et non propter veritatem eligitur, hæc est quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset* is reprehended.

4 *Quod rem integram seruat bonum, quod sine receptu est malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentia genus est, potentia autem bonum.*



Hereof *Aesope* framed the Fable of the two Frogs that consulted together in time of drowth (when many plashes that they had repayred to were dry) what was to be done, and the one propounded to goe downe into a deepe Well, because it was like the water would not fayle there, but the other aunswered, yea but if it do faile how shall we get vp againe? And the reason is, that humane actions are so vn-certaine and subiecte to perills, as that seemeth the best course which hath most passages out of it.

Appertaining to this perswasion the fourmes are, *you shall ingage your selfe*. On the other side, *Tantum quantum voles fumes ex fortuna*, you shall keepe the

matter in your owne hands. The reprehension of it is, *That proceeding and resolving in all actions is necessarie*: for as he sayth well, *Not to resolve, is to resolve*, and many times it breedes as many necessities, and ingageth as farre in some other sort as to resolve.

So it is but the couetous mans disease translated into power, for the couetous man will enjoy nothing because he will haue his full store and possibilitie to enjoy the more, so by this reason a man shoulde execute nothing because hee should be still indifferent and at libertie to execute any thing. Besides necessitie and this same *iacta est alea* hath many times an aduantage, because it awaketh the powers of the minde, and strengtheneth indeuor. *Cæteris pares necessitate certe superiores estis.*

5 *Quod ex pluribus constat et diuisibilitus est maius quam quod ex paucioribus et magis vnum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiora videntur; quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem præ se fert; fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti et impedit comprehensionem.*



His couler seemeth palpable, for it is not pluralitie of partes without maioritie of partes that maketh the totall greater, yet neuerthelesse it often carries the minde away, yea, it deceyueth the sence, as it seemeth to the eye a shorter distance of way if it be all dead and continued, then if it haue trees or buildings or any other markes whereby the eye may deuide it. So when a great moneyed man hath deuided his chests and coines and bags, hee seemeth to himselfe richer then hee was, and therefore a way to amplifie any thing, is to breake it, and to make an anatomie of it in feuerall partes, and to examine it according to feuerall circumstances, And this maketh the greater shew if it be done without order, for confuſion maketh

things muste more, and besides what is fet downe by order and diuision, doth demonstrate that nothing is left out or omitted, but all is there; whereas if it be without order, both the minde comprehendeth lesse that which is fet downe, and besides it leaueth a suspicion, as if more might be sayde then is expressed.

This couler deceyueth, if the minde of him that is to be perswaded, do of it selfe ouer-conceiue or preiudge of the greatnesse of any thing, for then the breaking of it will make it seeme lesse, because it maketh it appeare more according to the truth, and therefore if a man be in sicknes or payne, the time will seeme longer without a clocke or howre-glasse then with it, for the minde doth value euery moment, and then the howre doth rather summe vp the moments then deuide the daye. So in a dead playne, the way seemeth the longer, because the eye hath preconceyued it shorter then the truth: and the frustrating of that maketh it seeme longer then the truth. Therefore if any man haue an ouergreat opinion of any thing, then if any other thinke by breaking it into feuerall considerations, he shall make it seeme greater to him, he will be deceyued, and therefore in such cases it is not safe to deuide, but to extoll the entire still in generall.

An other case wherein this couler deceyueth, is, when the matter broken or deuided is not comprehended by the sence or minde at once in respect of the distracting or scattering of it, and being intire and not deuided, is comprehended, as a hundred poundes in heapes of fise poundes will shewe more, then in one grosse heape, so as the heapes be all vppon one table to be seene at once, otherwise not, or flowers growing scattered in diuers beds will shewe more then if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot that they be obiect to view at once, otherwise not: and therefore men whose liuing lieth together in one Shire, are commonly counted greater landed then those whose liuing are disperfed

though it be more, because the notice and comprehension.

A third case wherein this couler deceiueth, and it is not so properly a case or reprehension as it is a counter couler being in effect as large as the couler it selfe, and that is, *Omnis compositio indigentia cuiusdam videtur esse particeps*, because if one thing would serue the turne it were euer best, but the defect and imperfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them vp as it is sayd, *Martha Martha attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit*. So likewise hereupon *Aesop*e framed the Fable of the Fox and the Cat, whereas the Fox bragged what a number of shifts and deuises he had to get from the houndes, and the Catte saide she had but one, which was to clime a tree, which in prooffe was better worth then all the rest, whereof the prouerbe grew, *Multa nouit Vulpes sed Felis unum magnum*. And in the morall of this fable it comes likewise to passe: That a good sure friend is a better helpe at a pinch, then all the stratagemes and pollicies of a mans owne wit. So it falleth out to bee a common error in negotiating, whereas men haue many reasons to induce or persuade, they striue commonly to vtter and vse them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth as was said, a needines in euery of the reasons by it selfe, as if one did not trust to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himselfe onely with that. *Et quæ non profunt singula multa iuuant*. Indeed in a set speech in an assemblée it is expected a man shoulde vse all his reasons in the case hee handleth, but in priuate perswasions it is alwayes a great error.

A fourth case wherein this colour may be reprehended is in respecte of that same *vis unita fortior*, according to the tale of the French King, that when the Emperours Amb[assador] had recited his maysters stile at large which consisteth of many countries and dominions: the French King willed his Chancellor or other minister to repeate and say ouer Fraunce as many

times as the other had recited the feuerall dominions, intending it was equiualent with them all, and beside more compacted and vnited.

There is also appertayning to this couler an other point, why breaking of a thing doth helpe it, not by way of adding a shew of magnitude vnto it, but a note of excellency and raritie; whereof the fourmes are, *Where shall you finde such a concurrence? Great but not compleat*, for it seemes a lesse worke of nature or fortune to make any thing in his kinde greater then ordinarie, then to make a straunge composition.

Yet if it bee narrowly considered, this colour will bee reprehended or incountred by imputing to all excellencie in compositions a kind of pouertie or at least a casualty or ieopardy, for from that which is excellent in greatnes fomwhat may be taken, or there may be decay; and yet sufficiencie left, but from that which hath his price in composition if you take away any thing, or any part doe fayle all is disgraced.

6 *Cuius priuatio bona, malum, cuius priuatio mala, bonum.*



He formes to make it conceyed that that was euill which is changed for the better are, *He that is in hell thinks there is no other heauen. Satis quercus, Acornes were good till bread was found etc.* And of the other side the formes to make it conceyed that that was good which was chaunged for the worfe are, *Bona magis carendo quàm fruendo sentimus, Bona à tergo formosissima, Good things neuer appear in their full beautie, till they turne their backe and be going away, etc.* The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or euil which is remoued may be esteemed good or euil comparatiuely and not positiuely or simply. So that if the priuation bee good, it follows not the former



condition was euill, but lesse good, for the flower or blossome is a positiue good, although the remoue of it to giue place to the fruite be a comparatiue good. So in the tale of Æsop; when the olde fainting man in the heat of the day cast downe his burthen and called for death, and when death came to know his will with him, said it was for nothing but to helpe him vppe with his burthen agayne: it doth not follow that because death which was the priuation of the burthen was ill, therefore the burthen was good. And in this parte the ordinarie forme of *Malum necessarium* aptly reprehendeth this colour, for *Priuation mali necessarij est mala*, and yet that doth not conuert the nature of the necessarie euill, but it is euill.

Againe it commeth sometimes to passe, that there is an equalitie in the change or priuation, and as it were a *Dilemma boni* or a *Dilemma mali*, so that the corruption of the one good is a generation of the other, *Sorti pater æquus utrique est*: And contrarie the remedy of the one euill is the occasion and commencement of an other, as in *Scilla* and *Charibdis*.

7. *Quod bono vicinum, bonum: quod a bono remotum malum.*



Such is the nature of thinges, that thinges contrarie and distant in nature and qualitie are also seuered and disioyned in place, and thinges like and consenting in qualitie are placed, and as it were quartered together, for partly in regarde of the nature to spreadde, multiplie and infect in similitude, and partly in regard of the nature to break, expell and alter that which is disagreeable and contrarie, most thinges do eyther associate and draw neere to themselues the like, or at least assimilate to themselues that which approacheth neer them, and doe also driue away,

chafe and exterminate their contraries, And that is the reason commonly yeelded why the middle region of the aire should be coldest, because the Sunne and stars are eyther hot by direct beames or by reflection. The direct beames heate the vpper region, the reflected beames from the earth and seas heate the lower Region. That which is in the middest being furthest distant in place from these two Regions of heate are most distant in nature that is coldest, which is that they tearme colde or hot, *per antiperistasin*, that is inuironing you by contraries, which was pleasantly taken holde of by him that said that an honest man in these daies must needs be more honest then in ages heretofore, *propter antiperistasin*, because the shutting of him in the middest of contraries must needs make the honesty stronger and more compact in it selfe.

The reprehension of this colour is, first many things of amplitude in their kind doe as it were ingrosse to themselves all, and leaue that which is next them most destitute, as the shootes or vnderwood that grow neare a great and spread tree, is the most pyned and shrubbie wood of the field, because the great tree doth depriue and deceiue them of sappe and nourishment. So he saith wel, *Diuitis ferui maximè ferui*: And the comparison was pleasant of him that compared courtiers attendant in the courtes of princes, without great place or office, to fasting dayes, which were next the holy daies, but otherwise were the leanest dayes of all the weeke.

An other reprehension is, that things of greatnes and predominancie, though they doe not extenuate the thinges adioyning in substance; yet they drowne them and obscure them in shew and appearance. And therefore the Astronomers say, that whereas in all other planets coniunction is the perfectest amitie: the Sunne contrariwise is good by aspect, but euill by coniunction.

A third reprehension is because euill approacheth to good sometimes for concealement, sometimes for protection, and good to euill for conuersion and reformation. So hipocrisie draweth neer to religion for couert

and hyding it felfe: *Sæpe latet vitium procinitate boni*, and Sanctuaries men which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be neereft to priestes and Prelates and holy men, for the maiestie of good things is fuch, as the confines of them are reuered. On the other fide our Sauour charged with neerenes of Publicanes and rioters faid, *The Phifitian approacheth the ficke, rather then the whole.*

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, maius malum; quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum.*



HE reason is becaufe the fling and remorse of the mind accusing it felfe doubleth all aduerfitie, contrarywife the confidering and recording inwardly that a man is cleare and free from fault, and iuft imputation, doth attemper outward calamities: For if the euill bee in the fence and in the confcience both, there is a gemination of it, but if euill be in the one and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compenfation. So the Poets in tragedies doe make the moft paffionate lamentations, and thofe that forerunne final difpaire, to be accusing, queftioning and torturing of a mans felfe.

*Seque vnum clamat caufamque, caputque malum.* and contrariwife the extremities of worthie persons haue been annihilated in the confideration of their owne good deferuing. Befides when the euill commeth from without, there is left a kinde of euaporation of griefe, if it come by humane iniurie, eyther by indignation and meditating of reuenge from our felues, or by expecting or forconceyuing that *Nemefis* and retribution will take holde of the authours of our hurt, or if it bee by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kinde of expoftulation againft the diuine powers.

*Atque Deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.*

But where the euill is deriued from a mans own fault there all ftrikes deadly inwardes and fuffocateth.

The reprehension of this colour is first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faultes is in *nostra potestate*, but amendment of our fortune simplie is not. Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his orations sayth thus to the people of *Athens*. *That which hauing regarde to the time past is the worst pointe and circumstance of all the rest, that as to the time to come is the best: What is that? Euen this, that by your sloth, irresolution, and misgouernement, your affaires are growne to this declination and decay. For had you vsed and ordered your meanes and forces to the best, and done your partes euery way to the full, and notwithstanding your matters should haue gone backwards in this manner as they doe, there had been no hope left of recouerie or reparation, but since it hath bene oncly by your owne errours etc. So Epictetus in his degrees faith, The worst state of man is to accuse externe things, better then that to accuse a mans selfe, and best of all to accuse neyther.*

An other reprehension of this colour is in respect of the wel bearing of euils, wherewith a man can charge no bodie but himselfe, which maketh them the lesse.

*Leue fit quod bene fertur onus.* And therefore many natures, that are eyther extreamely proude and will take no fault to themfelues, or els very true, and cleauing to themfelues (when they see the blame of any thing that falles out ill must light vpon themfelues) haue no other shift but to bear it out wel, and to make the least of it, for as we see when sometimes a fault is committed, and before it be known who is to blame, much adoe is made of it, but after if it appeare to be done by a sonne, or by a wife, or by a neere friend, then it is light made of. So much more when a man must take it vpon himselfe. And therefore it is commonly seene that women that marrie husbandes of their owne choosng against their friends consents, if they be neuer so ill vsed, yet you shall seldome see them complaine but to set a good face on it.

9. *Quod opera et virtute nostra partum est maius bonum: quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortuna delatum est minus bonum.*



He reasons are first the future hope, because in the fauours of others or the good windes of fortune we haue no state or certainty, in our endeouours or abilities we haue. So as when they haue purchaséd vs one good fortune, we haue them as ready and better edged and inured to procure another.

The formes be, *you haue wonne this by play, you haue not onely the water, but you haue the receipt, you can make it againe if it be lost etc.*

Next because these properties which we inioy by the benefite of others carry with them an obligation, which seemeth a kinde of burthen, whereas the other which deriue from our selues, are like the freest patents *absque aliquo inde reddendo*, and if they proceede from fortune or prouidence, yet they seeme to touch vs secreatly with the reuerence of the diuine powers whose fauours we tast, and therefore worke a kind of religious feare and restraint, whereas in the other kind, that come to passe which the Prophet speaketh, *Lætantur et exultant, immolant plagis suis, et sacrificant reti suo.*

Thirdely because that which commeth vnto vs without our owne virtue, yeeldeth not that commendation and reputation, for a<sup>c</sup>tions of great felicitie may drawe wonder, but prayselesse, as *Cicero* said to *Cesar*: *Quæ miremur habemus, quæ laudemus expectamus.*

Fourthly because the purchases of our own industrie are ioyned commonly with labour and strife which giues an edge and appetite, and makes the fruition of our desire more pleasant, *Suauis cibus a venatu.*

On the other side there bee fowre counter colours to this colour rather then reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour it selfe, first because felicitie seemeth to bee a character of the fauour and loue of the diuine powers, and accordingly worketh both con-

fidence in our felues and respecte and authoritie from others. And this felicitie extendeth to many casuall thinges, whereunto the care or vertue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good, as when *Cæsar* sayd to the sayler, *Cæsarem portas et fortunam eius*, if he had faide, *et virtutem eius*, it had bene small comfort against a tempest otherwise then if it might seeme vpon merite to induce fortune.

Next, whatsoeuer is done by vertue and industrie, seemes to be done by a kinde of habite and arte, and therefore [thereupon] open to be imitated and followed, whereas felicitie is imitable: so wee generally see, that things of nature seeme more excellent then things of arte, because they be imitable, for *quod imitabile est potentia quodam vulgatum est*.

Thirdly, felicitie commendeth those things which commeth without our owne labor, for they seeme gifts, and the other seemes penyworths: whereupon *Plutarch* sayth elegantly of the actes of *Timoleon*, who was so fortunate, compared with the actes of *Agefilaus* and *Epaminondas*, *That they were like Homers verses they ranne so easily and so well*, and therefore it is the word we giue vnto poesie, terming it a happie vaine, because facilitie seemeth euer to come from happines.

Fourthly, this same *præter spem, vel præter expectatum*, doth increase the price and pleasure of many things, and this cannot be incident to those things that proceede from our owne care, and compasse.

10 *Gradus priuationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutionis; et rursus gradus inceptiois maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.*



**T**his is a position in the Mathematicques that there is no proportion betweene somewhat and nothing, therefore the degree of nullitie and quidditie or act, seemeth larger then the degrees of increase and decrease, as to a monoculos it is more to loose one eye, then to a man that hath two eyes. So if one haue lost diuers

children, it is more grieue to him to loofe the laft then all the reft, becaufe he is *ſpes gregis*. And therefore *Sybilla* when ſhe brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, becaufe the burning of that had bin *gradus priuationis*, and not *diminutionis*. This couler is reprehended firſt in thoſe things, the uſe and ſeruiſe whereof reſteth in ſufficiencie, competencie, or determinate quantitie, as if a man be to pay one hundreth pounds vpon a penaltie, it is more for him to want xii pence, then after that xii pence ſuppoſed to be wanting, to want ten ſhillings more: So the decay of a mans eſtate ſeemes to be moſt touched in the degree when he firſt growes behinde, more then afterwards when he proues nothing worth. And hereof the common fourmes are, *Sera in fundo parſimonia*, and as good neuer awhit, as neuer the better, etc. It is reprehended alſo in reſpect of that notion, *Corruptio vnius, generatio vterius*, ſo that *gradus priuationis*, is many times leſſe matter, becaufe it giues the cauſe, and motiue to ſome new courſe, As when *Demofthenes* reprehended the people for harkning to the conditions offered by King Phillip, being not honorable nor equall, he ſaith they were but elements of their floth and weakenes, which if they were taken away. neceſſitie woulde teach them ſtronger reſolutions. So Doctour *Hector* was wont to Dames of London, when they complayned they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine, he woulde tell them, Their way was onely to be ſicke, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this couler may be reprehended, in reſpect that the degree of decreaſe is more ſenſitiue, then the degree of priuation; for in the minde of man, *gradus diminutionis* may worke a wauering betweene hope and feare, and ſo keepe the minde in ſuſpence from ſetling and accomodating in patience, and reſolution; hereof the common fourmes are, *Better eye out, then alwayes ake*, make or marre, etc.

For the ſecond braunch of this couler, it depends vpon the ſame generall reaſon: hence grew the common

place of extolling the beginning of euey thing, *Dimidium qui bene cæpit habet.* This made the Astrologers so idle as to iudge of a mans nature and destiny by the constellation of the moment of his natiuitie, or conception. This couler is reprehended, because many inceptions are but as *Epicurus* termeth them, *tenta-menta*, that is, imperfect offers, and essayes, which vanish and come to no substance without an iteration, so as in such cases the second degree seemes the worthiest, as the body-horse in the Cart, that draweth more then the forehorse, hereof the common fourmes are, *The second blow makes the fray, The second word makes the bargaine, Alter principium dedit, alter abstulit, etc.* Another reprehension of this couler is in respect of defatigation, which makes perseuerance of greater dignitie then inception, [for chaunce or instinct of nature may cause inception,] but settled affection or iudgement maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this couler is reprehended in such things which haue a naturall course, and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the inception is continually euacuated and gets no start, but there behoueth *perpetua inceptio*, as in the common fourme. *Non progredi, est regredi, Qui non proficit, deficit:* Running against the hill: Rowing against the streame, etc. For if it be with the streame or with the hill, then the degree of inception is more then al the rest.

Fourthly, this couler is to be vnderstoode of *gradus inceptionis à potentia, ad actum comparatus; cum gradu ab actu ad incrementum:* For other, *maior videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quàm a potentia ad actum.*

F I N I S.

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for Humfrey Hooper.



# A HARMONY

OF THE

SECOND GROUP

OF

TWENTY-FOUR

ESSAYS.

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 11. OF FRIENDSHIP.                      | 23. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.   |
| 12. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.         | 24. OF GREAT PLACE.            |
| 13. OF NOBILITY.                        | 25. OF EMPIRE.                 |
| 14. OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE. | 26. OF COUNSEL.                |
| 15. OF BEAUTY.                          | 27. OF ATHEISM.                |
| 16. OF SEEMING WISE.                    | 28. OF SUPERSTITION.           |
| 17. OF AMBITION.                        | 29. OF PRAISE.                 |
| 18. OF RICHES.                          | 30. OF NATURE IN MEN.          |
| 19. OF DESPATCH.                        | 31. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.   |
| 20. OF DEFORMITY.                       | 32. OF FORTUNE.                |
| 21. OF YOUTH AND AGE.                   | 33. OF DEATH.                  |
| 22. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.        | 34. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES. |

*First found in Harleian MS. 5106.*

COLLATED WITH SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS.



*The Writings of*  
*S<sup>r</sup> ffrauncis Bacon Kn<sup>t</sup>:*  
*the Kinges Solli-*  
*citor Generall*  
*in Moralitie*  
*Policie, and*  
*Historie.*



[This draft dedication was never printed by Bacon.]

*Sloane MS. 4259, fol. 155.*

*To the most high and excellent Prince  
Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of  
Cornwall and Earle of Chester.*

*yt may please your H[ighness]*



HAVING devided my life into the Contemplative, and active parte, I am desierous to give his Maiesty, and your Highness of the Fruites of both, simple thoughe they be. To write iust Treatises requireth leasure in the Writer, and leasure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fitt, neither in regard of your Highnesses princely affaiers, nor in regard of my continuall Services, Which is the cause, that hath made me chuse to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather significantlye, then curiously, which I have called *Essaies*; The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For *Senecaes* Epistles to *Lucilius*; yf one marke them well, are but *Essaies*,—That is

III.

1607-12.

æet. 47-52.

disperfed Meditacions, thoughe conveyed in the forme of Epiftles. Theis labors of myne I knowe cannott be worthie of your highnefs—for what can be worthie of you? But my hope is, they may be as graynes of falte, that will rather give you an appetite, then offend you with fatiety. And althoughe, they handle thofe things wherein both Mens Lives, and their pens are moft converfant, yet (What I have attained, I knowe not) but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar; but of a nature, Whereof a Man fhall find much in experience, litle in bookes; fo as they are neither repetitions, nor fanfies. But howfoever, I fhall moft humbly defier your Highnefs to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive that if I cannott rest, but muft shewe my dutifull, and devoted affection to your Highnefs, in theis things which proceed from my self, I fhall be much more ready to doe it, in performance of any your princely Commaundementes; And fo wishing your Highnefs all princely felicitye, I rest.

your Highneffes moft humble Servant.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## [1.] Of Friendship.

[The first page of the MS. is torn away, so that there remains only the conclusion of this Essay. It is, however, certain from the next following Essays being numbered 2, 3, 4, &c., that there was no other Essay than this one upon the missing page, though of what length this one consisted cannot at present be known. Possibly the MS. began with a list of the Essays contained in it.]

inanimate, vnion strength-  
neth anie naturall mocion,  
and weakeneth anie violent  
mocion; Soe amongest men,  
Friendshipp multiplyeth  
ioyes, and deuideth greifes.  
Therefore whofoeuer want-  
eth *Fortitude*, lett him wor-  
shipp *Friendshipp*; For the  
yoke of *Friendshipp* maketh  
the yoke of *Fortune* more  
light; There bee some  
whose liues are, as if they  
perpetually played vpon a  
stage, disguised to all others,  
open onely to themselues;  
But perpetuall dissimula-  
cion is painefull, and hee  
that is all fortune and noe  
*nature* is an exquisite *Hire-  
linge*; Liue not in contyn-  
uall smother, but take some  
frendes with whom to com-  
municate. It will vnfold  
thie vnderstanding; it will  
evaporate thie affeccions,  
it will prepare thie busi-

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

## 13. Of Friendship.



Here is no greater  
desert or wildernes  
then to bee with-  
out true friends.

For without friendship, soci-  
ety is but meeting. And as  
it is certaine, that in bodies  
inanimate, vnion strength-  
neth any naturall motion,  
and weakeneth any violent  
motion; So amongst men,  
friendship mustieth  
ioies, and diuideth griefes.  
Therefore whofoeuer want-  
eth fortitude, let him wor-  
shippe *Friendship*. For the  
yoke of *Friendship* maketh  
the yoke of *fortune* more  
light. There bee some  
whose liues are, as if they  
perpetually plaid vpon a  
stage, disguised to all others,  
open onely to themselues.  
But perpetuall dissimula-  
tion is painfull; and hee  
that is all *Fortune*, and no  
*Nature* is an exquisit *Hier-  
linge*. Liue not in contin-  
uall smother, but take some  
friends with whom to com-  
municate. It will vnfold  
thy vnderstanding; it will  
evaporate thy affections;  
it will prepare thy busi-

V.

1625.

æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

27. Friendship.

[*Entirely rewritten, see below.*]

III. 1605-12. æt. 47-52.

nes. A Man may keepe a Corner of his minde from his friend, and it bee but to witnesse to himself that it is not vponn facultye, but vponn true vfe of *Friendshipp* that hee imparteth himself. Want of true friendes as it is the rewarde of perfidious Natures, so it is an imposition vponn great fortunes. The one deserue it, the other cannott scape it. And therefore it is good to retayne sinceritye, and to putt it into the reckoning of *Ambition*, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true Friendes he shall have. Perfection of *Friendshipp* is but a Speculation; It is *Friendshipp*, when a Man can say to himself, I loue this Man without respect of Vtilitye. I am open harted to him, I single him from the generalitye of those with whom I liue, I make him a porcion of my owne wishes.



IV. 1612. æt. 52.

nesse. A man may keepe a corner of his minde from his friend, and it be but to witnesse to himselfe, that it is not vpon facility, but vpon true vfe of *friendship* that hee imparteth himselfe. Want of true friends, as it is the reward of perfidious natures; so it is an imposition vpon great fortunes. The one deserue it, the other cannot scape it. And therefore it is good to retaine sincerity, and to put it into the reckoning of *Ambition*, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true friends he shall haue. Perfection of *friendship*, is but a speculation. It is *friendship*, when a man can say to himselfe, I loue this man without respect of vtility. I am open hearted to him, I single him from the generality of those with whom I liue; I make him a portion of my owne wishes.



[*Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.*]



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British Museum Copy.

27. Friendship.

[Entirely rewritten, see below.]

**T**HAD beene hard for him that spake it, to haue put more Truth and vntruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech; *Whofocuer is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast, or a God.*<sup>a</sup> For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Auersion towards *Society*, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Sauage Beast; But it

<sup>a</sup> Aristotle. *Politica*. Bk. i. c. 2.

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[*Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.*]

EV. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

- <sup>1</sup> But it is. *Illud tamen e converso*, 'but the converse.'
- <sup>2</sup> It. *Hujusmodi Vita solitaria*, 'a solitary life of this kind.'
- <sup>3</sup> Loue. Omitted in the Latin.
- <sup>4</sup> Candian. *Cretense*, 'the Cretan.'
- <sup>5</sup> What Solitude is. *Quid hoc sit quod Solitudo nominatur*, 'what that is which is called solitude.'
- <sup>6</sup> Is not Company. *Non est Societas dicenda*, 'is not to be called company.'

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is<sup>1</sup> most Vntrue, that it should haue any Character, at all, of the Diuine Nature; Except it<sup>2</sup> proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a Loue<sup>3</sup> and desire, to sequester a Mans Selse, for a Higher Conuerfation: Such as is found, to haue been falsely and fainedly, in some of the Heathen; As *Epimenides* the Candian,<sup>4</sup> *Numa* the Roman, *Empedocles* the Scilian, and *Apollonius* of Tyana; And truly and really, in diuers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceiue, what *Solitude* is,<sup>5</sup> and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company;<sup>6</sup> And Faces<sup>7</sup> are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball*, where there is no Loue. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; *Magna Ciuitas, Magna solitudo*;<sup>a</sup> Because in a great Towne, *Friends*<sup>8</sup> are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship,<sup>9</sup> for the most Part, which is in lesse *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly, That it is a meere, and miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Friends*; without which the World is but a Wilderneffe: And euen in this sence also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is vnfit<sup>10</sup> for *Friendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principall *Fruit* of *Friendship*, is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse<sup>11</sup> and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce.<sup>12</sup> We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much

<sup>a</sup> *A great city is a great desert.*

<sup>7</sup> Faces. *Facies Hominum*, 'faces of men.'

<sup>8</sup> Friends. *Anici et Necessarii*, 'friends and relatives.'

<sup>9</sup> Fellowship. *Familiariter, et in consortio, viuunt*, 'men live intimately and in company.'

<sup>10</sup> Vnfit. *Abhorret*, 'shrinks from.'

<sup>11</sup> Fulnesse. *Anxietatis*, 'anxiety.'

<sup>12</sup> Cause and induce. *Imprimere*, 'impress.'

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<sup>13</sup> Minde. *Ægritudinibus Animæ*, 'diseases of the mind.'

<sup>14</sup> Suspicions. *Curas*, 'cares.'

<sup>15</sup> In a kind. *Sub Sigillo*, 'under the seal.'

<sup>16</sup> Shrift. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>17</sup> Distance. *Distantiam et Sublimitatem*, 'distance and loftiness.'

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otherwise in the Minde :<sup>13</sup> You may take *Sarza* to open the Liuer ; *Steele* to open the Spleene ; *Flower of Sulphur* for the Lungs ; *Castoreum* for the Braine ; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true *Friend*, to whom you may impart, Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspitions,<sup>14</sup> Counfels, and whatfoeuer lieth vpon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind<sup>15</sup> of Ciuill Shrift<sup>16</sup> or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to obserue, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do fet vpon this *Fruit of Friendship*, whereof we speake : So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance<sup>17</sup> of their Fortune, from that of their Subiects and Seruants, cannot gather this *Fruit* ; Except (to make Themselues capable thereof) they raise<sup>18</sup> some Persons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselues, which many times forteth to Inconuenience. The Moderne Languages giue vnto such Persons, the Name of *Fauorites*, or *Priuadoes* ;<sup>19</sup> As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conuerfation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Vse, and Cause thereof ; Naming them *Participes Curarum* ; For it is that, which tieth the knot.<sup>20</sup> And we see plainly, that this hath been done, not by Weake and Passionate *Princes* onely, but by the Wisest, and most Politique that euer reigned ; Who haue oftentimes ioyned to themselues, some of their Seruants ; Whom both Themselues haue called *Frends* ; And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner ; Vsing the Word which is receiued between Priuate<sup>21</sup> Men.

<sup>13</sup> Raise. *Euehant et promoveant*, 'raise and promote.'

<sup>19</sup> Priuadoes. *Amicorum Regis*, 'friends of the king.'

<sup>20</sup> Knot. *Verum Ligamen*, 'true knot.'

<sup>21</sup> Priuate. *Privatæ Fortunæ*, 'of private fortune.'

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<sup>22</sup> Great. *Verba Indignationis*, 'indignant words.'

<sup>23</sup> In effect. *Fere disertis Verbis*, 'almost in express words.'

<sup>24</sup> Had power. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>25</sup> Calpurnia. *Vxoris suæ Calpurniæ*, 'his wife Calpurnia.'

<sup>26</sup> Dismiss. *Eum Senatam non tam parvi habiturum, ut dimittere vellet*, 'he would not have so little respect for the senate as to dismiss them.'

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*L. Sylla*, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after furnamed the *Great*) to that Height, that *Pompey* vaunted Himselfe for *Sylla's* Ouermatch. For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Friend of his, against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great,<sup>22</sup> *Pompey* turned vpon him againe, and in effect<sup>23</sup> bad him be quiet; For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting.<sup>a</sup> With *Iulius Cæsar*, *Decimus Brutus* had obtained that Interest, as he set him downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his *Nephew*. And this was the Man, that had power<sup>24</sup> with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when *Cæsar* would haue discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Prefages, and specially a Dreame of *Calpurnia*;<sup>25</sup> This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not dismisse<sup>26</sup> the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame.<sup>b</sup> And it seemeth, his fauour was so great, as *Antonius* in a Letter, which is recited *Verbatim*, in one of *Cicero's* *Philippiques*, calleth him *Venefica*,<sup>27</sup> *Witch*; As if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of meane Birth) to that Height, as when he consulted with *Mæcnas*, about the Marriage of his Daughter *Iulia*, *Mæcnas* tooke the Liberty to tell him; *That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great.*<sup>d</sup> With *Tiberius Cæsar*, *Seianus* had ascended to that Height, as they Two were teamed and reckoned, as a Paire of Friends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him saith; *Hæc pro Amicitia nostrâ non occultauit.*<sup>e</sup> And the whole Senate, dedicated

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. *Pompey*. xiv.<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. *Iulius Cæsar*. lxiv.<sup>c</sup> Cicero. *Philippics*. xiii. 11.<sup>d</sup> Dion Cassius. lvi. 6.<sup>e</sup> On account of our friendship, I have not concealed these things. Tacitus. *Annales*. iv. 40.<sup>27</sup> *Venefica*. *Veneficum*, 'sorcerer.'

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[*Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.*]

<sup>28</sup> Great dearenesse of friendship. *Arctam Amicitiam*, 'close friendship.'

<sup>29</sup> The like. *Similis, Amicitiae Exemplum*, 'an example of like friendship.'



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an Altar to *Friendship*, as to a *Goddeffe*, in respect of the great Dearenesse of *Friendship*,<sup>28</sup> between them Two.<sup>a</sup> The like<sup>29</sup> or more was between *Septimius Seuerus*, and *Plantianus*. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of *Plantianus*; And would often maintaine *Plantianus*, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words; *I loue the Man so well, as I wish he may ouer-lieue me.*<sup>b</sup> Now if these Princes, had beene as a *Traian*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, A Man might haue thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Seueritie of minde, and so Extreme Louers of Themselues, as all these were; It proueth most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as euer happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought haue a *Frend* to make it Entire:<sup>30</sup> And yet, which is more, they were *Princes*, that had Wiues, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commineus* obserueth,<sup>c</sup> of his first Master *Duke Charles the Hardy*; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets, which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, That towards his Latter time; *That closenesse did impaire, and a little perish his understanding.* Surely *Commineus* mought haue made the same Iudgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master *Lewis the Eleuenth*, whose closenesse<sup>31</sup> was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is darke, but true; *Cor ue*

<sup>a</sup> Tacitus. *Annals*. iv. 74.

<sup>b</sup> Should be Plautianus: see Dion Cassius. lxxv. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Philip de Comines. *Historie*. Trans. by T. Dannett. Bk. v. c. p. 148. Ed. 1614.

<sup>30</sup> Entire. *Integra et perfecta*. 'entire and complete.'

<sup>31</sup> Closeness. *Occultatio Consiliorum*, 'concealment of counsel.'

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<sup>32</sup> Open. *Cogitationes suas, et Anxietates libere impertiant*, 'impart freely their thoughts and cares.'

<sup>33</sup> Admirable. *Ad Miraculum proxime accedit*, 'comes very near to a miracle.'

<sup>34</sup> Good. Omitted in the Latin.

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*edito*; *Eat not the Heart.*<sup>4</sup> Certainly, if a Man would giue it a hard Phrase, Those that want *Friends* to open<sup>32</sup> themselues vnto, are Canniballs of their owne *Hearts*. But one Thing is most Admirable,<sup>33</sup> (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *friendship*) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selve to his *Friend*, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth *Ioyes*, and cutteth *Griefes* in Halfes. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Ioyes* to his *Friend*, but he *ioyeth* the more; And no Man, that imparteth his *Griefes* to his *Friend*, but hee *grieueth* the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation vpon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the *Alchymists* vse to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good,<sup>34</sup> and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies,<sup>35</sup> *Vnion* strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And euen so is it of Minds.

The second *Fruit* of *Friendship*, is Healthfull and Soueraigne<sup>36</sup> for the *Vnderstanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*. For *Friendship* maketh indeed a faire *Day* in the *Affections*, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh *Day-light*<sup>37</sup> in the *Vnderstanding*, out of Darknesse and Confusion of Thoughts.<sup>38</sup> Neither is this to be vnderstood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiueth from his *Friend*; But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosoever hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Vnder-

<sup>4</sup> A saying of Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch. *De Educ. Puer.* xvii.

<sup>35</sup> Bodies. *Rebus Naturalibus*, 'natural things.'

<sup>36</sup> Soueraigne. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>37</sup> Day-light. *Noctem abigit, et Lumen infundit*, 'drives away night and pours in light.'

<sup>38</sup> Out of Darknesse . . . Thoughts. *Confusione cogitationum dissipata*, 'having dissipated confusion of thoughts.'

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<sup>39</sup> Breake vp. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>40</sup> Communicating. *Communicatione Consiliorum*, 'communicating of plans.'

<sup>41</sup> Easily. *Et in omnes partes versat*, 'and turns them in every direction.'

<sup>42</sup> Lie. *Complicantur et Involuntur*, 'are folded and rolled up.'

<sup>43</sup> Vnderstanding. *Obstructionibus Intellectus*, 'obstructions of the understanding.'

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standing doe clarifie and breake vp,<sup>39</sup> in the Communicating<sup>40</sup> and discourfing with Another: He toffeth his Thoughts, more eafily;<sup>41</sup> He marfhalleth them more orderly; He feeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wifer then Himfelfe; And that more by an Houres discourfe, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well faid by *Themiftocles* to the King of *Persia*; *That fpeech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure; whereas in Thoughts, they lie*<sup>42</sup> *but as in Packs.*<sup>a</sup> Neither is this Second *Fruit of Frendfhip*, in opening the *Vnderftanding*,<sup>43</sup> restrained onely to fuch *Frends*, as are able to giue a Man Counfell: (They indeed are beft) But euen, without that, a Man learneth of Himfelfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as againft a Stone, which it felfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himfelfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to fuffer his Thoughts to paffe in fmother.<sup>44</sup>

Adde now, to make this Second *Fruit of Frendfhip* compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Obferuation; which is *Faithfull Counfell* from a *Frend*. *Heraclitus* faith well, in one of his *Ænigmaes*; *Dry Light is euer the beft.*<sup>b</sup> And certaine it is, that the Light, that a Man receiueth, by Counfell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne *Vnderftanding*, and *Iudgement*; which is euer infufed and drenched in his *Affections* and *Customes*.<sup>45</sup> So as, there is as much difference, betweene the *Counfell*, that a *Frend* giueth, and that a Man giueth himfelfe, as there is be-

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. *Themiftocles*. xxix. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Heraclitus the Obscure fayd; *The drie Light was the beft Soule*. Meaning, when the Faculties Intellectual are in vigour. not wet, nor, as it were, blouded by the Affections. Lord Bacon's *Apophth*. No. 268, Ed. 1625.

<sup>44</sup> Suffer to paffe in fmother. *Silentio fuffocare*, 'fmother in f Silence.'

<sup>45</sup> And Customes. Omitted in the Latin.

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[*Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.*]

<sup>46</sup> Such. *Magis infestus*, 'more dangerous.'

<sup>47</sup> Good. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>48</sup> Dead. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>49</sup> Others. *Tanquam in speculo, aliquando, ut fit etiam in speculis, minus respondet*, 'as if in a mirror, sometimes does not answer, as is also the case in mirrors.'

<sup>50</sup> A Man may think. *Vetus est*, 'it is an old saying.'

<sup>51</sup> No more. *Melius*, 'better.' [The illustration is put inversely in the Latin.]

<sup>52</sup> Or. *Licet nonnulli hoc cavillentur, etiam recte dicitur*. 'Some may make this objection. It is rightly said.'

<sup>53</sup> Gamester. *Speciatorem sæpe plus videre, quam Lusorem*, 'a looker-on often sees more than a player.'

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tween the *Counsell* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*. For there is no such<sup>46</sup> *Flatterer*, as is a Mans Selfe ; And there is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a *Friend*. *Counsell* is of two Sorts ; The one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Businesse*. For the First ; The best Pre-feruatiue to keepe the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a *Friend*. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosiue. Reading good<sup>47</sup> Bookes of *Morality*, is a little Flat, and Dead.<sup>48</sup> Obseruing our Faults in Others,<sup>49</sup> is sometimes vnproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best (I say) to worke, and best to take) is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a *Friend*, to tell them of them ; To the great dammage, both of their Fame, and Fortune. For, as *S. James* saith, they are as Men, *that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their owne Shape, and Fauour.*<sup>a</sup> As for *Businesse*, a Man may think,<sup>50</sup> if he will, that two Eyes see no more<sup>51</sup> than one ; Or<sup>52</sup> that a Gamester<sup>53</sup> seeth alwaies more then a Looker on ; <sup>54</sup>Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said ouer the foure<sup>b</sup> and twenty Letters ; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell vpon the Arme, as vpon a Rest ; And such other fond and high<sup>55</sup> Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done,<sup>56</sup> the Helpe of good<sup>57</sup> *Counsell*, is that, which

<sup>a</sup> James i. 23.

<sup>b</sup> In Bacon's time, *i* and *j*, and *u* and *v*, were not considered distinct letters.

<sup>54</sup> Or that a Man in Anger . . . Letters. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>55</sup> Fond and high. *Quidam tam altum sapiant*, 'some think so highly.'

<sup>56</sup> All is done. *Quicquid dici possit in contrarium*, 'whatever may be said to the contrary.'

<sup>57</sup> The Helpe of, &c. *Certum est, Consilium Negotia dirizere, et stabilire.* it is certain that counsel setteth business straight and firm.'

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[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

<sup>63</sup> Perfect and entire. *Fideli, et intimo*, 'faithful and intimate.'

<sup>59</sup> Counsell. *Consilia illa, et diversis manantia*, 'counsels coming from divers persons.'

<sup>60</sup> Good Meaning. *Fide, et bona intentione*, 'faith and good meaning.'

<sup>61</sup> You complaine of. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>62</sup> Body. *Corporis tui Constitutionis*, 'the constitution of your body.'



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fetteth *Businesse* straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take *Counsell*, but it shall be by Peeces; Asking *Counsell* in one *Businesse* of one Man, and in another *Businesse* of another Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire<sup>58</sup> *Frend*, to haue *Counsell* giuen, but such as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giueth it. The other, that he shall haue *Counsell*<sup>59</sup> giuen, hurtfull, and vn safe, (though with good Meaning<sup>60</sup>) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Euen as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease, you complaine of,<sup>61</sup> but is vnacquainted with your body;<sup>62</sup> And therefore, may put you in way for a present Cure, but ouerthroweth your Health in some other kinde;<sup>63</sup> And so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient.<sup>64</sup> But a *Frend*, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Businesse*, how he dasheth vpon other Inconuenience. And therefore, rest not vpon *Scattered Counsels*; They will rather distract, and Misleade, then Settle, and Direct.

After these two Noble *Fruits of Friendship*; (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Iudgement*;) followeth the last *Fruit*; which is like the *Pomgranat*, full of many kernels; I meane *Aid*, and *Bearing a Part*, in all *Actions*, and *Occasions*. Here, the best Way, to represent to life the manifold vse of *Friendship*, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe<sup>65</sup> Himselfe;

<sup>58</sup> Other kinde. *In summa*, 'on the whole.'

<sup>64</sup> Patient. *Atque hoc facto Morbum extinguet, et non ita multo post, Hominem*, 'and in this way destroys the disease, and not so long after, the man.'

<sup>65</sup> Doe. *Exequi commode*, 'do conveniently.'

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<sup>66</sup> Sparing. *Non per Hyperbolen, sed sobrie dictum*, 'not hyperbolically, but sparingly said.'

<sup>67</sup> For that. *Quandoquidem, si quis vere rem reputet*, 'since, if one truly considers the matter.'

<sup>68</sup> Farre more then Himselfe. *Anici officia, proprias cujusque vires superent*, 'the services of a friend surpass one's own strength.'

<sup>69</sup> Haue their Time. *Mortales sunt*, 'are mortal.'

<sup>70</sup> Desire some Things. *In Medio Operum aliquorum*, 'in the middle of some works.'

<sup>71</sup> Bestowing of a Child. *Collocatione Filii in Matrimonium*, 'bestowing a son in marriage.'

<sup>72</sup> Worke. *Conatuum et Desideriorum suorum*, 'their endeavours and desires.'

<sup>73</sup> Care of those Things . . . after Him. *De iisdem rebus, Anici cura et opera, post Mortem perficiendis*, 'that those things will be perfected after his death, by the care and assistance of his friend.'

<sup>74</sup> So that a Man . . . his desires. *Adco ut Fatum immaturum vix obsit; Atque habeat suis (ut loquamur more Tribulum aut Firmariorum,) in Desideriis suis, Terminum, non unius, sed duarum vitarum*, 'so that premature fate scarcely injures him; and a man has (to speak as common people and farmers do) the term of not one but two lives in his desires.'

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And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing<sup>66</sup> Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Friend is another Himselfe*: For that<sup>67</sup> a *Friend* is farre more then *Himselfe*.<sup>68</sup> Men haue their Time,<sup>69</sup> and die many times in desire of some Things,<sup>70</sup> which they principally take to Heart; The Bestowing of a Child,<sup>71</sup> The Finishing of a Worke,<sup>72</sup> Or the like. If a Man haue a true *Friend*, he may rest almost secure, that the Care of those Things, will continue after Him.<sup>73</sup> So that a Man hath as it were two Liues in his desires.<sup>74</sup> A Man hath<sup>75</sup> a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where *Friendship* is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. <sup>76</sup>For he may exercise them by his *Friend*. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say<sup>77</sup> or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with modesty, much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg: And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a *Friends* Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Husband; To his Enemy, but vpon Termes:<sup>78</sup> whereas a *Friend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it forteth with the Person. But to enumerate these Things were endlesse: I haue giuen the Rule, where a Man can fitly play his owne Part: If he haue not a *Friend*, he may quit the Stage.



<sup>75</sup> Hath. *Circumscribitur*, 'is bounded by.'

<sup>76</sup> For he may exercise them by his Friend. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>77</sup> Say. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>78</sup> But vpon Termes. *Nisi salva dignitate*, 'without preserving his honour.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 2. Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe.



*N* *Ant* is a wise Creature for it self, but it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard, or a garden. And certainye Men that are great lovers of themselves, wast the publike. Diuide with reason betweene selfe-love, and societie, and be so true to thie self, as thou be not false to others.

It is a poore Centre of a Mans actions, himselfe; It is right Earth, For that onely standes fast vponn his owne Centre, Whereas all thinges, that have affinitye with the heavens, move vponn the Centre of another, which they benefitt. The referring of all to a Mans self is more tolerable in a Sovereigne Prince, because themselves are not themselves, but their good, and evill is at the

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## 16. Wisdome for a Mans selfe.



*N* *Ante* is a wise creature for it selfe: But it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great louers of themselves, waste the puplike. Diuide with reason betweene selfe loue, and societie: and bee so true to thy selfe, as thou be not false to others.

It is a poore Centre of a mans actions, *himselfe*. It is right earth. For that only stands fast vpon his owne centre: whereas all things that haue affinity with the heauens, moue vpon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a mans selfe, is more tollerable in a soueraigne Prince; because themselues are not themselues; but their good and euill is at the

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Prudentia quæ sibi sapit*, 'of prudence which is wise for one's self.'

<sup>2</sup> Orchard. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>3</sup> Society. *Amorem Reipublicæ*, 'love of the state.'

<sup>4</sup> True. *Proximus*, 'nearest.'

British Museum Copy.

23. Of Wisdome for a Mans selfe.<sup>1</sup>

**A**N *Ant* is a *wise Creature* for it *Selfe*; But it is a *shrewd Thing*, in an *Orchard*,<sup>2</sup> or *Garden*. And certainly, *Men* that are great *Louers* of *Themselues*, waste the *Publique*. *Diuide* with reason betweene *Self-loue*, and *Society*:<sup>3</sup> And be so true<sup>4</sup> to thy *Selfe*, as thou be not false<sup>5</sup> to *Others*; Specially to thy *King*, and *Country*. It is a *poore*<sup>6</sup> *Center* of a *Mans Actions*, *Himselfe*.<sup>7</sup> It is right *Earth*.<sup>8</sup> For that onely<sup>9</sup> stands fast vpon his owne *Center*; Whereas all *Things*, that haue *Affinity* with the *Heauens*, moue vpon the *Center* of another, which they benefit. The *Referring* of all to a *Mans Selfe*, is more tolerable in a *Soueraigne Prince*; Because *Themselues* are not onely *Themselues*;<sup>10</sup> But their *Good* and *Euill*, is at the

<sup>5</sup> False. *Injurius*, 'unjust.'

<sup>6</sup> Poore. *Ignobile*, 'ignoble.'

<sup>7</sup> Himselfe. *Commodium Proprium*, 'his own interest.'

<sup>8</sup> Earth. *Terrestrem naturam sapit*, 'savours of earthly nature.'

<sup>9</sup> That onely. *Terra*, 'the earth.'

<sup>10</sup> Their Good, &c. *Sed publico periculo, et Fortuna, degunt*, 'but they live with the danger and fortune of the people.'

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perill of the publike *Fortune*, but it is a desperate evill in a Servaunt to a *Prince*, or a Cittizen in a *Republique*; For whatsoever affaires passe such a Mans hande hee crooketh them to his owne endes, which must needs be often excentrique to the endes of his Master, or State; Therefore lett Princes, or States chuse such seruautes, as have not this marke, except they meane their seruice should be made but the Accessorie. And that which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proporcion is lost. It were disproportion enoughe for the seruautes good to be preferred before the Maisters. But yet it is greater extreame, when a litle good of the seruautes shall carry things against a great good of the Masters; and yet that is the case.

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perill of the publike fortune. But it is a desperate euil in a seruant to a *Prince*, or a Cittizen in a *Republike*. For whatsoever affaires passe such a mans hand, hee crooketh them to his owne ends: which must needs be often *Eccentrique* to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let Princes or States, chuse such seruautes, as haue not this marke; except they meane their seruice should be made but the accessary. And that which maketh the effect more pernicious, is, that al proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the seruautes good to be preferred before the masters: But yet it is a greater extreme, when a litle good of the seruautes, shall carrie things against a great good of the masters. And yet that is the case;

<sup>11</sup> Whatsoever Affaires. *Negotia publica universa*, 'all public business.'

<sup>12</sup> Pass . . . Hands. *Expediuntur*, 'are despatched by.'

<sup>13</sup> Seruautes. *Ministros et Servos*, 'officers and servants.'

<sup>14</sup> Haue not. *Non maculantur*, 'are not spotted.'

<sup>15</sup> All proportion. *Kerum analogia*, 'proportion of things.'

perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Euill in a Seruant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoever Affaires<sup>11</sup> passe such a Mans Hands,<sup>12</sup> he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentricke to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose such Seruants,<sup>13</sup> as haue not<sup>14</sup> this marke, Except they meane their Seruice should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion<sup>15</sup> is lost. It were disproportion enough, for the Seruants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Seruant, shall carry Things,<sup>16</sup> against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadours, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Seruants; which set a Bias vpon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Enuies,<sup>17</sup> to the ouerthrow<sup>18</sup> of their Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part,

<sup>16</sup> Carry things. *Antefertur*, 'be preferred to.'

<sup>17</sup> And Enuies. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>18</sup> Ouerthrow. *Quod eum in transversum inclinet utilitatis Domini sui*, 'which inclines it contrary to the profit of their master.'

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Ffor the good such seruautes receive, is after the modell of their owne Fortune, but the hurt, they fell for that good, is after the modell of their Masters *Fortune*. And certainly it is the nature of extreame Self-lovers, as they will sett an howse on fire, and it were but to rost their egge. And yet theis Men manie tymes hold credit with their Maisters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; And for either respect, they will abandon the good of their affaires.

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for the good such seruants receiue; is after the modell of their owne fortune: but the hurt they fell for that good, is after the modell of their Masters *Fortune*. And certainly it is the nature of extreme selfe-louers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to rost their egges; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters; because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affaires.



<sup>a</sup> *Lovers of themselves without a rival.* Cicero. *Ad Quint. Fratrem.* iii. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Sell. *Permutent*, 'exchange.'

<sup>20</sup> Extreme. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>21</sup> House. *Domum Proximi*, 'the house of their neighbour.'

<sup>22</sup> Masters. *Viros potentes*, 'powerful men.'

<sup>23</sup> Affaires. *Domini sui*, 'of their master.'

<sup>24</sup> Rats. *Soricum*, 'shrews.'

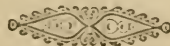
<sup>25</sup> Thrusts out . . . for him. *E Domo expellit, quam sibi defodit, non alii*, 'thrusts [the Badger] out of the house which he has dug for himself, not for another.'

<sup>26</sup> Selfe-wisdome. *Pulchra illa Sapientia*, 'that fine wisdom.'



the Good such Seruants receiue, is after the Modell of their own Fortune; But the Hurt they fell<sup>19</sup> for that Good, is after the Modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme<sup>20</sup> *Selfe-Louers*; As they will set an House<sup>21</sup> on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges: And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters;<sup>22</sup> Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit *Themselves*: And for either respect, they will abandon the Good of their Affaires.<sup>23</sup>

*Wisdom for a Mans selfe*, is in many Branches thereof, a depraued Thing. It is the *Wisdom of Rats*,<sup>24</sup> that will be sure to leaue a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisdom of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged and made Roome for him.<sup>25</sup> It is the *Wisdom of Crocodiles*, that shed teares, when they would deuoure. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those, which (as *Cicero* saies of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Riuali*,<sup>a</sup> are many times vnfortunate. And whereas they haue all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their *Self-Wisdom*,<sup>26</sup> to haue Pinnioned.



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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 3. Of Nobilitie.

**T** is a reverend thing to see an auncient Castell, or building not in decaye; or to see a faier tymber Tree found, and perfect; how much more to behold an auncient Noble familie, which hath stood against the waves, and weathers of tyme. For new Nobility is but the Act of Power, but auncient Nobility is the Act of Tyme. The first Rayfers of *Fortunes* are commonly more vertuous, but lesse innocent, then their descendentes; For there is rarely ryfing, but by a commixture of good and euill Actes. But it is reason the memorie of their vertues remaine to their posterityes, and their faultes dye with themselves; *Nobilitie* of Birth commonly abateth Industrie; and hee that is not industrious, envyeth him, that is; Besides Noble persons cannott goe much higher; and hee that

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## 7. Of Nobility.

**T** is a reuerend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay: or to see a faire timber tree found and perfect: how much more to behold an auncient Noble familie, which hath stood against the waues and weathers of time. For new Nobility is but the act of power; but ancient Nobility is the act of time. The first raisers of *Fortunes* are commonly more vertuous, but lesse innocent, then their descendants. For there is rarely rising, but by a commixture of good and euil Arts. But it is reason the memorie of their vertues remaine to their posterities, and their faults die with themselves. *Nobilitie* of Birth commonly abateth industrie: and hee that is not industrious, enuieth him that is: Besides noble persons, cannot goe much higher: And he that

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British Museum Copy.

14. Of Nobility.

[*Transposed, see below at pp. 193, 195.*]

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standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoyd mocions of envye. On thother side, Nobilitye extinguishteth the passiue Envie in others towards them, because they are in possession of *Honor*, and *Envye* is as the Sunbeames, that beate more vpon a rising ground, then vpon a leuell.

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standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly auoid motions of enuie. On the other side Nobility extinguishteth the passiue enuie in others towards them; because they are in the possession of *Honour*: and *Envy* is as the sunne beames, that beate more vpon a rising ground, then vpon a leuell.

[*The paragraph on the opposite page was added in the 1625 edition, at the beginning of the Essay.*]

<sup>1</sup> Need it. *Proceres non desiderantur*: 'peers are not needed.'

<sup>2</sup> They. *Status ille Popularis*, 'that state of the people.'

<sup>3</sup> Sedition. *Factionibus et Turbis*, 'factions and disturbances.'

<sup>4</sup> Then where there are. *Ubi non sunt*, 'where there are not.'

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## 14. Of Nobility.

[Transposed, see below, at pp. 193, 195.]

{ [These four lines were transposed in 1625 Edition to  
the Essay Of Envy, see p. 514.]



WE will speake of *Nobility*, first as a *Portion* of an *Estate*; Then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is euer a pure, and absolute *Tyranny*; As that of the *Turkes*. For *Nobility* attempers *Soueraignty*, and drawes the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the *Line Royall*. But for *Democracies*, they need it<sup>1</sup> not; And they<sup>2</sup> are commonly, more quiet, and lesse subiect to *Sedition*,<sup>3</sup> then where there are<sup>4</sup> *Stirps* of *Nobles*. For Mens Eyes are vpon the *Businesse*, and not vpon the *Persons*: Or if vpon the *Persons*, it is for the *Businesse* sake, as fittest, and not for *Flags* and *Pedegree*.<sup>5</sup> Wee see the *Switzers* last well,<sup>6</sup> notwithstanding their *Diuerstie* of *Religion*, and of *Cantons*. For *Vtility* is their *Bond*, and not *Respects*.<sup>7</sup> The united *Prouinces* of the *Low Countries*, in their *Gouernment*, excell: For where there is an *Equality*, the *Consultations* are more indifferent, and the *Payments* and *Tributes* more cheerfull.

<sup>5</sup> Pedegree. *Imaginum*, 'busts.'

<sup>6</sup> Switzers last well. *Helvetiorum Rempublicam satis florentem*, 'the republic of the Swiss, flourishing enough.'

<sup>7</sup> Respects. *Dignitas*, 'honour.'

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A great *Nobilitye* addeth Maiestie to a *Monarch*, but diminisheth power; and putteth life, and spiritt into the people, but preffeth their fortunes. It is well when Nobles are not too great for *Soueraignty* nor for *Iustice*, and yet mainteyned in that height, as the Infolencye of inferiours may bee broken vponn them, before it come on to fast vponn the maiestie of *Kings*.

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A great *Nobilitie* addeth maiesty to a *Monarch*, but diminisheth power: and putteth life and spirit into the people; but preffeth their fortunes. It is well when nobles are not too great for *Soueraignty*, nor for *Iustice*; and yet maintained in that height, as the infollency of inferiours may be broken vpon them, before it come on too fast vpon the maiestie of *Kings*.

[Originally at the beginning. Transposed here in 1625 Edition; see pp. 188, 190.]

<sup>8</sup> Life and Spirit. *Animos*, 'spirit.'

<sup>9</sup> Height. *Dignitatis gradu*, 'height of honour.'

<sup>10</sup> Broken vpon. *Illorum Reverentia, tanquam Obice, retundatur*, 'may be blunted by reverence of them, as if by a barrier.'

<sup>11</sup> Numerous nobility. *Que p̄terunq̄ue minus potens est*, 'which generally is less powerful.'

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A great and Potent *Nobility* addeth Maieſtie to a Monarch, but diminifheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit<sup>8</sup> into the People, but preſſeth their Fortune.

It is well, when *Nobles* are not too great for Soueraignty, nor for Juſtice; And yet maintained in that heighth,<sup>9</sup> as the Inſolencie of Inferiours, may be broken vpon<sup>10</sup> them, before it come on too faſt vpon the Maieſty of Kings.

A Numerous *Nobility*,<sup>11</sup> cauſeth Pouerty, and Inconuenience<sup>12</sup> in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expence; And beſides, it being of Neceſſity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Diſproportion,<sup>13</sup> betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for *Nobility* in *particular Perſons*;

It is a Reuerend Thing, to ſee an Ancient Caſtle, or Building not in decay; Or to ſee a faire<sup>14</sup> Timber Tree, ſound and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath ſtood againſt<sup>15</sup> the Waues and

<sup>12</sup> Inconuenience. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>13</sup> Diſproportion. *Divortium quoddam, ſive malum Temperamentum,* 'a kind of divorce or bad proportion.'

<sup>14</sup> Faire. *Annosam et proceram,* 'old and tall.'

<sup>15</sup> Stood againſt. *Illæſam,* 'unhurt by.'

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[Originally at the beginning. Transposed here in  
1625 Edition; see pp. 188, 190.]

[See pp. 190, 191, 514.]

<sup>16</sup> Power. *Regiæ Potentiæ*, 'royal power.'

<sup>17</sup> Time. *Temporis solius*, 'time alone.'

<sup>18</sup> To nobility. *Ad Nobilitatis Fastigium*, 'to the height of nobility.'

<sup>19</sup> More vertuous. *Virtutum Claritudine* . . . eminent, 'excel in the esteem of virtue.'



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weathers of Time. For new *Nobility* is but the Act of Power;<sup>16</sup> But Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time.<sup>17</sup> Those that are first raised to *Nobility*,<sup>18</sup> are commonly more Vertuous,<sup>19</sup> but lesse Innocent, then their Descendants: For there is, rarely, any Rising,<sup>20</sup> but by a Commixture, of good and euill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselues. *Nobility* of *Birth*, commonly abateth Industry: And he that is not industrious, enuieth him, that is. Besides, *Noble persons*, cannot goe much higher; And he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly auoid Motions of Enuy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passiue Enuy, from others towards them;<sup>21</sup> Because they are in possession of<sup>22</sup> Honour.

<sup>20</sup> Rising. *Ad Honores*, 'to honours.'

<sup>21</sup> From others towards them. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>22</sup> In possession of. *In Possessione nati*, 'born in possession of.'

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Certainly Kings that have able Men of their *Nobilitye* shall finde ease in ymploying them, and a better slyde in their busines; for People naturally bend to them, as borne in some sorte to commaunde.

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Certainly *Kings* that haue able men of their Nobility, shal find ease in imploying them; and a better slid in to their businesse: For people naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to command.



<sup>23</sup> Able. *Prudentes et capaces*, 'wise and able.'

<sup>24</sup> Finde ease. Omitted in the Latin.

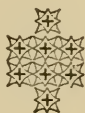
<sup>25</sup> In imploying them. *Si eos potissimum adhibeant*. 'if they employ them chiefly.'

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Certainly Kings, that haue Able<sup>23</sup> men of their *Nobility*, shall finde ease<sup>24</sup> in imploying them ;<sup>25</sup> And a better Slide<sup>26</sup> into their Buſi- neſſe: For People naturally bend to them,<sup>27</sup> as borne in ſome fort to Command.



<sup>26</sup> Better Slide, &c. *Negotia sua mollius fluere sentient*, 'will find their business flow easier.'

<sup>27</sup> Them. *Hujusmodi Proceres*, 'nobles of this kind.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*14. Of Goodnes and  
Goodnes of Nature.

Take *Goodnes* in this sence; The affecting of the *Weale* of Men: which is that the *Gracians* call *Philanthropia*; for the word *Humanitie*, (as it is vsed) it is a litle to light to expresse it; *Goodnes* I call the habite, and *Goodnes of Nature*, the Inclination; This of all vertues is the greatest, being the Character of the *Deitie*, and without it Man is a busie, mischevous wretched thing, noe better then a kind of Vermyne. *Goodnes* aunfweares to the *Theologicall vertue*, *Charitie*, and admittes not excesse, but error.

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3. Of Goodnesse, and  
goodnes of Nature.

Take *goodnesse* in this sence, the affecting of the *Weale* of men, which is, that the *Gracians* call *Philanthropia*; for the word *humanitie* (as it is vsed) it is a little too light to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the habite; and *goodnesse of Nature*, the inclination. This of all vertues, is the greatest: being the character of the *Deitie*; and without it, man is a busie, mischievous, wretched thing: no better then a kind of vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall vertue* *Charity*, and admits not excesse, but error.

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Affecting. *Affectus, qui Hominum Commoda studeat, et bene velit* 'affection, which studies and wishes well to the weal of men.'

<sup>2</sup> Light. *Leuius atque angustius*, 'too light and narrow.'

<sup>3</sup> Habit. *Affectum, et Habitum*, 'affection and habit.'

British Museum Copy.

## 13. Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature.



Take *Goodnesse* in this Sense, the affecting<sup>1</sup> of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; And the word *Humanitie* (as it is vsed) is a little too light,<sup>2</sup> to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the Habit,<sup>3</sup> and *Goodnesse of Nature*, the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character<sup>4</sup> of the Deitie: And without it, Man<sup>5</sup> is a Buse, Mischieuous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall Vertue Charitie*, and admits no Excesse, but Errour.

The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall;<sup>6</sup> The desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall;<sup>7</sup> But in *Charity*, there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to *Goodnesse*, is imprinted deeply in the

<sup>4</sup> Character. *Adumbrata quædam Effigies, et Character*: 'a sort of shadowed likeness and character.'

<sup>5</sup> Man. *Homo Animalis*, 'the animal man.'

<sup>6</sup> Caused to fall. *Cælo deturbavit*; 'thrust down from heaven.'

<sup>7</sup> Caused Man to fall. *Paradiso expulit*; 'drove out of Paradise.'

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The *Italians* haue an vngracious proverbe *Tanto buon che val niente*, So good that he is good for *Nothinge*, and one of the Doctors of *Italy* *Nicholas Matchiauell* had the confidence to putt in writing almost in plaine termes, that the *Christian faith* had giuen vp good Men in praye, to those that are tyrannicall, and vniust; which he spake because indeed there was never Lawe, or sect, or opinion did so much magnifie Goodnes as the *Christian Religion* doth. Therefore to avoyd the Scandall, and the danger both, it is good to take knoweledge of the

The *Italians*, haue an vngracious prouerbe, *Tanto buon, che val niente*; So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Machiauel* had the confidence to put in in writing, almost in plaine termes; That the *Christian faith* had giuen vp good men in prey, to those that are tyrannicall and vniust; which hee spake, because indeed there was neuer law, nor sect, or opinion, did so much magnifie goodnes, as the *Christian religion* doth. Therefore to auoid the scandall, and the danger both; it is good to take knowledge of the

<sup>8</sup> Issue not. *Benefaciendi Materia, aut Occasione, destituta, non inueniat, quo se exercent in Homines*, 'having no matter or occasion of doing good, it does not find a means of working upon men.'

<sup>9</sup> Cruell. *Sava et fera*, 'cruel and savage.'

<sup>10</sup> Christian Boy. *Aurifex quidam Venetus*, 'a Venetian goldsmith.'

<sup>11</sup> Stoned. *Vix furorem Populi effugerit*, 'scarcely escaped the fury of the people.'

<sup>12</sup> Waggishnesse. Omitted in the Latin.

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Nature of Man : In so much, that if it issue not<sup>8</sup> towards Men, it will take vnto Other Liuing Creatures : As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell<sup>9</sup> People, who neuertheless, are kinde to Beasts, and giue Almes to Dogs, and Birds : In so much, as *Busbechius*<sup>a</sup> reporteth ; A Christian Boy<sup>10</sup> in *Constantinople*, had liked to haue been stoned,<sup>11</sup> for gagging, in a waggishnesse,<sup>12</sup> a longe Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of *Goodnesse*, or *Charity*, may be committed.

The *Italians* haue an vngracious Prouerb ; *Tanto buon che val niente : So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctōrs of *Italy*,<sup>13</sup> *Nicholas Macciauel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes: *That the Christian Faith, had giuen vp Good<sup>14</sup> Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannicall, and vniust.<sup>b</sup>* Which he spake, because indeed there was neuer Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodnesse*, as the Christian Religion doth. Therefore to auoid the Scandall, and the Danger<sup>15</sup> both; it is good to take knowledge, of the



<sup>a</sup> Augier de Ghislien, Seigneur de Busbecq. [b. 1522—d. 28 Oct. 1592] German ambassador to Turkey, wrote *Legationis Turcicæ epistolæ quatuor*, first published entire at Paris in 1589. The above circumstance is narrated in Letter III. p. 141. Ed. 1595, dated Constantinople. Calendis Iunij. 1560.

<sup>b</sup> Machiavelli. *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*. ii. 2.

<sup>13</sup> One of the Doctors of Italy. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>14</sup> Good. *Probos et innocentes*, 'good and harmless.'

<sup>15</sup> Danger. *Periculi Ictum et Minas*, 'the stroke and the threats of danger.'

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errours of an habite so excellent. Seeke the good of other Men, but bee not in bondage to their faces, or fancies, for that is but facilitye, and softnes which taketh an honest minde Prisoner. Neither give thou *Æfops* Cock a gemme, who would be better pleased and happier, if he had had a Barley corne. The Example of *God* teacheth the lesson truly; He sendes his rayne, and maketh his *Sun* to shine vpon the iust and vniust, but he doth not rayne wealth, nor Shyne honours, and vertues vpon Men equallye; Common benefittes are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefittes with choise. And beware how in making the pourtraiture, thou breakest the patterne: For *Diuinitye* maketh the love of ourselues the *patterne*, the love of our Neighbours, but the *pourtraiture*. *Sell all thou hast, and giue it to the poore and*

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errors of an habite so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies: for that is but facility, and softnesse; which taketh an honest minde prisoner. Neither giue thou *Æfops* Cocke a *gem*, who would be better pleased and happier, if he had had a Barly corn. The example of *God* teacheth the lesson truly. He sendeth his raine, and maketh his sunneto shine vpon the iust, and vniust; but hee doth not raine wealth, nor shine honour and vertues vpon men equally. Common benefittes are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefittes with choise. And beware how in making the portraiture, thou breakest the patterne. For *Diuinitie* maketh the loue of ourselues the patterne, the loue of our neighbours but the *Portraiture*. *Sell all thou hast and giue it to the poore, and*

<sup>16</sup> Errours. *Errores, qui nos a recto tam insignis Habitus tramite, transversos agant,* 'the errors which drive us from the straight path of so excellent a habit.'



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Errours,<sup>16</sup> of an Habit, so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. Neither giue thou *Æfops* Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, vpon the Iust, and Vniust;*<sup>a</sup> But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, vpon Men equally. Common benefits, are to be communicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice.<sup>17</sup> And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Diuinitie maketh the Loue of our Selues the Patterne; The Loue of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and*

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xxv. 45.

<sup>17</sup> Choice. *Paucis, et cum delectu*, 'to a few, and with choice.

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*followe me*, but fell not all thou hast, except thou come, and followe me; that is, except thou have a vocation, wherein thou maiest doe as much good with litle meanes, as with great; For otherwise in feeding the streames, thou dryest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of *Goodnes* directed by right reason; but there is in some Men, euen in *Nature* a disposition towards it; as on th[e]other side there is a naturall Malignity; For there bee that in their nature doe not affect the good of others. The lighter sorte of Malignitye turneth but to a Crofnes, or frowardnes, or aptnes to oppose, or difficilenes, or the like, but the deeper sorte to envye and meere mischeif.

There be manie  
that make it  
their practize to bring Men

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*follow me*; but fell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou haue a vocation, wherein thou maiest doe as much good with litle meanes, as with great: For otherwise in feeding the streames, thou driest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of goodnesse, directed by right reason: but there is in some men, euen in *nature*, a disposition towards it: as on the other side, there is a natural malignity. For there bee that in their nature doe not affect the good of others: the lighter sort of malignitie, turneth but to a crossnesse, or frowardnesse, or aptnesse to oppose, or difficilnesse, or the like: but the deeper sort, to enuie and meere mischief.

There be many  
*Misanthropi*, that make it  
their practise to bring men

<sup>18</sup> Nature. *Ingenii proprii Instinctu*, 'by the instinct of their nature.'

<sup>19</sup> Deeper. *Gravius . . . atque altius*, 'The more serious and deeper.'

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*follow mee:*<sup>a</sup> But sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou haue a Vocation, wherin thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a *Habit* of *Goodnesse*, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, euen in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature,<sup>18</sup> doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crofnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse, or the like; but the deeper<sup>19</sup> Sort, to Enuy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are euer on the loading Part;<sup>20</sup> Not so good as the Dogs, that licked *Lazarus* Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, vpon any Thing that is raw;<sup>21</sup>

*Misanthropi*, that make it their Practise, to bring Men,

<sup>a</sup> Mark x. 21.

<sup>20</sup> On the loading Part. *Easque semper aggravant*, 'and always increase them.'

<sup>21</sup> Raw. *Cruda quæque et excoriata*, 'what is raw and excoriated.'

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to the Boughe, and yet have never a Tree for the purpose in their Gardens;

Such dispositions are the very errors of *humaine Nature*, and yet they are the fittest tymbre to make great Politiques of, like to knee-tymbre that is good for Shippes that are ordained to be tossed; but not for building houses, that shall stand firme.'



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to the bough, and yet haue neuer a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as *Timon* had. Such dispositions are the very errors of *humane nature*: and yet they are the fittest timber to make great Politiques of; like to knee-timber that is good for shippes that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firme.



<sup>22</sup> Such dispositions. *Ingenia ita disposita, non injuria vocare licet.*  
'natures thus disposed may be not unjustly called.'

<sup>23</sup> Errors. *Vomicas et Carcinomata.* 'boils and cancers.'

<sup>24</sup> Great Politiques. *Mercurii Politicii*; 'Mercurial politicians.'

<sup>25</sup> Strangers. *Hospites et Peregrinos.* 'strangers and foreigners.'

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to the Bough; And yet haue neuer a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions,<sup>22</sup> are the very Errours<sup>23</sup> of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques<sup>24</sup> of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houfes, that shall stand firme.

The Parts and Signes of *Goodnesse* are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers,<sup>25</sup> it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands; but a Continent, that ioynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes<sup>26</sup> that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it selfe, when it giues the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted aboue Iniuries; So that he cannot be shot.<sup>27</sup> If he be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighes Mens Mindes, and not their Traff. But aboue all, if he haue *S<sup>t</sup>. Pauls* Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from *Christ*, for the Saluation of his Brethren, it shewes much of a Diuine Nature,<sup>28</sup> and a kind of Conformity with *Christ* himselfe.



<sup>26</sup> Shewes. *Nobilitat*, 'ennobles.'

<sup>27</sup> Be shot. *Supra Injuriarum factum et Tela*, 'above the reach and the weapons of injury'

<sup>28</sup> Diuine Nature. *Proxime illum accedere ad Naturam diuinam*, 'that he approaches very near to the Divine nature.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 5. Of Beautie.



*V*ertue is like a rich stone, best plaine sett. And fuerlie vertue is best sett in a body that is comelie though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignitie of presence, then beawtie of aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that verie beautifull persons are otherwise of great vertue; as if nature were rather busie not to erre, then in labour to produce excellencye; And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spiritt; And studie rather behauour, then vertue.

In beautie that of favour is more then that of collour, and that of decent and

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## 24. Of Beauty.



*V*ertue is like a rich stone, best plain set: and surely vertue is best set in a body that is comely though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, then beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that verie beautiful persons are otherwise of great vertue; as if nature were rather busie not to erre, then in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they proue accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behauour then vertue.

In *Beautie*, that of fauour is more then that of colour; and that of decent and

## VII. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Of Delicate Features. *Delicato*, 'delicate.'

<sup>2</sup> Presence. *Aspectus*, 'of aspect.'

<sup>3</sup> Aspect. Omitted in the Latin.

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British Museum Copy.

## 43. Of Beauty.



Vertue is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And surely Vertue is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of Delicate Features:<sup>1</sup> And that hath rather dignity of Presence,<sup>2</sup> then *Beauty* of Aspect.<sup>3</sup> Neither is it almost seene, that very *Beautifulfull Persons*, are otherwise of great Vertue; As if Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour,<sup>4</sup> to produce Excellency. And therefore, they proue Accomplished,<sup>5</sup> but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behaviour, then Vertue; But this holds not alwaies; For *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip le Belle* of *France*, *Edward the Fourth* of *England*, *Alcibiades* of *Athens*, *Ismael the Sophy*<sup>6</sup> of *Persia*, were all High and Great Spirits;<sup>7</sup> And yet the most *Beautifulfull Men* of their Times.<sup>8</sup> In *Beauty*, that of Fauour,<sup>9</sup> is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and

<sup>4</sup> Labour. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> Accomplished. *Conversationibus apti*, 'fit for intercourse.'

<sup>6</sup> Sophy. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>7</sup> High and Great Spirits. *Viri prorsus magni*, 'very great men.'

<sup>8</sup> Of their Times. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>9</sup> Fauour. *Venustas*, 'comeliness.'

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gracious mocion, more then that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannott expresse, noe nor the first sight of the life; and there is noe excellent *Beautie*, that hath not some strangenes in the proporcions. A man cannot tell whether *Appelles* or *Albert Durere* were the more trifler; Whereof the one would make a Parsonage by Geometricall proporcions, the other by takeing the best partes out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such parsonages I thinke would please noe bodye, but the painter, that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter may make a better face then ever was; But he must doe it by a kinde of felicity (as a Musition, that maketh an excellent ayre in *Musick*) and not by rule.

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gratious motion, more then that of fauour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot expresse: no nor the first sight of the life: and there is no excellent beauty, that hath not some strangeness in the proportions. A man cannot tell whether *Apelles* or *Albert Durere* were the more trifler. Whereof one the would make a personage by Geometrical proportions, the other by taking the best parts out of diuers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages I thinke would please no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter may make a better face then euer was: But heemust doe it by a kinde of felicity, (as a Musitian that maketh an excellent aire in *Musick*) and not by rule.

<sup>10</sup> Motion. *Oris et Corporis motus*, 'motion of the face and body.'

<sup>11</sup> Personages. *Effigies*, 'images.'

<sup>12</sup> That made them. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>13</sup> Was *In vivis fuit*, 'was in life.'

<sup>14</sup> Felicity. *Felicitate quodam, et casu*, 'by a kind of felicity and chance.'



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Gracious Motion,<sup>10</sup> more then that of Fauour. That is the best Part of *Beauty*, which a Picture cannot expresse; No nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no Excellent *Beauty*, that hath not some Strange-nesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the best Parts out of diuers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Personages,<sup>11</sup> I thinke, would please no Body, but the Painter, that made them.<sup>12</sup> Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then euer was;<sup>13</sup> But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity,<sup>14</sup> (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke)<sup>15</sup> And not by Rule.<sup>16</sup>

A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde neuer a good;<sup>17</sup> And yet all together doe well.

<sup>15</sup> Excellent Ayre in Musicke. *Cantus*, 'melody.'

<sup>16</sup> Rule *Regulis Artis*, 'rules of art.'

<sup>17</sup> Finde neuer a good. *Vix unam referes quam separatim probes*, 'you shall scarcely find one that you will approve of separately.'

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Yf it be true that the principall part of Beautie is in decent mocion, Certainly it is no mervaile, though persons in yeeres seeme manie tymes more amiable. *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*. For noe youth can be comely, but by pardon and by considering the youth, as to make vpp the comelynes. Beautie is as fommer fruites which are easie to corrupt, and cannott last; and for the most part it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a litle out of countenance; But yet certainlie againe if it light well, it maketh vertues shyne, and vices blushe.

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If it bee true that the principall part of beautie is in decent motion; certainly it is no maruell, though persons in yeeres seeme many times more amiable *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*. For no youth can be comely, but by pardon, and considering the youth, as to make vp the comlineffe. Beauty is as fommer fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: and for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; But yet certainly againe, if it light well it maketh vertues shine, and vices blush.



<sup>18</sup> More Amiable. *Junioribus amabiliores*, 'more amiable than younger persons.'

<sup>19</sup> Before *Pulchrorum*. *Secundum illud Euripidis*, 'according to the saying of Euripides.'

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If it be true, that the Principall Part of *Beauty*, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no maruaile, though *Persons in Yeares*, seeme many times more Amiable;<sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup>*Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher:*<sup>a</sup> For no *Youth* can be comely,<sup>20</sup> but by Pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make vp the comelineffe. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age* a little out of countenance:<sup>21</sup> But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.



<sup>a</sup> *The autumn of beautiful persons is beautiful.* A saying of Euripides, preserved in Plutarch's *Alcibiades*. i. 5.

"Euripides would say of persons that were beautifull, and yet in some yeeres: *In faire bodies, not onely the Spring is pleasant, but also the Autumne.*" Lord Bacon's *Apophth.* No. 145. Ed. 1625.

<sup>20</sup> *After comely.* *Per omnia*, 'in everything.'

<sup>21</sup> Out of countenance. *Sero panitentem*, 'repenting too late.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 6. Of seeming wise.

**T**HATH beene an opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme, and the *Spaniards* seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it bee betwene Nations, Certainly it is soe betwene Man, and Man. For as the Appostle saith of *Godlines*. *Having a shew of Godlines, but denying the power thereof* Soe certainly there are in pointe of wisdom, and sufficiency, that doe nothing, or litle verie solemlye. *Magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing, and fitt for a *Satyre* to persons of Iudgement, to see what shifts theis *Formalists* have, and what perspectiues to make *superficies*, to seeme body, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close, and reserved, as they will not shewe their

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## 20. Of Seeming wise.

**T**HATH beene an opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme, and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are: But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the Appostle saith of *godlinesse*: *Having a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof*; Soe certainly there are in point of wisdom and sufficiencie, that doe nothing or litle verie solemly; *Magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a *Satyre* to persons of iudgement, to see what shifts these formalists haue, and what perspectiues to make *Superficies* to seeme body, that hath depth and bulke. Some are so close, and reserved, as they will not shew their

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Prudentia Apparente*, 'of seeming wisdom.'

<sup>2</sup> In Points of Wisdom, and Sufficiency. *Cum Prudentes minime*, 'though they are not at all wise.'

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British Museum Copy.

26. Of Seeming wise.<sup>1</sup>

T hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme ; And the *Spaniards* seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, Certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godlinesse* ; *Having a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof*;<sup>a</sup> So certainly, there are in Points of Wisedome, and Sufficiency,<sup>2</sup> that doe Nothing or Little, very solemnly ; *Magno conatu Nugas*.<sup>b</sup> It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Iudgement, to see what shifts<sup>3</sup> these Formalists haue, and what Prospectives, to make *Superficies* to seeme *Body*, that hath Depth and Bulke.<sup>4</sup> Some are so Close and Reserued,<sup>5</sup> as they will not shew their

<sup>a</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 5.

<sup>b</sup> *Magno conatu magnas nugas dixerit*, 'with great effort she uttered great trifles.' Terence. *Heauton*. iv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Shifts. *In quot Formas se vertant*, 'into how many forms they turn themselves.'

<sup>4</sup> Bulke. *Dimensionem Solui*, 'the bulk of a solid body.'

<sup>5</sup> Reserued. *In se declarando parci*, 'reserved in declaring themselves.'

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wares, but by a darke light, and feeme alwaies to keepe back fomewhat, and when they knowe within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well knowe, would nevertheles feeme to others to knowe of that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with countenance, and gesture, and are wise by signes, as *Cicero* faieth of *Piso*, that when he answered him, hee fetched one of his browes vp to his forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chinne; *respondes altera ad frontem sub lato, altero ad mentem\* depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to beare it by speaking a great word, and being peremptorye, and will goe on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some whatsoever is beyond their reach they will feeme to despise, or make light of, as impertinent or curious, and so

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wares, but by a darke light; and feeme alwaies to keepe back fomewhat; and when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know; would neuerthelesse feeme to others, to knowe of that which they may not well speake: Some helpe themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signes, as *Cicero* faith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows vp to his forehead, and bent the other downe to his chinne: *Respondes altero ad frontem sub lato, altero ad mentem\* depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to beare it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory, and will goe on and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, they will feeme to despise or make light of, as impertinent or curious; and so

\* A clerical error for *mentum*.

¶ Keepe backe. *Videri volunt, plus significare, quam loqui*, 'wish to seem to mean more than they say.'

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Wares, but by a darke Light:  
 And seeme alwaies to keepe  
 backe<sup>6</sup> somewhat: And when  
 they know within them-  
 selues, they speake of that  
 they doe not well know,  
 would neuerthelesse seeme  
 to others, to know of that  
 which they may not well<sup>7</sup>  
 speake. Some helpe them-  
 selues with Countenance,  
 and Gesture, and are wise  
 by Signes; As *Cicero* saith  
 of *Piso*, that when he an-  
 swered him, he fetched one  
 of his Browes, vp to his  
 Forehead, and bent the  
 other downe to his Chin:  
*Respondes, altero ad Fron-*  
*tem sublato, altero ad Men-*  
*tum depresso Supercilio;*  
*Crudelitatem tibi non pla-*  
*cere.*<sup>a</sup> Some thinke to beare  
 it, by Speaking a great  
 Word, and being peremp-  
 tory; And goe on, and  
 take by admittance that,  
 which they cannot make  
 good. Some, whatfoeuer  
 is beyond their reach,  
 will seeme to despise or  
 make light of it, as Imperti-  
 nent or Curious; And so

<sup>a</sup> You answer—with one eyebrow lifted to the forehead, and the other lowered to the chin—that crnelty does not please you. *Cicero. In L. C. Pisone. vi.*

<sup>7</sup> Well. *Tuto*, 'safely.'

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would have their *Ignorance* seeme Iudgement. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amuzing Men with a subtiltye, blanch the matter; of whom *Gellius* saith. *Hominem delirum qui verborum minutiis, rerum frangit pondera*, of which kind also *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorne, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the begininge to the end; But generally such Men in all deliberacions finde ease to be of the Negative side, and affect a credit to object, and foretell difficultnes; For when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new worke; which false pointe of wisdom is the bane of Busines. To conclude there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Begger, hath so manie trickes to

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would haue their *Ignorance* seeme iudgement. Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by amufing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter. Of whom *Gelius* saith; *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutijs rerum frangit pondera*. Of which kinde also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorne, and maketh him a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties. For when propositions are denied, there is an end of them, but if they bee allowed, it requireth a new worke; which false point of wisdom, is the bane of businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward begger, hath so many tricks to

<sup>8</sup> Would haue. *Inscitiam suam obtendunt*, 'conceal their ignorance.'

<sup>9</sup> Iudgement. *Judicio limato*, 'with a show of refined judgment.'

<sup>10</sup> Men. *Hominum Ingenia*, 'men's minds.'

<sup>11</sup> Blanch the matter. *Rem prætervehuntur*, 'slip the matter by.'

<sup>12</sup> Speech. *Sermonem integrum*, 'entire speech.'

<sup>13</sup> Finde ease. *Libenter se applicant*, 'willingly apply themselves to.'

<sup>14</sup> Difficulties. *Scrupulis et Difficultatibus*, 'scruples and difficulties.'



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would haue<sup>s</sup> their Ignorance seeme Iudgement.<sup>9</sup> Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by Amusing Men<sup>10</sup> with a Subtilty, blanch the matter;<sup>11</sup> Of whom *A. Gellius*<sup>a</sup> saith; *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera.*<sup>a</sup> Of which kinde also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus*, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech,<sup>12</sup> that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations, finde ease<sup>13</sup> to be of the Negative Side; and affect a Credit, to object and foretell Difficulties:<sup>14</sup> For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisdom, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar,<sup>15</sup> hath so many Tricks, to

<sup>a</sup> [Lit. *An insane man who breaks the weight of things with fineness of words.*] A mistaken quotation as to the Author. It is from Quintillian, who, referring to Seneca, says: *Si rerum pondera minutissimæ sententis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur.* 'If he had not broken the weight of things with most minute sentences, he would have been honoured rather by the unanimous approval of the learned, than by the admiration of boys.' *Iust. x. 1.*

<sup>15</sup> Inward Beggar. *Decoctor Rei familiaris occultus*, 'hidden spendthrift of his family property.'

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vphold the credit of their  
Wealth, as these empty  
persons have to mainteine  
the Credit of their suffi-  
ciencye.

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vphold the credit of their  
wealth, as these emptie  
persons haue to maintaine  
the credit of their suffi-  
ciency.



<sup>16</sup> Empty. *Vera Prudentia destituti* 'destitute of true wisdom.'

<sup>17</sup> Sufficiency. *Prudentia*, 'wisdom.'

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vphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty<sup>16</sup> persons haue, to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency.<sup>17</sup> *Seeming Wife*<sup>18</sup>-men may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man choose them for Employment;<sup>19</sup> For certainly, you were better take for Businesse, a Man somewhat Absurd, then ouer Formall.



<sup>18</sup> Seeming Wise. *Hac prudentia præditi*, 'endowed with this wisdom.'

<sup>19</sup> Employment. *Ad Negotia graui tractanda*, 'to manage important business.'

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*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 9. Of Ambition.



*A*mbition is like *Choler* which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh *Aduſt*, and thereby maligne and venemous. So ambitious Men if they find the way open of their rising and still gett forward, they are rather buſie then dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke vppon Men and matters with an euill Eye, and are best pleased when things goe backward; which is the worst property that can bee in a seruante of a Prince, or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they vse ambitious Men, to handle it soe, as they be still progressive, and not

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## 22. Of Ambition.



*A*mbition is like *choler*; which is an humor that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot haue his way, it becommeth a *duſt*, and thereby maligne and venemous. So ambitious men if they finde the way open for their rising, and still get forward; they are rather buſie then dangerous: but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke vpon men, and matters with an euill eie, and are best pleased when things goe backward: which is the worst propertie that can be in a seruant of a *Prince*, or State. Therefore it is good for *Princes*, if they vse ambitious men to handle it so, as they be stil progressive, and not

## EE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> *Aduſt.* *Aduſta*, 'inflamed.'

<sup>2</sup> *Way Open.* *Repulſas non patiantur*, 'do not suffer repulses.'

<sup>3</sup> *Rising.* *Ambitu et Petitione*, 'rising and desire.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 36. Of Ambition.



*Ambition* is like *Choler*; Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacrity, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot haue his Way, it becommeth Aduſt,<sup>1</sup> and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they finde the way Open<sup>2</sup> for their Riſing,<sup>3</sup> and ſtill get forward, they are rather Buſie then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their deſires,<sup>4</sup> they become ſecretly diſcontent,<sup>5</sup> and looke vpon Men and matters, with an Euill Eye; And are beſt pleaſed,<sup>6</sup> when Things goe backward; Which is the worſt Propertie, in a Seruant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they uſe *Ambitious Men*, to handle it ſo, as they be ſtill Progreſſiue, and not

<sup>1</sup> After deſires. *Et ſubinde fruſtrentur*, 'and are frequently fruſtrated.'

<sup>2</sup> Become ſecretly diſcontent. *Malevolentiam et Inuidiam in Corde ſeruent*, 'they cheriſh ill-will and envy in their heart.'

<sup>3</sup> Beſt pleaſed. *In ſinu lætantur*, 'pleaſed in their heart.'

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retrograde; which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them.

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retrograde: which because it cannot be without inconvenience; it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them.

<sup>7</sup> Commanders. *Imperatores et Duces*, 'commanders and leaders.'

<sup>8</sup> Dispenseth. *Compensat*, 'equalizes.'

<sup>9</sup> Pulling downe, &c. *Ut prægrandibus alas amputent, et eorum potentiam labefactent*, 'to cut the wings of persons who are too great, and to diminish their power.'

<sup>10</sup> Bridled. *Frenandi et coercendi*, 'bridled and restrained.'

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Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconuenience, it is good not to vse such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Seruice, they will take Order to make their Seruice fall with them. But since we haue said, it were good not to vse Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be vpon necessitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cafes, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders<sup>7</sup> in the Warres, must be taken, be they neuer so *Ambitious*: For the Vse of their Seruice dispenseth<sup>8</sup> with the rest; And to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great vse of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Enuie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Doue, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Vse also of *Ambitious Men*, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subiect that ouer-tops:<sup>9</sup> As *Tiberius* vsed *Macro* in the Pulling down of *Seianus*. Since therefore they must be vsed, in such Cafes, there resteth to speake, how they are to be brideled,<sup>10</sup> that they may be lesse *dangerous*.<sup>11</sup> There is lesse *danger* of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh<sup>12</sup> of Nature, then Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raised,<sup>13</sup> then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weaknesse<sup>14</sup> in Princes, to have *Fauorites*:<sup>15</sup> But it is, of

<sup>11</sup> Dangerous. *Ut minus ab illis impendeat Periculi*, 'that less danger may impend from them.'

<sup>12</sup> Harsh. *Truciores et asperiores*, 'more stern and harsh.'

<sup>13</sup> Raised. *Honoribus admoti*, 'raised to honours.'

<sup>14</sup> Weaknesse. *Signum infirmi Animi*, 'sign of a weak mind.'

<sup>15</sup> Fauorites. *Gratiosos et Intimos*, 'favourites and intimates.'

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Of Ambitions it is the lesse harmefull, the ambition to prevaile in great thinges, then that other to appeare in every thinge. For that breedes confusion, and marres bufineffe.

Of Ambitions, it is the lesse harmefull, the Ambition to preuaile in great things; then that other to appeare in euey thing: For that breedes confusion, and marres bufineffe.

Hee that feeketh to be eminent amongest able

He that feeketh to be eminent amongst able

<sup>16</sup> Ambitious Great-Ones. *Potentiam nimiam Procerum, aut Magistratum*, 'too great power of nobles or magistrates.'

<sup>17</sup> Any Other. *Alius aliquis ex Proceribus*, 'any other of the nobles.'

<sup>18</sup> Proud. *Ambitiosos, et proteruos*, 'ambitious and proud.'

<sup>19</sup> Keep Things steady. *Qui Partes medias teneant, ne Factiones omnia pessudent*: 'to hold a middle course, lest factions ruin everything.'

<sup>20</sup> Hauling of them Obnoxious to Ruine. *Quantum ad ingenerandam illam in Ambitiosis opinionem, ut se ruinæ proximos putent, atque eo modo contineantur*; 'as to creating an opinion in ambitious persons that they are near ruin, and thus restraining them.'



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all others, the best Remedy against *Ambitious Great-Ones*.<sup>16</sup> For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring, lieth by the *Favourite*, it is Impossible, Any Other<sup>17</sup> should be *Ouer-great*. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud<sup>18</sup> as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady.<sup>19</sup> For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some Meaner Persons, to be, as it were, Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the hauing of them Obnoxious to Ruine,<sup>20</sup> if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes,<sup>21</sup> and proue dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way is, the Enterchange continually of Favours, and Disgraces; whereby they may not know, what to expect;<sup>22</sup> And be,<sup>23</sup> as it were, in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is lesse harmefull, the *Ambition* to preuaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in euery thing; For that breeds Confusion,<sup>24</sup> and marres Businesse. But yet, it is lesse danger, to haue an *Ambitious* Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances.<sup>25</sup>

He that seeketh to be  
Eminent amongst Able

<sup>16</sup> Designes. *Conatus et Machinationes*, 'endeavours and-designs.'

<sup>22</sup> What to expect. *Unde attoniti et confusi hæcant, nescientes quid expectent*, 'whereby they may remain astonished and confused, not knowing what to expect.'

<sup>23</sup> Be. *Ambulent*, 'walk.'

<sup>24</sup> Confusion. *Confusionem Consiliorum*, 'confusion of councils.'

<sup>25</sup> Dependances. *Gratia et Clientelis*, 'favour and following.'

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Men, hathe a great Taske, but that is ever good for the publike. But hee that plotteth to be the onely figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. Honor hath three things in it. *The Vantage ground to doe good. The Approache to Kings, and principall persons, And the Rayfing of a Mans owne Fortune.* Hee that hath the best of theis intencions when he aspireth is an honest Man, and that Prince that can discerne of theis intencions in another that aspireth is a wise Prince. Generally lett Princes, and States chuse such Ministers, as are more sensible of dewty, then of Ryfing, and such as love busines rather vponn conscience, then vponn bravery, and lett them discerne a busie nature, from a willing mind.

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men, hath a great taske : but that is euer good for the publike. But he that plots to bee the onely figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it; The vantage ground to doe good; The approach to Kings and principall persons; And the raising of a mans owne *Fortunes.* He that hath the best of these intentions when hee aspireth, as an honest man; and that Prince that can discerne of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States chuse such ministers, as are more sensible of duty, then of rising; and such as loue businesse rather vpon conscience, then vpon brauery: and let them discerne a busie nature, from a willing minde.



<sup>26</sup> Able Men. *Strenuos, et Negotiis pares*, 'active men and men fit for business.'

<sup>27</sup> Plots. *Machinatur, ut Viros cordatos deprimat, et*, 'plots to depress wise men, and.'

<sup>28</sup> Decay. *Lucs et calamitas*, 'decay and misfortune.'

<sup>29</sup> Kings. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>30</sup> Discerne. *Dignoscere et distinguere*, 'discern and distinguish.'

<sup>31</sup> That aspireth. *In Seruis suis*, 'in his servants.'

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Men,<sup>26</sup> hath a great Taske ; but that is euer good for the Publique. But he that plots,<sup>27</sup> to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay<sup>28</sup> of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it : The Vantage Ground to doe good : The Approach to Kings,<sup>29</sup> and principall Persons : And the Raifing of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discern<sup>30</sup> of these Intentions, in Another that aspireth,<sup>31</sup> is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States,<sup>32</sup> choose such Ministers, as are more sensible of Duty, then of Rising ; And such as loue<sup>33</sup> Businesse rather vpon Conscience,<sup>34</sup> then vpon Brauery : And let them Discerne<sup>35</sup> a Busie<sup>36</sup> Nature, from a Willing<sup>37</sup> Minde.



<sup>32</sup> States. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>33</sup> Loue. *Amplectantur et ament*, 'embrace and love.'

<sup>34</sup> Conscience. *Conscientia bona*, 'good conscience.'

<sup>35</sup> Discerne. *Distinguant Principes cum iudicio*, 'let princes discern with judgment.'

<sup>36</sup> Busie. *Quæ sese omnibus Negotiis ingerunt*, 'which obtrude themselves into every business.'

<sup>37</sup> Willing. *Promptum seu alacrem*, 'ready or alert.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 13. Of Riches.



Cannot call Riches better then the baggage of *Vertue* (the Romaine word is better, *Impedimenta*) For as the *Baggage* is to an Army, so is Riches to vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde; but it hindereth the Marche, yea and the care of it sometimes leaseth, or disturbeth the victorye. Of great Riches there is noe Reall vse, except it bee in the distribucion, the rest is but conceit. So saith *Solomon*; *where much is, there are manie to consume it, and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes!* The personall good of anie Man cannot reach to feele them. There is a custody of great Riches, or a power of *Dole*, and Donatiue; or a fame of them, but noe solid vse to the

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## 21. Of Riches.



Cannot call Riches better then the baggage of *Vertue*; the Romane word is better, *Impedimenta*; For as the baggage is to an Armie, so is riches to *vertue*: It cannot be spared, nor left behinde; but it hindreth the March, yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great *Riches* there is no reall vse, except it bee in the distribution: the rest is but conceit. So saith *Salomon*; *Where much is, there are many to consume it, and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personall fruition in any man cannot reach to feele great riches; there is a custody of them; or a power of *Dole* and donatiue of them; or a fame of them; but no solide vse to the

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Better. *Cognomine magis proprio*, 'by a more proper name.'

<sup>2</sup> It cannot . . . March, '*Necessaria siquidem sunt, sed graves*, 'it is necessary but heavy.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 34. Of Riches.



Cannot call  
*Riches* better,<sup>1</sup>  
then the Bag-  
gage of Vertue.

The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde, but it hindreth the March;<sup>2</sup> Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth<sup>3</sup> or disturbeth the Victory: Of great *Riches*, there is no Reall Vse, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith *Salomon*; *Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes?*<sup>a</sup> The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great *Riches*.<sup>4</sup> There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donatiue of them; Or a Fame<sup>5</sup> of them; But no Solid Vse to the

<sup>a</sup> Eccles. v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Loseth. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>4</sup> Personall Fruition . . . *Riches*. *Possessio Divitiarum nulla voluptate Dominum perfundit, quantum ad Sensum*: 'the possession of riches does not fill the owner with any pleasure as to sensation.'

<sup>5</sup> Fame. *Fama, et Inflatio*, 'fame and puffing up.'

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Owner. Doe you not see what fayned prices are sett vpponn litle stones, and rarities, and what workes of ostentacion are vndertaken, because there mought seeme to be some vse of great Riches? But then they may be of vse to buy Men out of Daungers, or troubles; as *Salomon* fayeth; *Riches are as a stronge-houlde, in the imaginacion, of the riche Man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *imaginacion*, and not alwaies in *fact*. Ffor certainly great Riches have fould more men, then they have bought out. Seeke not proud Riches, but such as thou mayest gett iustly, vse soberly, distribute chearefully and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract, nor Frierly contempt of them, but distinguish as *Cicero* saieth well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat non auaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum*

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owner. Doe you not see what fayned prizes are set vpon little stones, and rarities, and what workes of ostentation are vndertaken, because there might seeme to be some vse of great riches? But then they may be of vse to buy men out of dangers or troubles: as *Salomon* faith; *Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*; and not alwaies in *fact*. For certainly, great riches haue fold more men then they haue bought out. Seeke not proud Riches; but such as thou maiest get iustly; vse soberlie, distribute cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no abstract, nor frierly contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* faith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*: *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat non auaritiæ prædam sed instrumentum*

<sup>6</sup> Works of Ostentation. *Inania Opera, ad ostentationem meram*, 'vain works, merely for ostentation.'

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Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Prices, are fet vpon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation,<sup>6</sup> are vndertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Vse of great *Riches*? But then you will say, they may be of vse, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man.*<sup>a</sup> But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not alwaies in *Fact*. For certainly Great *Riches*, haue sold more Men, than they haue bought out. Seeke not Proud<sup>7</sup> *Riches*, but such as thou maist get iustly, Vse soberly, Distribute cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no Abstract<sup>8</sup> or Friarly<sup>9</sup> Contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Auaritæ Prædam, sed Instrumentum*

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xviii. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Proud. *Magnas*, 'great.'

<sup>8</sup> Abstract. *A Seculo abstracti*, 'or a man removed from the world.'

<sup>9</sup> Friarly. *Instar Monachi*, 'like a monk.'

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*bonitati quæri.*

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*bonitati quæri.*<sup>10</sup> Beware. *Nec inhia*, 'nor gape after.'<sup>11</sup> Vniust Meanes. *Injustitiam et Scelera*, 'injustice and crimes.'<sup>12</sup> Husbandry. *Agriculturam, et Lucra Rustica*, 'husbandry and the profits of the country.'<sup>13</sup> Greatest Audits. *Maximi Reditus, e Re Rustica*, 'the greatest revenues from husbandry.'



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*Bonitati, quæri.*<sup>a</sup> Hearken also to *Salomon*, and beware<sup>10</sup> of Hasty Gathering of *Riches*: *Qui festinat ad Diuitias, non erit infons.*<sup>b</sup> The Poets faine that when *Plutus*, (which is *Riches*,) is sent from *Iupiter*, he limps, and goes slowly; But when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that *Riches* gotten by Good Meanes, and Iust Labour, pace slowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling vpon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Deuill. For when *Riches* come from the Deuill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and vniust Meanes,<sup>11</sup>) they come vpon Speed. The *Waies to enrich* are many, and most of them Foule. *Parfimony* is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The *Improuement of the Ground*, is the most Naturall Obtaining of *Riches*; For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe floope to husbandry,<sup>12</sup> it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits,<sup>13</sup> of any Man in my Time: A Great Grafier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber<sup>14</sup> Man, A Great Colliar, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man. and se of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly obserued by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little *Riches*, and very easly to Great *Riches*. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of

<sup>a</sup> This is spoken by Cicero of Caius Curius, the father of Rabirius Postumus. The passage [*Pro C. R. Postumo. 2.*] runs thus, *Ut in augenda re non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quærere videtur*, 'that he seemed in the increase of his property, not to seek a prey for his avarice but a means of doing good.'

<sup>b</sup> Prov. xxviii. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Timber. *Silvis, tam cædis quam grandioribus*, 'both underwood and timber.'

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<sup>15</sup> Prime of Markets. *Nundinarum et Mercatum Opportunitates*, the opportunities of fairs and markets.'

<sup>16</sup> Few Mens Money. *Quibus . . . perpauci admodum Homines apti sunt*, 'for which few men are ready.'

<sup>17</sup> Younger. *Qui minus Pecunia abundant*, 'who have less money.'

<sup>18</sup> Ordinary Trades and Vocations. *Professionibus*, 'businesses.'

<sup>19</sup> Good and faire dealing. *Probitatem in Negotiando*, 'honesty in dealing.'

<sup>20</sup> Bargaines. *Contractibus majoribus*, 'greater bargains.'

<sup>21</sup> Necessity. *Necessitates et Angustias*, 'necessities and straits.'

<sup>22</sup> Broake by . . . to draw them on. *In Damnum Dominorum corrumpat*, 'corrupt, to the injury of their masters.'

<sup>23</sup> Cunningly. *Artificiose et vafre*, 'by artifices and cunning.'

<sup>24</sup> Crafty and Naught. *Merito damnanda*, 'deservedly to be condemned.'

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Markets,<sup>15</sup> and ouercome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money,<sup>16</sup> and be Partner in the Industries of Younger<sup>17</sup> Men, he cannot but encrease mainely. The *Gaines of Ordinary Trades and Vocations*,<sup>18</sup> are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing.<sup>19</sup> But the *Gaines of Bargaines*,<sup>20</sup> are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men shall waite vpon Others Necessity,<sup>21</sup> broake by Seruants and Instruments to draw them on,<sup>22</sup> Put off Others cunningly<sup>23</sup> that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught.<sup>24</sup> As for the *Chopping of Bargaines*,<sup>25</sup> when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell ouer againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both vpon the Seller, and vpon the Buyer. *Sharings*, doe greatly *Enrich*, if the Hands<sup>26</sup> be well chofen, that are trusted. *Vfury* is the certaineft Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eat his Bread; *In sudore vultus alieni*.<sup>a</sup> And besides, doth Plough<sup>27</sup> vpon Sundaies.<sup>28</sup> But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes,<sup>29</sup> For that the Scriueners and Broakers, doe valew unfound Men, to serue their owne Turne. The *Fortune*,<sup>30</sup> in being the First in an *Inuention*, or in a *Priuiledge*, doth cause sometimes a wonderfull<sup>31</sup> Ouergrowth<sup>32</sup> in *Riches*; As it was with the first Sugar Man,<sup>33</sup> in the *Canaries*: Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to haue as

<sup>a</sup> *In the sweat of another's brow.*

<sup>25</sup> Chopping of Bargaines. *Emptiones*, 'purchases.'

<sup>26</sup> Hands. *Quibuscum Societas iuitur*, 'those with whom the partnership is entered into.'

<sup>27</sup> Plough. *Operari non cessat*, 'does not cease to work.'

<sup>28</sup> Sundaies. *Sabbatho*, 'the Sabbath.' [This is an early (1625) instance of the Sunday being called the 'Sabbath.' *Dies Sabbati* being our Saturday.]

<sup>29</sup> Flawes. *Rimis secretis*, 'secret flaws.'

<sup>30</sup> The Fortune. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>31</sup> Wonderfull. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>32</sup> Ouergrowth. *Inundationem*, 'overflow.'

<sup>33</sup> Sugar Man. *Sacchari excoctori*, 'sugar baker.'

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Neither trust thou much others, that seeme to despise them, For they despise them, that despaire of them, and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise ; Riches have winges, and sometymes they fly away of themselves, sometymes they must be sett flying to bring

Neither trust thou much others, that seeme to despise them: For they despise them that dispaire of them, and none worse, when they come to them. Be not penny-wise ; Riches haue wings ; and sometymes they fly away of themselves ; sometimes they must bee fet flying, to bring

<sup>34</sup> Often times : . . Pouerty. *Vix Fortunarum Dispendia vitabit*, 'will scarcely avoid the waste of his fortune.'

<sup>35</sup> Not restrained. *Lege nulla prohibentur*, 'forbidden by no law.'

<sup>36</sup> Great Meanes. *Viam sternunt facilem*, 'have an easy road.'

<sup>37</sup> Seruicc. *Servitium Regum, aut Magnatum*, 'services of kings or great persons.'

<sup>38</sup> Though it be of the best Rise. *Dignitatem quandam habet*, 'has some dignity.'

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well Iudgement, as Invention, he may do great Matters ; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth vpon *Gaines Certaine*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches* : And he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth often times breake, and come to Pouerty :<sup>34</sup> It is good therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties*, that may vphold losses. *Monopolies*, and *Coemption* of *Wares* for *Resale*, where they are not restrained,<sup>35</sup> are great Meanes<sup>36</sup> to enrich ; especially, if the Partie haue intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Seruice*,<sup>37</sup> though it be of the best Rise,<sup>38</sup> yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding<sup>39</sup> Humours, and other Seruile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca* ; *Testamenta et Orbos, tanquam Indagine capi* ;<sup>a</sup>) It is yet worse ; By how much Men submit themselues, to Meaner Persons, then in *Seruice*.

Beleue not much them, that seeme to despise *Riches* : For they despise them, that despaire of them ; And none Worse,<sup>40</sup> when they come to them.<sup>41</sup> Benot Penny-wife,<sup>42</sup> *Riches* haue Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselues, sometimes they must be fet Flying to bring

<sup>a</sup> He took testaments and wardships as with a net. Tacitus. *Annales*. xiii. 42.

<sup>39</sup> Feeding. *Sese flectendo*, 'bending one's self to.'

<sup>40</sup> Worse. *Tenaciores*, 'more grasping.'

<sup>41</sup> Come to them. *Ubi incipient ditescere*, 'when they begin to grow rich.'

<sup>42</sup> Penny-wise. *In Minutiis tenax*, 'stingy in small things.'

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in more. Men leave their riches, either to their kindred, or to the publique, and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an heire, is as a lure to all the Birdes of pray rounde about, to feize on him, if he bee not the better establiſhed in yeares and Iudgement. Likewise glorious giftes and foundacions are

but the painted Sepulchres of *Almes*, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt.

Therefore measure not thie advauncementes by quantity, but frame them by measure; and deferre not Charities till Death; For certainly if a Man weight it rightly, he that doth soe, is rather liberall of another mans, then of his owne.

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in more. Men leave their riches, either to their kindred, or to the publique: and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heire, is as a lure to al the birds of prey round about, to feise on him, if he bee not the better stabliſhed in yeeres and iudgement. Likewise glorious gifts, and foundations, are

but the painted Sepulchres of *Almes*, which soone wil putrifie and corrupt inwardly. Therefore mea-

sure not thy advauncementes by quantity, but frame them by measure; and deferre not charities till death: for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberall of another mans, then of his owne.



<sup>43</sup> Men. *Moribundi*, 'men about to die.'

<sup>44</sup> Kindred. *Liberis, Cognatis, et Amicis*, 'children, relatives and friends.'

<sup>45</sup> Glorious. *Gloriosæ et splendide*, 'glorious and splendid.'

<sup>46</sup> Gifts. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>47</sup> Foundations. *Foundationes . . . in usus publicos*, 'foundations for the public good.'

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in more. Men<sup>43</sup> leaue their *Riches*, either to their Kindred;<sup>44</sup> Or to the Publique: And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to feize on him, if he be not the better flablished in Yeares and Iudgement. Likewise Glorious<sup>45</sup> Gifts<sup>46</sup> and Foundations,<sup>47</sup> are like *Sacrifices without Salt*; And but the *Painted*<sup>48</sup> *Sepulchres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Aduancements<sup>49</sup> by Quantity,<sup>50</sup> but Frame<sup>51</sup> them by Measure; And Deferre not Charities<sup>52</sup> till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of<sup>53</sup> an Other Mans, then of his Owne.



<sup>43</sup> Painted. *Dealbata*, 'whitened.'

<sup>49</sup> Aduancements. *Dona*, 'gifts.'

<sup>50</sup> Quantity. *Magnitudine* . . . *sed Commoditate*, 'by their size, but by their use.'

<sup>51</sup> But frame. *Et ad debitam Mensuram redigas*, 'and reduce them to a proper measure.'

<sup>52</sup> Charities. *Opera Charitatis*, 'works of charity.'

<sup>53</sup> Liberall of. *Donat*, 'presents.'

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*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 17. Of Dispatch.



Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to businesse that can be. It is like that which the *Physitians* call pre-digestion, or hastie digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of Crudities, and secrett feedes of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the tymes of sitting, but by the advauncement of the busines.

It is the care of some onely to Come of speedily for the tyme, or to contrive some false periodes of businesse, because they may seeme men of dispatch. But it is one thing to make shorte by contracting, another by cutting off. And busines so handled by peeces is com-

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## 11. Of Dispatch.



Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to businesse that can be. It is like that which the *Physitians* call pre-digestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the bodie full of crudities and secret feedes of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the aduancement of the businesse.

It is the care of some onely to come of speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of businesse, because they may seeme men of dispatch. But it is one thinge to make short by contracting; an other by cutting off; and businesse so handled by peeces, is com-

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Expediendis Negotiis*, 'of the despatch of business.'<sup>2</sup> Affected Dispatch. *Celeritas nimia et affectata*, 'excessive and affected speed.'<sup>3</sup> Crudities. *Humoribus crudis*, 'crude humours.'<sup>4</sup> Dispatch *Negotiorum Expeditionem*, 'the despatch of business.'



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25. Of Dispatch.<sup>1</sup>

*Affect'd Dispatch,*<sup>2</sup> is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call *Predigestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*; which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities,<sup>3</sup> and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure not *Dispatch*,<sup>4</sup> by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed :<sup>5</sup> So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*.<sup>6</sup> It is the Care of Some, onely to come off<sup>7</sup> speedily, for the time; Or to contriue some false Periods of Businesse, because they may seeme *Men of Dispatch*.<sup>8</sup> But it is one Thing, to Abbreviate<sup>9</sup> by Contracting,<sup>10</sup> Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at feuerall Sittings

<sup>5</sup> After Speed. *Sed in Motu corundem humiliore, et æquabili*; 'but a lower and more even movement of the feet.'

<sup>6</sup> Dispatch. *Celeritatem in conficiendo*, 'speed in completion.'

<sup>7</sup> Come off. *Multum confecisse videntur*; 'to seem to have done much.'

<sup>8</sup> Of dispatch. *Acres in Negotiis*, 'quick in business.'

<sup>9</sup> Abbreviate. *Tempori parcere*, 'to spare time.'

<sup>10</sup> Contracting. *Negotium contrahendo*, 'contracting the business.'

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monly protracted in the whole.

I knewe a Wife Man had it for a bye-word when he sawe Men hasten to a Conclusion; *Stay a little that wee Maie make an end the sooner.*

On the either side true dispatch is a rich thing: For tyme is the measure of busineffe, as money is of wares. And busines is bought at a deare hand, where there is smale dispatch.

Give good hearing to those, that give the first information in busines, and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the contynuaunce of their speeches, For he that is putt out of his owne order, will goe forward, and backwardes, and be more tedious by parcells,

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monly protracted in the whole.

I knew a wife man had it for a bie=word, when hee saw men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little that wee may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing; For time is the measure of busineffe, as money is of wares: and busineffe is bought at a deare hand when there is small dispatch.

Giue good hearing to those that giue the first information in busineffe; and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches: For he that is put out of his owne order, will goe forward, and backwards, and be more tedious by parcels,

<sup>11</sup> Men hasten to a conclusion. *Festinationem nimiam*, 'too much haste.'

<sup>12</sup> True Dispatch. *Vera Celeritas, in expediendis Negotiis*, 'true swiftness in despatching business.'

<sup>13</sup> Small dispatch. *Nimia protractio*, 'too much time spent.'

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or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in an vnsteady Manner.

I knew a *Wife Man*, that had it for a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion;<sup>11</sup> *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.*

On the other side, *True Dispatch*<sup>12</sup> is a rich Thing.

For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small *dispatch*.<sup>13</sup>

The *Spartans*, and *Spaniards*, haue been to be noted of Small *dispatch*;<sup>14</sup> *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spaine*; For then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Giue good Hearing to those that giue the first Information in Businesse<sup>15</sup>; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne<sup>16</sup> Order, will goe forward and backward, and be

more tedious while he waits vpon his Memory, then

<sup>14</sup> Small dispatch. *Tarditatis*, 'slowness.'

<sup>15</sup> Those that giue . . . in Businesse. *Quibus prima in Informatione Negotii, partes demandatæ sunt*: 'to whom the first part in giuing information about business is intrusted.'

<sup>16</sup> His owne. *Quem sibi præstituit*, 'which he fixed for himself.'

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then he could have bene at once. But sometymes it is seene that the Moderatour, is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iteracions are commonly losse of tyme; but there is no such gaine of tyme, as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chafeth away manie a frivolous speach, as it is Commeing foorth. Long and curious speaches are as fitt for dispatche, as a Robe or Mantell with a long trayne, is for race. Prefaces and passages, and excufacions, and other speaches of reference to the person, are great wastes of tyme, and though they seeme to proceede of modestie, they are bravery. Yet beware of being to materiall, when there is any impediment, or obstruction in Mens wills; For preoccupation ever requireth preface; like a fomentacion to make the vnguent enter.

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then he could haue bin at once. But sometimes it is seene, that the *moderator* is more troublesome, then the *Actor*.

Iterations are commonly losse of time; but there is no such gaine of time, as to iterate often the state of the question: For it chafeth away many a frivolous speech, as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a Robe or Mantle with a long traine, is for race. Prefaces, and passages, and excufacions, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time, and though they seeme to proceede of modesty, they are brauery. Yet beware of being too materiall, when there is any impediment, or obstruction in mens will. For preoccupation euer requireth preface: like a fomentation to make the vnguent enter.

<sup>17</sup> Actor. *Oratorem*, 'speaker.'

<sup>18</sup> Friuolous. *Prorsus abs re*, 'altogether away from the subject.'

<sup>19</sup> Robe or Mantle, &c. *Toga prelonga, Terram verrens*, 'a robe too long, sweeping the ground.'

<sup>20</sup> Passages. *Transitiones bellæ*, 'pretty transitions.'

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he could haue been, if he had gone on, in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene, that the Moderator is more troublesome, then the Actor.<sup>17</sup>

*Iterations* are commonly losse of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question*: For it chafeth away many a Friuolous<sup>18</sup> Speech, as it is coming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle<sup>19</sup> with a long Train, is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages,<sup>20</sup> and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person,<sup>21</sup> are great waists of Time; And though they seeme to proceed of Modesty, they are Brauery.<sup>22</sup> Yet beware of being too Materiall,<sup>23</sup> when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde, euer requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomentation<sup>24</sup> to make the vnguent enter.

<sup>21</sup> Person. *Personam loquentis*, 'the person of the speaker.'

<sup>22</sup> Brauery. *Gloriolæ captatrices*, 'to catch a little glory.'

<sup>23</sup> Too materiall. *Ne in rem ipsam, ab initio, descendas*, 'of going too deep into the matter, from the beginning.'

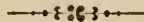
<sup>24</sup> Fomentation. *Fomentationis ante unguentum*, 'fomentation before an unguent.'

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Above all things order, and distribucion is the life of dispatche, so as the distribucion be not too subtil. For he that doth not divide, will never enter well into businesse; and he that divideth too much, will never come out of it clearly. To chuse tyme is to save tyme, and an vnseasonable mocion is out beating the ayre. There be 3 partes of businesse, the preparacion; the debate, or examinacion; and the perfeccion; Whereof, yf you looke for dispatche, lett the midle onely be the worke of Many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vponn somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; For though it should be whollie reiected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of a direccion, then an indefinite, as ashes are more generative then dust.

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Aboue all things, order and distribution is the life of dispatch: so as the distribution be not too subtil: For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into businesse; and he that diuideth too much will neuer come out of it clearly. To chuse time, is to faue time, and an vnseasonable motion is but beating the aire. There bee three parts of businesse; the preparacion, the debate, or examinacion, and the perfeccion. Whereof if you looke for dispatch, let the midle onely be the worke of many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vpon somewhat conceiued in writing, doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: For though it should bee wholly reiected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of a direccion, then an indefinite; as ashes are more generatiue then dust.



<sup>25</sup> Neuer . . . clearly. *Vix*, 'hardly.'

<sup>26</sup> *After Beating the Ayre. Et tempore abuti*, 'and wasting time.'

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Aboue all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch*; Soas the *Distribution* be not too fubtill: For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into *Busineffe*; And he that diuideth too much, will neuer come out of it clearely.<sup>25</sup> To choofe *Time*, is to faue *Time*; And an *Vnfeasonable Motion* is but *Beating* the *Ayre*.<sup>26</sup> There be three *Parts* of *Busineffe*: The *Preparation*; The *Debate*, or *Examination*; And the *Perfection*. Whereof, if you looke for *Dispatch*, let the *Middle* onely be the *Worke* of *Many*, and the *First* and *Last* the *Worke* of *Few*. The *Proceeding*<sup>27</sup> vpon somewhat conceiued in *Writing*, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch*: For though it should be wholly reiected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of *Direction*,<sup>28</sup> then an *Indefinite*; As *Ashes* are more *Generatiue* then *Duft*.



<sup>27</sup> *Proceeding*. *Procedendi in Negotiis, initium sumere*, 'to commence the proceedings in business.'

<sup>28</sup> *Direction*. *Ad Consilia educenda*, 'in bringing out counsel.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 18. Of Deformity.

**D**Eformed persons are commonly even with nature, For as Nature hath done ill by them, so doe they by nature, being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) voyd of naturall affection, and so they have their revenge of nature; Certainly there is a consent betweene the body, and the minde, and wher nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in th'other; *Vbi peccat in vno, periclitatur in altero.* But because there is in Man an election touching the frame of his Minde, and a necessity in the frame of his body the Starres of naturall inclinacions, are sometymes obscured by the sun of discipline and vertue; Therefore it is good to consider of deformity not as a signe which is more deceivable,

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## 25. Of Deformity.

**D**Eformed persons are commonly euen with nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, so doe they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) void of naturall affection; and so they haue their reuenge of nature. Certainlie, there is a consent betweene the body and the minde, and where Nature erreth in the one; she ventureth in the other. *Vbi peccat in vno periclitatur in altero.* But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his minde, and a necessitie in the frame of his body; the starres of naturall inclination, are sometimes obscured by the sunne of discipline and vertue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a signe, which is more deceiueable;

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Are euen with. *Ulciscuntur*, 'revenge themselves upon.'

<sup>2</sup> Done ill. *Minus proficitia fuit*, 'was less favourable to.'



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British Museum Copy.

## 44. Of Deformity.



*Deformed Persons* are commonly euen with<sup>1</sup> Nature : For as Nature hath done ill<sup>2</sup> by them ; So doe they by<sup>3</sup> Nature : Being for the most part, (as the Scripture faith) *void of Naturall Affection* ;<sup>a</sup> And so they haue their Reuenge of Nature.<sup>4</sup> Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde ; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other.

*Vbi peccat in vno, periclitatur in altero.* But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Signe, which is more Deceiuable ;

<sup>a</sup> Rom. i. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Doe . . by. *Adversi*, 'are opposed to.'

<sup>4</sup> And so they haue their Reuenge of Nature. Omitted in the Latin.

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but as a cause which seldom faileth of th'effect. Whosoever hath anie thing fixed in his person, that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetuall spurre in himself to rescue, and deliver himself from scorne. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold, First as in their owne defence, as being exposed to scorne, but in proesse of tyme, by a generall habitt. Also it stirreth in them Industrie, and specially of this kind to watch, and observe the weakenesses of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Againe in their Superiours it quencheth Iealousie towards them, as persons that they thinke they may at pleasure despise, and it layeth their Competitors and æmulatours asleepe, as never beleeving they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in posses-

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but as a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person, that doth induce contempt; hath also a perpetuall spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliuer himself from scorne. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold: first, as in their owne defence, as being exposed to scorne; but in proesse of time, by a generall habite. Also, it stirreth in them industrie, and specially of this kinde, to watch and obserue the weaknesse of others, that they may haue somewhat to repay. Againe in their superiours, it quencheth ielousie towards them, as persons that they thinke they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleepe: as neuer beleeving they should bee in possibility of advancement, till they see them in posses-

<sup>5</sup> Rescue. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>6</sup> Generall. *Acquisitio*, 'acquired.'

<sup>7</sup> Obserue. Omitted in the Latin.

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But as a Cause, which feldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth enduce Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue<sup>5</sup> and deliuer himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn; But in Proesse of Time, by a Generall<sup>6</sup> Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and obserue<sup>7</sup> the Weaknesse<sup>8</sup> of Others, that they may haue somewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it quencheth Iealousie<sup>9</sup> towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitors and Emulators asleepe; As neuer beleeuing,<sup>10</sup> they should be in possibility of aduancement,<sup>11</sup> till they see them in Posses-

<sup>5</sup> Weaknesse. *Defectus et Infirmities*, 'defects and weaknesses.'

<sup>9</sup> Iealousie. *Suspiciones et Zelotypiam*, 'suspicious and jealousy.'

<sup>10</sup> Beleeuing. *Suspicientes*, 'suspecting.'

<sup>11</sup> After aduancement. *Ad honores*, 'to honours.'

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tion. Soe that vponn the whole matter in a great Witt deformitye is an advantage to ryfing. Kinges in aun- ciant tymes, and at this present in some Countryes, were wont to putt great trust in *Eunuches*, be- cause they that are en- vyous towards all, are more obnoxious and of- ficious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather beene as to good spyalls, and good Whisperers, then good Magistrates and offi- cers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the grounde is, they will if they be of spiritt seeke to free them- selves from skorne, which must be either by vertue, or malice; and therefore they prove either the best of Men, or the worst, or strangely mixed.

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tion. So that vpon the whole matter, in a great wit, deformity is an aduantage to rising. *Kings* in an- cient times, and at this present in some Countries were wont to put great trust in *Eunuches*; be- cause they that are en- uious towards all, are more obnoxious and of- ficious towards one. But yet their trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good spials, and good whisperers; then good Magistrates, and offi- cers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they bee of spirit, seeke to free them- selues from scorne: which must bee either by vertue, or malice; and therefore they prooue either the best of men, or the worst, or strangely mixed.



<sup>12</sup> *After Possession. Honorum, of honours.'*

<sup>13</sup> Obnoxious. *Obnoxii, 'submissive.'*

<sup>14</sup> Ground. *Regula, quam antea posuimus, 'the rule, which we have before laid down.'*

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tion.<sup>12</sup> So that, vpon the matter, in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an Aduantage to Rising. Kings in Ancient Times, (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put Great Trust in *Eunuchs*; Because they, that are Enuious towards All, are more Obnoxious<sup>13</sup> and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the Ground<sup>14</sup> is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne;<sup>15</sup> Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Maruelled, if sometimes they proue Excellent Persons; As was *Agefilaus*, Zanger the Sonne of *Solyman*, *Æsop*, *Gasca* President of *Peru*; And *Socrates* may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.



<sup>15</sup> Scorne. *Derisu et Ignominia*, 'scorn and ignominy.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 19. Of Young Men and Age.



Man that is yong  
in yeares maie  
be old in  
howers, if he  
have lost noe tyme; but  
that happeneth rarely.  
Generally youth is like the  
first Cogitacions not so wise,  
as the second; For there  
is a youth in thoughtes as  
well as in Ages.

Natures that have much  
heate, and great and violent  
desiers, and perturbacions,  
are not ripe for accion, till  
they have passed the Meri-  
dian of their yeares;

but reposed Natures may  
doe well in youth,

as on thother side heate  
and vivacity in age is an

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## 23. Of Young Men and Age.



Man that is young  
in yeeres, may  
bee old in  
houres; if he  
haue lost no time. But  
that happeneth rarely.  
Generally youth is like the  
first cogitations, not so wise  
as the second: For there  
is a youth in thoughts, as  
well as in ages.

Natures that haue much  
heat, and great and violent  
desires and perturbations,  
are not ripe for action, till  
they haue passed the meri-  
dian of their yeeres;

but reposed natures may  
doe well in youth:

as on the other side heate  
and viuacity in age is an

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Iuuentute et Senectute*, 'of youth and age.'

<sup>2</sup> Great. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>3</sup> Perturbations. *Perturbationibus, huc illuc impelluntur*, 'are driven hither and thither by perturbations.'

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British Museum Copy.

42. Of Youth and Age.<sup>1</sup>

Man that is *Young* in yeares, may be Old in Houres, if he haue lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, *youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second. For there is a *youth* in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Inuention of *Young Men*, is more liuely, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Diuinely. Natures that haue much Heat, and great<sup>2</sup> and violent desires and Perturbations,<sup>3</sup> are not ripe for Action, till they haue passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with *Iulius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Seuerus*. Of the latter of whom, it is said; *Iuuentutem egit, Erroribus, imo Furoribus, plenam.*<sup>a</sup> And yet he was the Ablest<sup>4</sup> Emperour, almost, of all the List. But Reposed<sup>5</sup> Natures may doe well<sup>6</sup> in *Youth*. As it is seene, in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus Duke of Florence*, *Gaston de Foix*, and others. On the other side, Heate and Viuacity in *Age*, is an

<sup>a</sup> He spent a youth full of errors, and even of furies. Æ. Spartianus, *Vita Septimi Seueri*. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ablest. *Celeberrimus*, 'most famous.'

<sup>5</sup> Reposed. *Sedata et composita*, 'settled and composed.'

<sup>6</sup> Doe well. *Florere*, 'flourish.'

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excellent Composition for busines. *Yonge Men* are fitter to invent, then to iudge, fitter for execution, then for Councill, and fitter for new proiectes, then for fetled businesse, for the experience of Age in thinges that fall within the Compasse of it, directeth them, but in thinges meerely new abuseth them. The errors of yong Men are the ruine of busines, but the errors of aged Men amount but to this, that more mought have beene done, or sooner. *Yonge men* in the Conduct and manage of accions embrace more then they can hold; stirre more then they can quiett; fllye to th'end without consideration of the meanes, and degrees; pursue some few Principles, which they have chaunced vponn absurdly; Care not to innovate, which drawes vnknowne inconveniences; vse extreame remedies at first; and that which dowbleth all errors, will

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excellent composition for businesse. *Young men* are fitter to inuent then to iudge; fitter for execution then for Counsell; and fitter for new proiects, then for fetled businesse. For the experience of age in things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them: but in things meerly new abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruine of businesse: But the errors of aged men, amount but to this; that more might haue bin done, or sooner. *Young men* in the conduct and mannage of Actions, embrace more then they can hold, stirre more then they can quiet, flie to the end without consideration of the meanes, and degrees, pursue some fewe principles, which they haue chanced vpon absurdly, care not to innovate, which drawes vnknowne inconueniences; vse extreme remedies at first: and that which doubleth all errors, will

<sup>7</sup> Pursue. *Absurde persequuntur*, 'pursue absurdly.'

<sup>8</sup> Absurdly. Omitted in the Latin.



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Excellent Composition for Businesse. *Young Men*, are Fitter to Inuent, then to Iudge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Projects, then for Setled Businesse. For the Experience of *Age*, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them; But in New Things, abufeth them. The Errours of *Young Men* are the Ruine of Businesse; But the Errours of *Aged Men* amount but to this; That more might haue beene done, or sooner. *Young Men*, in the Conduct, and Mannage of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue<sup>7</sup> some few Principles, which they haue chanced vpon absurdly;<sup>8</sup> Care not to Innuate, which draws vnknowne Inconueniences;<sup>9</sup> Vse extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will

<sup>9</sup> Care not to Innuate, which draws vnknowne Inconueniences. Omitted in the Latin.' [This is evidently misplaced, and is an error of Age.]

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not acknowledge nor retract them, like an vnready horſe that will neither ſtopp nor tourne. Men of age obieſt to much, conſult to long, adventure to litle, repent to ſoone, and ſeldome drive buſineſſe home to the full period, but content themſelves with a mediocrity of ſucceſſe. Certainly, it is good to compound imployments of both. For that will bee good for the preſent, becauſe the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both, and good for ſucceſſion, that yong Men may be Learners, while Men in age are Actours; and laſtly in reſpect of externe accidents, becauſe authority followeth old Men, and favour, and popularity *youth*. But for the morall part, perhappſ youth will have the preheminnence, as Age hath for the politique. A certaine *Rab-*

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not acknowledge nor retract them: like an vnready horſe, that wil neither ſtop nor turne. Men of age obieſt too much, conſulte too long, aduventure too little, repent too ſoone, and ſeldome driue buſineſſe home to the full period; but content themſelues with a mediocrity of ſucceſſe. Certainly it is good to compound imployments of both: for that will bee good for the preſent; becauſe the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both: and good for ſucceſſion, that young men may bee learners, while men in age are Actors: and laſtly, in reſpect of externe accidents, becauſe authority followeth old men, and fauour and popularity *youth*. But for the morall part: perhaps youth will haue the preheminnence, as age hath for the politike. A certaine *Rab-*

<sup>10</sup> Adventure too little. *Pericula plusquam expedit reformidant*, 'fear dangers more than is expedient.'

<sup>11</sup> Repent too ſoone. *Pœnitentia præproperea vacillant*, 'waver with too haſty repentance.'

<sup>12</sup> Good. *Bonum in Negotiis*, 'good in buſineſſe.'

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not acknowledge or retract them; Like an vnready Horfe, that will neither Stop, nor Turne. *Men of Age*, Obiect too much, Consult too long, Aduenture too little,<sup>10</sup> Repent too soone,<sup>11</sup> and seldome driue Businesse home to the full Period; But content themselves with a Mediocrity of Success. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good<sup>12</sup> for the *Present*, because the Vertues of either *Age*, may correct the defects of both:<sup>13</sup> And good for Succession,<sup>14</sup> that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men in Age* are Actours:<sup>15</sup> And lastly, Good for *Externe Accidents*, because Authority followeth<sup>16</sup> *Old Men*, And Fauour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the Morall Part, perhaps *Youth* will haue the preheminance, as *Age* hath for the Politique. A certaine *Rab-*

<sup>10</sup> Both. *Et Senum, et Iuuenum*, 'both of old and young men.'

<sup>14</sup> Succession. *Futuro*, 'for the future.'

<sup>15</sup> Are Actours. *Moderentur*, 'govern.'

<sup>16</sup> Followeth. *Senes Auctoritate, Iuuenes Gratia et Popularitate, polent*, 'old men are strong in authority young men in favour and popularity.'

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by vponn the Text, *your young Men shall see visions, and your old Men shall dreame Dreames*, inferreth that young Men are admitted nearer to God, then Old, because a Vision is a clearer revelation, then a dreame. And certainly the more a Man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth, and age doth profit rather in the powers of the vnderstanding, then in the vertues of the will, and affections.



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by vpon the Text, *Your Young men shall see visions, and your Old men shall dreame Dreames*: inferreth, that young men are admitted neerer to God then old, because vision is a cleerer reuelation, then a dreame. And certainlie, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of vnderstanding, then in the vertues of the will and affections.



<sup>17</sup> Clearer. *Clarior et manifestior*, 'clearer and more manifest.'

<sup>18</sup> Yeares. *Juventute*, 'youth.'

<sup>19</sup> Fadeth betimes. *Sed currentibus annis cito marcescunt; et deveniunt evanidi*, 'but as years pass on, soon wither and become weak.'

<sup>20</sup> Becomes. *In Juvene laudatur*, 'is praised in a young man.'

<sup>21</sup> Tract of yeares. *Ætas provector*, 'more advanced age.'

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*bine*, vpon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreame dreames*;<sup>a</sup> Inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God then *Old*; Because *Vision* is a clearer<sup>17</sup> Reuelation, then a *Dreame*. And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; And *Aged* doth profit rather in the Powers of Vnderstanding, then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some haue an Ouer-early Ripeness in their yeares,<sup>18</sup> which fadeth betimes:<sup>19</sup> These are first, Such as haue Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that haue some naturall dispositions, which haue better Grace in *Youth*, then in *Age*: Such as is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech; which becomes<sup>20</sup> *Youth* well, but not *Age*: So *Tully* saith of *Hortentius*; *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*.<sup>b</sup> The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares<sup>21</sup> can vphold. As was *Scipio Affricanus*, of whom *Liuy*<sup>c</sup> saith in effect; *Vltima primis cedebant*.<sup>d</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Joel. ii. 28.

<sup>b</sup> He remained the same, but it did not equally become him. Cic. *Brutus*. 95.

<sup>c</sup> Livy. xxxviii. 53.

<sup>d</sup> The last things fell short of the first. Ovid. *Heroides* ix. 23. 24.

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 22. Of Marriage and Single Life.

**H**E that hath wife, and children, hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprizes, either of vertue, or of mischeif. Certainly the best workes, and of greatest meritt for the publike, haue proceeded from vnmarried, or childlesse Men which have fought eternity in Memory and not in Posteritye, and which both in affeccion and meanes have married, and endowed the publike.

Yet some there are that leade a single life whose thoughtes doe end with themselves,

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## 5. Of Marriage and single life.

**H**EE that hath wife and children, hath giuen hostages to fortune. For they are impediments to great enterprises, either of vertue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit; for the publike haue proceeded from the vnmarried, or childlesse men; which haue fought eternity in memory, and not in posterity; and which both in affection and means, haue married and endowed the publike.

Yet some there are, that lead a single life whose thoughts doe ende with themselves,

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Either of Vertue. *Sive ad Virtutem tendat quis*, 'whether a man inclines to virtue.'

<sup>2</sup> Best workes. (*Ut alibi diximus*) 'as we have said elsewhere.' [This clause was added to the Latin version in 1625. It probably refers to the passage added in the last English edition of the next Essay, see p. 273. Mr W. A. Wright quotes also the following like passage from *In felicem memoriam Elizabethæ*, translated in the *Resuscitatio*, p. 186, Ed. 1657. "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

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## 8. Of Marriage and Single Life.



HE that hath *Wife*  
and *Children*,  
hath giuen Hof-  
tages to Fortune:  
For they are Impediments,  
to great Enterprifes, either  
of Vertue,<sup>1</sup> or Mischiefe.  
Certainly, the best workes,<sup>2</sup>  
and of greateſt Merit for  
the Publike, haue proceed-  
ed from the *vnmarried*,<sup>3</sup>  
or *Childleſſe Men*; which.

both in Affection, and  
Meanes, haue married and  
endowed the Publike.

Yet it were great Reason, that thoſe that haue *Chil-  
dren*, ſhould haue greateſt care of future times; vnto  
which, they know, they muſt tranſmit, their dear-  
eſt pledges.

Some there are, who  
though they lead a *Single  
Life*,<sup>4</sup> yet their Thoughts  
doe end with themſelues.

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 *For-  
tune* hath no Power, when we are gone: Which, if we leaue *Children*, can-  
not be.”]

<sup>3</sup> Vnmarried. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>4</sup> After Single Life. *Tamen Memoria ſua incurioſi ſunt*, ‘yet are care-  
leſs of their memory.’

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and doe accompt future tymes impertinencyes, Nay there are some other that esteeme wife, and children but as Bills of Charges ;

but the most ordinary cause of a single life is libertye, specially in certaine self pleasing, and humorous mindes, which are so sensible of every restriccion, as they will goe neere to thinke their Girdles, and garters to be bondes and shackles. Vnmarried Men are best Friends, best Maisters, best Seruauntes, not alwaies best Subiectes, for they are light to run away, and almost all Fugitives are of that condicion. A single life is proper for Church Men ; For Charity will hardlie water the grounde where it must first fill a Poole ; it is indifferent for Iudges, and Magif-

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and doe account future times, impertinences. Nay there are some others, that esteeme wife and children, but as bills of charges.

But the most ordinarie cause of a single life, is liberty ; specially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of euery restriction, as they wil go neere to thinke their girdles and garters to be bonds and shakles. Vnmarried men are best friends ; best masters ; best seruants ; not alwaies best subiects ; for they are light to run away ; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life is proper for Churchmen. For charity wil hardly water the ground, where it must first fill a poole. It is indifferent for Iudges and Magif-

<sup>5</sup> Rich couetous. *Auari*, 'avaricious.'

<sup>6</sup> Humorous. *Phantasticis*, 'fantastic.'

<sup>7</sup> Light. *Expediti*, 'unencumbered.'



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and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay there are some other, that account *Wife* and *Children*, but as Bills of Charges.

Nay more, there are some foolish rich couetous<sup>5</sup> Men, that take a pride in hauing no *Children*, because they may be thought, so much the richer. For perhaps, they haue heard some talke; *Such an one is a great rich Man*; And another except to it; *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*: As if it were an Abatement to his Riches.

But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life*, is Liberty; especially, in certaine Selfe-pleasing, and humorous<sup>6</sup> Mindes, which are so sensible of euery restraint, as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters, to be Bonds and Shackles. *Vnmarried Men* are best Friends; best Masters; best Seruants; but not alwayes best Subiects; For they are light<sup>7</sup> to runne away; And almost all Fugitiues are of that Condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Church men:<sup>8</sup> For Charity<sup>9</sup> will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole.<sup>10</sup> It is indifferent for Iudges and Magif-

<sup>4</sup> Church men. *Ecclesiasticis*, 'clergymen.'

<sup>9</sup> Charity. *Quis*, 'any one.'

<sup>10</sup> Poole. *Si prius Stagni alicujus Receptaculum interueniat*, 'if a reservoir of water is interposed.'

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trates; for if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Seruaunte five tyme[s w]orse then a Wife. For Souldiours I finde the [genera]lls commonlye in their hortatiues putt Men in [minde] of their wives, and Children, and I thinke the [despising] of Marriage amongst the Turkes maketh [the vulg]ar Souldior more base. Certainly wife, [and chi]ldren are a kind of discipline of humanity [and si]ngle men

are more cruell, and hard hearted [go]od to make feure Inquisitours.

Grave Natures led by Cuf-  
tome, and therefore con-  
stant are commonly loving  
husbandes, as was saied of  
*Vliffes, vetulam præ-*  
*tulit immortalitati.* Chaste  
Women are often proud, and  
froward as presuming vponn  
the meritt of their Chasti-  
tye. It is one of the best  
bandes both of Chastitye

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trates. For if they be facile and corrupt, you shall haue a feruant five times worfe then a wife. For Souldiers, I finde the Generals commonly in their hortatiues, put men in minde of their wiues, and children: and I thinke the despising of marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar Souldior more base. Certainly, wife and children are a kinde of discipline of humanity: and single men

are more cruell and hard-  
hearted; good to make  
feure inquisitors.

Graue natures led by cuf-  
tome, and therefore con-  
stant, are commonly louing  
husbands: as was saied of  
*Vliffes; Vetulam præ-*  
*tulit immortalitati.* Chaste  
women are often proud and  
froward, as presuming vpon  
the merit of their chasti-  
ty. It is one of the best  
bonds both of chastity

<sup>11</sup> Worse. *Ad hujusmodi Lucra captanda*, 'at getting gain of this kind.'

<sup>12</sup> Wiues and Children. *Charitates Vxororum et Liberorum*, 'the love of their wives and children.'

<sup>13</sup> Charitable. *Munifici et charitativi*, 'munificent and charitable.'

<sup>14</sup> Hard hearted. *Sine visceribus*, 'without bowels.'

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trates : For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall haue a Seruant, fūe times worse<sup>11</sup> than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatiues, put Men in minde of their *Wiues and Children*.<sup>12</sup> And I thinke the Despising of *Marriage*, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar souldier more base. Certainly, *Wife* and *Children*, are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity : And *single Men*, though they be many times more Charitable,<sup>13</sup> because their Meanes are lesse exhaust ; yet, on the other side, they are more cruell, and hard hearted,<sup>14</sup> (good to make seure Inquisitors) because their Tenderesse,<sup>15</sup> is not so oft called vpon.<sup>16</sup>

Graue Natures, led by Cuf-  
tome, and therefore constant, are commonly louing *Husbands* ; As was said of *Vlyffes* ; *Vetulam suam prætulit Immortalitati.*<sup>a</sup> Chast Women are often Proud, and froward, as Presuming vpon the merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity

<sup>a</sup> He preferred his little old woman to immortality. [i.e. to Circe.] Cic. *De Oratore*. i. 44.

<sup>15</sup> Tenderesse. *Indulgentia et Teneritudo Affectuum*, 'indulgence and tenderness of the affections.'

<sup>16</sup> Called vpon. *Evocatur, et excitatur*, 'called out and roused up.'

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and obedience in the wife, if shee thinke her husband wife, which shee will never doe, if shee finde him ieaalous. Wives are younge mens mistresses, Companions to men of middle age, and old Mens Nurfes. So as a Man may have a quarrell to marrye when he will, but yet he was reputed one of the Wife Men, that made aunfweare to the question *When a Man should marrie,* A younger Man not yet, an elder Man not at all.



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and obedience in the wife; if shee thinke her husband wife; which shee will neuer doe, if shee finde him ielous. Wiues are young mens mistresses; companions for middle age; and old mens nurfes. So as a man may haue a quarrell to marry when, hee will; but yet hee was reputed one of the wise men, that made answere to the question; *When a man should marrie?* A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.



<sup>17</sup> Quarrell. *Ansa*, 'handie.'

<sup>18</sup> When he will. *Ætatibus singulis*, 'at every age.'

<sup>19</sup> It rayseth the Price of. *Hoc modo pretium addatur*, 'in this manner value is added to.'

<sup>20</sup> Choosing. *Expetiti et electi fuerint*, 'were desired and chosen.'

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and Obedience, in the *Wife*, if She thinke her *Husband* Wife ; which She will neuer doe, if She finde him *Icalous*. *Wiu*es are young Mens Mistresses ; Companions for middle Age ; and old Mens Nurfes. So as a Man may haue a Quarrell<sup>17</sup> to marry, when he will.<sup>18</sup> But yet, he was reputed one of the wife Men, that made Answer to the Question ; When a Man should marry ?  
*A young Man not yet,  
 an Elder Man not at all.*<sup>a</sup>

It is often seene, that bad *Husbands*, haue very good *Wiu*es ; whether it be, that it rayseth the Price<sup>19</sup> of their *Husbands* Kindnesse, when it comes ; Or that the *Wiu*es take a Pride, in their Patience. But this neuer failes, if the bad *Husbands* were of their owne choosing,<sup>20</sup> against their Friends consent ; For then, they will be sure,<sup>21</sup> to make good<sup>22</sup> their owne Folly.



<sup>a</sup> Thales being asked, when a Man should marrie, sayd : *Young Men not yet, old Men not at all.* Lord Bacon's *Apophth.* No. 220. Ed. 1625.

<sup>21</sup> Will be sure. *Animus iis semper adest*, 'they will always have a mind.'

<sup>22</sup> Make good. *Pœnitere non videantur*, 'not to seem to repent.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 23. Of Parents and Children.



He Ioyes of Parentes are secrett, and so are their greifes, and feares; they cannot vtter the one, nor they will not vtter the other. Children sweeten laboures, but they make misfortunes more bitter, they encrease the Cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generacion is common to b[east]es, but memorie, and meritt, and noble workes are [proper] to Men.

They that are the rayfers of their h[ouses] are most indulgent towards their Children, beh[olding] th[em], as the contynuance not onely of their ki[nd], but] of their worke, and so both Chil-

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## 6. Of Parents and Children.



He ioyes of *Parents* are secret, and so are their griefs and feares: they cannot vtter the one, nor they will not vtter the other. Children sweeten labors, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuitie by generation, is common to beasts; but memorie, merit, and noble works are proper to men.

They that are the first raisers of their house, are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them, as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their worke; and so both chil-

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Labours. *Labores humanos*, 'human labours.'

<sup>2</sup> Noble. Omitted in the Latin.

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British Museum Copy.

## 7. Of Parents and Children.



The Joyes of *Parents* are Secret; And so are their Griefes, and Feares: They cannot vtter the one; Nor they will not vtter the other. *Children* sweeten Labours;<sup>1</sup> But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory, Merit, and Noble<sup>2</sup> workes, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, haue proceeded from *Childlesse Men*; which haue sought to expresse the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies haue failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that haue no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses,<sup>3</sup> are most Indulgent towards their *Children*; Beholding them, as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their Worke;<sup>4</sup> And so both *Chil-*

<sup>3</sup> First Raisers . . . Houses. *Qui Honores in Familiam suam primi introducunt*, 'those who first bring honour into their families.'

<sup>4</sup> But of their Worke. *Sed ut Rerum a se gestarum Hæredes*: 'but as the heirs of their work.'

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dren, and Cr[eatures].  
 The difference of affection, in Parentes, towards their]e severall Children is manie tymes vnequall [and] sometymes vnworthie, specially in the mother. as *Salomon* saith. *A wise sonne reioiceth the father, but an vngracious sonne shames the Mother.* A Man shall see where there is a howsefull of Children, one, or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons, but in the middle, some that are as it were forgotten, who nevertheles prove the best. The illiberalitye of Parentes in allowance towards their Children is an harmefull error, makes them base, acquaintes them with shifts makes them sorte with meane Companie, and makes them surfett more, when they come to plenty; And therefore the prooffe is best, when Men keepe their authoritye towards their Children, but not their purse. Men have

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dren and creatures.  
 The difference of affection in parents towards their feuerall children, is many times vnequall; and sometimes vnworthy; specially in the mother; as *Salomon* saith; *A wise sonne reioiceth the Father, but an vngracious sonne shames the mother.* A man shall see where there is a house full of children, one, or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the middle, some that are as it were forgotten; who neuerthelesse prooue the best. The illiberality of Parents in allowance towards their children is an harmefull error: makes them base; acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with meane companie; and makes them surfett more, when they come to plenty. And therefore the prooffe is best, when men keepe their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men haue

<sup>b</sup> House full of Children. *Demo fecunda, et Liberiorum plena,* 'a prolific house, full of children.'



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*dren and Creatures.*

The difference in Affection, of *Parents*, towards their feuerall *Children*, is many times vnequall; And sometimes vnworthy; Especially in the *mother*; As Salomon faith; *A wife sonne reioyceth the Father; but an vngracious sonne shames the Mother.* A Man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*,<sup>5</sup> one or two, of the Eldest, respected, and the Youngest made wantons; But in the middest, some that are, as it were forgotten who, many times, neuerthelesse, proue the best. The Illiberalitie of *Parents*, in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Prooffe is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their *Children*, but not their Purse.<sup>6</sup> Men haue

<sup>a</sup> Prov. x. i.<sup>6</sup> But not their Purse. *Crimenam laxant*, 'loosen their purse.'

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A foolish manner, both Parentes Schoole-Maisters, and Seruauntes in creating, and breeding an emulation betweene brothers during Childhood, which many tymes forteth to discord when they are Men, and disturbeth families. The *Italians* make litle difference betweene Children, and Nephues, or neare Kinnsfolkes; but so they be of the lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne body; and to saie Truth in nature it is much a like matter, in so much that wee see a Nephewe sometymes refembleth an vncler, or a kinsman more then his owne Parent, as the blood happens.



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a foolish manner, both Parents, Schoolemaisters, and seruants, in creating and breeding an emulation betweene brothers during childhood, which many times forteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene children and nephewes, or neere kinsfolke: But so they be of the lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne body: and to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter, in so much that wee see a nephewe sometymes refembleth an vncler, or a kinsman, more then his owne Parent, as the blood happens.



<sup>a</sup> Choose the best, habit will easily and pleasantly bring it to pass. A saying of Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch. *De Exilio*. c. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Vocations, and Courses. *Cui vitæ Generi*, 'what kind of life.'

<sup>8</sup> Flexible. *Flexibiles, et cerei*, 'flexible and soft (like wax).'

<sup>9</sup> Extraordinary. *Erga aliquod Studium insignis*, 'extraordinary towards any pursuit.'

<sup>10</sup> Crosse it. *Naturæ, aut Indoli repugnet*, 'resist nature or disposition.'

<sup>11</sup> Fortunate. *Fortune Filii*, 'sons of fortune.'

<sup>12</sup> Seldome or neuer. *Sed raro, aut nunquam, prosperum sortiuntur Exitum*, 'but rarely or never, do they obtain a happy end.'

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a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and Schoole-masters, and Seruants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times forteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene *Children*, and Nephewes, or neere Kinfolk; But so they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Vncle, or a Kinsman, more then his owne *Parent*; As the Bloud happens. Let *Parents* choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses,<sup>7</sup> they meane their Children should take; For then they are most flexible;<sup>8</sup> And let them not too much apply themselues, to the Disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that, which they haue most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection or Aptnesse of the *Children*, be Extraordinary,<sup>9</sup> then it is good, not to croffe it;<sup>10</sup> But generally the Precept is good; *Optimum elige, suauē et facile illud faciet Consuetudo.*<sup>a</sup> *Younger Brothers* are commonly Fortunate,<sup>11</sup> but seldome or neuer,<sup>12</sup> where the *Elder* are disinherited.



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*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 24. Of Great Place.



Men in great place, are thrice seruauntes; seruauntes of the Soueraigne, or State, seruauntes of fame, and seruauntes of businesse; so as they have noe freedome, neither in their persons, nor in their accions, nor in their tymes. It is a straunge desier to seeke power, and to leese libertye, or to seeke power over others, and to leese power over a Mans self. The ryfing vnto place is laborious, and by paynes Men come to greater paines; and it is sometymes base, and by Indignities Men come to Dignities; the standing is slippery, and the regresse is either a downefall, or at least an *Eclipse*, which is a Melancholie thing.

Nay, retire men cannott when they would, Neither will they when it were

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## 23. Of Great Place.



Men in great place, are thrice seruauntes: seruauntes of the Soueraigne, or state; seruauntes of fame, and seruauntes of businesse. So as they haue no freedome, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seeke power, and to lose liberty: or to seeke power ouer others, and to lose power ouer a mans selfe. The rising vnto place is laborious, and by paines men come to greater paines: and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities: the standing is slippery; and the regresse is either a downefall, or at least an *Eclipse*; which is a malancholy thing.

Nay, retire, men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were

## XX. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Magistratibus & Dignitatibus*, 'of magistracies & dignities.'

<sup>2</sup> Lose. *Exuere*, 'cast off.'

<sup>3</sup> Base. *Indignitatibus non vacat*; 'is not without indignities.'

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British Museum Copy.

11. Of Great Place.<sup>1</sup>

Men in *Great Place*, are thrice *Ser-uants*: Seruants of the Soueraigne or State; Seruants of Fame; and Seruants of Businesse. So as they haue no Freedome; neither in their Persons; nor in their Actions; nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power, and to lose<sup>2</sup> Libertie; Or to seeke Power ouer others, and to loose Power ouer a Mans Selfe. The Rising vnto *Place* is Laborious; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base;<sup>3</sup> And by Indignities, Men come to Dignities. The standing<sup>4</sup> is flippery, and the Regresse, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy<sup>5</sup> Thing. *Cùm non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis viuere.*<sup>a</sup> Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were

<sup>a</sup> *When thou art no longer what thou wast, why wishest thou to live.* Cicero. *Epistolæ Familiares.* (ad Marium) vii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Standing. *Statio in Dignitatibus*, 'the standing in dignities.'

<sup>5</sup> Melancholy. *Triste quiddam, et Melancholicum*, 'is a sad thing and melancholy.'

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reason, but are impatient of privatenesse, even in age and sickness which require the shadowe.

Certainly great persons had neede to borrow other Mens opinions to thinke themselves happie; for if they iudge by their owne feeling, they cannot finde it; but if they thinke with themselves, what other Men thinke of them, and that other Men would faine be as they are, then they are happie as it were by reporte, when perhapps they finde the contrary within; for they are the first, that finde their owne griefes, though they bee the last that finde their owne faultes. Certainly Men in great fortunes are Straungers to themselves, and while they are in the puffle of businesse, they have no tyme to tend their health either of body, or minde, *Illi mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis*

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reason; but are impatient of priuatenesse, euen in age and sicknesse, which require the shadow.

Certainely, great persons had need to borrow other mens opinions, to thinke themselues happy: for if they iudge by their owne feeling, they cannot find it; but if they thinke with themselues, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when perhappes they finde the contrarie within; for they are the first that finde their owne griefes, though they bee the last that finde their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puffle of busines they haue no time to tend their health, either of body or mind. *Illi mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis*

<sup>6</sup> Reason. *Cum ratio postulat ut id facerent*, 'when reason demands that they should do it.'

<sup>7</sup> Sickness. *Infirmitas ingruit*, 'weakness attacks them.'

<sup>8</sup> Shadow. *Umbram et Otium*, 'shadow and ease.'

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Reason:<sup>6</sup> But are impatient of privatenesse, euen in Age, and Sicknesse,<sup>7</sup> which require the Shadow:<sup>8</sup> Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age<sup>9</sup> to Scorne. Certainly Great<sup>10</sup> Persons, had need to borrow other Mens Opinions; to thinke themselues happy; For if they iudge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselues, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Griefs; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to themselues, and while they are in the pusle of<sup>11</sup> businesse, they haue no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Minde. *Illi Mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis*

<sup>9</sup> Age. *Se*, 'themselves.'

<sup>10</sup> Great. *In Magistratibus positus*, 'placed in offices.'

<sup>11</sup> In the pusle of. *Distrahuntur*, 'are distracted by.'

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*omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place, there is licence to doe good, and evill; Whereof the latter is a Curse; For in evill, the best condicion is, not to will, the second, not to *can*: But power to doe good, is the true and lawfull end of aspiring. For good thoughtes (though God accept them) yet towards Men are litle better then good dreames, except they be putt in act, and that cannott be without power, and place, as the vantage and Commanding ground. Meritt is the End of Mans mocion, and Conscience of Merite is the accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man can in anie measure be partaker of Godes Theater, he shall likewise be partaker of Godes rest. *Et conversus Deus vt aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis,* and then the *Sabboth*. In the discharge of thie place, sett before

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*omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place there is licence to do good and euill: wherof the latter is a curse: for in euill the best condition is, not to will; the second not to can. But power to doe good, is the true and lawfull end of aspiring. For good thoughts, (though God accept them) yet towards men are litle better then good dreams: except they be put in Art; and that cannot be without power and place; as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit is the ende of mans motion; and conscience of merit is the accomplishment of mans rest. For if a man can in any measure be partaker of *Gods Theater* he shall likewise be pertaker of *Gods rest*. *Et conuersus Deus vt aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis,* and then the *Sabbath*. In the discharge of thy place, set before

<sup>12</sup> For if a man can be partaker . . . God's Rest. Omitted in the Latin.



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*omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*<sup>a</sup> In *Place*, There is License to doe Good, and Euill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Euill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power to doe good, is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit, and good Works, is the End of Mans Motion; And Conscience of the same, is the Accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man, can

be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest.<sup>12</sup> *Et conuersus Deus, vt aspiceret Opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;*<sup>b</sup> And then the Sabbath.<sup>c</sup> In the Discharge of thy *Place*, set before

<sup>a</sup> *Death lies heavily on the man, who too well known to all, dies a stranger to himself.* Seneca. *Thyestes*. Act ii. (Chorus).

<sup>b</sup> Genesis i. 31.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 101.

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thee the best Exemples; For Imitacion is a Globe of Preceptes. And after a tyme, sett before thee thyne owne Example, and examine thie self strictly, Whether thou didst not best at first.

Reforme without  
braverye, or Scandale of  
former tymes, and persons,  
but yet sett it downe to thie  
self, aswell to create good  
Presidentes, as to followe  
them. Reduce thinges to  
the first Institucion, and  
observe wherein and how  
they have degenerate; but  
yet aske Councell of both  
tymes; of the auncient  
tyme what is best, and  
of the latter tyme what  
is fittest. Seeke to make  
thie courses regular, that  
Men may knowe before  
hand what they may  
expect, but be not too  
positive,  
and expresse thie self

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thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time, set before thee thine owne example, and examine thy self strictly, whether thou diddest not best at first.

Reforme without  
brauery or scandall of  
former times and persons,  
but yet set it downe to thy  
selfe, aswell to create good  
presidents, as to follow  
them. Reduce things to  
the first institution, and  
obserue wherein and how  
they haue degenerate; but  
yet aske counsell of both  
times; of the ancient  
time what is best; and  
of the latter time what  
is fittest. Seeke to make  
thy course regular, that  
men may know before  
hand what they may  
expect; but be not too  
positiue,  
and expresse thy selfe

<sup>13</sup> Best at first. *Melius inceperis, quam perstiteris*, 'begin better than you went on.'

<sup>14</sup> Make thy Course Regular. *Ut quæ agis pro Potestate, tanquam Regulis*

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thee the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee, thine owne Example; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst not best at first.<sup>13</sup> Neglect not also the Examples of those, that haue carried themselues ill, in the same *Place*: Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe, what to auoid.

Reforme therefore, without Brauerie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Persons; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Prefidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and obserue, wherin, and how, they haue degenerate; but yet aske Counsell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular;<sup>14</sup> that Men may know before hand,<sup>15</sup> what they may expect: But be not too positieue, and peremptorie; And expresse thy selfe<sup>16</sup>

*quibusdam cohibeantur*, 'that your actions for power, may be restrained by certain rules.'

<sup>13</sup> Know before hand. *Ut Hominibus tanquam digito monstres*, 'that you may point out to men, as if with your finger.'

<sup>16</sup> Thy selfe. *Quid sit quod agas*, 'what it is you do.'

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well, when thou digressest from thie rule; Preserve the rightes of thie place, but stirre not questions of Iurisdiccion, and rather assume thie right in silence and *de facto*, then voyce it with claimes and Challenges. Preserve likewise the rightes of inferiour places, and thinke it more honor, to direct in cheife, then to be busie in all. Imbrace, and invite helpes, and intelligence, touching th[e] execution of thie place; and doe not drive away such as bring thee Informacion, as Medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of Authority are cheifly 4. *Delaies*, *Corruption*, *Roughnes*, and *Facilitye*. For Delaies; give easie acceffe; keepe tymes appointed; goe through with that which is in hand, and interlace not businesse but of necessitye. For Corruption, doe not only

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well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserue the rights of thy place, but stir not questions of Iurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, then voice it with claimes, and challenges. Preserue likewise the rights of inferiour places; and thinke it more honour, to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in al. Imbrace and inuite helpes, and intelligence touching the execution of thy place; and doe not driue away such as bring thee information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly foure. *Delaies*, *Corruptions*, *Roughnesse*, and *Facility*. For Delaies, giue easie acceffe; keepe times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not busines, but of necessity. For Corruption, do not only

<sup>17</sup> Assume. *Assumas et exerccas*, 'assume and exercise.'

<sup>18</sup> Voice. *Cum strepitu suscite, et agites*, 'noisily raise and move.'

<sup>19</sup> Preserue. *Defende, et ne destitue*, 'defend and do not desert.'

<sup>20</sup> Inferiour. *Inferiorum Munerum, tibi subordinatorum*, 'inferior places subordinate to yourself.'

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well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preferue the Right of thy *Place*; but stirre not questions of Iurisdiction: And rather assume<sup>17</sup> thy Right, in Silence, and *de facto*, then voice<sup>18</sup> it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preferue<sup>19</sup> likewise, the Rights of Inferiour<sup>20</sup> *Places*; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, and inuite Helps, and Aduices, touching the Execution of thy *Place*; And doe not driue away such, as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept<sup>21</sup> of them in good part. The vices of *Authoritie*<sup>22</sup> are chiefly foure: *Delaies*;<sup>23</sup> *Corruption*; *Roughnesse*; and *Facilitie*. For *Delaies*; Giue easie Accessie; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse, but of necessitie. For *Corruption*; Doe not onely

<sup>17</sup> Accept. *Allicias, et recipias*, 'draw to you and accept.'

<sup>22</sup> Authoritie. *In Auctoritate utenda, et exercenda*, 'in using and exercising authority.'

<sup>23</sup> Delaies. *Mora nimia*, 'too much delay.'

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bind thine owne handes, or thie Seruauntes handes, that may take, but bind the handes of them that should offer. For Integrity vsed doth the one, but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery doth the other. And avoyd not onely the faulte, but the Suspicion. Whofoever is found variable, and chaungeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth Suspicion of Corruption.

A Servaunt, or a Favourite if he bee inward, and noe other apparaunt cause of esteeme, is commonly thought but a by-way.

For roughnes, it is a needles cause of Discontent. Severity breedeth feare, but roughnes breedeth hate. Even Reproofes from authoritye, ought to be grave, and

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bind ' thine owne hands, or thy seruants hands that may take; but bind the hands of them that should offer. For integrity vsed doth the one, but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And auoid not only the fault, but the suspection. Whofoeuer is found variable and changeth manifestly, without manifest cause, giueth suspection of corruption.

A seruant or a favourite if he be inward, and no other apparant cause of esteeme: is commonly thought but a by-way.

For roughnes it is a needleffe cause of discontent. Seueritie breedeth feare, but roughnesse breedeth hate. Euen reproofes from authoritye, ought to be graue and

<sup>24</sup> Manifest. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>25</sup> Opinion. *Opinione tua quam declarasti*, 'the opinion you have declared.'

<sup>26</sup> Course. *Processu quem incepisti*, 'the course you have begun.'

<sup>27</sup> Declare it. *Sedulo declares, et inculces*, 'carefully declare and impress it.'

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binde thine owne Hands,  
 or thy Seruants hands,  
 from taking; but binde  
 the hands of Sutours also  
 from offring. For Integritie  
 vsed doth the one; but  
 Integritie professed, and  
 with a manifest<sup>24</sup> detesta-  
 tion of Bribery, doth the  
 other. And auoid not  
 onely the Fault, but the  
 Suspicion. Whosoever is  
 found variable, and chang-  
 eth manifestly, without  
 manifest Cause, giueth Sus-  
 picion of *Corruption*. Therefore, alwayes, when thou  
 changeest thine Opinion,<sup>25</sup> or Course,<sup>26</sup> professe it plainly,  
 and declare it,<sup>27</sup> together with the Reasons, that moue  
 thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it.  
 A Seruant, or a Favourite,  
 if hee be inward,<sup>28</sup> and no  
 other apparent Cause of  
 Esteeme, is commonly  
 thought but a By-way, to close<sup>29</sup> *Corruption*.  
 For *Roughnesse*; It is a  
 needlesse cause of *Discon-*  
*tent*.<sup>30</sup> *Seueritie* breedeth<sup>31</sup>  
 Feare, but *Roughnesse*  
 breedeth Hate. Euen Re-  
 proofes from Authoritie,  
 ought to be Graue, and

<sup>28</sup> Inward. *Servus gratus, et apud Dominum potens*, 'a favourite ser-  
 vant having influence with his master.'

<sup>29</sup> Close. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>30</sup> Discontent. *Invidiam, et Malevolentiam*, 'envy and ill-will.'

<sup>31</sup> Breedeth. *Incutit*, 'inflicts.'





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not Taunting. As for *Facilitie*; It is worfe then Bribery. For *Bribes* come<sup>32</sup> but now and then; But if *Importunitie*, or *Idle Respects* lead a Man, he shall neuer be without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect Persons, is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread.*<sup>a</sup> It is most true, that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the Man*: And it sheweth some to the better and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset*;<sup>b</sup> saith *Tacitus* of *Galba*: but of *Vespasian* he saith; *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.*<sup>c</sup> Though the one was meant of *Sufficiencie*,<sup>33</sup> the other of *Manners*, and *Affection*. It is an assured Signe, of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends. For *Honour* is, or should be, the Place of *Vertue*: And as in Nature, Things moue violently to their Place, and calmly

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xxviii. 21.

<sup>b</sup> In the opinion of all he was capable of Empire, had he not ruled. Tacitus. History. i. 49.

<sup>c</sup> Vespasian, alone of the Emperors, changed for the better. Tacitus. History. i. 50.

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in their place, so vertue  
in ambition is violent, in  
authority fetled.



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in their place; so vertue  
in ambition is violent, in  
authority, fetled and calme.



<sup>34</sup> Authority. *In Honore adepto*, 'when the honour is gained.'

<sup>35</sup> Calme. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>36</sup> Fairely, and tenderly. *Illesam*, 'unhurt.'

<sup>37</sup> Paid. *A Successore tuo*, 'by your successor.'

<sup>38</sup> Respect. *Amicæ tracta*, 'treat in a friendly manner.'

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in their Place: So Vertue  
 in Ambition is violent, in  
 Authority<sup>34</sup> fetled and calme.<sup>35</sup> All Rising to *Great  
 Place*, is by a winding Staire: And if there be Factions,  
 it is good, to side a Mans selfe, whilest hee is in the  
 Rising; and to ballance Himselfe, when hee is placed.  
 Use the Memory of thy Predecessor fairely, and ten-  
 derly;<sup>36</sup> For if thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be  
 paid,<sup>37</sup> when thou art gone. If thou haue Colleagues, re-  
 spect<sup>38</sup> them, and rather call them, when they looke not  
 for it, then exclude them, when they haue reason to  
 looke to be called. Be not too sensible, or too re-  
 membring, of thy Place, in Conuersation, and priuate  
 Answers to Suitors;<sup>39</sup> But let it rather be said: *When  
 he sits in Place,*<sup>40</sup> *he is another Man.*



<sup>39</sup> Conuersation, and private Answers to Suitors. *Quotidianis sermonibus, aut conversatione privata*, 'in daily discourse or private conversation.'

<sup>40</sup> Sits in Place. *Sedet, et munus suum exercet*, 'sits and exercises his office.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 25. Of Empire.

**T** is a miserable state of minde to have few thinges to desier, and manie thinges to feare; and yet that commonly is the Case of *Kinges* who being at the highest, want matter of desier, which makes their mindes the more languishing, and have many representacions of perilles, and shadows, which makes their mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one reason alsoe of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of *That the Kinges heart is inscrutable*; For multitude of Iealousyes, and lacke of some predominant desier, that should marshall, and putt in order all the rest, maketh Mens heartes hard to finde, or found. Hence comes it likewise, that Princes manie tymes make themselves Desieres, and sett their heartes vponn Toyes,

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## 9. Of Empire.

**T** is a miserable state of minde, to haue few things to desire, and many things to feare: and yet, that commonly is the case of Kings; who being at the highest, want matter of desire; which makes their mindes the more languishing, and haue many representations of perrilles and shadows, which makes their minds the lesse cleere. And this is one reason also of that effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the Kings heart is inscrutable*. For multitudes of iealousies, and lacke of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any mans heart hard to finde, or found. Hence commeth it likewise that Princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts vpon toies;

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Shadoves. *Umbrarum volitantium*, 'sitting shadows.'

<sup>2</sup> Speaketh of. *Regibus tribuit*, 'attributes to kings.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 19. Of Empire.

**T** is a miserable State of Minde, to haue few Things to desire, and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings*; Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing; And haue many Representations of Perills and Shadowes,<sup>1</sup> which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of;<sup>2</sup> *That the Kings heart is inscrutable.*<sup>a</sup> For Multitude of Iealoufies, and Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order<sup>3</sup> all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or found.<sup>4</sup> Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes*, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts vpon toyes:

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xxv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Marshall and put in order. *Imperet*, 'command.'

<sup>4</sup> Finde, or sound. *Exploratu*, 'examine.'



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fometymes vponn a building,

fometymes vponn the aduancing of a person, fometymes vponn obtayning excellencie in some art, or feate of the hand,

and such thinges which seeme incredible to those that knowe not this principle *That the minde of Man is more cheered, and refreshed by profitinge in smale things, then by standing at a slay in great.* Therefore great, and fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares,

tourne Melancholie and superstitious in their later, As did *Alexander* the great, and in our memorie *Charles* the fift, and manie others. Ffor he that is vsed to goe forwarde, and findeth a stopp falleth out of his owne favour.

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fometimes vpon a building; sometimes vpon an order;

fometimes vpon the aduancing of a person; sometimes vpon obtaining excellency in some Arte, or feate of the hand:

and such like things, which seeme incredible to those that know not the principle; *That the minde of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, then by standing at a slay in great.* Therefore great and fortunate Conquerors in their first yeeres,

turne melancholy and superstitious in their latter, As did *Alexander* the great, and in our memory *Charles* the fift, and many others. For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a stoppe, falleth out of his owne fauour.

<sup>5</sup> Building. *Aedificia extruenda*, 'erecting buildings.'

<sup>6</sup> Order. *Ordinem aliquem aut Collegium*, 'some order or college.'

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Sometimes vpon a Building;<sup>5</sup> Sometimes vpon Erecting of an Order;<sup>6</sup> Sometimes vpon the Advancing of a Person; Sometimes vpon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As *Nero* for playing on the Harpe, *Domitian* for Certainty of Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driuing Chariots, and the like.<sup>7</sup>

This seemeth incredible vnto those, that know not the Principle; *That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that *Kings*, that haue beene fortunate Conquerors<sup>8</sup> in their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must haue some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes; turne in their latter yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian*; And in our memory, *Charles* the fift; And others: For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne fauour, and is not the Thing he was.

<sup>7</sup> And the like. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>8</sup> Fortunate Conquerors. *In Victoriis et provinciis subjugandis, maxime felices*, 'very fortunate in victories and in subduing provinces.'

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A true  
temper of government  
is a rare thing;

For both Temper, and Dis-  
temper consist of contra-  
ryes. But it is one thing  
to mingle Contraries, an-  
other to interchaunge them.

The answer of *Apolonius*  
to *Vespasian* is full of  
excellent Instruccion. *Ves-  
pasian* asked him what  
was *Neroes ouerthrowe* he  
answered *Nero could*  
*touch and tune the Harp*  
*well, But in gouernement*  
*sometymes he vsed to wynd*  
*the pynnes to highe, and*  
*sometymes to let them downe*  
*to lowe.* And certaine it  
is, that nothing destroyeth  
authoritye so much as the  
vnequall and vntymely in-  
terchaunge of pressing  
power and imbasing Maies-  
tie.

The  
wisedome of all theis latter  
tymes in Princes affaiers  
is rather fine Deliveryes,  
and shiftinges of daungers  
and mischeifes when they  
are neare, then solid and  
grounded courses to

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A true  
temper of gouernment  
is a rare thing:

For both temper and dis-  
temper consist of contra-  
ries. But it is one thing  
to mingle contraries, an-  
other to interchange them.

The answer of *Apolonius*  
to *Vespasian* is full of  
excellent instruction. *Ves-  
pasian* asked him, *What*  
*was Neroes ouerthrow:* hee  
answered; *Nero could*  
*touch and tune the Harpe*  
*well; But in gouernment*  
*sometimes he vsed to winde*  
*the pinnes to hie, and*  
*sometimes to let them downe*  
*too lowe.* And certaine it  
is, that nothing destroieth  
authority, so much as the  
vnequall and vntimely in-  
terchange of pressing  
power and relaxing power.

The  
wisedome of all these latter  
times, in Princes affaires,  
is rather fine deliueries,  
and shiftinges of dangers  
and mischiefes when they  
are neere, then solide and  
grounded courses to

<sup>9</sup> To Vespasian. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>10</sup> Vnequall. *Inaequalem, et quasi subsultoriam*, 'unequal, and as it were, fitful (jumping).'



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To speake now of the true Temper of *Empire*: It is a Thing rare, and hard to keep: For both Temper and Diftemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian*,<sup>9</sup> is full of Excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him; *What was Neroes ouerthrow?* He answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Gouvernment, sometimes he vsed to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low.*<sup>a</sup> And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth Authority so much, as the vnequall<sup>10</sup> and vntimely Enterchange of Power *Pressed* too farre, and *Relaxed* too much.

This is true: that the wisdom of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affaires, is rather fine Deliueries, and Shiftings<sup>11</sup> of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare; then solid and grounded Courses<sup>12</sup> to

<sup>a</sup> Philostratus. *Vitâ Apolloni Tyanensi*. v. 28. Lord Bacon. *Apoph.* 51.

<sup>11</sup> Deliueries and Shiftings. *Ut conquirantur magis et aptentur Remedia et subterfugia*, 'rather to seek and apply remedies and subterfuges.'

<sup>12</sup> Courses. *Ut Prudentia solida et constanti, depellantur et summoveantur, antequam impendeant*, 'to dispel and remove them by solid and consistent prudence before they are imminent.'

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keepe them aloofe. But

lett men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; For noe Man can forbid the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in Princes businesse are many tymes great, but the greatest difficultye is often in their owne minde. Ffor it is Common with Princes, (saith *Tacitus*) to will contradictories; *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solœcisme of power, to thinke to commaunde the end, and yet not to enduer the meane,

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keep them aloofe. But

let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to bee prepared: for no man can forbid the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficultnesse in Princes businesse are many times great, but the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne minde. For it is common with Princes (saith *Tacitus*) to will contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solocisme of power, to thinke to command the ende, and yet not to endure the meane.

<sup>13</sup> Neglect. . . prepared. *Obdormiscant circa Turbarum Materias primas, et Inchoamenta,* 'slumber during the first matters and beginnings of troubles.'

<sup>14</sup> Sparke. *Scintillam, Incendium parituram,* 'the spark, which will produce a conflagration.'

<sup>15</sup> Tell. *Regiones Metiri,* 'judge the place.'

<sup>16</sup> Difficulties. *Difficultates et Impedimenta,* 'difficulties and hindrances.'

<sup>17</sup> Great. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>18</sup> Minde. *Affectus et mores,* 'disposition and manners.'

<sup>19</sup> Power. *Potentie nimia,* 'too much power.'

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keepe them aloofe. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared:<sup>13</sup> For no Man can forbid the Sparke,<sup>14</sup> nor tell<sup>15</sup> whence it may come. The difficulties<sup>16</sup> in *Princes* Businesse, are many and great;<sup>17</sup> But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde.<sup>18</sup> For it is common with *Princes*, (saith *Tacitus*<sup>a</sup>) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solœcisme of Power,<sup>19</sup> to thinke to Command<sup>20</sup> the End, and yet not to endure<sup>21</sup> the Meane.

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

First for their *Neighbours*; There can no generall Rule<sup>22</sup> be giuen, (The Occasions are so variable,) faue

<sup>a</sup> Not Tacitus, but Sallust. *Sed plerumque regiarum voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ.* 'The wills of most kings, as they are violent, so are they fickle and often at variance with themselves.' *Jugurtha. cxiii.*

<sup>20</sup> Command. *Posse . . . pro arbitrio assequi*, 'to be able to attain at his desire.'

<sup>21</sup> Endure. *Procurare*, 'attend to.'

<sup>22</sup> Rule. *Regula aliqua certa Cautionis*, 'no certain rule of caution.'

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<sup>23</sup> And this is generally . . . hinder it. This sentence is omitted in the Latin.

<sup>24</sup> Emperour. *Hispano*, 'of Spain.'

<sup>25</sup> Either by confederation, or if need were, by a Warre. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>26</sup> Lawfull. *Competens et legitima*, 'sufficient and lawful.'

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one ; which euer holdeth ; which is, That *Princes* doe keepe due Centinell, that none of their *Neighbours* doe ouergrow so, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counfels to foresee, and to hinder it.<sup>23</sup> During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry* the 8. of *England*, *Francis* the 1. *Kins* of *France*, and *Charles* the 5. *Emperour*,<sup>24</sup> there wag such a watch kept, that none of the Three, could win a *Palme* of *Ground*, but the other two, would straight-waies ballance it, either by *Confederation*, or, if need were, by a *Warre*:<sup>25</sup> And would not, in any wise, take up *Peace* at *Interest*. And the like was done by that *League* (which, *Guicciardine* faith, was the *Security* of *Italy*) made betwene *Ferdinando* *King* of *Naples* ; *Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludouicus Sforza*, *Potentates*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Millaine*. Neither is the *Opinion*, of some of the *Schoole-Men*, to be receiued : That a *warre* cannot iustly be made, but vpon a *precedent Iniury*, or *Prouocation*. For there is no *Ques-tion*, but a iust *Feare*, of an *Imminent danger*, though there be no *Blow* giuen, is a lawfull<sup>26</sup> *Cause* of a *Warre*.

For their *Wiues* ; There are *Cruell*<sup>27</sup> *Examples* of them. *Liulia* is infamed for the *poysoning* of her husband :<sup>28</sup> *Roxolana*, *Solymans* *Wife*, was the *destruction*, of that renowned *Prince*, *Sultan*<sup>29</sup> *Mustapha* ; And otherwise troubled his<sup>30</sup> *House*, and *Succeſſion* : *Edward* the *Second* of *England*, his *Queen*, had the principall hand, in the *Deposing* and *Murther* of her *Husband*. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the *Wiues* haue *Plots*, for the *Raising* of their owne *Children* :<sup>31</sup> Or else that they be *Aduoutresses*.

<sup>27</sup> Cruell. *Crudelia et atrocia*, 'cruel and savage.'

<sup>28</sup> Husband. *Augusti*, 'of Augustus.'

<sup>29</sup> Sultan. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>30</sup> His. *Mariti sui*, 'her husband's.'

<sup>31</sup> Children. *Liberos ex priore Marito*, 'children by a former husband.'

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32 Of dangers. Omitted in the Latin.

33 Turks. *Sultanorum*, 'of the Sultans.'

34 Strange. Omitted in the Latin.

35 Towardnesse. *Spei*, 'hope.'

36 His other Sonne. *Qui ex filiis ejus superstes fuit*, 'his son who survived.'

37 Did little better. Omitted in the Latin.

38 Repentance. *Mærore et pœnitentia*, 'grief and repentance.'

39 Bajazet. *Bajazetem patrem suum*, 'Bajazet, his father.'

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For their *Children*: The Tragedies, likewise, of dangers<sup>32</sup> from them, haue been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their *Children*, hath been euer vnfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha*, (that we named before) was so fatall to *Solymans* Line, as the Succession of the *Turks*,<sup>33</sup> from *Solyman*, vntill this day, is suspected to be vntrue, and of strange<sup>34</sup> Blood; For that *Selymus* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare Towardnesse,<sup>35</sup> by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both *Constantinus*, and *Constance*, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And *Constantius* his other Sonne,<sup>36</sup> did little better,<sup>37</sup> who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that *Iulianus* had taken Armes against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Sonne to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turned vpon the Father, who died of Repentance.<sup>38</sup> And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the Sonnes were vp, in open Armes against them; As was *Selymus* the first against *Baiazet*:<sup>39</sup> And the three Sonnes of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates*; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was, in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*; who with their Crofiars, did almost<sup>40</sup> try it, with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, and *Henry* the second. The danger is not<sup>41</sup> from that *State*,<sup>42</sup> but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority;<sup>43</sup> Or where the Church-

<sup>40</sup> Almost. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>41</sup> Is not. *Non est magnopere pertimescendum*, 'is not much to be feared.'

<sup>42</sup> That State. *Prelatis*, 'prelates.'

<sup>43</sup> Forraine authority. *Auctoritate et Jurisdictione Principatus externi*, 'authority and jurisdiction of a foreign power.'

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<sup>44</sup> Come in. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>45</sup> Collation. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>46</sup> Particular Patrons. *Patronis Ecclesiarum*, 'patrons of churches.'

<sup>47</sup> Keep at a distance. *Sunt illi certe cohibendi, et tanquam in justa distantia a Solio Regali continendi*, 'they ought assuredly to be restrained, and kept as it were at a proper distance from the King's throne.'

<sup>48</sup> Depressed. *Perpetuo deprimebat*: 'continually depressed.'

<sup>49</sup> Loyall. *In Fide et Officio*, 'in faith and duty.'

<sup>50</sup> Fain to doe. *Sustineret*, 'maintained.'



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men come in,<sup>44</sup> and are elected, not by the Collation<sup>45</sup> of the King, or particular Patrons,<sup>46</sup> but by the People.

For their *Nobles*; To keepe them at a distance,<sup>47</sup> it is not amisse; But to depreffe them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I haue noted it. in my History of King *Henry* the Seuenth, of *England*, who depressed<sup>48</sup> his *Nobility*; Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; For the *Nobility*, though they continued loyall<sup>49</sup> vnto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. So that in effect, he was faine to doe<sup>50</sup> all things, himselfe.

For their *Second Nobles*; There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: Besides,<sup>51</sup> they are a Counterpoize<sup>52</sup> to the Higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority,<sup>53</sup> with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants*; They are *Vena porta*;<sup>a</sup> And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may haue good Limes, but will haue empty Veines, and nourish little.<sup>54</sup> Taxes, and Imposts<sup>55</sup> vpon them, doe feldome good to the *Kings* Reuenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred,<sup>56</sup> he leese in the Shire;<sup>57</sup> The particular Rates being increased,<sup>58</sup> but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons*; There is little danger from

<sup>a</sup> *The Gate-vein.*

<sup>51</sup> Besides. *Quinimo fovendi sunt*, 'besides they should be cherished.'

<sup>52</sup> Counterpoize. *Optime temperent*, 'moderate well.'

<sup>53</sup> Authority. *Gubernacula tractent*, 'manage the helm.'

<sup>54</sup> Nourish little. *Habitum corporis macrum*, 'lean habit of body.'

<sup>55</sup> Imposts. *Portoria immodica*, 'excessive imposts.'

<sup>56</sup> Hundred. *Partibus*, 'in parts.'

<sup>57</sup> Shire. *Summa*, 'in the total.'

<sup>58</sup> The particular Rates being increased. Omitted in the Latin.

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\*Princes are like the heavenly *bodies* which cause good, or evill tymes, and which have much veneration, but noe rest. All preceptes concernyng kinges are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances. *Memento quod es Homo* and *Memento quod es Deus*.

The one to bridle their power and,  
The other their will.

*Princes* are like to the heauenly bodies, which cause good or euill times; and which haue much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances. *Memento quod es homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus* or *Vice dei*: The one to bridle their power, and the other their will.



\* This passage is inserted in the margin in a different hand. ? Sir F. Bacon's.

<sup>59</sup> Great. *Populares*, 'popular.'

<sup>60</sup> Customes. *Consuetudinibus antiquis*; *Vel in Gravaminibus Tributorum*, 'ancient customs, or grievances of tribute.'

<sup>61</sup> Meanes of Life. *Vel in aliis que victum eorum decurtant*, 'or in anything which diminishes their means of life.'

<sup>62</sup> In a Body. *Si in Corpus unum cogantur, vel Exercitus, vel præsidiorum*; 'if they are collected in a body either as an army or as garrisons.'

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them, except it be, where they haue Great<sup>59</sup> and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes,<sup>60</sup> or Meanes of Life.<sup>61</sup>

For their *Men of warre*; It is a dangerous State, where they liue and remaine in a Body,<sup>62</sup> and are vsed to Donatiues; whereof we see Examples<sup>63</sup> in the *Ianizaries*, and *Pretorian Bands of Rome*.<sup>64</sup> But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in feuerall places, and vnder feuerall Commanders, and without Donatiues, are Things of Defence,<sup>65</sup> and no Danger.

*Princes* are like to *Heauenly Bodies*, which cause<sup>66</sup> good or euill times; And which haue<sup>67</sup> much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances: *Memento quod es Homo*;<sup>a</sup> And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice*<sup>b</sup> *Dei*: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.<sup>68</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Remember that thou art man.

<sup>b</sup> Remember that thou art God, or, in the place of God.

<sup>63</sup> Examples. *Clarissima Exempla*, 'most clear examples.'

<sup>64</sup> Bands of Rome. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>65</sup> Defence. *Utiles, et salubres*, 'profitable and serviceable.'

<sup>66</sup> Cause. *In fluxu suo producant*, 'produce in their course.'

<sup>67</sup> Haue. *Gaudent*, 'enjoy.'

<sup>68</sup> Their will. *Ad Voluntatem regendam*, 'to rule their will.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 26. Of Councell.



He greatest trust  
betweene Man,  
and man is the  
trust of giving  
Councell. Ffor in other  
confidences Men committ  
the partes of their life,  
their landes, their goodes,  
their Childe, their  
Creditt, some particular  
affaier. But to such as  
they make their Councel-  
lours, they committ the  
whole; by how much the  
more they are obliged to  
all faith, and Integrity.  
The wisest Princes neede  
not thinke it anie diminution  
to their greatnes,  
or derogation to their  
sufficiency, to relye vpon  
councell. God himself  
is not without, but hath  
made it one of the great  
names of his blessed  
sonne *the Counsellor*.  
*Salomon* hath pronounced  
that *In Councell is Stabilitie*.  
Things will have  
their first, or second agita-

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## 10. Of Councell.



He greatest trust  
betweene man,  
is the  
trust of giuing  
counsell. For in other  
confidences men commit  
the partes of their life,  
their lands, their goods,  
their child, their  
credit; some particuler  
affaire. But to such as  
they make their counsel-  
lors, they commit the  
whole; by how much the  
more they are obliged to  
all faith, and integrity.  
The wisest Princes need  
not thinke it any diminution  
to their greatnesse,  
or derogation to their  
sufficiency, to rely vpon  
counsell. - God himselfe  
is not without: but hath  
made it one of the great  
names of his blessed  
Son (*the Counsellor*.)  
*Salomon* hath pronounced,  
that *In Counsel is stabilitie*.  
Things will haue  
their first or second agita-

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> They. *Qui partes Consiliariorum præstant*, 'those who perform the part of counsellors.'

<sup>2</sup> Greatnesse. *Auctoritatis*, 'authority.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 20. Of Counsell.



He greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man, is the Trust of *Giuing Counsell*. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affaire; But to such, as they make their *Counsellours*, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they<sup>1</sup> are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes*, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse,<sup>2</sup> or derogation to their Sufficiency,<sup>3</sup> to rely vpon *Counsell*.<sup>4</sup> *God* himselfe is not without:<sup>5</sup> But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; *The Counsellour*.<sup>a</sup> *Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsell is Stability*.<sup>b</sup> Things<sup>6</sup> will haue their first, or second Agita-

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah ix. 6.<sup>b</sup> Prov. xx. 18.<sup>3</sup> Or derogation to their Sufficiency. Omitted in the Latin.<sup>4</sup> Counsell. *Consilio Virorum selectorum*, 'counsel of chosen men.'<sup>5</sup> Without. *Consilio vacat*, 'without counsel.'<sup>6</sup> Things. *Res humanæ*, 'human things.'

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cion; if they be not tossed vponn the arguments of Councell, they wilbe tossed vponn the waves of fortune and be full of inconstancye, doeing, and vndoeing, like the reeling of a drunken Man. *Salomons* sonnes found the force of Councell, as his father sawe the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill counsell, vponn which Councell there are sett for our Instruction, the two markes whereby bad Counsell is forever best discerned, that it was young Councell for the persons, and violent Councell for the matter.

The auncient tymes doe sett fourth in figure both the incorporacion, and inseperable coniunction of Councell with Kinges, and the wise and politike vse of Councell by kinges; the one in that they say *Iupiter* did

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tion; if they bee not tossed vpon the arguments of counsell, they will be tossed vpon the waues of *Fortune*; and bee full of inconstancy, doing, and vndoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. *Salomons* sonne found the force of counsell, as his father saw the necessitie of it. For the beloued kingdome of God was first rent and broken by ill counsell; vpon which counsell there are set for our instruction, the two markes, whereby bad counsell is for euer best discerned, that it was young counsell for the persons, and violent counsell for the matter.

The ancient times doe set forth in figure both the incorporation, and inseperable coniunction of counsell with *Kinges*; and the wise and politike vse of Councell by Kings: the one, in that they say *Iupiter* did

<sup>7</sup> Inconstancy. *Inconstantia, et Mutationum*, 'inconstancy and changes

<sup>8</sup> Necessity. *Necessitatem et usum*, 'necessity and use.'

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tion; If they be not tossed vpon the Arguments of *Counsell*, they will be tossed vpon the Waues of *Fortune*; And be full of Inconstancy,<sup>7</sup> doing, and vndoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. *Salomons* Sonne found the Force of *Counsell*, as his Father saw the Necessity<sup>8</sup> of it. For the Beloued Kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill *Counsell*; Vpon which *Counsell*, there are fet,<sup>9</sup> for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby *Bad Counsell* is, for euer, best discerned: That it was *young Counsell*, for the Persons; And *Violent Counsell*, for the Matter.

The Ancient Times<sup>10</sup> doe fet<sup>11</sup> forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inseparable Coniunction of *Counsell* with *Kings*; And the wise and Politique vse of *Counsell* by *Kings*: The one, in that they say, *Iupiter* did

<sup>9</sup> Set. *Inusta*, 'branded.'

<sup>10</sup> Times. *Sapientia*, 'wisdom.'

<sup>11</sup> Set. *Adumbravit*, 'shadowed.'

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marrie *Metis* which signifieth Councell; So as Sovereignty, or Authoritie is married to Councell; the other in that which followeth which was thus. They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceived by him, and was with childe; But *Iupiter* suffered her not to stay till she brought fourth, but ate her vpp, whereby he became with childe, and was delivered of *Pallas* armed out of his head; which monstrous fable containeth a secret of *Empire*, how kinges are to make vse of their Councell of State. That first they ought to referre matters to them which is the first begetting, or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the wombe of their Councell, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought fourth, then that they suffer not their Coun-

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marrie *Metis* (which signifieth Counsell.) So as Souerainty or authority is married to counsel. The other in that which followeth; which was thus, They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis*, shee conceiu'd by him, and was with childe, but *Iupiter* suffered her not to stay till shee brought fourth, but ate her vp; whereby hee became with child and was deliuered of *Pallas*, armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of *Empire*: How Kings are to make vse of their Counsell of state. That first they ought to referre matters to them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the wombe of their counsell and growe ripe, and ready to be brought fourth; that then they suffer not their coun-

<sup>12</sup> Was thus. *Huiusmodi Commentum est*, 'was a fable of this kind.'



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marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsell*: Whereby they intend, that *Soueraignty* is married to *Counsell*: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus:<sup>12</sup> They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceiued by him, and was with Childe; but *Iupiter* suffered her not to slay, till she brought forth, but eat her vp; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was deliuered of *Pallas Armed*, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable, containeth a Secret of *Empire*; How *Kings* are to make vse of their *Councell* of *State*. That first, they ought to referre<sup>13</sup> matters vnto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation;<sup>14</sup> But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their *Councell*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their *Coun-*

<sup>13</sup> Referre. *Deliberandas committant*, 'refer for deliberation.'

<sup>14</sup> Begetting or Impregnation. *Conceptio*, 'conception.'

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cell to goe through with the resolution, and direction, as if it depended vponn them, but take the matters backe into their owne hand, and make it appeare to the world that the decrees and finall direccions (which because they come forth with prudence, and power, are resembled to *Pallas* armed) proceede from themselves; and not onely from their authority, but the more to add reputation to themselves, from their head, and devise.

The inconveniences that have beene noted in calling, and vsing Councell are three—First the revealing of affayres whereby they become lesse secrett. Secondly the weakening of the authoritie of Princes, as if they were lesse of themselves; Thirdly the daunger of being vnfaithfullie counselled, and more for the good of them that

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fel to go through, with the resolution and direction, as if it depended vpon them; but take the matter back into their own hand, and make it appeare to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which because they come forth with prudence, and power, are resembled to *Pallas* armed) proceeded from themselves: and not onely from their authority, but (the more to adde reputation to themselves) from their heade and de-vice.

The inconueniences that haue beene noted in calling and vsing counsell, are three. First, the reuealing of affaires, whereby they become lesse secret. Secondly, the weakning of the authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of themselves. Thirdly, the danger of being vnfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that

<sup>15</sup> Resolution and direction. *Decretum*, 'resolution.'

<sup>16</sup> On them. *Ex eorum Auctoritate*, 'upon their authority.'

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*cell* to goe through with the Resolution, and direction,<sup>15</sup> as if it depended on them; <sup>16</sup> But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not onely from their *Authority*, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselues) from their *Head*, and *Deuice*.<sup>17</sup>

Let vs now speake of the *Inconueniences* of *Counsell*, and of the *Remedics*.

The *Inconueniences*, that haue been noted in calling, and vsing Counsell, are three. First, the Reuealing<sup>18</sup> of Affaires, whereby they become lesse *Secret*. Secondly, the Weakening of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse<sup>19</sup> of Themselues. Thirdly, the Danger of being vnfaithfully *counsell'd*, and more for the good of them that

<sup>17</sup> Deuice. *Auctoritate*, 'authority.'

<sup>18</sup> Reuealing. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>19</sup> Were lesse. *Minus ex se feuderent*, 'depended less upon themselves.'

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councell, then of him that is councelled. Ffor which inconveniences the doctrine of *Italie*, and practize of *Fraunce*

hath introduced *Cabanett* Councelles, a remedy worse than the disease, which hath toured *Metis* the wife, to *Metis* the Mistresse, that is the councelles of State to which Princes are\* solemly marryed, to councells of gracious persons recommended cheifly by †flattery and affection.

But for secrecie, Princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all councellours, but may extract, and select. Neither is it necessarye, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe; But lett Princes beware that the vnsecreting of their affaires come not from themselves; and as for *Cabanett* Councell It may be their *Mot plenus rimarum sum*; one

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counfel, then of him that is counfelled. For which inconueniences, the doctrine of *Italy*, and practize of *France*,

hath introduced *Cabanet* counfels, a remedy worse then the disease.

But the secrecy Princes, are not bound to communicate all matters with all Councillors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessarye, that hee that consulteth what hee should doe; should declare what hee will doe. But let *Princes* beware that the vnsecreting of their affaires come not from themselues. And as for *Cabanet* Counfell, it may be their *Mot, Plenus rimarum sum*. One

\* † The word 'solemyly' has been struck out here; and the words 'flattery and' have been inserted below in a different hand; ? Sir F. Bacon's.

<sup>20</sup> Counfelled. *Principis ipsius*, 'the prince himself.'

<sup>21</sup> Cabinet. *Interiora, quæ vulgo vocantur Cabinetti*, 'inner councils, which are commonly called cabinets.'

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*counsell*, then of him that is *counfelled*.<sup>20</sup> For which *Inconueniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practife of France, in some Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinci*.<sup>21</sup> *Counfels*; A Remedy worfe then the Disease.

As to *Secrecy*,<sup>22</sup> *Princes* are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all *Counfellors*; but may extract and felect.<sup>23</sup> Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let *Princes* beware, that the *vnsecrcting* of their Affaires, comes not from Themselues. And as for *Cabinet Counfels*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenusrimarumsum*.<sup>a</sup> One

<sup>a</sup> *I am full of rifts.* Terence. *Eunuchus*. i. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Secrecy. *Occultationem Consiliorum*, 'secrecy of councils.'

<sup>23</sup> *After select.* *Tam Personas, quam Negotia*, 'as well the persons as the business.'

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futile person, that maketh  
it his glorie to tell, will  
doe more hurt, then manie,  
that knowe it their duetic  
to keepe councill.

For weakening of  
authority, The fable  
sheweth the remedye

Neither was there ever  
prince bereaved of his  
dependances by his  
Councill, except where  
there hath bene either  
an over-greatnesse in one,  
or an over-strict Combin-  
acion in diuerse.

For the last inconvenience,

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futile person, that maketh  
it his glory to tell, will  
do more hurt, then manie  
that know it their dutie  
to conceale.

For weakning of  
authority, the fable  
sheweth the remedy ;

neither was there euer  
Prince bereaved of his  
dependances by his  
Counsell, except where  
there hath been either  
an ouergreatnesse in one,  
or an ouerstrict combin-  
ation in diuerse.

For the last inconuenience

<sup>24</sup> Tell. *Arcana nosse et reterege*, 'to know and disclose secrets.'

<sup>25</sup> Beyond. *Ultra notitiam*, 'beyond the knowledge of.'

<sup>26</sup> Hand-Mill. *Proprio Marte validus*, 'strong in his own strength.'

<sup>27</sup> Inward. Omitted in the latin.

<sup>28</sup> True. Omitted in the Latin.

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futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell,<sup>24</sup> will doe more hurt, then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true, there be some Affaires, which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond<sup>25</sup> one or two persons, besides the *King*: Neither are those *Counsels* vnprosperous: For besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent *King*, such as is able to Grinde with a *Hand-Mill*;<sup>26</sup> And those *Inward*<sup>27</sup> *Counsellours*, had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true<sup>28</sup> and trusty to the Kings Ends; As it was with King *Henry* the Seuenth of *England*, who in his greatest Businesse,<sup>29</sup> imparted himselfe to none,<sup>30</sup> except it were to *Morton*, and *Fox*.

For *Weakening of Authority*; The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay the Maiesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell:

Neither was there euer *Prince*, bereaued of his Dependances,<sup>31</sup> by his *Councell*; Except where there hath beene, either an Ouergreatnesse in one *Counsellour*, Or an Ouerstrict Combination in Diuers; which are Things<sup>32</sup> soone found, and holpen.

For the last *Inconuenience*,

<sup>24</sup> His greatest Businesse. *Arcaua sua majoris momenti*, 'his secrets of greater importance.'

<sup>25</sup> None. *Duobus tantum modo Consiliariis*, 'to two councillors alone.'

<sup>31</sup> Dependances. *Auctoritate*, 'authority.'

<sup>32</sup> Things. *Mala*, 'evils.'

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that Men will counsell with an eye to themselves, Certainly *Non inveniet fidem super terram*, is meant of the nature of tymes, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithfull, and sincere and plaine, and direct, not craftye, and involved; lett Princes above all drawe to themselves such natures; Besides Councelles are not commonly so vnited, but that one keepeth Sentinell over another.

But the best remedy is, if Princes know their Councillours as well as their Councillours knowe them. *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*. And on the other side, Councillours should not be too Speculative into their Sovereignes person. The true Composition of a Councillour is rather to be skilfull in their Maisters businesse, then in his nature, for then he is like to advise

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that men will counsell with an eye to themselves. Certainlie, *Non inveniet fidem super terram*, is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithfull and sincere, and plaine, and direct, not craftie and involved. Let Princes about all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsels are not commonly so vnited, but that one keepeth Sentinell over another.

But the best remedie is, if *Princes* know their counsellors, aswell as their Counsellors know them, *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*. And of the other side Councillors should not be too speculative into their Soueraignes person. The true composition of a Councillor, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters businesse, then in his nature: For then he is like to advise

<sup>33</sup> Themselves. *Suæ rei* . . . - *non Domini*, 'their own affairs, not their masters.'

<sup>34</sup> After Certainly. *Scripturam illam*, 'that text.'



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that Men will *Counsell with an Eye to themfelues*;<sup>33</sup> Certainly,<sup>34</sup> *Non inueniet Fidem super terram,*<sup>a</sup> is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Perfons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Inuolued: Let *Princes*, aboue all, draw to themfelues fuch Natures. Befides, *Counfellours* are not Commonly fo vnited, but that one *Counsellour* keepeth Centinell ouer Another; So that if any do *Counsell* out of Faction, or priuate Ends, it commonly comes to the *Kings* Eare. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counfellours*, as well as their *Counfellours* know them: *Principis est virtus maxima nosse fuos.*<sup>b</sup> And on the other fide, *Counfellours* fhould not be too Speculative, into their Soueraignes Perfon. The true Composition of a *Counsellour*, is rather to be skilful in their Masters Bufineffe, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Aduife

<sup>a</sup> Luke xviii. 8.

<sup>b</sup> *It is the greatest vertue of a Prince to know his own.* Martial. *Epigr.* viii. 15.

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him, and not to feede his humor. It is of singuler vse to Princes, if they take the opinions of their Councill, both separately, and together. For priuate opinion is more free; but opinion before others is more reverent. In private, Men are more bold in their owne humours, and in confort, Men are more obnoxious to others humors. Therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferiour forte rather in priuate,

of the greater rather in Companie.

It is in vaine for Princes to take Councill concerning matters, if they take not Councill likewise concerning persons. Ffor all matters are as dead Images, and the life of the execution of affayres resteth in the good choise of persons. Neither is it enoughe to consulte concerning persons *Secundum genera*, as in an Idea, or

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him, and not to feed his humor. It is of singuler vse to Princes, if they take the opinions of their Councill, both seperatly and together. For priuate opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reuerent. In priuate, men are more bold in their own humors; and in confort, men are more obnoxious to others humors. Therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferiour fort rather in priuate to preferue freedome, of the greater rather in confort, to preferue respect. It is in vain for *Princes* to take counsell concerning matters: if they take no counsell likewise concerning persons. For all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affaires resteth in the good choise of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or

<sup>35</sup> Opinions. *Opiniones et Vota*, 'opinions and wishes.'

<sup>36</sup> Are more bold. *Plus inservit*, 'serve more.'

<sup>37</sup> Obnoxious. *Obnoxius*, 'deferential.'

<sup>38</sup> Humours. *Affectibus*, 'assumptions.'

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him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular vse to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions<sup>35</sup> of their *Counsell*, both Seperately, and Together. For Priuate Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reuerend. In priuate, Men are more bold<sup>36</sup> in their owne Humours; And in Confort, Men are more obnoxious<sup>37</sup> to others Humours;<sup>38</sup> Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in priuate, to preferue Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Confort, to preferue Respect.<sup>39</sup> It is in vaine for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsell* likewise<sup>40</sup> concerning Persons: For all *Matters*, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires, resteth in the good Choice<sup>41</sup> of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *Secundum genera*,<sup>a</sup> as in an *Idea*, or

<sup>a</sup> According to classes.

<sup>39</sup> Preserue Respect. *Ut modestius Sententiam ferant*, 'that they may give their opinions more moderately.'

<sup>40</sup> Likewise. *Diligenter quoque*, 'diligently also.'

<sup>41</sup> Good Choice. *Delectu*, 'choice.'

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Mathematicall description  
 what kind  
 of person should  
 be, but in *indiuiduo*  
 for the greatest errors,  
 and the  
 greatest Iudgement are  
 shewed in the choice of  
*Indiuidualls*.



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Mathematicall description,  
 what kind  
 of person should  
 be; but in *indiuiduo*:  
 For the greatest errors  
 and the  
 greatest iudgement are  
 shewed in the choice of  
*Indiuidualls*.

It was truly said, *Optimi  
 Consiliarij mortui*.  
 Bookes will speake plaine,  
 when Councillors blanch.  
 Therefore it is good to be  
 conuerfant in them, spe-  
 cially the books of such as  
 themselues haue bene  
 Actors vpon the Stage.



<sup>a</sup> *The best counsellors are the dead.* "Alonso of Aragon was wont to say of himselfe; *That he was a great Necromancer, for that he vsed to aske Counsell of the Dead*: meaning Books." Lord Bacon. *Apopht. No. 105. Ed. 1625.*

<sup>b</sup> *In the night there is counsell.*

<sup>c</sup> Mr. W. A. Wright quotes the following explanation of this phrase from North's translation of Plutarch. *Coriolanus, p. 249. Ed. 1577*: "But hereby appeareth plainly, how king *Numa* did wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddess, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers goe about any deuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age*: as to say, doe this, or mind this."

<sup>42</sup> Most Iudgement is shewne. *Judicii Libra maxime versatur*, 'the balance of judgment is most used.'

<sup>43</sup> Truly said. *Memoria tenendum*, 'must be kept in the memory.'

<sup>44</sup> Blanch. *In Adulationem lapsuri*, 'will slip into flattery.'

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*Mathematicall Description*, what the Kinde and Character of the *Person* should be ;

For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Iudgement is shewne,<sup>42</sup> in the choice of *Indiuiduals*.

It was truly said,<sup>43</sup> *Optimi Consiliarij mortui* ;<sup>a</sup> *Books* will speake plaine, when *Counsellors* Blanch.<sup>44</sup> Therefore it is good to be conuerfant in<sup>45</sup> them ; Specially the *Bookes* of such, as Themselues haue been Actors vpon the Stage.<sup>46</sup>

The *Counsels*, at this Day, in most Places, are but Familiar Meetings ;<sup>47</sup> where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsell*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to,<sup>48</sup> till the next day ; *In Nocte Consilium*.<sup>b</sup> So was it done, in the Commission of *Vnion*, between *England* and *Scotland* ; which was a Graue and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions :<sup>49</sup> For both it giues the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance ; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate,<sup>50</sup> that they may *Hoc agere*.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Be conuersant in. *Multum revolvete*, 'turn over much.'

<sup>46</sup> Actors vpon the Stage. *Gubernacula Rerum tractarunt*, 'have managed the helm of affairs.'

<sup>47</sup> Meetings. *Congressus, et colloquia*, 'meetings and conversation.'

<sup>48</sup> Not spoken to. *Tractaretur*, 'treated.'

<sup>49</sup> Petitions. *Petitiones privatas*, 'private petitions.'

<sup>50</sup> Meetings for Matters of Estate. *Solenniores Conventus*, 'more solemn meetings.'

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<sup>51</sup> Indifferent. *Qui æqui sint, et in neutram partem propendeant*, 'who are indifferent and lean to neither side.'

<sup>52</sup> Standing. *Non tantum temporaneas, aut e re nata; sed etiam continuatas, et perpetuas*, 'not only temporary or for a certain thing, but also continual and perpetual.'

<sup>53</sup> As. *Exempli gratia; Quæ curent separatim*, 'as for example, which should be administered separately.'

<sup>54</sup> Suits. *Gratias; Gravamina*; 'favours; complaints.'

<sup>55</sup> Particular. *Subordinata*, 'subordinate.'

<sup>56</sup> Of Estate. *Superius*, 'higher.'

<sup>57</sup> Let. *Si Casus postulet*, 'if the case require.'

<sup>58</sup> Professions. *Muneris aut professionis*, 'duty or profession.'

<sup>59</sup> After Mint-men. *Mercatoribus, Artificibus*, 'merchants, artisans.'

<sup>60</sup> In a Tribunitious Manner. *More Tribunitio*, 'after the manner of a tribune [*i.e.* in a tumultuous, turbulent manner].'

<sup>61</sup> After enforme. *Ut decet*, 'as is proper.'

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In choice of Committees, for ripening Businesse, for the *Counsell*, it is better to choose Indifferent<sup>51</sup> persons, then to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also *standing*<sup>52</sup> *Commissions*; As<sup>53</sup> for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits;<sup>54</sup> for some Prouinces: For where there be diuers particular<sup>55</sup> *Counsels*, and but one *Counsell* of Estate,<sup>56</sup> (as it is in *Spaine*) they are in effect no more, then *Standing Commissions*; Saue that they haue greater Authority. Let<sup>57</sup> such, as are to informe *Counsels*, out of their particular Professions,<sup>58</sup> (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men,<sup>59</sup> and the like) be first heard, before *Committees*; And then, as Occasion serues, before the *Counsell*. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner;<sup>60</sup> For that is, to clamour *Counsels*, not to enforme<sup>61</sup> them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls,<sup>62</sup> seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the Businesse; But in the other Forme, there is more vse of the *Counsellours* Opinions, that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Counsell*, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth:<sup>63</sup> For else *Counsellours* will but take the Winde of him; And in stead of giuing Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*.



<sup>62</sup> *After Walls. Camera Consilii, 'of the council chamber.'*

<sup>63</sup> In that which he propoundeth. Omitted in the Latin.

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*Harleian MS.* 5106.

## 27. Of Atheisme.



Had rather be-  
leeue all the  
fables in the  
*Legend*,  
and the *Alcaron*,  
then that this vniuerfall  
frame is without a minde  
And therefore God never  
wrought miracle to con-  
vince Athiestes because  
his ordinary workes con-  
vince them. Certainly  
a litle Philosophie in-  
clineth to  
*Atheifme*, but depth in  
Philosophie bringeth Men  
about to Religion ;  
for when the minde of  
Man looketh vponn second  
causes scattered,  
sometymes it resteth in  
them, But  
when it beholdeth  
them confede-  
rate, and knitt together,  
it flies to pro-  
vidence, and deitye. Most  
of all that schoole which  
is most accused of Athe-  
ifme, doth demon-  
strate Religion, that is

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## 14. Of Atheisme.



Had rather be-  
leeue all the  
fables in the  
*Legend*,  
and the *Alcaron*,  
then that this vniuerfall  
frame is without a minde.  
And therefore God neuer  
wrought myracle to con-  
vince Atheists, because  
his ordinary works con-  
vince them. Certainly,  
a little *Philosophie* in-  
clineth mans minde to  
*Atheifme*, but depth in  
*Philosophie* bringeth men  
about to Religion.  
For when the minde of  
man looketh vpon second  
causes scattered,  
sometimes it resteth in  
them; but  
when it beholdeth,  
them confede-  
rat, and knit together,  
it flies to pro-  
vidence, and *Deitie*. Most  
of all, that schoole which  
is most acused of Athe-  
ifme, doth demon-  
strate Religion. That is,

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> Rather. *Minus durum est*, 'it is less hard.'<sup>2</sup> All the Fables. *Portentosissimis Fabulis*, 'the most monstrous fables'



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British Museum Copy.

## 16. Of Atheisme.



HAD rather<sup>1</sup> beleeue all the Fables<sup>2</sup> in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, then that this vniuersall Frame, is without a Minde. And therefore, God neuer wrought Miracle, to conuince *Atheisme*, because his Ordinary Works conuince it. It is true, that a little *Philosophy*<sup>3</sup> inclineth Mans Minde to *Atheisme*; But depth in *Philosophy* bringeth Mens Mindes about to *Religion*: For while the Minde of Man, looketh vpon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no further: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of them, Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to *Providence*, and *Deitie*. Nay euen that *Schoole*, which is most accused of *Atheisme*,<sup>4</sup> doth most demonstrate *Religion*; That is,

<sup>3</sup> Philosophy. *Philosophie Naturalis*, 'natural philosophy.'

<sup>4</sup> Atheisme. *Atheismi, si quis vere rem introspicia*, 'atheism, if one truly consider the matter.'

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the Schoole of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*; ffor it is a thousand tymes more credible that Fower mutable Elementes and one immutable 5th effence duely and eternally placed neede noe God; then that an Armie of infinite smale porcions, vnplac'd should have produc'd this order, and beautye without a diuine Marshall. The Scripture faith *The foole hath said in his heart there is noe God*. It is not said *The foole hath thought in his heart*, so as hee rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, then that he can throughlie beleeeve it, or be perswaded of it. For none denie there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were noe God.

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the Schoole of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more credible, that foure mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Effence, duly and eternally placed, neede no God: then that an Army of infinite small portions or seeds vnplaced, should haue produced this order, and beauty, without a diuine Marshall. The Scripture saith, *The foole hath said in his heart, there is no God*, It is not said, *The foole hath thought in his heart*. So as he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue: then that hee can throughly beleeeue it, or bee perswaded of it. For none denie there is a God, but those for whom it maketh, that there were no God.

<sup>5</sup> Vnplaced. *Sine Ordine fortuito vagantium*, 'wandering by chance without order.'

<sup>6</sup> Marshall. *Ædili*, 'superintendent.'

<sup>7</sup> By rote. Omitted in the Latin.

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the *Schoole* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Effence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite finall Portions, or Seedes vnplaced,<sup>5</sup> should haue produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Diuine Marshall.<sup>6</sup> The Scripture faith; *The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God:*<sup>a</sup> It is not said; *The Foole hath thought in his Heart:* So as, he rather faith it by rote<sup>7</sup> to himselfe, as that he would haue, then that he can throughly belecue it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny<sup>8</sup> there is a *God*, but those, for whom it maketh<sup>9</sup> that there were no *God*. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheisme* is rather in the *Lip*, then in the *Heart* of Man, then by this; That *Atheists* will euer be talking<sup>10</sup> of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselues, and would be glad to be strengthened, by the Consent of others: Nay more, you shall haue *Atheists* striue to

<sup>a</sup> Ps. xiv. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Deny. *Deos non esse credit*, 'believe there are no gods.'

<sup>9</sup> It maketh. *Expediit*, 'it is advantageous.'

<sup>10</sup> Talking. *Prædicent et defendant*, 'preaching and defending.'

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*Epicurus* is charged that he did but dissemble for his Credit fake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret, he thought there was no God. But certainly, he is traduced. For his Wordes are noble, and divine *Non deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum* Plato could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to denie the administration, he had not the power to denie that nature. The *Indians* of the West have names for their particular Godes, though they have no one

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*Epicurus* is charged that he did but dissemble for his credits fake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say, he did temporise, though in secret, hee thought, there was no God. But certainly hee is traduced; for his words are noble and diuine. *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Dijs applicare profanum.* Plato could haue said no more. And although he had the confidence to denie the administration; he had not the power to deny the nature. The *Indians* of the West, haue names for their particular gods, though they haue no

<sup>11</sup> Suffer. *Mortem et Cruciatum subierunt*, 'have undergone death and tortures.'

<sup>12</sup> And not recant. *Potius quam Opinionem suam retractare sustinerent*, 'rather than bear to retract their opinion.'

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get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects : And, which is most of all, you shall haue of them, that will suffer<sup>11</sup> for *Atheisme*, and not recant ;<sup>12</sup> Whereas, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselues ?

*Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake, when he affirmed ; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enioyed themselues, without hauing respect to the Gouvernement of the World. Wherein, they say, he did temporize ; though in secret, he thought, there was no *God*.<sup>13</sup> But certainly, he is traduced ; For his Words are Noble and Diuine : *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum ; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum.*<sup>a</sup> *Plato* could haue said no more.<sup>14</sup> And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the *Administration*,<sup>15</sup> he had not the Power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West*, haue Names for their particular *Gods*, though they haue no

<sup>a</sup> *It is not profane to deny the gods of the people : but it is profane to attribute to the gods, the beliefs of the people.* Diog. Laert. x. 123.

<sup>13</sup> *God. Deos, 'gods.'*

<sup>14</sup> *More. Melius, 'better.'*

<sup>15</sup> *Administration. Diuinam rerum Administrationem, 'administration of diuine things.'*

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name for God, as if the Heathens should have had the names *Iupiter, Appollo, Mars, Etc.*, but not the word, *Deus*; which shewes they have the notion, though not the full extent. So that against Athiestes the most barbarous Savages take part with the subtillest Philosophers.

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name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names, *Iupiter, Apollo, Mars, etc.*, but not the word *Deus*: which shewes yet they haue the notion though not the full extent. So that against Atheists, the most barbarous Sauages, take part with the subtillest Philosophers.

[*Expanded and transposed here in the 1625 Edition, from the Essay Of Superstition of the 1612 Edition; see p. 346.*]

They that denie a God, They that deny a God,

<sup>16</sup> Extent. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>17</sup> Received Religion. *Religionem aliquam*, 'any religion.'

<sup>18</sup> Name. *Nomen et Nota*, 'name and mark.'

<sup>19</sup> Maine. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>20</sup> Scoffing. *Ludendi et Jocandi*, 'playing and joking.'

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name for *God*: As if the *Heathens*, should haue had the Names *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. But not the Word *Deus*: which shewes, that euen those Barbarous People, haue the Notion, though they haue not the Latitude, and Extent<sup>16</sup> of it. So that against *Atheists*, the very Sauages take part, with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplatiue *Atheist* is rare; A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that, all that Impugne a receiued *Religion*,<sup>17</sup> or *Superstition*, are by the aduerse Part, branded with the Name<sup>18</sup> of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites*; which are euer Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheisme* are; *Diuisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; For any one maine<sup>19</sup> *Diuisión*, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many *Diuisions* introduce *Atheisme*. Another is, *Scandall* of *Priests*; When it is come to that, which *S. Bernard* saith; *Non est iam dicere, vt Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, vt Sacerdos*. A third is, Custome of *Profane Scoffing*<sup>20</sup> in *Holy Matters*; which doth, by little and little, deface the Reuerence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Aduersities doe more bow Mens Mindes to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It cannot now be said, as are the people, so is the priest; because the people are not so bad as the priest. *St. Bernard. Sermones ad Pastores. Opera. p. 1752. Ed. 1640.*

<sup>21</sup> *God. Deos, 'Gods.'*

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destroy mans nobilitye; Ffor certainlie Man is of kin to the beastes by his body, and if he be not of kin to God by his spiritt, he is a base and ignoble Creature. It destroyes likewise Magnanimitie, and the raising of humane nature. For take an Example of a dogg, and marke what a generosity, and courage he will putt on, when he findes himself mainteyned by a Man, which to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura*; which courage is manifestlie such, as that Creature without that Confidence of a better nature then his owne, could never attaine. So man when he resteth and assureth himselfe vponn divine proteccion, and favour, gathereth a force, and faith, which humane nature in it self could not obtayne. Therefore as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull, So in this, that it depriveth humane nature, of the meanes to exalte it self above hu-

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destroy mans nobility. For certainly man is of kinne to the beasts by his body; and if he bee not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroies likewise magnanimity, and the raising of humane nature. For, take an example of a dog, and marke what a generosity and courage he will put on, when hee findes himselfe maintained by a man, which to him is instead of a god, or *Melior natura*: Which courage is manifestly such, as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature then his owne, could neuer attaine. So man when he resteth and assureth himselfe vpon Diuine protection and fauour; gathereth a force, and faith, which humane nature in it selfe could not obtaine. Therefore as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull: So in this, that it deprieth humane nature of the meanes to exalt it selfe, aboue hu-



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deſtroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beaſts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to *God*, by his Spirit, he is a Baſe and Ignoble Creature. It deſtroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raiſing of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generoſity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himſelfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in ſtead of a *God*, or *Melior Natura*:<sup>a</sup> which courage is manifeſtly ſuch, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, than his owne, could neuer attaine. So Man, when he reſteth and affureth himſelfe, vpon diuine Proteſtion, and Fauour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it ſelfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as *Atheiſme* is in all reſpects hatefull, ſo in this, that it depriueth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it ſelfe, aboue Hu-

<sup>a</sup> *A Better Nature.* Ovid. *Metamorphoses.* i. 22.

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maine frailtye. As it is in particular persons, so it is in Nations. Never was there such a State for Magnanimitye, as *Rome*; of this State heare what *Cicero* saith, *Quam volumus licet Patres Conscripti, nos amemus; tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis et terræ, domestico, natiuoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac vna Sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, Nationesque superauimus.*

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mane frailty. As it is in particuler persons; so it is in Nations. Neuer was there such a state for magnanimity as *Rome*. Of this state, heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus licet, P. Conf. nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis et terræ domestico, natiuoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos: sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac vnâ sapientiâ quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, Nationesque superauimus.*



<sup>22</sup> Neuer was there. *Nunquam Gens aliqua æquavit*, 'never any State equalled.'

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mane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Neuer was there<sup>21</sup> such a *State*, for Magnanimity, as *Rome*: Of this *State* heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius Gentis et Terræ domestico natioque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hâc unâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superauimus.*<sup>a</sup>



<sup>a</sup> *Let us applaud ourselves as much as we please, O conscript fathers: yet it is not because we have surpassed the Spaniards in number, or the Gauls in strength, or the Carthaginians in cunning, or the Grecian in arts, or lastly the Italians and Latins themselves in that native inborn sense peculiar to this race and land; but that in piety and religion, and, in this especial wisdom, that we perceive that all things are governed by the divine power of the immortal gods, it is, that we have overcome all races and nations. Cicero. De Haruspicum Responsis. ix.*

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 28. Of Superstition.

**I**T were better to have noe opinion of God at all, then such an opinion as is vnworthie of him; For the one is *Vnbeleife*, the other is *Contumelie*; and certainlye supersticion is the reproach of the Deytie.

*Atheisme* leaves a Man to fence, to Philosophie, to naturall piety, to Lawes, to reputacion, all which may be guides vnto

Vertue though Religion were not, but Supersticion dismountes all theis, and erecteth an absolute Tyranny in the minde of Men. There-

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## 15. Of Superstition.

**I**T were better to haue no opinion of God at all; then such an opinion as is vnworthy of him; For the one is vnbeleife, the other is *Contumely*; and certainlye superstition is the reproch of Deitie.

*Atheisme* leaues a Man to fence, to Philosophy, to naturall piety, to lawes, to reputation, all which may bee guides vnto

vertue, though Religion were not: but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Tyranny in the minde of men. There-

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> No. *Nullam aut incertam*, 'none, or an uncertain.'

<sup>2</sup> Vnworthy. *Contumeliosam, et indignam*, 'ignominious and unworthy.'

<sup>3</sup> Contumely. *Impietatis et Opprobrii*, 'impiety and contumely.'

<sup>4</sup> Eat. *Comedere et devorare*, 'eat and devour.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 17. Of Superstition.



**I**T were better to have no<sup>1</sup> Opinion of *God* at all; then such an Opinion, as is unworthy<sup>2</sup> of him: For the one is Unbeleefe, the other is Contumely<sup>3</sup>: And certainly *Superstition* is the Reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: Surely (saith he) *I had rather, a great deale, Men should say, there was no such Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat<sup>4</sup> his Children, as soon as they were borne,<sup>a</sup> as the Poets speake of Saturne.* And, as the Contumely<sup>5</sup> is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men.

*Atheisme* leaues<sup>6</sup> a Man to Sense; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation;<sup>7</sup> All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though *Religion* were not; But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy, in the Mindes of Men. There-

<sup>a</sup> *Plutarch. De Superstitione, x.*

<sup>5</sup> Contumely. *Contumelia Superstitionis*, 'contumely of superstition.'

<sup>6</sup> Leaues. *Non prorsus convellit Dictamina Sensus*, 'does not entirely take away the dictates of sense.'

<sup>7</sup> Reputation. *Bonæ Famæ Desiderium*; 'desire of good reputation.'

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fore *Atheifme* did never perturbe States, for it makes Men warie of themselves, as lookeing noe further. And wee see the tymes inclined to *Atheifme*, as the tyme of *Augustus Cæsar*, and our owne tymes in some Countryes were and are civill tymes. But Superstition hath bene the Confusion, and desolacion of manie states, and bringes in a new *primum mobile* that ravysheth all the Spheres of government. The Master of Supersticion is the People, and in all Supersticion, wise Men followe Fooles, and Arguments are Fitted to practize, in a reverfed order.

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fore *Atheifme* did neuer perturbe states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to *Atheifme*, as the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, and our owne times in some Countries, were, and are, ciuill times. But Superstition, hath beene the confusion and diffolation of many states: and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile* that rauisheth al the spheres of gouernment. The master of Superstition is the people: and in al superstition, wise men follow fooles; and arguments are fitted to practise, in a reuerfed order.

<sup>8</sup> Neuer. *Raro*, 'rarely.'

<sup>9</sup> As looking no further. *Et securitati sue consulentes*, 'and regardful of their safety.'

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fore *Atheisme* did neuer<sup>8</sup>  
 perturbe *States*; For it  
 makes Men wary of them-  
 felues, as looking no  
 further :<sup>9</sup> And we see the  
 times enclined to *Atheisme*  
 (as the Time of *Augustus*  
*Cæsar*)

were ciuil<sup>10</sup> Times.  
 But *Superstition*, hath  
 beene the Confusion

of many States;<sup>11</sup>  
 And bringeth in a new  
*Primum Mobile*, that rau-  
 itheth all the Spheares of  
 Gouernment. The Master  
 of *Superstition* is the People;  
 And in all *Superstition*,  
 Wife Men follow Fooles;  
 And Arguments are fitted  
 to Practise, in a reuerfed

Order. It was grauely said, by some of the Prelates,  
 in the *Councell of Trent*, where the doctrine of the  
 Schoolemen bare great Sway; *That the Schoolemen*  
*were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and*  
*Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to saue the Pheno-*  
*mena; though they knew, there were no such Things:*<sup>a</sup>  
 And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed  
 a Number of subtile and intricate *Axiomes*, and  
*Theorems*, to saue the practise of the Church.

<sup>a</sup> P. Sarpi. *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*. Bk. ii. p. 222. Ed. 1619.  
 The passage is thus translated by N. Brent, "Some pleasant wits said, that  
 if the Astrologers, not knowing the true causes of the celestial motions, to  
 salue the appearances, haue inuented *Eccentricques*, and *Epicicles*, it was  
 no wonder if the Council, desiring to salue the appearances of the super-  
 celestial motions, did fall into *excentricitie* of opinions." p. 227. Ed. 1620.

<sup>10</sup> Ciuil. *Tranquilla*, 'quiet.'

<sup>11</sup> States. *Regnis et Rebus-publicis*, 'Kingdoms and States.'

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There is noe such Atheist, as an Hypocrite, or Impostor, and it is not possible, but where the generality is Superstitious, manie of the Leaders are Hypocrites. The causes of *Atheisme* are; divisions in Religion; scandall of Preistes; and learned tymes; specially if prosperous; though for devisions, anie one mayne division addeth zeale to both sides, but manie divisions introduce *Atheisme*.

The causes of Supersticion are; the pleasing of Ceremonyes, the excesse of outward holynesse, the Reverence of Traditions, the stratagemes of Prelates for their owne ambicion, and lucre,

and barbarous tymes; specially with calamities and disausters. Supersticion without his vaile is a deformed thing.

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There is no such Atheist, as an Hipocrite, or Imposter: and it is not possible, but where the generality is superstitious, many of the leaders are Hipocrits. The causes of *Atheisme* are, diuisions in Religion; scandall of Priests; and learned times; specially if prosperous; though for diuisions, any one maine diuision addeth zeale to both sides, but many diuisions introduce *Atheisme*.

The causes of Superstition are, the pleasing of Ceremonies; the excesse of outward holiness; the reuerence of traditions; the stratagemes of Prelats for their owne ambition and lucre,

and barbarous times, specially with calamities, and disausters. Superstition without his vaile is a deformed thing,

<sup>12</sup> Taking an Aime . . . by Human. *Exemplorum importuna et inepta petitio ab humanis, quæ in Divina transferantur*, 'the inopportune and foolish taking of examples from human things to transfer them to divine things.'



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[*Transferred in an expanded form to the Essay,  
Of Atheism : see p. 337.*]

The *Causes of Superstition*

are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and  
Ceremonies : Excesse  
of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse ; Ouer-great  
Reuerence of Traditions, which cannot but load the  
The Stratagems of Prelates [Church ;  
for their owne Ambition  
and Lucre : The Fauouring too much of good Inten-  
tions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Nouel-  
ties ; The taking an Airne<sup>12</sup> at diuine Matters by Human,  
which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations ;<sup>13</sup>  
And lastly, Barbarous Times,  
Especially ioyned with  
Calamities and Difasters.  
*Superstition*, without a  
vaile, is a deformed Thing ;

<sup>13</sup> Imaginations. *Fantasiarum male cohærentinam*, 'disconnected imaginations.'

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ffor as it addes deformity to an Ape to be fo like a Man, fo the Similitude of Superfticion to *Religion* makes it the more deformed; And as wholefome meate corrupteth to litle wormes; fo good formes, and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie obfervances.

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for as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be fo like a man: So the fimilitude of fuperftition to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholefome meate corrupteth to litle wormes; fo good formes and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie obferuances.



<sup>14</sup> Good. *Bonæ et sanæ*, 'good and sound.'

<sup>15</sup> Petty. *Pusillas et superfluas*, 'petty and superfluous.'

<sup>16</sup> Doe best. *Saniorem et puriorem viam inire*, 'enter a sounder and purer way.'

<sup>17</sup> *Aster* would be had. *In Religione reſormanda*, 'in reforming religion.'

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For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man; So the Similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes; So good<sup>14</sup> Formes and Orders, corrupt into a Number of petty<sup>15</sup>

Obseruances. There is a *Superstition*, in auoiding *Superstition*; when men thinke to doe best,<sup>16</sup> if they goe furthest from the *Superstition* formerly receiued: Therefore, Care would be had,<sup>17</sup> that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings<sup>18</sup>) the Good be not taken away, with the Bad;<sup>19</sup> which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.<sup>20</sup>



<sup>18</sup> Ill Purgings. *In Corpore purgando*, 'in purging.'

<sup>19</sup> Bad. *Corruptis*, 'corrupt.'

<sup>20</sup> Reformer. *Reformatio regitur a Populo*, 'reformation is directed by the people.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 29. Of Praise.



Raife is the Reflexion of vertue, but it is as the glasse, or body, is which giveth the reflexion; if it be from the Common People it is commonly false, and naught, and rather followeth vayne persons, then vertuous. For the Common People vnderstand not manie excellent vertues; The lowest vertues drawe praisee from them, the middell vertues worke in them astonishment, or admiracion, but of the highest vertues they have noe sense, or perceiving att all. But shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly Fame is like a River that beareth vp thinges light, and swolne, and drownes thinges weightie, and solid: But if persons of quality and Iudgement concur,

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## 35. Of Praise.



Raife is the reflection of vertue: but it is as the glasse, or bodie is, which giueth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught; and rather followeth vaine persons, then vertuous: for the common people vnderstand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues drawe praisee from them, the middle vertues worke in them astonishment, or admiration; but of the highest vertues they haue no sense or perceiuing att all. But shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes*, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer that beareth vp things light, and swolne; and drownes things waighty and solid: But if persons of quality and iudgement concur,

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Or the Bodie. *Trahit aliquid e Natura Corporis*, 'it draws something from the nature of the body.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 53. Of Praise.



*Praise* is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glasse or Bodie,<sup>1</sup> which giueth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine<sup>2</sup> Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People vnderstand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw *Praise* from them; the middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they haue no Sense, or Perceiuing at all. But Shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes*, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer, that beareth vp Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Iudgement concurre,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Qualities resembling virtues.* Tacitus. *Annales.* xv. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Vaine. *Vanos et tumidos*, 'vain and pompous.'

<sup>3</sup> Concurre. *Cum vulgo concurrunt*, 'concur with the common people.'

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then it is as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*, it filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odours of Oyntementes, are more durable then those of Flowers. There be so manie false pointes of praise, that a Man may iustly hold it suspect. Some praises proceede meerly of flattery, and if hee be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common Attributes which may serue every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer he will followe the Archflatterer which is a Mans self, and wherein a Man thinketh best of himself therein the Flatterer will vphold him most; But if he be an impudent Flatterer, looke wherein a Man is conscient to himself, that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer in-

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then it is as the Scripture saith, *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*; It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odor of ointments are more durable then those of flowers. There bee so many false pointes of praise, that a man may iustly hold it suspect. Some praises proceeds meerly of flattery: and if he bee an ordinary flatterer, he will haue certaine common attributes, which may serue euery man: if he bee a cunning flatterer hee will follow the Archflatterer, which is a mans selfe, and wherein a man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the flatterer will vphold him most: But if hee bee an impudent flatterer, looke wherein a man is conscient to himselfe, that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himselfe, that wil the flatterer en-

<sup>4</sup> Common. *Communibus . . . non Quæsitis aut appositis*, 'common . . . not studied or appropriate.'

<sup>5</sup> A Man thinketh best. *Tibi places, aut teipsum excellere putas*, 'please yourself, or think that you excel.'

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then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis.*<sup>a</sup> It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Oyntments, are more Durable, then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of *Praise*, that a Man may iustly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praises* proceed meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will haue certaine Common<sup>4</sup> Attributes, which may serue euery Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans selfe; and wherein a Man thinketh best<sup>5</sup> of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will vphold<sup>6</sup> him most: But if he be an Impudent<sup>7</sup> Flatterer, look wherin a Man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defectiue, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer En-

<sup>a</sup> Eccles. vii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Vphold. *Iis inhærebit*, 'will keep to those.'

<sup>7</sup> Impudent. *Impudens, et perfrictæ Frontis*, 'impudent and of a shameless forehead.'

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title him to perforce  
*Spretæ Conscientiæ*. Some  
 praises come of good  
 wishes and respects,  
 which is a forme due in  
 Civility to *Kings* and  
 great persons; *laudando*  
*præcipere*; when by telling  
 Men what they are, they  
 represent to them what  
 they should bee. Some  
 Men are praised mali-  
 ciously to their hurt, there-  
 by to stirre envy and  
 Iealousie towards them;  
*peffimum genus inimi-*  
*corum laudantium.*

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title him to perforce;  
*Spretæ conscientiæ*. Some  
 praises come of good  
 wishes and respects,  
 which is a forme due in  
 ciuility to *Kings* and  
 great persons, *Laudando*  
*præcipere*; when by telling  
 men what they are, they  
 represent to them what  
 they should bee. Some  
 men are praised mali-  
 ciously to their hurt, ther-  
 by to stirre enuie and  
 ielousie towards them;  
*Peffimum genus inimi-*  
*corum laudantium.*

Certainely  
 moderate praise vsed with  
 oportunitye, and not vul-  
 gar, but appropriate, is  
 that which doth the good  
*Salomon* saith *He that*  
*praiseth his freind alowde,*  
*rising early, it shalbe to him*  
*noe better then a Curse.*  
 Too much magnifying of  
 Man, or matter, doth irri-

Certainly  
 moderate praise vsed with  
 opportunity, and not vul-  
 gar, but appropriate, is  
 that which doth the good.  
*Salomon* faith, *Hee that*  
*praiseth his friend aloud,*  
*rising early, it shall bee to*  
*him no better then a curse.*  
 Too much magnifying of  
 man or matter, doth irri-

<sup>8</sup> Entitle. *Imputabit, et affiget*, 'impute and attribute.'

<sup>9</sup> Represent. *Humiliter moueas*, 'humbly warn.'

<sup>10</sup> Nose. *Nari*, 'nostril.'

<sup>11</sup> Is that which doth the Good. *Honori vel maxime esse*, 'is a very great honour.'



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title<sup>s</sup> him, to perforce, *Spretâ Conscientiâ.*<sup>a</sup> Some *Praifes* come of good Wishe, and Respects, which is a Forme due in Ciuilitie to Kings, and Great Persons, *Laudando præcipere;*<sup>b</sup> When by telling Men, what they are, they represent<sup>9</sup> to them, what they should be. Some Men are *Praised* Maliciously to their Hurt, thereby to stirre Enuie and Iealousie towards them; *Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium;*<sup>c</sup> In so much as it was a Prouerb, amongst the *Grecians*; that, *He that was praised to his Hurt, should haue a Push rise vpon his Nose.*<sup>10</sup> As we say; *That a Blister will rise vpon ones Tongue, that tell's a lye.* Certainly Moderate *Praise*, vsed with Opportunity, and not Vulgar is that which doth the Good.<sup>11</sup> *Salomon* saith, *He that praiseth his Friend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him, no better then a Curse.*<sup>d</sup> Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irri-

<sup>a</sup> In disdain of conscience.

<sup>b</sup> To teach in praising.

<sup>c</sup> The worst kind of enemies, eulogists. Tacitus. *Agricola.* 11

<sup>d</sup> Prov. xxvii. 14.

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tate Contradiccion, and  
procure Envye and skorne.



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tate contradiction, and  
procure enuie and fcorne.



<sup>12</sup> Enuie. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>13</sup> *After Profession. Aut studia quibus se addixit*, 'or the studies to which he is given.'

<sup>14</sup> Sbirrerie. *Hispanico Vocabulo, Sbirrarias*, 'by the Spanish word, Sbirrerie.'

<sup>15</sup> Which is Vnder-Sheriffries. Omitted in the Latin.'

<sup>16</sup> 'Though many times . . . Speculations. *Ac si Artes illæ memoratæ, magis ejusmodi Homines, quam in Fastigio Cardinalatus positos, decerent:*

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tate Contradiction, and procure Enuie<sup>12</sup> and Scorne.

To *Praise* a Mans selfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cafes: But to *Praise* a Mans Office or Profession,<sup>13</sup> he may doe it with Good Grace, and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The *Cardinals* of *Rome*. which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, haue a phrafe of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Ciuill Businesse: For they call all Temporall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages, Iudicature, and other Emploiments, *Sbirrerie*<sup>a</sup>; <sup>14</sup> which is, *Vnder Sheriffries*; <sup>15</sup> As if they were but matters for Vnder-Sheriffes and Catchpoles; Though many times,<sup>16</sup> those *Vnder Sheriffries* doe more good, then their High Speculations. St. *Paul*, when he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft entere lace; *I speake like a Foole*; <sup>b</sup> But speaking of his Calling, he saith; <sup>17</sup> *Magnificabo Apostolatium meum.*<sup>c</sup>



<sup>a</sup> 'Sbirro' in Italian, means a *bailiff, catchpole, constable*.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Rom. xi. 13.

*Et tamen (si Res rite ponderetur.) Speculativa cum Civilibus non male miscentur,* 'as if the above-mentioned arts are more fitted for men of that kind than for those placed on the pinnacle of the Cardinalate; and yet (if it is rightly considered) speculation is not ill mixed with civil matters.'

<sup>17</sup> Saith. *Nihil veretur dicere,* 'is not afraid to say.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 30. Of Nature, in men.

**N**ature is often hid-  
den, sometymes  
overcome, fel-  
dome extin-  
guished. Fforce maketh  
nature more violent in  
the retourne. Doctrine,  
and discourse maketh  
nature lesse importune.  
But Custome onely doth  
alter nature.  
Hee that seeketh victorie  
over his nature, lett him  
not sett himselfe to great  
nor to smale Taskes; For  
the First will make him  
deiected by often failes,  
and the second  
will make him a smale  
proceeder thoughe by often  
prevaylinges. And at the  
first lett him practise with  
helpes, as Swymmers doe  
with bladders, or Rushes,  
but after a tyme, lett him  
practize with disadvanta-  
ges, as dancers doe with  
thick shoes. Ffor it  
breeds great perfection  
if the practize be harder  
then the vse. Where

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## 26. Of Nature in Men,

**N**ature is often hid-  
den, sometimes  
ouercome; fel-  
dom extin-  
guished. Force maketh  
nature more violent in  
the retourne: doctrine  
and discourse maketh  
nature lesse importune;  
but custome onely doth  
alter and subdue nature.  
Hee that seeketh victorie  
ouer his nature, let him  
not set himselfe to great,  
nor to small taskes. For  
the first will make him  
deiected by often failes;  
and the second  
will make him a small  
proceeder, though by often  
preuailings. And at the  
first let him practise with  
helpes as Swimmers doe  
with bladders, or rushes:  
but after a time let him  
practise with disaduan-  
tages, as dauncers do with  
thicke shooes. For it  
breeds great perfection.  
if the Practise bee harder  
then the vse. Wher

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Natura, et Indole Naturali in Hominibus*, 'of nature and natural disposition in men.'

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38. Of Nature in Men.<sup>1</sup>

*Nature* is Often Hid-  
den; Sometimes  
Ouercome; Sel-  
dome Extin-  
guished. Force maketh  
*Nature* more violent in  
the Returne: Doctrine  
and Discourse maketh  
*Nature*<sup>2</sup> lesse Importune:<sup>3</sup>  
But Custome onely doth  
alter and subdue *Nature*.  
Hee that seeketh Victory  
ouer his *Nature*, let him  
not fet Himselfe too great,  
nor too small Tasks: For  
the first, will make him  
deiected by often Fayl-  
ings; And the Second  
will make him a small  
Proceeder, though by often  
Preuailings. And at the  
first, let him practise with  
Helps, as Swimmers<sup>4</sup> doe  
with Bladders, or Rushes:  
But after a Time, let him  
practise with disaduantages,  
as Dancers doe with  
thick Shooes. For it  
breeds great Perfection,  
if the Practise be harder  
then the vse. Where

<sup>2</sup> Nature. *Affectus Naturales*, 'the natural dispositions.'

<sup>3</sup> After Importune. *Sed non tollunt*, 'but do not remove them' [*i.e.* the natural dispositions].

<sup>4</sup> Swimmers. *Natatores recentes*, 'new swimmers.'

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nature is mightie, and therefore the victorie hard, the degrees had neede be first to stay and arrest nature in tyme,

then to goe lesse in quantitie

and lastlie to discontynue altogether. But if a Man have the fortitude and resolution to infranchise himself at once, that is the best

*Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus  
Vincula qui rupit dedoluitque femel.*

Neither is it amisse to bend nature to a contrarye extreame,

where it is noe vice. Lett not a man force a habitt vpon

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nature is mighty, and therefore the victorie hard; the degrees had need bee, first to stay and arrest nature in time: like to him that would say ouer the foure and twenty letters when he was angry, then to go lesse in quantitie; as if one should in forbearing wine come from drinking healthes, to a draught a meale; and lastlie to discontinue altogether. But if a man haue the fortitude and resolution to infranchise himselfe at once that is the best;

*Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus  
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque femel.*

Neither is the ancient rule amisse, to bend nature as a wand, to a contrary extreame, whereby to fet it right; vnderstanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habite vpon

<sup>5</sup> Arrest. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>6</sup> Foure and Twenty. *Alphabeti*, 'of the Alphabet.'

<sup>7</sup> After Letters. *Priusquam quicquam faceret*, 'before he did anything.'

<sup>8</sup> Before to Goe lesse. *Naturam moderari, et*, 'to moderate nature and.'

<sup>9</sup> Drinking Healths. *Majoribus Haustibus*, 'greater draughts.'

<sup>10</sup> A Draught at a Meale. *Ad minores*, 'to less draughts.'

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*Nature* is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be; First to Stay and Arrest<sup>5</sup> *Nature* in Time; Like to Him, that would say oer the Foure and Twenty<sup>6</sup> Letters,<sup>7</sup> when he was Angry: Then<sup>8</sup> to Goe leffe in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from Drinking Healths,<sup>9</sup> to a Draught at a Meale:<sup>10</sup> And lastly, to Discontinue<sup>11</sup> altogether. But if a Man haue the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise<sup>12</sup> Himselfe at once, that is the best;

*Optimus illi Animi Vindex,  
lædentia pectus  
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.<sup>a</sup>*

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend *Nature* as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right: Vnderstanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice.<sup>13</sup> Let not a man force a Habit vpon

<sup>a</sup> *He is the best vindicator of his mind who breaks the chains that afflict his breast and ceases to grieve once for all.* Ovid. *Remedia Amoris.* i. 293, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Discontinue. *Naturam penitus sub jugum mittere, et domare,* 'to put nature altogether under the yoke, and tame it.'

<sup>12</sup> Enfranchise. *Eximere et vindicare.* 'free and deliver.'

<sup>13</sup> Is no Vice. *In Vitium non ducat.* 'does not lead to vice.'

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himself with a perpetuall contynuance, but with some intermission: For both the pawse reinfoceth the new Onfett; and if a Man that is not perfitt be ever in practife, he shall aswell practize his errors, as his abilityes, and induce one habitt of both, and there is noe meanes to helpe this, but by feasonable intermissions.

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himselfe with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinfoceth the new onfet; and if a man that is not perfect be euer in practife, he shall aswell practife his errors, as his abilities, and induce one habite of both: and there is no meanes to help this, but by fesonable intermissions.

A

Mans nature is best perceiued in priuateneffe, For there is noe affectacion, in passion for that putteth a Man out of his preceptes, and in a new Case, or experiment, for there custome leaveth him. They are happie Men whose natures fort with their vo-

A

mans nature is best perceiued in priuatnesse, for there is no affectation; in passion for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case, or experiment, for there custome leueth him. They are happy men, whose natures fort with their vo-

<sup>14</sup> Reinfoceth. *Redintegrat, et adauget*, 'reinfoceth and increaseth.'

<sup>15</sup> That is not perfect. *Dum Tyronem agit*, 'while he is a pupil.'

<sup>16</sup> Practise. *Imbibat*, 'drinking.'

<sup>17</sup> And induce one Habite of both. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>18</sup> Trust. *Triumphum Accinas*, 'sing a triumph.'



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himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause, reinforceth<sup>14</sup> the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect,<sup>15</sup> be euer in Practise, he shall as well practise<sup>16</sup> his Errors, as his Abilities; And induce one Habite of both:<sup>17</sup> And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust<sup>18</sup> his Victorie ouer his *Nature* too farre;<sup>19</sup> For *Nature* will lay buried a great Time, and yet reuiue, vpon the Occasion or Temptation.<sup>20</sup> Like as it was with *Æsopes Damofell*, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either auoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe often to it, that hee may be little moued with it. A Mans *Nature* is best perceiued in Priuatenesse, for there is no Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts;<sup>21</sup> And in a new Case or Experiment,<sup>22</sup> for there Custome leaueth him. They are happie Men, whose *Natures* fort with their Vo-

<sup>19</sup> Farre. *Cito*, 'soon.'

<sup>20</sup> Temptation. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>21</sup> Precepts. *Præcepta et Regulas*, 'precepts and rules.'

<sup>22</sup> Experiment. *Inusolito*, 'unaccustomed.'

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cations, otherwise they may say *Multum incola fuit anima mea*; when they converse in those things they doe not affect. In Studies whatsoever a man commaundeth vponn himself, lett him sett howers for it: But whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, lett him take noe care for anie sett tymes, For his thoughtes will flye to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other businesse, or studies will suffice.

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cations, otherwise they may say, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, when they conuerse in those things they doe not affect. In studies whatsoever a man commandeth vpon himselfe, let him set houres for it. But whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times: For his thoughts will flye to it of themselues; so as the spaces of other businesse or studies will suffice.



<sup>23</sup> Vocations. *Vitæ quæ Genere*, 'kind of life.'

<sup>24</sup> When they conuerse . . . Affect. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>25</sup> Commandeth vponn himselfe. *A Natura tua alienum repperis*, 'find foreign to your nature.'

<sup>26</sup> Houres for it. *Stata tempora ad ejusdem Exercitationes et Meditationes*, 'set times for exercise and meditation upon it.'

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cations;<sup>23</sup> Otherwise they may say, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea.*<sup>a</sup> when they conuerse in those Things, they doe not Affect.<sup>24</sup> In Studies, whatfoeuer a Man commandeth vpon himselfe,<sup>25</sup> let him set Houres for it:<sup>26</sup> But whatfoeuer is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no Care, for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will flie to it of Themselues; So as the Spaces of other Bufinesse, or Studies, will suffice.<sup>27</sup> A Mans *Nature* runnes<sup>28</sup> either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him feasonably<sup>29</sup> Water the One, and Destroy the Other.



<sup>a</sup> Ps. cxix. 6. (Vulgate). In the Douay version of 1609 this verse is translated *My soul hath been long a sojourner:* and in the Authorized Version, it stands. *My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.*

<sup>27</sup> So as the Spaces . . . suffice. *Prout Negotia et Studia cætera permittent,* 'as other business and studies will allow.'

<sup>28</sup> Runnes. *Ex vi innata, producit,* 'produces from its inborn force.'

<sup>29</sup> Seasonably. *Sedulo et tempestive,* 'carefully and seasonably.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 27. Of Custome and Education.



Ens thoughtes are much according to their naturall inclinacion, their speaches according to their learnings and infused opinions, But their deedes are after as they have beene accustomed. And therefore as *Macciauell* well noteth (though in an Evill favoured instance), there is noe trusting to the force of *Nature* nor to the bravery of wordes, except it be corroborate by Custome. His instance is, that for the atchieving of a desperate Conspiracye a Man should not rest vponn the fiercenes of any Mans nature, or his resolute Vndertakeinges, but take such a one as hath had his handes formerly in blood. But *Macciauell* knewe not of a Fryer *Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, nor

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## 31. Of Custome and Education.



Ens thoughtes are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning, and infused opinions; But their deedes are after as they haue beene accustomed. And therefore as *Macciauel* wel noteth, (though in an euil favoured instance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature; nor to the brauery of words; except it be corroborate by custome. His instance is, that for the atchieving of a desperate conspiracie a man should not rest vpon the fiercenes of any mans nature, or his resolute vndertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But *Macciauel* knew not of a Frier *Clement*, nor a *Rauillac*, nor

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> As they have beene Accustomed. *Ferme antiquum obtinent*, 'mostly take the old course.'

<sup>2</sup> Desperate Conspiracie. *Facinore aliquo audaci et crudeli*, 'some bold and cruel deed.'

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## 39. Of Custome and Education.



Men's Thoughts are  
much according  
to their  
Inclination:

Their Discourse and  
Speeches according to their  
Learning, and Infused  
Opinions; But their Deeds  
are after as they haue bene  
*Accustomed*.<sup>1</sup> And there-  
fore, as *Macciauel* well not-  
eth (though in an euill fau-  
oured Instance) There is no  
Trusting to the Force of  
Nature, nor to the Brauery  
of Words; Except it be  
Corroborate by *Custome*.  
His Instance is, that for  
the Atchieuing of a des-  
perate Conspiracie,<sup>2</sup> a Man  
should not rest vpon the  
Fierceneffe of any mans  
Nature, or his Resolute  
Vndertakings;<sup>3</sup> But take  
such an one, as hath had  
his Hands formerly in  
Bloud.<sup>4</sup> But *Macciauel*  
knew not of a *Friar Cle-*  
*ment*, nor a *Rauillac*, nor

<sup>1</sup> Machiavelli. *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*. iii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Vndertakings. *Promissis, nedum Furamentis*, 'promises, nor even oaths.'

<sup>4</sup> Hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. *Sanguinolentis, et jamdudum cædibus assuetis*, 'bloody and long accustomed to slaughter.'

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a *Iaureguy*, nor a \*  
 , yet his rule  
 holdeth still, that Nature,  
 nor the ingagement of  
 word, are not so forcible  
 as Custome. Onely Super-  
 fticion is now so well ad-  
 uanced that Men of the  
 first blood, are as firme  
 as Butchers by occupacion,  
 and votarie resolucion is  
 made equipollent to Cuf-  
 tome in matter of  
 blood. In other thinges  
 the predominancye of Cuf-  
 tome is every where visi-  
 ble, in soe much as a Man  
 would wonder to heare  
 Men professe, protest, in-  
 gage, give great wordes,  
 and then doe iust, as they  
 haue done before, as if  
 they were dead Images,  
 and Ingines moved onely  
 by custome.

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a *Iaureguy*, nor a *Baltazar  
 Gerard*. Yet his rule  
 holdeth still, that nature,  
 nor the ingagement of  
 words are not so forcible  
 as custome. Onelie Super-  
 fticion is now so well ad-  
 uanced, that men of the  
 first blood, are as firme,  
 as butchers by occupation :  
 and votarie resolution is  
 made equipollent to cuf-  
 tome, even in matter of  
 blood. In other things  
 the predominancy of cuf-  
 tome is euery where visi-  
 ble ; in so much as a man  
 would wonder, to heare  
 men professe, protest, in-  
 gage, giue great words,  
 and then doe iust, as they  
 haue done before : as if  
 they were dead Images  
 and Engins moued only  
 by the wheelles of custome.

\* Blank in manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> After Gerard. *Aut Guidone Faulxio*, 'or Guy Fawkes.'<sup>6</sup> After Words. *Et ferociam*, 'and ferocity.'<sup>7</sup> As they haue Done before. *Istis omnibus posthabitis, pro more consueto agere*, 'putting all these on one side, do according to their usual habit.'

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a *Iaureguy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard*:<sup>5</sup> yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words,<sup>6</sup> are not so forcible, as *Custome*. Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custome*, euen in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of *Custome* is euey where Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Giue Great Words, and then Doe iust as they haue Done before:<sup>7</sup> As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moued<sup>8</sup> onely by the wheelles of *Custome*.

We see also the Raigne<sup>9</sup> or Tyrannie of *Custome*, what it is. The *Indians* (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men)<sup>10</sup> lay Themselues quietly vpon a Stackke of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselues by fire. Nay the Wiues striue to be burned<sup>11</sup> with the CorpSES of<sup>12</sup> their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged vpon the Altar of *Diana*, without

<sup>8</sup> Moued. *Impulsæ et actæ*, 'impelled and driven.'

<sup>9</sup> Raigne. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>10</sup> Sect of their Wise Men. *Gymnosophistis, et Veteribus et Modernis*, 'Gymnosophists, both ancient and modern.'

<sup>11</sup> Burned. *In Rogum immitti*, 'put on the funeral pile.'

<sup>12</sup> The CorpSES of. Omitted in the Latin.

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Therefore since Custome is the principall Magistrate of Mans life, lett Men by all meanes endeavour to obteyne good Customes. Certainly Custome is most perfite when it beginneth in yong yeares. This wee call *Education*, which is nothing but an early Custome,

For it is true that late termes cannott so well take the ply, except it be in some mindes, that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have

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Therefore since custome, is the principal Magistrate of mans life: let men by all meanes endeavour to obtaine good customes. Certainly custome is most perfect when it beginneth in young yeeres This wee call *Education*: which is nothing but an early custome.

For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the plie; except it be in some mindes, that haue not suffered themselves to fixe, but haue

<sup>13</sup> Queching. *Vix ejulatu, aut gemitu ullo emisso*, 'scarcely uttering a cry or groan.'

<sup>14</sup> Of England. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>15</sup> Penance. *Ad Pœnitentiam complendam*, 'to perform penance.'

<sup>16</sup> Will sit. *Non recusabunt sedere*, 'will not refuse to sit.'

<sup>17</sup> Night. *Nocte hyemali*, 'winter's night.'

<sup>18</sup> Hard. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>19</sup> Force. *Plane stupendas vires*, 'truly astounding force.'



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fo much as Queching.<sup>13</sup> I remember in the beginning of *Queene Elizabeths* time of *England*,<sup>14</sup> an *Irish Rebell* Condemned, put vp a Petition to the *Deputie*, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in a Halter, because it had beene so vsed, with former *Rebels*. There be *Monkes* in *Russia*, for Penance,<sup>15</sup> that will sit<sup>16</sup> a whole Night,<sup>17</sup> in a Veffell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard<sup>18</sup> Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force<sup>19</sup> of *Custome*, both vpon Minde, and Body. Therefore, since Custome is the Principall Magistrate<sup>20</sup> of Mans life; Let Men by all Meanes endeavour, to obtaine good *Customes*. Certainly, *Custome* is most perfect,<sup>21</sup> when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call *Education*; which is, in effect, but an *Early*<sup>22</sup> *Custome*. So we see, in Languages<sup>23</sup> the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Ioints are more Supple<sup>24</sup> to all Feats of Actiuitie,<sup>25</sup> and Motions, in Youth<sup>26</sup> then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie;<sup>27</sup> Except it be in some Mindes, that haue not suffered themselves to fixe, but haue

<sup>20</sup> Magistrate. *Moderator et Magistratus*, 'governor and magistrate.'

<sup>21</sup> Perfect. *Validissima*, 'strongest.'

<sup>22</sup> Early. *A teneris annis imbibita*, 'imbibed from tender years.'

<sup>23</sup> Languages. *Linguis ediscendis*, 'learning languages.'

<sup>24</sup> Supple. *Agiles et flexiles*, 'agile and flexible.'

<sup>25</sup> Feats of Actiuitie. *Posituras*, 'postures.'

<sup>26</sup> Youth. *Pueritia, aut Adolescentia*, 'boyhood or youth.'

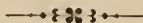
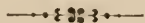
<sup>27</sup> Plie. *Novam plicam*, 'new ply.'

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kept themselves open, and prepared to receive contynuall amendement; which is exceeding rare. But if the force of Custome simple, and separate be greate; the force of Custome copulate, and conioyn'd and in troupe is farre greater. For their example teacheth, Companie Comforteth, æmulation quickneth, Glorie rayfeth; so as in such places the force of Custome is in his exaltacion. Certainly the great multiplication of vertues vponn humaine nature resteth vponn Societies well ordayn'd, and disciplin-ed. For Common wealthes, and good governementes doe nourishe vertue growne, but doe not mend the Seedes. But the miserie is, that the most effectuall meanes are nowe applied to the éndes left to be desired.

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kept themselves open and prepared to receiue continuall amendment; which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custome simple, and separate be great; the force of custome copulate and conioind, and in troupe, is far greater. For their example teacheth; companie comforteth; æmulation quickeneth; glory raifeth; so as in such places the force of custome is in his exaltation. Certainelie the great multiplication of vertues vpon humane nature, resteth vpon societies well ordained, and disciplin-ed. For Common wealthes, and good governments, doe nourish vertue grown, but doe not mende the feeds. But the miserie is, that the most effuètual meanes are now applied to the ends least to be desired.



<sup>28</sup> Prepared. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>29</sup> To receiue. *Ad omnia Præcepta, quo recipere*, 'to all instruction, so as to receive.'

<sup>30</sup> Raiseth. *Animos extollit*, 'raiseth the spirits.'

<sup>31</sup> Force. *Vires et influxus*, 'force and flow.'

<sup>32</sup> Multiplication. *Multiplicatio et (ut Chymicorum Vocabulo utar) Projectio*, 'the multiplication and (to use a chemist's word) the projection.'

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kept themfelues open and prepared,<sup>28</sup> to receiue<sup>29</sup> continuall Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of *Cufome* Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of *Cuf-tome* Copulate, and Conioyned, and Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raifeth:<sup>30</sup> So as in fuch Places the Force<sup>31</sup> of *Cuf-tome* is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication<sup>32</sup> of Vertues<sup>33</sup> vpon Humane Nature, refeth upon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplined.<sup>34</sup> For Commonwealths,<sup>35</sup> and Good Governments,<sup>36</sup> doe nourifh Vertue Growne,<sup>37</sup> but doe not much mend the feeds. But the Mifery is,<sup>38</sup> that the moft Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, leaft to be defired.



<sup>28</sup> Of Vertues. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>34</sup> Disciplined. *Disciplina salubri informatis*, 'fashioned by wholesome discipline.'

<sup>35</sup> Commonwealths. *Respublicæ recte administratæ*, 'Commonwealths well administered.'

<sup>36</sup> Governments. *Leges*, 'laws.'

<sup>37</sup> Crowne. *In Herba*, 'in the blade.'

<sup>38</sup> The Misery is. *In felicitatis Orbis hoc habet*, 'the world has tismisery.'

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 32. Of Fortune.

**F**T cannot be denied but outward Accidences conduce much to a Mans fortune; favour; oportune death of others; occasion fitting vertue. But cheiflie the mould of a Mans fortune is in himself.

And the most frequent of externall causes is, That the folie of one Man, is the fortune of another. Ffor noe Man prospers so suddenly as by others errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Overt and apparant vertues bring fourth praise, but there be hidden and secrett vertues that bring forth *Fortune*; Certen deliveryes of a Mans self, which have noe name; The *Spanish* word *Desem-*

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## 28. Of Fortune.

**F**T cannot bee denied, but outward accidents conduce much to a Mans fortune. Fauour, Oportune death of others, occasion fitting vertue. But chiefly the mould of a Mans fortune is in himselfe.

And the most frequent of externall causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly, as by others errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Ouert, and apparant vertues bring fourth praise, but there bee hidden and secrett vertues that bring forth fortune. Certaine deliueries of a mans selfe which haue no name. The *Spanish* word *Derem-*

EE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Accidents. *Accidentia et Casus*, 'accidents and chances.'

<sup>2</sup> Fortune. *Ad Hominum Fortunas, vel promovendas, vel deprimendas, plurimum possint*, 'have much power in promoting or depressing the fortunes of men.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 40. Of Fortune.



It cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents<sup>1</sup> conduce much to *Fortune*:<sup>2</sup> Fauour,<sup>3</sup> Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans *Fortune*, is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*;<sup>a</sup> faith the Poet.<sup>4</sup> And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the *Fortune*<sup>5</sup> of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco*.<sup>b</sup> Ouert, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praife; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth *Fortune*. Certaine Deliueries<sup>6</sup> of a Mans Selve, which haueno Name. The Spanish Name, *Defem-*

<sup>a</sup> Every one the architect of his own fortune.

<sup>b</sup> A serpent, unless it has eaten a serpent, does not become a dragon.

<sup>3</sup> Fauour. *Gratia alicujus ex Magnatibus*, 'favour of some great men.'

<sup>4</sup> Poet. *Comicus*, 'comic poet.'

<sup>5</sup> Is the Fortune. *Fortunam promovere*, 'promotes the fortune.'

<sup>6</sup> Deliueries. *Facultates nonnullæ se expediendi*, 'certain means of delivering oneself.'

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*boltura* sheweth them best; when there be noe stondes, nor restiuenesse in a Mans nature ;

For so faieth *Liuye* well after he had described *Cato Maior* in theis wordes *In illo viro tantum robur corporis, et animi fuit, vt quocunq; loco natus esset fortunam sibi facturum videretur*, he falleth vpon that, that he had, *versatile ingenium*. Certainly if a Man looke sharply and accentively hee shall see Fortune; for though she be blinde, yet she is not invisible. The way of *Fortune* is like the Milken way in the Sky, which is a meeting or knott of a number of smale Starres ;

so are there a number of litle and scarce discerned vertues, or rather facultyes, and Customes, that make Men fortunate. The *Italians* have found out one of

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*boltura* partlie expresseth them, when there be no stonds nor restiuenesse in a mans nature.

For so saith *Linie* well, after he had described *Cato Maior* in these words. *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, vt quocunq; loco natus esset fortunam sibi facturum videretur*. He falleth vpon that, that he had *Versatile ingenium*. Therefore if a man looke sharpely and accentiuely, hee shall see fortune; for though shee be blinde, yet shee is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the skie, which is a meeting, or knot of a number of small starres; not feene afunder, but giuing light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned vertues, or rather faculties and customes, that make men fortunate. The *Italians* some of them, such as

<sup>7</sup> Restiuenesse. *Impedimenta*, 'hindrances.'

<sup>8</sup> Sharply. *Limis Oculis*, 'askance.'

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*boltura*,<sup>a</sup> partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds, nor Restiuenesse<sup>7</sup> in a Mans Nature. But that the wheelles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheelles of his *Fortune*.

For so *Liuius* (after he had described *Cato Maior*, in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis et Animi fuit, vt quocunq; loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturum videretur*);<sup>b</sup> falleth vpon that, that he had, *Versatile Ingenium*. Therefore, if a Man looke Sharply,<sup>8</sup> and Attentiuely, he shall see *Fortune*: For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Inuisible. The Way of *Fortune*, is like the *Milken Way* in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars; Not Seene afunder, but Giuing Light together. So are there, a Number of Little, and scarce discerned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as

<sup>a</sup> *Desemboltura* in Spanish means; *airiness, impudence, confidence.*

<sup>b</sup> *In that man there was such strength of body and mind, that in what-ever place he might have been born, it would seem that he would have made Fortune his own.* Livy. xxxix. 40.

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them; *Poco di Matto*; when they speake of one that cannott doe amisse.

And certainly there be not two more fortunate properties, then to have a litle of the foole, and not to much of the honest. Therefore extreame Lovers of their Countrye, or Maisters, were never fortunate, neither can they be; For when a Man placeth his thoughtes without himself, he goeth not his owne way. An haesty *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover (the *French* hath it better *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*,) but the exercised fortune maketh the Able man; Fortune is to be honoured and respected and it be but for her daughters, *Confidence* and *reputation*, for those two foelicitye breedeth, the first in a Mans self, the later in

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a man would little thinke, when they speake of one that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto*.

And certainly, there bee not two more fortunate properties, then to haue a little [of the foole, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme louers of their Country, or Masters, were neuer fortunate, neither can they bee. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himselfe, hee goeth not his owne way. An hafty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remouer; (the *French* hath it better *Enterprenant*, or *Remuant*) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to bee honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation*; for those two felicity breedeth: the first, within a mans selfe; the latter,

<sup>9</sup> Cannot doe amisse. *Cui prosperam Fortunam spondent*, 'for whom they expect prosperous fortune.'

<sup>10</sup> Masters. *Principes*, 'princes.'

<sup>11</sup> Remouer. *Nonnihil turbulentos*, 'somewhat restless.'

<sup>12</sup> The French. . . . Remuant. Omitted in the Latin.



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a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one, that cannot doe amisse,<sup>9</sup> they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, *Poco di Matto*.<sup>a</sup> And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties; Then to haue a *Little* of the *Foole*; And not *Too Much* of the *Honest*. Therefore, Extreme Louers of their Countrey, or Masters,<sup>10</sup> were neuer *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An hastie *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remouer,<sup>11</sup> (The *French* hath it better: *Entreprenant, or Remuant*)<sup>12</sup> But the Exercised *Fortune* maketh the Able<sup>13</sup> Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured, and Respected,<sup>14</sup> and it bee but for her Daughters, *Confidence*, and *Reputation*. For those two Felicitie<sup>15</sup> breedeth: The first within a Mans Selfe; the Latter,

<sup>a</sup> *Poco di Matto* in Italian means, *a little out of his senses, a little mad.*

<sup>13</sup> Able. *Prudentes et Cordatos*, 'wise and judicious.'

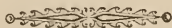
<sup>14</sup> Honoured and Respected. *Honorem meretur*, 'deserves honour.'

<sup>15</sup> Felicitie. *Fortuna prospera*, 'favourable fortune.'

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others.

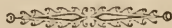
All wise Men to declyne the envy of their owne vertues vsẽ to ascribe them to providence, and Fortune, for so they may the better assume them, and besides it is greatnes in a Man to be the Care of the higher powers.



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in others towards him. All wise men to decline the Ennie of their owne vertues, vsẽ to ascribe them to prouidence, and fortune, For so they may the better assume them. And besides, it is greatnesse in a man to bee the care of the higher powers.

And it hath beene noted, that those that ascribe openly to much to their owne wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after hee had in the account he gaue to the state of his government, often interlaced this speach. *And in this, fortune had no part; neuer prospered in any thing he vnderooke afterwards.*



<sup>16</sup> *After Towards Him. Eaque vicissim pariunt Animos et Auctoritatem,* 'and these in turn produce courage and influence.'

<sup>17</sup> Better. *Decentius et liberius,* 'more fittingly and freely.'

<sup>18</sup> Greatnesse. *Majestatem quandam addit,* 'adds a sort of greatness.'

<sup>19</sup> Be the Care. *Si videretur Cura esse,* 'if he seems to be the care.'

<sup>20</sup> To the State. Omitted in the Latin.

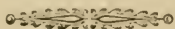
<sup>21</sup> Often. *Ad rævum usque,* 'to hoarseness.'

<sup>22</sup> Slide, and Easinesse. *Majore cum facilitate fluunt,* 'flow with more easiness.'

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in Others towards Him.<sup>16</sup> All Wise Men, to decline the Envy of their owne vertues, vse to ascribe them to Prouidence and *Fortune*; For so they may the better<sup>17</sup> assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse<sup>18</sup> in a Man, to be the Care,<sup>19</sup> of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et Fortunam eius.*<sup>a</sup> So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus.*<sup>b</sup> And it hath beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wisdome, and Politic, end *Infortunate*. It is written,<sup>c</sup> that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the Account he gaue to the State,<sup>20</sup> of his Government, often<sup>21</sup> interlaced this Speech; *And in this Fortune had no Part*, neuer prospered in any Thing he vndertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homers Verses*, that haue a Slide, and Easinesse,<sup>22</sup> more then the Verses of other Poets: As *Plutarch* faith<sup>d</sup> of *Timoleons Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agesilaus*, or *Epaminondas*. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.



<sup>a</sup> *Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes.* Plutarch. *Cæsar.* xxxviii.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. *Sylla.* xxxiv.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. *Sylla.* vi. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. *Timoleon.* xxxv. 1.

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 33. Of Death.



En feare death  
as Children feare  
to goe in the  
darke; and as  
that naturall feare in  
Children is encreased with  
Tales, so is the other.  
Certainly the feare  
of death in contempla-  
cion of the cause of it,  
and the yssue of it  
is religious, but the  
feare of it for it self  
is weake.

Yet in religious medita-  
cions there is  
mixture of vanitye and of  
Superstition. You shall  
reade in some of the  
Ffryers Bookes of Mortifi-  
cacion, that a Man should  
thinke with himself what  
the payne is, if he have  
but his fingers end pressed,  
or tortured, and thereby  
imagine what the paynes  
of death are, when the  
whole body is corrupted,  
and dissolued; when manie  
tymes death passeth with  
lesse payne then the tor-

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## 2. Of Death.



En feare death,  
as Children feare  
to goe in the  
darke: and as  
that naturall feare in  
Children is encreased with  
tales; so is the other.  
Certainly the feare  
of death in contempla-  
tion of the cause of it,  
and the issue of it,  
is religious: but the  
fear of it, for it selfe,  
is weake.

Yet in religious medita-  
tions there is  
mixture of vanitye, and of  
superstition. You shall  
reade in some of the  
*Friers* Bookes of Mortifi-  
cacion, that a man should  
thinke with himselfe, what  
the paine .is, if he haue  
but his fingers end pressed,  
or tortured; and thereby  
imagine what the paines  
of Death are, when the  
whole body is corrupted  
and dissolued: when many  
times, Death passeth with  
lesse paine, then the tor-

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> Tales. *Fabulosis quibusdam Terriculamentis*, 'by fictitious terrors.'

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## 2. Of Death.



En feare *Death*,  
 as Children feare  
 to goe in the  
 darke: And as  
 that Naturall Feare in  
 Children, is increafed with  
 Tales,<sup>1</sup> fo is the other.  
 Certainly, the Contempla-  
 tion of *Death*, as the *wages*  
*of finne*, and Passage to  
 another world, is Holy,  
 and Religious; But the  
 Feare of it, as a Tribute  
 due vnto Nature, is weake.<sup>2</sup>  
 Yet in Religious Medita-  
 tions, there is sometimes,  
 Mixture of Vanitie, and of  
 Superftition. You fhall  
 reade, in fome of the  
 Friars Books of *Mortifi-*  
*cation*, that a man fhould  
 thinke with himfelfe, what  
 the Paine is, if he haue  
 but his Fingers end Puffed,  
 or Tortured; And thereby  
 imagine, what the Paines  
 of *Death* are, when the  
 whole Body, is corrupted  
 and diffolued; when many  
 times, *Death* paffeth with  
 leffe paine, then the Tor-

<sup>2</sup> Weake. *Infirma et inanis*, 'weak and empty.'

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ture of a lymme. Ffor the most vitall partes are not the quickeſt of fence. And

to ſpeake

as a Philoſopher, or naturall Man it was well ſaid *Pompa Mortis, magis terret, quam mors ipſa*; Grones, and convulſions, and a diſcolored face, and frendes weeping, and Blackes, and obſequies, and the like ſhewe death terrible. It is worthie the obſerving that there is noe paſſion in the minde of Man ſo weake, but

maſters the

feare of death; and therefore death is noe ſuch enemy when a

Man hath ſo manie followers about him, that cann Wynne the Combate of it. Revenge triumphes over death, love eſteemes it not, Honour aſpireth to it, delivery from ignominie chuſeth it, greif flyeth to it, feare preoccupateth it, Nay wee ſee after *Otho*

had ſlaine himſelf, pittie which is the tender-

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ture of a limme. For the moſt vitall parts are not the quickeſt of fence. And

to ſpeake

as a *Philoſopher* or naturall man, it was well ſaid, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quàm mors ipſa*. Grones, and Conuulſions, and a diſcoloured face, and friends weeping, and Blackes and obſequies, and the like, ſhew death terrible. It is worthie the obſerving, that there is no paſſion in the minde of man ſo weake, but

maſters the

feare of death; and therefore death is no ſuch enemy, when a

man hath ſo many followers about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Reuenge* triumphes ouer death, *Loue* eſteemes it not, *Honour* aſpireth to it, deliuey from *Ignominy* chuſeth it, *Griefe* fieth to it: *Feare* preoccupateth it; nay wee ſee after *Otho*

had ſlain himſelfe, pittie (which is the tender-

3 Groanes. *Gemitus et Singultus*, 'groans and sighs.'

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ture of a Limme: For the most vitall parts, are not the quickeſt of Senſe. And by him, that ſpake onely as a Philoſopher, and Naturall Man, it was well ſaid; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipſa.*<sup>a</sup> Groanes<sup>3</sup> and Conuulſions, and a diſcoloured Face,<sup>4</sup> and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obſequies, and the like, ſhew *Death* Terrible. It is worthy the obſeruing, that there is no paſſion in the minde of man, ſo weake, but it Mates, and Maſters, the Feare of *Death*: And therefore *Death*, is no ſuch terrible Enemie, when a man hath ſo many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Reuenge* triumphs ouer *Death*; *Loue* flights it; *Honour* aſpireth to it;

*Griefe* flieth to it; *Feare* pre-occupateth it; Nay we reade, after *Otho* the Emperour had ſlaine himſelfe, *Pitty* (which is the tender-

<sup>a</sup> *The pomps of death frighten more than Death itſelf.*

<sup>4</sup> Diſcoloured Face. *Oris pallor*, 'paleneſſ of the face.'

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rest of affections provoked  
manie to dye.

*Seneca* speaketh of  
niceneffe. *Cogita quam diu*  
*eadem feceris, Mori velle*  
*non tantum fortis aut*  
*miser, sed etiam fastidiosus*  
*potest.*

It is no lesse worthie to  
observe how litle altera-  
cion in good spirittes the  
approaches of death  
make, but they are  
the same

till the last. *Augustus*  
*Cæsar* dyed in a Comple-  
ment,  
*Tiberius* in dissimulacion,

*Vespasian* in  
a iest,  
*Galba*  
with a sentence,

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est of affections) prouoked  
many to die.

*Seneca* speaketh of  
niceneffe: *Cogita quàm diù*  
*eadem feceris; Mori velle*  
*non tantum fortis, aut*  
*miser, sed etiam fastidiosus*  
*potest.*

It is no lesse worthy to  
obserue how litle altera-  
tion in good spirits the  
approaches of death  
make: but they are  
the same

till the last. *Augustus*  
*Cæsar* died in a comple-  
ment,  
*Tiberius* in dissimulation.

*Vespasian* in  
a iest,  
*Galba*  
with a sentence,  
*Septimus Seuerus* in dis-  
patch;

<sup>5</sup> Good Spirits. *Animo generoso et forti*, 'a noble and brave mind.'

<sup>6</sup> The same Men. *Eosdem enim gerunt Homines illi Spiritus*, 'for those men bear the same spirits.'



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est of Affections) prouoked many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soueraigne, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay

*Seneca* addes *Niceneffe* and *Society*; *Cogita quam diù eadem feceris*; *Mori velle, non tantùm Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiàm Fastidiosus potest.*<sup>a</sup>

A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miserable, onely vpon a wearinesse to doe the same thing, so oft ouer and ouer.

It is no lesse worthy to obserue, how little Alteration, in good Spirits,<sup>5</sup> the Approaches of *Death* make; For they appeare, to be the same Men,<sup>6</sup> till the last Instant. *Augustus*

*Cæsar* died in a Complement; *Liuiã, Coniugij nostri memor, viue et vale.*<sup>b</sup> *Tiberius* in dissimulation; As *Tacitus* saith of him; *Iam Tiberium Vires, et Corpus, non Difsimulatio, deserebant.*<sup>c</sup> *Vespasian* in

a Iest; Sitting vpon the Stoole,

*Vt puto Deus fio.*<sup>d</sup> *Galba*

with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani;*<sup>e</sup> Holding forth his Necke. *Septimius Seuerus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum!*

<sup>a</sup> Consider how often thou dost the same thing. Not only a strong man or an avaricious man, but also a fastidious man is able to wish for death. *Seneca. Epistles. x. 1. (6).*

<sup>b</sup> *Livia, mindful of our marriage life, live and farewell. Suetonius. Augustus. c. 99.*

<sup>c</sup> At length, strength and his body failed *Tiberius*, not his dissimulation. *Tacitus, Annals. vi. 50.*

<sup>d</sup> As I think [The play is on the double sense of *puto*: to cleanse, and to think]. I am becoming a God. *Suetonius. Vespasian. c. 23.*

<sup>e</sup> Strike, if it be for the benefit of the Roman People. *Tacitus. History.*

i. 41.

<sup>f</sup> Come here, if anything remains for me to do. *Dion Cassius. lxxvi. 17.*

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and the like. Certainly the *Stoikes* bestowed too much Cost vpon death, and by their great preparacions made it appeare more fearefull. Better faieth he *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat, naturæ.* It is as naturall to dye, as to be borne, and to a litle Infant perhaps, the one as painefull, as the other.



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and the like. Certainly the *Stoikes* bestowed too much cost vpon death, and by their great preparations made it appeare more fearefull. Better faith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ.* It is as naturall to die, as to bee borne; and to a little Infant perhaps, the one as painefull, as the other.



<sup>7</sup> Cost vpon Death. *In Solatia Mortis*, 'on the consolations of death.'

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And the like. Certainly, the *Stoikes* bestowed too much cost vpon *Death*,<sup>7</sup> and by their great preparations, made it appeare more fearefull. Better faith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponat Naturæ.*<sup>a</sup> It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent vpon somewhat, that is good, doth auert the Dolours of *Death*: But aboute all, beleeuie it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*;<sup>b</sup> when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. *Death* hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Enuie.

—*Extinctus amabitur idem.*<sup>c</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Or rather; *Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponit Naturæ.* Juvenal, *Satires*. x. 357.

'Who lays down the last end of life among the Offices of Nature;' or, as Dryden has put it; *A soul that can securely death defy, And count it Nature's privilege to die.'*

Bacon writes: "And it seemeth to me, that most of the doctrines of the Philosophers are more fearefull and cautionary then the Nature of things requireth. So haue they increased the feare of death, in offering to cure it. For, when they would haue a mans whole life, to be but a discipline or preparation to dye: they must needes make men thinke, that it is a terrible Enemy, against whom there is no end of preparing. Better saith the Poet, *Qui finem, &c.*" *Adv. of Learning*. Bk. ii. fol. 75. Ed. 1605.

<sup>b</sup> Luke ii. 29.

<sup>c</sup> *The same [i.e. the envied one] being dead will be loved.* Horace. *Epistles*. ii. 1. 15.

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*Harleian MS. 5106.*

## 34. Of Seditions and Troubles.



Heardes of people had neede knowe the Kalenders of Tempestes in State, which are commonlye greatest when thinges growe to equalitie, as naturall Tempestes are greatest about the æquinoctia; And as there are certaine hollowe blastes, and secrett swellings of Seas before Tempestes, so are there in States.

*cæcos in-**stare tumultus**Sæpe monet, fraudesque, et operta tumescere bella.*

Certainly, Libells and licentious discourfes

are amongst the signes of troubles, *Virgile* giveinge the pedegree of fame, saie the shee was sister to the Gyantes.

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## Of Seditions and Troubles.

[*This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.*]

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> After Winde. *Et veluti e longinquo*, 'and as if from afar off.'

<sup>2</sup> In States. *Ingruentibus Procellis politicis*, 'when political storins are approaching.'

<sup>3</sup> Licentious Discourses. *Licentiosi et mordaces Sermones in Status Scandalum*, 'licentious and calumnious discourfes to the scandal of the State.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 15. Of Seditions and Troubles.



*S*hepherds of People, had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempests* in *State*; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall *Tempests* are greatest about the *Æquinoxia*. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde,<sup>1</sup> and secret Swellings of Seas, before a *Tempest*, so are there in *States*:<sup>2</sup>

—*Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus*

*Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, et operta tumescere Bella.*<sup>a</sup>

Libels, and

licentious Discourses<sup>3</sup> against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false Newes, often running vp and downe,<sup>4</sup> to the disadvantage of the State,<sup>5</sup> and hastily embraced;<sup>6</sup> are amongst the Signes of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giuing the Pedegree of *Fame*, saith *She was sister to the Giants*.

<sup>a</sup> He [i.e. The Sun] also often warns of threatening hidden tumults; and treacheries, and of secret wars swelling to a head. *Virgil. Georgics. i. 465.*

<sup>4</sup> Often running vp and downe. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> After State. *Undique jactati*, 'cast about everywhere.'

<sup>6</sup> After Embraced. *A Populo*, 'by the people.'

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*Illam terra parens ira  
irritata dcorum**Extremam vt perhibent  
Cæo Enceladoque foro-  
rem**Progenuit.*

As if fames and Rumours  
were the Reliques of Se-  
ditions past, but they are  
no lesse the pre-  
ludes of Seditions to come.

But he notes it  
right, that feditions, tum-  
ultes, and feditious fames,  
differ noe more, but as

Mafcu-  
line, and feminine.

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[*This Effay does not occur  
in the 1612 Edition.*]

Also that kinde of obedi-  
ence (which *Tacitus* describ-  
eth in an Army) is to be

<sup>7</sup> If it come. *Ingravescat Malum*, 'the evil grows worse.'

<sup>8</sup> Checks them. *Evanescunt*, 'they vanish.'

<sup>9</sup> Going about. *Conatus sedulus*, 'diligent endeavours.'

<sup>10</sup> Wonder. Omitted in the Latin.

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*Illam Terra Parens irâ  
irritata Deorum,  
Extremam (vt perhibent)  
Cæo Enceladoque foro-  
rem*

*Progenit—<sup>a</sup>*

As if *Fames*

were the Reliques of *Seditious* past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the pre- ludes of *Seditious* to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that *Seditious Tum- ults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more, but as Brother and Sister, Mascu- line and Feminine; Especially, if it come<sup>7</sup> to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to giue greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as *Tacitus* saith; *Conflata magna Inuidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt.*<sup>b</sup> Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames*, are a signe of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much Seuerity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them<sup>8</sup> best; and the Going about<sup>9</sup> to stop them, doth but make a Wonder<sup>10</sup> Long-liued. Also that kind of Obedi- ence, which *Tacitus* speak- eth of,

is to be

<sup>a</sup> *Her, Parent Earth, furious with the vengeance of the Gods, brought forth; the youngest sister of Cæus and Enceladus. Virgil. Æneid. iv. 179.* In Hea- then Poësie, wee see the exposition of Fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicitie, as in the Fable that the Gyants beeing ouerthrowne in their warre against the Gods, the Earth their mother in reuenge thereof brought forth Fame.

*Illam terra Parens &c.*

Expounded that when Princes & Monarches haue suppressed actual and open Rebels, then the malignitie of people, (which is the mother of Rebellion,) doth bring forth Libels & slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind with Rebellion, but more Feminine." *Adv. of Learning. ii. fol. 19. Ed. 1605.*

<sup>b</sup> *Great envy was excited, whether affairs went well or ill. Tacitus. History i. 7.*

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held suspected *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi*  
 When Mandates fall to be disputed and distinguished and new fences given to them, it is the first Essay of disobeying.

Also as Machauuell well notes When Princes that ought to bee common Fathersmake themselves as a partie, and leane to a side in the estate, it is as a boate that tiltes aside before it overthrowes.

Also when discordes, and quarrells, and factions are carryed openly and audaciously, it is a signe

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<sup>11</sup> Directions. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>12</sup> *After* Disputings. *Circa Mandata*, 'concerning mandates.'

<sup>13</sup> Audaciously. *Audacius et contumacius*, 'too boldly and obstinately.'



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held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quàm exequi*;<sup>a</sup> Disputing, Excusing, Cauilling vpon Mandates and Directions,<sup>11</sup> is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings,<sup>12</sup> they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously.<sup>13</sup>

Also, as *Macciauel* noteth well;<sup>b</sup> when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselues as a Party, and leane to a side,<sup>14</sup> it is as a Boat that

is ouerthrowen,

by vneuen weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of *Henry* the third of *France*: For first, himselfe entred<sup>15</sup> League for the Extirpation of the *Protestants*; and presently after, the same League was turned vpon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Soueraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.<sup>16</sup>

Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are Carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe,

<sup>a</sup> *They were in office, but yet would rather question the orders of the commanders, than perform them.* Tacitus. *History.* ii. 39.

<sup>b</sup> *Macchiavelli. Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca de Tito Livio.* iii. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Leane to a side. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>15</sup> Entred. *Se recipi voluit*, 'wished to be received into.'

<sup>16</sup> Possession. *Possessione Auctoritatis*, 'possession of authority.'

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the reverence of governe-  
ment is lost.

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And reverence is that  
wherewith Princes are girt  
from God, who threatn-  
eth the diffolving thereof,  
as one of his great Iudge-  
mentes.

*Solum cingula Regum.*

So when anie of the  
fower Pillars of governe-  
ment are mainely shakened,  
or weakened, which are  
Religion, Iustice, Councell  
and Treafure, Men had  
neede to pray for faier  
weather. But let vs leave  
the part of predic-  
tions,

and speake of  
the Materialls,

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<sup>17</sup> Gouernment. *Erga Principem*, 'toward the sovereign.'

<sup>18</sup> Highest Motion. *Motum primi Mobilis*. 'the motion of the *primum mobile*.'

<sup>19</sup> Great Ones. *Viri Primores et Nobiles*, 'chiefs and noble men.'

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the Reuerence of Govern-  
ment<sup>17</sup> is loft. For the Motions of the greateſt per-  
ſons, in a Government, ought to be, as the Motions of  
the Planets, under *Primum Mobile*; (according to the  
old Opinion: which is, That Euery of them, is carried  
ſwiftly, by the Higheſt Motion,<sup>18</sup> and ſoftly in their  
owne Motion. And therefore, when great Ones,<sup>19</sup> in  
their owne particular Motion, moue violently, and, as  
*Tacitus* expreſſeth it well, *Liberiùs, quàm vt Imperantium  
meminiſſent*; <sup>a</sup> It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame.  
For Reuerence is that,  
wherwith Princes are girt  
from God; Who threaten-  
eth the diſſolving thereof;

*Soluam cingula Regum.*<sup>b</sup>

So when any of the  
four Pillars of Govern-  
ment, are mainly ſhaken,  
or weakned (which are  
*Religion, Juſtice, Counſell,*  
and *Treasure*;) Men had  
need to pray for Faire  
Weather. But let vs paſſe  
from this Part of Predic-  
tions,<sup>20</sup> Concerning which,<sup>21</sup> neuertheleſſe, more light  
may be taken, from that which followeth;) )  
And let vs ſpeake firſt of  
the *Materials* of *Seditions*;

<sup>a</sup> More freely than was grateful to the rulers. Incorrectly quoted from  
*Tacitus. Annals. iii. 4.*

<sup>b</sup> *Is. xlv. 1.*

<sup>20</sup> Predictions. *Prognostica Seditioſum*, 'predictions of ſedition.'

<sup>21</sup> Concerning which. *Circa quæ nihilominus interuenient nonnulla,  
quæ iis tractandis majorem Lucem præbere poſſint*, 'concerning which,  
nevertheleſſe, ſeveral things will occur which will afford greater light in treat-  
ing of them.'

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and the causes,  
and the remedies.

The matter of seditions is  
of two kinds, Much pov-  
ertye and much discontent

Certainely, so manie  
overthrowne estates, so  
manie votes for troubles;  
*Lucan*, noteth well the  
state of the tymes before the  
Civill Warre,

*Hinc vsura vorax, Rapid-  
umque in tempore fœnus,  
Hinc concussa - fides, et  
multis vitile bellum.*

This same *Multis vitile  
bellum*, is an assured, and  
infallible signe of a  
State disposed to troubles,  
and seditions.

For discontentes,  
they are the verie humours

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<sup>22</sup> Motives. *Caussis et Flabellis*, 'causes and motives: (lit. fans.)'

<sup>23</sup> After Prepared. *Flamma*, 'for the flame.'

<sup>24</sup> Come. *Emicare possint*, 'can shine.'

<sup>25</sup> Querthrowne Estates. *Hominum res attrita, et decocta Fortuna*.  
'impaired estates of men, and bankrupt fortunes.'

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Then of the *Motives*<sup>22</sup> of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies*.

Concerning the *Materialls* of *Seditions*. It is a Thing well to be considered: For the furest way to prevent *Seditions*, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuell prepared,<sup>23</sup> it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come,<sup>24</sup> that shall set it on Fire.

The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kindes; *Much Pouerty*, and *Much Discontentment*. It is certaine, so many *Ouerthrowne Estates*,<sup>25</sup> so many Votes for *Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome*, before the Ciuill Warre.

*Hinc Vfura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,*  
*Hinc concussa Fides, et multis vtile Bellum.*

This same *Multis vtile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible<sup>26</sup> Signe, of a State, disposed to *Seditions*, and *Troubles*. And if this *Pouerty*, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be ioyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent and great. For the *Rebellions* of the Belly<sup>27</sup> are the worst. As for *Discontentments*,<sup>28</sup> they are

<sup>a</sup> Hence devouring usury, and interest greedy of time,  
Hence credit shaken, and war profitable to many.

Lucan. *Pharsalia*. i. 181, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Infallible. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>27</sup> Of the Belly. *Quæ a Ventre ortum habent*, 'which rise from the belly.'

<sup>28</sup> Discontentments. *Alienationes Animorum, et Tædium Rerum præsentium*; 'the alienation of minds, and discontent with the present state.'

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in the politique body

apt to  
gather a preternaturall  
heate, and to inflame;  
And let not Princes measure  
the danger of them by  
this whether they are iust,  
or vniust, For that were  
to imagine people  
to reasonable;

nor  
yet by this, whether the  
greifes Wherevponn they  
arrise be in true proporcion  
great, or smale; for they  
are the most dangerous  
kinds of discontentes,  
where the feare is greater,  
then the feelinge.

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<sup>29</sup> Humours. *Humorum Maligniorum*, 'malignant humours.'

<sup>30</sup> Them. *Illa que Animos Populi alienant*, 'what alienates the minds of the people.'

<sup>31</sup> Be secure. *Minus pendat*, 'consider of less account.'

<sup>32</sup> Concerning Discontentments. *Alienationem Animorum, et Invidiam grassantem*, 'the alienation of minds and the increase of envy.'

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in the Politique Body, like to Humours<sup>29</sup> in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them,<sup>30</sup> by this; whether they be Iust, or Vniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things, that prouoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure<sup>31</sup> concerning *Discontentments*,<sup>32</sup> because they<sup>33</sup> haue been often, or haue been long and yet no Perill<sup>34</sup> hath ensued; For as it is true, that euery Vapor, or Fume,<sup>35</sup> doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, neuerthelesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow ouer diuers times, yet may fall<sup>36</sup> at last; And as the

<sup>29</sup> They. *Illa fastidia Animorum*, 'these dislikes.'

<sup>30</sup> Perill. *Detrimenti Respublica cepit*, 'the State has received no damage.'

<sup>35</sup> Or Fume. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>36</sup> Fall. *Glomerantur et ruunt*, 'collect and fall.'

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The causes and motives of Sedition, are Religion, Taxes, alterations of laws and Customs, breakeing priuiledges, generall oppression, Advancement of vnworthie persons, Straungers, Dearthes.

And whatfoever in offending people ioyneth them in a Common Cause.

for the remedies there maie be some generall preservatives, the Cure must aunfweare to the particuler disease.

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<sup>37</sup> And Motiues. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>38</sup> Taxes. *Tributa et Census*, 'tributes and taxes.'

<sup>39</sup> Priuiledges. *Immunitatum et Privilegiorum*, 'immunities and privileges.'

<sup>40</sup> After Advancement. *Ad honores et Magistratus*, 'to honours and offices.'

<sup>41</sup> Dearths. *Caritas Annonæ*, 'dearth of provisions.'

<sup>42</sup> Disbanded. *Incuriose dimissi*, 'carelessly disbanded.'



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Spanish Prouerb noteth well ; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes* and *Motives*<sup>37</sup> of *Seditions* are ;  
*Innouation* in Religion ;  
*Taxes* ;<sup>38</sup> *Alteration* of  
*Lawes* and *Customes* ;  
*Breaking* of *Priviledges* ;<sup>39</sup>  
*Generall Oppression* ; *Ad-*  
*uancement*<sup>40</sup> of *unworthy*  
*persons* ; *Strangers* ;  
*Dearths* ;<sup>41</sup> *Disbanded*<sup>42</sup> *Souldiers* ; *Factions* growne *def-*  
*perate* ;  
 And whatfoeuer in offend-  
 ing People, ioyneth and  
 knitteth<sup>43</sup> them, in a Com-  
 mon Cause.

For the *Remedies* ; There  
 may be some generall<sup>44</sup>  
 Preferuatiues, whereof wee will speake ; As for  
 the iust Cure, it must  
 answer to the Particular  
 Disease : And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule.

The first *Remedy* or preuention,<sup>45</sup> is to remoue by  
 all meanes<sup>46</sup> possible, that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition*,  
 wherof we spake ; which is *Want* and *Pouerty* in the  
*Estate*. To which purpose, serueth the Opening, and  
 well Ballancing of Trade ;<sup>47</sup> the Cherishing<sup>48</sup> of Man

<sup>37</sup> Knitteth. *Conspirare facit*, 'makes them conspire'

<sup>38</sup> Generall *Confuse, et in genere, possunt assignari*, 'may be assigned confusedly and generally.'

<sup>39</sup> *After* Preuention. *Contra seditiones*, 'against seditions.'

<sup>40</sup> Meanes. *Opera et diligentia*, 'means and diligence.'

<sup>41</sup> Trade. *Commercii rationes*, 'the conduct of trade'

<sup>42</sup> Cherishing. *Introducere, et seruare*, 'introducing and cherishing.'

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<sup>49</sup> Manufactures. *Artificis et Manufacturas*, 'artisans and manufactures.'

<sup>50</sup> Idleness. *Desidiam et Otium*, 'idleness and ease.'

<sup>51</sup> Improuement and Husbanding. *Cultura lucrosissima subigere*, 'to work with the most profitable cultivation.'

<sup>52</sup> Soyle. *Solum et agros*, 'the soil and the fields.'

<sup>53</sup> Reckoned. *Utrum superflua sit, necne*, 'whether it is too abundant or not.'

<sup>54</sup> More. *Pecunias*, 'money.'

<sup>55</sup> Stocke. *Sorti Reipublicæ*, 'to the stock of the State.'

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ufactures;<sup>49</sup> the Banishing of Idleneffe;<sup>50</sup> the Reprefing of waste and Exceffe by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improuement and Husbanding<sup>51</sup> of the Soyle;<sup>52</sup> the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be forefeene, that the Population of a Kingdome, (efpecially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which fhould maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned,<sup>53</sup> onely by number: For a fmall Number, that fpend more,<sup>54</sup> and earne leffe, doe weare out an Eftate, fooner then a greater Number, that liue lower, and gather more. Therefore the Multipling of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an ouer Proportion, to the Common People, doth fpeedily bring a State to Neceffitie: And fo doth likewise an ouergrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke;<sup>55</sup> And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then Preferments<sup>56</sup> can take off.<sup>57</sup>

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increafe of any Eftate,<sup>58</sup> muft be<sup>59</sup> vpon the Forrainer, (for whatfoeuer is fome where gotten, is fome where loft) There be but three Things, which one Nation felleth vnto another; The *Commoditie*<sup>60</sup> as Nature yeeldeth it;<sup>61</sup> The *Manufacture*; and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*. So that if thefe three wheelles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to paffe, that<sup>62</sup> *Materiam fuperabit Opus*;<sup>a</sup> That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth, then

<sup>a</sup> *The work will surpass the material.* Ovid. *Metamorphoses.* ii. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Preferments. *Vocationis Civiles*, 'civil duties.'

<sup>57</sup> Take off. *Victum suppeditare*, 'supply living to.'

<sup>58</sup> Estate. *Publica Opulentia*, 'public wealth.'

<sup>59</sup> Be. *Lucrifieri*, 'be gained.'

<sup>60</sup> Commoditie. *Materiam Mercium*, 'the material of merchandise.'

<sup>61</sup> As Nature yeeldeth it. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>62</sup> Opus. *De quo loquitur poeta*, 'of which the poet speaks.'

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To give moderate liber-  
tye for greifes

<sup>63</sup> Mines. *Fodinas, non subterraneas illas*, 'mines not underground.'

<sup>64</sup> Good Policie . . . vsed. *Nihil autem prius debet esse aut consultius quam ut videat Magistratum Prudentia*, 'nothing, moreover, ought to be sooner or more thought of than that the foresight of the magistrates should see.'

<sup>65</sup> In a State. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>66</sup> Spread. *Per Terram dispergatur*, 'spread on the earth.'

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the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably seene in the *Low-Country-Men*, who haue the best Mines,<sup>63</sup> about ground, in the World.

About all things, good Policie is to be vsed,<sup>64</sup> that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State,<sup>65</sup> be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may haue a great Stock, and yet starue. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread.<sup>66</sup> This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least, keeping a strait Hand, vpon the Deuouring Trades of *Vfurie*, *Fngrossing*, great *Pasturages*,<sup>67</sup> and the like.

For, Remouing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of them;<sup>68</sup> There is in euery State (as we know) two Portions of *Subiects*; The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; For Common People, are of slow Motion, if they be not excited, by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small strength, except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to moue of themselves. Then is<sup>69</sup> the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves.<sup>70</sup> The Poets faigne, that the rest of the Gods, would haue<sup>71</sup> bound *Iupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to shew, how safe<sup>72</sup> it is for Monarchs, to make sure<sup>73</sup> of the good Will of Common People.

Togiuē moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and *Discon-*

<sup>67</sup> Great Pasturages. *Latifundiorum in Pascua conversorum*, 'changing farms into pasturages.'

<sup>68</sup> Of them. *Quæ ab iis proueniunt*, 'which come from them.'

<sup>69</sup> Is. *Reuera ingruit*, 'truly approaches.'

<sup>70</sup> Themselves. *Animos exulceratos*, 'their wounded minds.'

<sup>71</sup> Would haue. *Conjurasse*, 'conspired.'

<sup>72</sup> Safe. *Tutum et salutare*, 'safe and wholesome.'

<sup>73</sup> Make sure. *Conciliare et retinere*, 'gain and keep.'

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to evaporate,  
 fo it be without bravery  
 or importunitye, is a  
 safe way, ffor hee that  
 tourneth the humour  
 ,  
 or makes the wound  
 bleede inwardes, endaun-  
 gereth maligne vlcers and  
 pernicious impostuma-  
 cions ;  
 Also the part of *Epime-  
 theus* may become  
*Prometheus* in this Case;

Hee when greifes and evils  
 flewe abroad, e,  
 yet kept hope in  
 the bottome of the Veffell.

The politike,  
 and artificiall nourishing  
 of some degree of hopes,

is one of  
 the best Antidotes against  
 thepoyson of discontentes ;  
 and it is a cer-  
 taine signe of a Wise go-  
 vernement,

if it can hold  
 by hope, where it

[*This Essay does not occur  
 in the 1612 Edition.*]

<sup>74</sup> Discontentments. *Animis gravate affectis et malevolis, indulgere, ut ebulliant eorum Dolores, et in fumos abeant,* 'to indulge ill affected and malevolent minds, that their griefs may evaporate and go off in smoke.'

<sup>75</sup> Safe Way. *Utile,* 'useful.'

<sup>76</sup> Inwards. *In viscera,* 'into the bowels.'

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*tentments*<sup>74</sup> to euaporate, (so it be without too great Infolency or Brauery) is a safe Way.<sup>75</sup> For he that turneth the Humors backe, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards,<sup>76</sup> endangereth maligne<sup>77</sup> Vlcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of *Epimetheus*, mought well become *Prometheus*, in the case of *Discontentments*,<sup>78</sup> For there is not a better prouision against them.

*Epimetheus*, when Griefes and Euils flew abroad, at last<sup>79</sup> shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of *Hopes*, and Carrying men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*; is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of *Discontentments*. And it is a certaine Signe, of a wise Goernment, and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts<sup>80</sup> by *Hopes*, when it

<sup>77</sup> Maligne. *Mortifera*, 'deadly.'

<sup>78</sup> In the case of Discontentments. *Ad molliendos exacerbatos et malevolos Animos*, 'to soothe embittered and evil-disposed minds.'

<sup>79</sup> At last. *Festinus*, 'in haste.'

<sup>80</sup> Hearts. Omitted in the Latin.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.  
cannott by Satisfaccion.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Also the foresight and prevencion, that there be noe likely or fitt head wherevnto discontentes may resort, and vnder whom they may ioyne, is a knowne, but an excellent pointe of caution. I vnderstand a fitt head to be one that hath greatnesse and reputacion, that hath Confidence with the discontented partie, and vpon whom they tourne their eyes, and that is thought discontent in his particular.

[*This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.*]

<sup>81</sup> Also, the foresight . . . Preuention. *Trita sane est, sed præcellens Periculorum, quæ Malevolentia minantur, Cautio, ut prævideatur*, 'it is known but an excellent caution against the dangers threatened by discontent to take care.'

<sup>82</sup> Likely or fit. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>83</sup> Discontented. *Insensus et exacerbatus*, 'hostile and embittered.'

<sup>84</sup> Vnder whom. *Sub cuius presidio*, 'under whose protection.'

<sup>85</sup> Ioyne. *In Corpus aliquod coire*, 'join into a body.'

<sup>86</sup> Head. *Caput . . . et Ducem idoneum*, 'head and suitable leader.'



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cannot by Satisfaction: And when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Euill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Out-let of *Hope*: Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselues, or at least to braue that, which they beleeue not.

Also, the Foresight,<sup>81</sup> and Preuention, that there be no likely or fit<sup>82</sup> Head, whereunto *Discontented*<sup>83</sup> *Persons* may resort, and vnder whom<sup>84</sup> they may ioyne,<sup>85</sup> is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I vnderstand a fit Head,<sup>86</sup> to be one, that hath Greatnesse, and Reputation; That hath<sup>87</sup> Confidence<sup>88</sup> with the *Discontented Party*; and vpon whom they turne their Eyes;<sup>89</sup> And that is thought *discontented* in his own particular; which kinde of Persons, are either to be wonne,<sup>90</sup> and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true<sup>91</sup> manner; Or to be fronted, with some other, of the same Party, that may oppose them, and

<sup>87</sup> Hath. *Celebratur*, 'is known for.'

<sup>88</sup> Confidence. *Acceptus est et gratiosus*, 'is acceptable and influential with.'

<sup>89</sup> Eyes. *Ora et Oculos*, 'faces and eyes.'

<sup>90</sup> Wonne. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>91</sup> Fast and true. *Non perfunctorie, sed solide*; 'not slightly, but firmly.'

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Also the deviding  
and breaking of anie  
Combinacion, that is  
adverfe to the State

is none of the worst  
Remedies. For it is a def-  
perate case if the true parte  
of the  
State be full of difcord  
and faction, and the  
falso,  
entyer and vnyted.

[*This Effay does not occur  
in the 1612 Edition.*]

<sup>92</sup> Divide. *In diversa trahat et secet*, 'divide and cut.'

<sup>93</sup> Reputation. *Gratiam popularem*, 'popular favour.'

<sup>94</sup> Generally. *Ubique hoc obtinet*, 'wherever this obtains.'

<sup>95</sup> Breaking. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>96</sup> Factions. *Factiosas Potentias*, 'factious powers.'

<sup>97</sup> Adverse to the State. *Quæ contra Gubernationem Imperii Frontem contrahunt*, 'which frown at the government of the State.'

<sup>98</sup> Setting them at distance. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>99</sup> Distrust. *Dissidentiam seminare*, 'sow discord.'

<sup>100</sup> Worst. *Hand contemnendum*, 'not to be despised.'

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so diuide<sup>92</sup> the reputation.<sup>93</sup> Generally,<sup>94</sup> the Diuiding and Breaking<sup>95</sup> of all Factions,<sup>96</sup> and Combinations that are aduerse to the State,<sup>97</sup> and setting them at distance, or<sup>98</sup> at least distrust amongst themselves,<sup>99</sup> is not one of the worst<sup>100</sup> Remedies. For it is a desperate Case, if those, that hold with the Proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction;<sup>101</sup> And those that are against<sup>102</sup> it, be entire and vnited.<sup>103</sup>

I haue noted, that some witty and sharpe Speeches, which haue fallen<sup>104</sup> from *Princes*, haue giuen fire to *Seditions*. *Cæsar* did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; *Sylla nesciuit Literas, non potuit dictare*:<sup>a</sup> For it did, vtterly, cut off that *Hope*, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, giue ouer his Dictatorship. *Galba* vndid himselfe by that Speech; *Legi à se Militem, non emi*:<sup>b</sup> For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donatiue. *Probus* likewise,<sup>105</sup> by that Speech; *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*.<sup>c</sup> A Speech of great Despaire, for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, *Princes* had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these

<sup>a</sup> *Sylla knew not letters, he was not able to dictate.* Suetonius. *Julius Cæsar*. 77.

"Cæsar would say of Sylla, for that hee did resigne his Dictatorship: That hee was ignorant of letters, he could not dictate." Lord Bacon's *Apophth.* No. 135. Ed. 1625.

<sup>b</sup> *The soldiery was leuid by him, not bought.* Tacitus. *History*. i. 5.

<sup>c</sup> *If I live, there shall be no longer need for soldiers to the Roman Empire.* Flavius Vopiscus. *Probus*. 20.

<sup>101</sup> Faction. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>102</sup> Against. *Infensi, et maligni*, 'hostile and evil disposed.'

<sup>103</sup> Entire and vnited. *Arcte conjungantur*, 'be strictly united.'

<sup>104</sup> After Fallen. *Improviso*, 'at random.'

<sup>105</sup> Likewise. *Item interiit*, 'likewise perished.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

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Lastlie lett Princes against all eventes not be without some great person of Militarye valem neare vnto them for the repressing of seditions in their beginings. For without that, there vseth to be more trepidacion in Courtes vpon the breaking out of troubles then were fitt, and the State runneth the daunger of that which *Tacitus* saith *Atque is habitus animorum fuit vt pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes patirentur.* But lett such one, be an assured one, and

not popular, and holding good Correspondence with the gowne Men ; or else the remedy is worse then the disease.

[*This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.*]

<sup>106</sup> Large. *Longiores et productiores*, 'longer and more protracted.'

<sup>107</sup> Military Valour. *Militia et Fortitudine subiectas*, 'tried in war and valour.'

<sup>108</sup> Court. *Aulis Principum*, 'the courts of princes.'



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short Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large<sup>106</sup> Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Euent, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour<sup>107</sup> neere vnto them, for the Reprefing of *Seditious*, in their beginnings. For without that, there vseth to be more trepidation in Court,<sup>108</sup> vpon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, then were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, vt pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur.*<sup>a</sup> But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factionous, and Popular; Holding also good Correspondence, with the other Great Men in the *State*; Or else the Remedie, is worfe then the Disease.

<sup>a</sup> And this was the disposition of their minds, that a few dared to attempt the greatest villany, that more desired it, and that all tolerated in it. *Tacitus. History. i. 28.*





# A H A R M O N Y

OF THE

THIRD GROUP

OF

SIX

*E S S A Y S.*

35. OF RELIGION.

*The title was afterwards changed to*  
OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

36. OF CUNNING.

37. OF LOVE.

38. OF JUDICATURE.

39. OF VAIN-GLORY.

40. OF THE TRUE GREAT-  
NESS OF KINGDOMS.

*First Published in 1612.*

COLLATED WITH SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS.








THE  
ESSAIES  
OF S<sup>r</sup> FRANCIS

BACON Knight, the  
*Kings Solliciter*  
Generall.



 Imprinted at *London* by  
JOHN BEALE,  
1612

# The Epistle Dedicatorie.



 TO MY LOVING BROTHER,

S<sup>r</sup> IOHN CONSTABLE KNIGHT.



*Y last Effaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Mising my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and iudgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine*

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

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[\* These Essays—if ever any were separately written, under these titles—are not found in the Text, nor in any other of Bacon's known writings. The Titles are most probably but sub-titles of No. 38. *Of greatnes of Kingdomes.*]

. . . Two Essays, which were at this time in existence, were not included in this Edition, viz.: *Of Honour and Reputation, and Of Seditions and Troubles.*]

## 1. Of Religion.



He quarrels, and diuisions for *Religion*, were euils vnknowne to the Heathen: and no maruell;

for it is the true God that is the iealous God; and the gods of the Heathen were good fellowes. But

yet the bonds of religious vnity, are so to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane society be not dissolved.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. Religion. *Ecclesiæ*, 'of the church.'

<sup>2</sup> Happy thing. *Par est*, 'it is right.'

<sup>3</sup> Within the . . . of Vnity. *Debitis veræ Vnitatis et Charitatis vinculis*, 'by the proper bands of true unity and charity.'

<sup>4</sup> Quarrels. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> The Reason was, because, *Nec mirum, cum*, 'nor was it strange, since.'

<sup>6</sup> Ceremonies. *Cultu Deorum externo*, 'outward worship of the gods.'

<sup>7</sup> Beliefe. *Confessione, et Fide*, 'confession and belief.'

<sup>8</sup> What the Meanes. *Quibus denique Modis concilietur*, 'and lastly, by what means it is preserved.'

<sup>9</sup> Fruits. *Fructus præcipui*, 'chief fruits.'

<sup>10</sup> Scandals. *In Ecclesia Scandala*, 'scandals in the church.'

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British Museum Copy.

3. Of Unity in Religion.<sup>1</sup>

*Religion* being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing,<sup>2</sup> when it selfe, is well contained, within the true Band of *Vnity*.<sup>3</sup> The Quarrels,<sup>4</sup> and Diuisions about *Religion*, were Euils vnknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because<sup>5</sup> the *Religion* of the Heathen, consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies;<sup>6</sup> then in any constant Beleeve.<sup>7</sup> For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctōrs, and Fathers of their Church, were the Pōets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a *Iealous God*;<sup>a</sup> And therefore, his worship and *Religion*, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner.

We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the *Vnity* of the Church; *What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; And what the Meanes?*<sup>8</sup>

The *Fruits*<sup>9</sup> of *Vnity* (next vnto the well Pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are *without the Church*; The Other, towards those, *that are within*. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals;<sup>10</sup> yea more then Corruption of Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall.<sup>11</sup> So that nothing, doth so much keepe Men out of the Church,<sup>12</sup> and<sup>13</sup> driue Men out of the Church, as Breach of *Vnity*: And therefore,

<sup>a</sup> Exodus xx. 5.

<sup>11</sup> So in the Spirituall. *Similitis est Corporis Spirituallis ratio*, 'the natur of the spiritual body is similar.'

<sup>12</sup> Keepe Men out of the Church. *Homines, ab ingressu in Ecclesiam absterreat*, 'frighten men from entering the church.'

<sup>13</sup> After And. *Jam receptos*, 'when already received.'

<sup>14</sup> The Propriety of whose Vocation. *Cujus Vocatio et Missio, propria et demandata*, 'whose peculiar vocation and mission, entrusted to him.'

<sup>15</sup> Without. *Extra Ecclesiam*, 'without the church.'

<sup>16</sup> Discordant and Contrary Opinions. *Lites, et Opinionum Dimicationes*, 'disputes and contests of opinion.'

<sup>17</sup> Morris daunce. *Saltationes Florales et Gesticulationes*, 'floral dances and gestures.'

<sup>18</sup> Diuers Posture. *Peculiarem quandam motum Corporis ridiculum*, 'some peculiar ridiculous motion of the body.'

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whensoever it commeth to that passe, that one faith, *Ecce in Deserto*;<sup>a</sup> Another faith, *Ecce in penetralibus*;<sup>a</sup> That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conuenticles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to found in Mens Eares, *Nolite exire, Goe not out.*<sup>a</sup> The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation,<sup>14</sup> drew him to haue a speciall care of those *without*)<sup>15</sup> faith; *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with feuerall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?*<sup>b</sup> And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions<sup>16</sup> in Religion; It doth auert them from the Church, and maketh them, *To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners.*<sup>c</sup> It is but a light Thing, to be Vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a faigned Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; - *The morris daunce*<sup>17</sup> *of Heretikes.*<sup>d</sup> For indeed, euery Sect of them, hath a Diuers Posture,<sup>18</sup> or Cringe<sup>19</sup> by themselves, which cannot but Moue Derision, in Worldlings, and Depraued Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit*<sup>20</sup> *towards those*<sup>21</sup> *that are within*; It is *Peace*; which containeth infinite Blessings: It establisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church, Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours, of Writing, and Reading of Controuersies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Deuotion.

<sup>a</sup> Matthew xxvi. 26. (Vulgate).

<sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Ps. i. 1.

<sup>d</sup> *La Morisque des hereticques.* Rabelais. *Pantagruel.* ii. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Cringe. *Gestus Deformatatem*, 'deformity of carriage.'

<sup>20</sup> Fruit. *Fructus Vnitatis*, 'fruit of unity.'

<sup>21</sup> Towards those. *Qui ad eos . . . redundat*, 'which abounds towards those.'

<sup>22</sup> Bounds. *Terminos et Limites*, 'bounds and limits.'

<sup>23</sup> True. *Vera proculdubio et justa*, 'doubtless the true and right.'

<sup>24</sup> Importeth. *Ad omnia in Religione*, 'to every thing connected with religion.'

<sup>25</sup> Extremes. *In iis statuendis videntur fieri*, 'seem to be made in fixing them.'

<sup>26</sup> After Luke-warme. *In causis Religionis*, 'in matters of religion.'

<sup>27</sup> The two crosse Clauses. *Clausulis illis, quæ primo intuitu, inter se opponi videntur*, 'those clauses, which at first sight, seem to be opposed.'



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Concerning the *Bounds*<sup>22</sup> of *Vnity*; The true<sup>23</sup> Placing of them, importeth<sup>24</sup> exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes.<sup>25</sup> For to certaine *Zelants* all Speech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me.*<sup>a</sup> *Peace* is not the Matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwise, certaine *Laodiccans*, and Luke-warme<sup>25</sup> Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of *Religion*, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both; And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be auoyded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Sauour himselfe, were in the two crosse Clauses<sup>27</sup> thereof, soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with vs, is against vs:*<sup>b</sup> And againe; *He that is not against vs, is with vs:*<sup>c</sup> That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention.<sup>28</sup> This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter triuiall, and done already:<sup>29</sup> But if it were done lesse partially,<sup>30</sup> it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may giue onely this Aduice, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of Controuersies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controverted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat,<sup>31</sup> and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted<sup>32</sup> by one of the Fathers; *Christis*

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings ix. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xii. 30.

<sup>c</sup> Mark ix. 40.

<sup>28</sup> Points . . . good Intention. *Quæ non sunt ex Fide, sed ex Opinione probabili, et Intentione sancta, propter ordinem, et Ecclesie politiam, sancitæ,* 'which are not of faith, but of probable opinion, and ratified by a holy intention, for the sake of order and the government of the church.'

<sup>29</sup> And done already. *In quo quis actum agit:* 'in which to act.'

<sup>30</sup> Partially. *Minore partium studio,* 'with less party zeal.'

<sup>31</sup> Heat. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>32</sup> Noted. *Acute, et eleganter,* 'acutely and elegantly.'

<sup>33</sup> Of Iudgement. *Doctus*, 'learned.'

<sup>34</sup> Differ. *De aliqua Quæstione, inter se litigantes*, 'disputing about some question.'

<sup>35</sup> Meane one thing. *Idem re ipsa sentire, et in unum convenire*, 'really think the same, and meet in one point.'

<sup>36</sup> Distance. *Exigua illa Iudicii disparitate*, 'in that little disparity of judgment.'

<sup>37</sup> Knowes. *Scrutatur et novit*, 'searches and knows.'

<sup>38</sup> Nature. *Natura et Character*, 'nature and character.'

<sup>39</sup> Put. *Effingunt et cudunt*, 'fashion and stamp.'

<sup>40</sup> Fixed. *Fixa et invariabilia*, 'fixed and unvarying.'

<sup>41</sup> There be also. *Sunt etiam, ut Controversiarum*, 'there be also, as o controversies.'

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*Coat, indeed, had no seam: But the Churches Vesture was of diuers colours;*<sup>a</sup> whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas fit, Scissura non fit;* They be two Things, *Vnity*, and *Vniformity*. The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controuerted is great; but it is driuen to an ouer-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A man that is of Iudgement<sup>33</sup> and vnderstanding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant Men differ,<sup>34</sup> and know well within himselfe, that those which so differ, meane one thing,<sup>35</sup> and yet they themselues would neuer agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance<sup>36</sup> of Iudgement, which is betweene Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God aboue, that knowes the Heart,<sup>37</sup> doth not discern, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature<sup>38</sup> of such Controuerfies, is excellently expressed, by St. Paul, in the Warning and Precept, that he giueth, concerning the same, *Deiita profanas vocum Nouitates, et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiæ.*<sup>c</sup> Men create Oppositions, which are not; And put them<sup>39</sup> into new termes, so fixed,<sup>40</sup> as whereas the Meaning ought to gouerne the Terme, the Terme in effectt gouerneth the Meaning. There be also<sup>41</sup> two false *Peaces*,<sup>42</sup> or *Vnities*;<sup>43</sup> The one, when the *Peace* is grounded but vpon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is peeced vp,<sup>44</sup> vpon a direct Admision of Contraries,<sup>45</sup> in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the *Iron*

<sup>a</sup> The allusion is to Ps. xlv. 14, where, instead of 'in raiment of needlework,' the Vulgate has *circumamicta varietatibus*, 'enveloped with varieties.'

<sup>b</sup> *In raiment let there be variety, but not rents.* St. Bernard. *Ad Guillelmum Abbatem Apologia.* pp. 983, 4. Ed. 1640.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 20.

<sup>42</sup> Peaces, or. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>43</sup> Vnities. *Vnitalis Species*, 'kinds of unity.'

<sup>44</sup> Peeced vp. *Consuta et sarcita*, 'sewn together and patched.'

<sup>45</sup> Admision of Contraries. *Ex positionibus est diametro inter se contrariis*, 'from positions directly contradictory.'

*Lucretius* the Poet, when hee beheld the aēt of *Agamemnon*, induring and affixing at the sacrifice of his daughter, concludes with this verse ;

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

But what would hee haue done, if he had knowne the massacre of *France*, or the powder treason of *England*? Certainly he would haue bene seuen times more Epicure and Atheist then he was. Nay, hee would rather haue chosen to be one of the Mad men of

<sup>46</sup> Be. *Recipiuntur*, 'are received.'

<sup>47</sup> In the maintenance of Religion. *In Religione Christiana propugnanda, et protegenda*, 'in defending and protecting the christian religion.'

<sup>48</sup> Ouert. *Aperti, et insolentis*; 'overt and insolent.'

<sup>49</sup> Intermixture. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>50</sup> Subuersion of all Government. *Ad Majestatem Imperii minuendam, et Auctoritatem Magistratum labefactandam*, 'to diminish the majesty of government, and subvert the authority of magistrates.'

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and *Clay, in the toes of Nabucadnezars Image*;<sup>a</sup> They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the *Meanes of procuring Vnity*; Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of *Religious Vnity*, they doe not Dissolue and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be<sup>46</sup> two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both haue their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of *Religion*.<sup>47</sup> But we may not take vp the Third sword, which is Mahomets Sword, or like vnto it; That is, to propagate *Religion*, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences; except it be in the cafes of Ouert<sup>48</sup> Scandall, Blasphemy, or Intermixture<sup>49</sup> of Practize, against the State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And the like; Tending to the Subuersion of all Government,<sup>50</sup> which is the Ordinance of God.<sup>51</sup> For this is, but to dash the first Table,<sup>52</sup> against the Second;<sup>b</sup> And so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure<sup>53</sup> the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

*Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.*<sup>c</sup>

What would he haue said, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would haue beene, Seuen times more Epicure and Atheist, then he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne,<sup>54</sup> with great circum-

<sup>a</sup> Daniel. ii. 33.

<sup>b</sup> Exodus. xxxii. 19.

<sup>c</sup> *To such a degree is Religion capable of occasioning evils.* Lucretius. *De rerum Natura.* i. 102.

<sup>51</sup> Ordinance of God. *Cum tamen omnis Legitima potestas sit a Deo ordinata,* 'since all lawful power is ordained by God.'

<sup>52</sup> Table. *Tabulis legis,* 'tables of the law.'

<sup>53</sup> Endure. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>54</sup> *After Drawne.* *Non temere, sed,* 'not rashly, but.'

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*Munster*, then to haue beene a partaker of those Counfels. For it is better that Religion should deface mens vnderstanding, then their piety and charitie; retaining reason onely but as an *Engine*, and *Charriot driuer* of cruelty, and malice.

It was a great blasphemie, when the Diuell said; *I will ascend, and be like the higheft*: but it is a greater blasphemie, if they make God to say; *I will descend, and bee like the Prince of Darknesse*: and it is no better, when they make the cause of *Religion* descend, to the execrable accions of murdering of Princes, butchery of people, and firing of States. Neither is there such a sinne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in stead of the likenes of a *Doue*, to bring him downe in the likenesse of a *Vulture*, or *Rauen*; nor such a scandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of Saint *Peter*, to fet forth the flagge of a Barge of *Pirats* and *Affassins*. Therefore since these things are the common enemies of humane society; *Princes* by their power: *Churches* by their Decrees; and all learning, Christian, morall, of what foeuer sect, or opinion, by their *Mercurie* rod; ought to ioyn in the damning to Hell for euer, these facts, and their supports:

and in all Counfels concerning Religion, that Counsell of the Apostle, would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei*.

—•••••

<sup>55</sup> Personate. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>56</sup> Descend. *Descendat, et præcipitetur*, 'descend and be cast down.'

<sup>57</sup> States. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>58</sup> Most necessary. *Iustum est, et id ipsum necessitas Temporum flagitat*, 'it is just, and the necessity of the times demands it.'

<sup>59</sup> Christian. *Religiosa*, 'religious.'

<sup>60</sup> Prefixed. *Ante oculos Hominum*, 'before the eyes of men.'

<sup>61</sup> And it was. *Ut vere dicamus*, 'to speak the truth.'

<sup>62</sup> Notable Observation. *Optime, et prudentissime observatum*, 'very well and wisely observed'

<sup>63</sup> A wise Father. *Ab uno ex Patribus, profundæ sapientiæ viro*; 'by one of the Fathers, a man of deep wisdom.'

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pection, in Cafes of *Religion*; So it is a thing monſtrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left vnto the Anabaptiſts, and other Furies.

It was great Blaſphemy, when the Deuill ſaid; *I will aſcend, and be like the Higheſt*;<sup>a</sup> But it is greater Blaſphemy, to perſonate<sup>55</sup> God, and bring him in ſaying; *I will deſcend, and be like the Prince of Darkneſſe*; And what is it better, to make the cauſe of *Religion*, to deſcend,<sup>56</sup> to the cruell and execrable Aſtions, of Murthuring Princes, Butchery of People, and Subuerſion of States,<sup>57</sup> and Gouernments? Surely, this is to bring Downe

the Holy Ghoſt,

in ſtead of the Likneſſe of a Doue,  
in the Shape of a Vulture, or Rauē :

And to ſet, out of the

Barke of a Chriſtian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and *Aſſaſſins*. Therefore it is moſt neceſſary,<sup>58</sup>

that the Church

by Doctrīne and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Chriſtian<sup>59</sup> and Morall,

as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and ſend to Hell, for euer, thoſe Faſts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the ſame; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counſels, Concerning *Religion*, that Counſel of the Apoſtle would be prefixed;<sup>60</sup> *Ira hominis non implet Iuſticiam Dei*.<sup>b</sup> And it was<sup>61</sup> a notable Obſeruatiō,<sup>62</sup> of a wiſe Father,<sup>63</sup> And no leſſe ingenuouſly<sup>64</sup> confeſſed;<sup>65</sup> *That thoſe, which held and perſwaded, preſſure of Conſciences, were commonly intereſſed therein, themſelues, for their owne ends*.<sup>66</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Iſaiah xiv. 14.

<sup>b</sup> James i. 20.

<sup>64</sup> Ingenuouſly. *Ingenue, et ſincere*, 'ingenuouſly and ſincerely.'

<sup>65</sup> Confeſſed. *Prolatum, et eulgatum*, 'uttered and publiſhed.'

<sup>66</sup> Intereſſed therein . . . owne ends. *Sub illo Dogmate, Cupiditates ſuas ſubtexere, illamque rem ſua intereſſe, putare*, 'cover their deſires with this doctrine, and conſider themſelves intereſted therein.'

## 4. Of Cunning.



WE take *Cunning* for a sinister or crooked *Wisdom*: and certainly there is a great difference betweene a cunning man, and a wise man: not onely in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards and yet cannot play well. So there are some, that are good in canuasses and factions, that are otherwise weake men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand persons, and another thing to vnderstand matters: for many are perfect in mens humors, that are not greatly capable of the reall part of businesse; which is the constitution of one, that hath studied men more then bookes. Such men are fitter for practise, then for counsell, and they are good but in their owne Alley; turne them to new men, and they haue lost their aime. So as the old rule to know a foole from a wise man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos et videbis*; doth scarce hold for them.

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Factions. *Factionibus regendis*, 'ruling factions.'

<sup>2</sup> Persons. *Personarum Naturas et Mores*, 'the natures and manners of persons.'

<sup>3</sup> Humours. *Aditibus, et Temporibus*, 'accessibilities and time.'

<sup>4</sup> Alley. *Viis, quas sæpe contriverunt*, 'the ways which they have often trod.'



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## 22. Of Cunning.



WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wifedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a *Cunning* Man, and a *Wife* Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canuasses, and Façtions,<sup>1</sup> that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand Persons,<sup>2</sup> and another thing to vnderstand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours,<sup>3</sup> that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Buifnesse; Which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more then Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practise, then for Counsell; And they are good but in their own Alley:<sup>4</sup> Turne them to New Men, and they haue lost their Ayme;<sup>5</sup> So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wife Man; *Mitte ambos nudos*<sup>6</sup> *ad ignotos, et videbis*;<sup>a</sup> doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men*, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop.

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

Another is, that when you haue any thing to obtaine

<sup>a</sup> A saying of Aristippus. *Place both naked before unknown persons, and you will see.* Diog. Laertes. ii. 73.

"One of the Philosophers was askt; *What a wise Man differed from a Foole?* He answered; *Send them both naked, to those that know them not, and you will perceiue.*" Lord Bacon's *Apophth.* No. 255. *Ed.* 1625.

<sup>5</sup> Ayme. *Artibus*, 'skill.'

<sup>6</sup> *Nudos.* Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>7</sup> Dispatch. *Aliquid propere, et facile obtinere et expedire cupias*, 'you desire to obtain and despatch any thing speedily and easily.'

<sup>8</sup> Objections. *Objectiones et Scrupulos*, 'objections and scruples.'

<sup>9</sup> Estate. *Rebus Status gravioribus*, 'about weightier matters of state.'

<sup>10</sup> One was about to say. *Sermonis*, 'talk.'

<sup>11</sup> Tooke himselfe vp. *Deprehenderet, et contineret*, 'took himself up and restrained himself.'

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of present dispatch,<sup>7</sup> you entertaine, and amuse the party, with whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Obiections.<sup>8</sup> I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that neuer came to *Queene Elizabeth* of *England*, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate,<sup>9</sup> that she mought the lesse mind the Bills.

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

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

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to say,<sup>10</sup> as if he tooke himselfe vp,<sup>11</sup> breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth<sup>12</sup> to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to giue Occasion, for the party to aske, what the Matter is of the Change?<sup>13</sup> As *Nehemias* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*<sup>a</sup>

In Things, that are tender and vnpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice,<sup>14</sup> by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserue<sup>15</sup> the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the

<sup>a</sup> Nehemiah. ii. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Seemeth. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>13</sup> Change. *Oris mutatio*, 'change of [your] face.'

<sup>14</sup> Breake the Ice. *Initia, de iis Sermonem inferendi, alicui alteri deputare*, 'to entrust the beginning of the talk about them to some other.'

<sup>15</sup> Reserue. *In Subsidiis reservare*, 'reserve as a support.'

<sup>16</sup> Others. *Qui ab altero injectus est*, 'which was thrown out by the other.'

<sup>17</sup> Seen in, himself. *Quas a se amoliri quis cupiat*, 'which a person wishes to be removed from him.'

<sup>18</sup> A point of Cunning. *Non inutile*, 'not useless.'

<sup>19</sup> Point. *Species satis vafra*, 'subtle enough kind.'

<sup>20</sup> Take Advantage. *Alterum irretiat et subruat*, 'ensnare and undermine the other.'

<sup>21</sup> Good Quarter betweene. *Invicem amice*, 'friendly together.'

<sup>22</sup> It. *Illud Genus Honoris*, 'that kind of honour.'

<sup>23</sup> Caught vp. *Bona fide arripuit*, 'caught up in good faith.'

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Question vpon the others<sup>16</sup> Speech. As *Narciffus* did, in relating to *Claudius*, the Marriage of *Meffalina* and *Silius*.<sup>a</sup>

In things, that a Man would not be feen in, himfelfe ;<sup>17</sup> It is a Point of *Cunning*,<sup>18</sup> to borrow the Name of the World ; As to fay ; *The World faves*, Or, *There is a fpeech abroad*.

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

I knew another, that when he came to haue Speech, he would paffe ouer that, that he intended moft, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and fpeake of it, as of a Thing, that he had almoft forgot.

Some procure themfelues, to be furprized, at fuch times, as it is like, the party that they work vpon, will fuddenly come vpon them : And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing fomewhat which they are not accuftomed ; To the end, they may be appofed of thofe things, which of themfelues they are defirous to vtter.

It is a Point<sup>19</sup> of *Cunning*, to let fall thofe Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would haue another Man learne, and vfe,\*and thereupon take Aduantage.<sup>20</sup> I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in *Queene Elizabeths* time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene<sup>21</sup> themfelues ; And would conferre, one with another, vpon the Bufineffe ; And the one of them faid, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it:<sup>22</sup> The other, ftraight caught vp<sup>23</sup> thofe

<sup>a</sup> By first employing the Emperor's two chief mistresses, " Calpurnia, therefore, for that was the name of the courtesan, upon the first occasion of privacy, falling at the emperor's feet, exclaimed ' that Messalina had married Silius ; ' and at the same time asked Cleopatra [the other mistress], who purposely attended to attest it, ' whether she had not found it to be true ? ' Claudius, upon a confirmation from Cleopatra, ordered Narcissus to be called," &c. Tacitus. *Annals*. xi. 30.

<sup>24</sup> Those Words. *Verba illa, callide proiata*, 'those words, craftily uttered.'

<sup>25</sup> *After the Queene. Tanquam scilicet ab altero prolata*, 'as if they had been vttered by the other.'

<sup>26</sup> *After Monarchy. Cum ipsa se vigentem reputaret*, 'since she considered herself flourishing.'

<sup>27</sup> Cunning. *Astutiæ Genus*, 'kind of cunning.'

<sup>28</sup> Call. *Satis absurde dicitur*, 'is called, absurdly enough.'

<sup>29</sup> Cat (cate). *Felem*, 'cat.'

<sup>30</sup> Make it appeare. *Probare et verificare*, 'prove and verify.'

<sup>31</sup> A way. *Artificium in usu*, 'an artifice in use.'

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Words,<sup>24</sup> and discoursed with diuers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the *Queene*; <sup>25</sup> Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*,<sup>26</sup> tooke it so ill, as she would neuer after heare of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*,<sup>27</sup> which we in *England* call,<sup>28</sup> *The Turning of the Cat*<sup>29</sup> *in the Pan*; which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare,<sup>30</sup> from which of them, it first moued and began.

It is a way,<sup>31</sup> that some men haue, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Iustifying themselues, by Negatiues; As to say, *This I doe not*: As *Tigillinus* did towards *Burrhus*,<sup>32</sup> *Se non diuersas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*<sup>a</sup>

Some haue in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serueth both to keepe themselues more in Guard,<sup>33</sup> and to make others carry it,<sup>34</sup> with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of *Cunning*, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would haue, in his owne Words, and Propositions;<sup>35</sup> For it makes the other Party sticke the lesse.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters

<sup>a</sup> HE entertained not different hopes [hinting that Burrhus did] but simply consulted the safety of the Emperour. Tacitus. *Annals*. xiv. 57.

<sup>22</sup> After Burrhus. *Sugillando*, 'suggesting.'

<sup>23</sup> After Guard. *Quasi nihil diserte affirmantes*, 'as saying nothing expressly.'

<sup>34</sup> Carry it. *Rem ipsam majore cum voluptate spargi*, 'make the thing be spread with more pleasure.'

<sup>35</sup> Words, and Propositions. *Conceptis verbis*, 'in words conceived by himself.'

[See similar paragraph below.]

Euen in businesse there are some that know the resorts and fals of busines, that cannot finke into the maine of it: like a house that hath conuenient staires and entries, but neuer a faire roome. Therefore you shall see them finde out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no waies able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take aduantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather vpon abusing others, and as wee now say, putting trickes vpon them, then vpon foundnesse of their owne proceedings. But *Salomon* saith, *Prudens aduertit ad greffus suos: stultus diuertit ad dolos.*

Very many are the differences betweene cunning and wisdome: and it were a good deed to set them downe: for that nothing doth more hurte in state then that cunning men passe for wise.



<sup>36</sup> Vnexpected. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>37</sup> List. *Uberiorem Catalogum*, 'fuller list.'

<sup>38</sup> Maine. *Viscera, et interiora*, 'body and interior.'

<sup>39</sup> Conclusion. *Conclusionibus Deliberationum*, 'conclusions of deliberations.'



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they will beat ouer, to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Vfe.

A sudden, bold, and vnexpected<sup>36</sup> Question, doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that hauing changed his Name, and walking in *Pauls*, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of *Cunning*, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List<sup>37</sup> of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, then that *Cunning Men* passe for *Wife*.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Reforts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine<sup>38</sup> of it: Like a House, that hath conuenient Staires, and Entries, but neuer a faire Roome. Therefore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion,<sup>39</sup> but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction.<sup>40</sup> Some build rather vpon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) *Putting Tricks vpon them*;<sup>41</sup> Then vpon Soundnesse of their own proceedings.<sup>42</sup> But *Salomon* saith: *Prudens aduertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus diuertit ad Dolos.*<sup>a</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Prov. xiv. 15.

<sup>40</sup> *After* Direction. *Potuis quam Disputandum*, 'rather than of discussion.'

<sup>41</sup> Some build . . . vpon them. *Sunt qui magis inmituntur Dois, quos aliis struunt*, 'some rather lean upon snares which they lay for others.'

<sup>42</sup> Proceedings. *Quam Consiliis solidiis et sanis*, 'than upon solid and sound counsels.'

## 12. Of Love.



*L*ove is the argument alwaies of *Comedies*, and many times of *Tragedies*. Which sheweth well, that it is a passion generally light, and sometimes extreme.

Extreame it may well bee, since the speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing but *Love*. Neither is it meerely in the phrase. For whereas it

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Law-giuer. *Legislatorum inter Romanos Principem*, 'the chief of Roman law-givers.'

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## 10. Of Love.



THE Stage is more beholding to *Loue*, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, *Loue* is euer matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much mischief: Sometimes like a *Syren*; Sometimes like a *Fury*. You may obserue, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of *Loue*: which shewes, that great Spirits, and great Businesse, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except, neuerthelesse, *Marcus Antonius* the halfe Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemuir*, and Law-giuer:<sup>1</sup> Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Austere, and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that *Loue* can finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore<sup>2</sup> Saying of *Epicurus*; *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum fumus*:<sup>a</sup> As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heauen, and all Noble Obiects,<sup>3</sup> should doe nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subiect, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was giuen him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Excesse of this Passion; And how it braues, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a Perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing, but in *Loue*. Neither is it meere in the Phrase; For whereas it

<sup>a</sup> *We are a sufficiently great theater, the one to the other.* Seneca. *Epistles*. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Poore. *Abjectum, et pusillanimum*, 'mean and small-minded.'

<sup>3</sup> Noble Obiects. *Cælestium*, 'heavenly things.'

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hath beene well said, that the *Arch-flatterer* with whom al the petty-flatterers haue intelligence, is a Mans selfe, certainly the louer is more. For there was neuer proud Man thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the louer doth of the person loued: and therefore it was well said, that it is impossible to loue, and to bee wise. Neither doth this weakenes appeare to others only, and not to the party loued, but to the loued most of all, except the loue bee reciproque, For it is a true rule, that loue is euer rewarded either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt. But how much the more, men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not onely other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets relation doth wel figure them: That hee that preferred *Helena*, quitted the gifts of *Iuno* and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the verie times of weakenesse; Which are great prosperity, and great aduersitie. (though this latter hath beene lesse obserued) Both which times kindle loue and make it more feruent, and therefore shewe it to be the childe of folly. They doe best that make this affection keepe quarter, and seuer it wholly from their serious affaires and actions of their life. For if it checke once with businesse, it troubleth Mens fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can no waies be true to their own endes.



<sup>4</sup> Well said. *Recte itaque receptum est illud Diverbium*, 'rightly therefore, has that saying been received.'

<sup>5</sup> *Instead of* That it is impossible to loue, and to be wise. *Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur*, 'to love and be wise is scarcely allowed to a God.'

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hath beene well said,<sup>4a</sup> that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers haue Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe; Certainly, the *Louer* is more. For there was neuer Proud Man, thought so absurdly well of himfelfe, as the *Louer* doth of the Person *loued*: And therefore, it was well said; *That it is impossible to loue, and to be wife.*<sup>5b</sup> Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party *Loued*; But to the *Loued*, most of all: except the *Loue* be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that *Loue* is euer rewarded, either with the Reciproque, or with an inward, and secret Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it felfe. As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them; That he that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of *Iuno*, and *Pallas*. For whosoeuer esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches*, and *Wisedome*. This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great *Prosperitie*; and great *Aduersitie*; though this latter hath beene lesse obserued. Both which times kindle *Loue*, and make it more feruent, and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit *Loue*, yet make it keepe Quarter: And seuer it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes,<sup>6</sup> and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends.

I know not how,<sup>7</sup> but Martiall Men, are giuen to *Loue*: I thinke it is, but as they are giuen to *Wine*;

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. *De Adulatore et Amico*. xi.

<sup>b</sup> Publius Syrus. *Sententia*. xv.

<sup>6</sup> Mens Fortunes. *Omnia*, 'everything.'

<sup>7</sup> I know not how. *Quiquid in re sit*, 'However it may be.'

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<sup>8</sup> Friars. *Monachis*, 'Monks.'

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For *Perils*, commonly aske, to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards *loue* of others; which, if it be not spent, vpon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; As it is seene sometime in Friars.<sup>8</sup> Nuptiall *loue* maketh Mankinde; Friendly *loue* perfecteth it; but Wanton *loue* Corrupteth, and Imbaseth it.



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## 36. Of Judicature.



Judges ought to remember that their office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare*; to interpret law, and not to make law, or giue Law; Else will it be like the presumption of the Church of *Rome*, which vnder pretext of exposition of Scripture, vsurpeth and practiseth an authority to adde and alter; and to pronounce that which they doe not finde, and by colour of Antiquity to introduce nouelty. Iudges ought to be more learned men then wittie; more reuerend then plausible, and more aduised then confident, Aboue all things integrity is their portion and proper vertue. *Curfed* (saith the Law) *is hee that remoueth the Land-marke*. The mislaier of a Meere stone is too blame. But it is the vniust Iudge that is the capitall remouer of Land-markes, when hee defineth amisse of lands and property. One foule sentence doth more hurt, then many foule examples; for they doe but corrupt the streame; the other corrupteth the fountaine. So saith *Salomon*; *Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram aduersario*; The office of Iudges may haue reference vnto the parties that sue; vnto the Aduocates that pleade; vnto the Clerkes and Ministers of Iustice vnderneath them; and to the Soueraigne or State aboue them.

*There be*

(saith the Scripture) *that turne iudgement into worme-wood*; and surelie there be also that turne it into vinegar: For iniustice maketh it bitter, and delaies

FF. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Officio Iudicis*, 'of the judge's office.'

<sup>2</sup> Or *Giue Law*. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>3</sup> Meere Stone. *Lapidem, Fines distinguentem*, 'a stone marking boundaries.'



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56. Of Judicature.<sup>1</sup>

*J*udges ought to remember, that their Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare*; *To Interpret Law*, and not to *Make Law*, or *Giue Law*.<sup>2</sup> Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the *Church of Rome*; which vnder pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke to

Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by *Shew of Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noueltie*. *Judges* ought to be more Learned, then Wittie; More Reuerend, then Plausible; And more Aduised, then Confident. About all Things, Integritie is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that remoueth the Land-marke*.<sup>a</sup> The Mislaiier of a *Meere Stone*<sup>3</sup> is to blame. But it is the Vniust *Judge*, that is the Capitall Remouer of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One Foulè Sentence, doth more Hurt, then many Foulè Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith *Salomon*; *Fons turbatus, et Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram Aduersario*.<sup>b</sup> The Office of *Judges*, may haue Reference, Vnto the *Parties that sue*; Vnto the *Aduocates that Plead*; Vnto the *Clerkes* and *Ministers of Justice* vnderneath them; And to the *Soueraigne* or *State* about them.

First, for the *Causes* or *Parties that Sue*. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turne Iudgement into Wormewood*;<sup>c</sup> And surely, there be also, that turne it into *Vinegar*; For Iniustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxvii. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Prov. xxv. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Amos v. 7.

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make it fowre. The principall duty of a Iudge, is to fuppreffe force and fraude; wherof force is the more pernicious, the more open; and fraud the more clofe and difguifed. Adde thereto contentious fuites, which ought to be fpewed out as the furfet of Courts. A Iudge ought to prepare his way to a iuft fentence, as God vfeth to prepare his way, by raifing valleis and taking downe hils: So when their appeareth on either fide an high hand, violent profecution, running aduantages taken, combination, power, great counfell, then is the vertue of a Iudge feene, to make inequality equall; that he may plant his iudgement as vpon an euen ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit fanguinem*; And where the winepreffe is hard wrought, it yeelds a harfh wine that taftes of the grapeftone. Iudges muft beware of hard conftitutions and ftained inferences; for there is no worfe torture then the torture of lawes: fpecially in cafe of Lawes penall; they ought to haue care that that which was meant for terrour, be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not vpon the people that fhower whereof the Scripture fpeaketh; *Pluet fuper cos laqueos*: For penall lawes preffed, are a fhovre of fnares vpon the people.

In caufes of life and death, Iudges ought as farre (as the law permitteth) in iuftice to remember mercy;

<sup>4</sup> Iudge. *Judex strenuus*, 'an active judge.'

<sup>5</sup> There appeareth. *Videt judex*, 'the judge fees.'

<sup>6</sup> Power. *Patrocinio potentum*, 'patronage of powerful men.'

<sup>7</sup> Great Counsel. *Advocatorum Disparitate, et Similibus*, 'disparity of counfel, and the like.'

<sup>8</sup> Conftitutions. *Interpretationibus Legum*, 'conftitutions of the laws.'

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make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a *Judge*,<sup>4</sup> is to suppress Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A *Judge* ought to prepare his Way to a Iust Sentence, as *God* vseth to prepare his Way, by *Raising Valleys*, and *Taking downe Hills*:<sup>a</sup> So when there appeareth<sup>5</sup> on either side, an High Hand; Violent Prosecution. Cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power,<sup>6</sup> Great Counsell,<sup>7</sup> then is the Vertue of a *Judge* seene, to make Inequality Equall; That he may plant his *Judgement*, as vpon an Euen Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*;<sup>b</sup> And where the Wine-Preffe is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. *Judges* must beware of Hard Constructions,<sup>8</sup> and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to haue Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not vpon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh; *Pluet super eos Laqueos*:<sup>c</sup> For Penall Lawes Pressed,<sup>9</sup> are a *Shower of Snares* vpon the People. Therefore, let *Penall Lawes*, if they haue beene Sleepers of long, or if they be growne vnfit for the present Time, be by Wise *Judges* confined in the Execution;

*Iudicis Officium est, vt Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.*<sup>d</sup> In *Causés* of *Life* and *Death*; *Judges* ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy;

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah. xl. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Prov. xxx. 33.

<sup>c</sup> Ps. xi. 6.

<sup>d</sup> *It is a duty of a judge to enquire not only as to the fact, but also as to the circumstances.* Ovid. *Tristia*. i. 1. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Pressed. *Si severe Executioni demandentur*, 'if severely put in execution.'

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and to cast a seuer eie vpon the example, but a mercifull eie vpon the person.

Patience and grauity of hearing is an essential part of iustice, and an ouerspeaking Iudge is no well tuned Cymball. It is no grace to a Iudge, first to finde that which hee might haue heard in due time from the Barre; or to shew quicknesse of conceit in cutting of counsell or euidence too short; or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The partes of a Iudge are foure; to direct the euidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, selec̄t, and collate the materiall points of that which hath bene said; and to giue the rule or sentence. Whatfoeuer is about these, is too much; and proceedeth either of glory and willingnesse to speake, or of impatience to heare, or of shortnesse of memory, or of want of a flaid or equall attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldnesse of Aduocates should preuaile with Iudges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose feate they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giueth grace to the modest. But it is more strange, that the custome of the time doth warrant Iudges to haue noted fauourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspition of by-waies. There is due from the Iudge to the Aduocate, some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and faire pleaded; speciallie towards the side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds in

<sup>10</sup> Finde. *In Causa inueniat, et arripiat*, 'find and lay hold of in the cause.'

<sup>11</sup> Heard. *Melius audire*, 'better heard.'

<sup>12</sup> Length. *Advocatorum, et Testium, Prolixitatem*, 'length of advocates and witnesses.'

<sup>13</sup> Rule. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>14</sup> Giueth Grace. *Erigere*, 'raise.'

<sup>15</sup> Noted Fauourites. *Advocatis quibusdam præ cæteris immoderate et*

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And to Cast a Seuer Eye vpon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye vpon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Aduocates* and *Counsell that Plead*: Patience and Grauitie of Hearing, is an Essentiall Part of Iustice; And an Ouer-speaking *Judge* is no *well tuned Cymball*.<sup>a</sup> It is no Grace to a *Judge*, first to finde<sup>10</sup> that, which hee might haue heard,<sup>11</sup> in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit in Cutting off Euidence or Counsell too short; Or to preuent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a *Judge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Euidence; To Moderate Length,<sup>12</sup> Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath bene said; And to Giue the Rule<sup>13</sup> or Sentence. Whatsoeuer is aboue these, is too much; And proceedeth, Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare, Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the Boldnesse of *Aduocates*, should preuaile with *Judges*; Whereas they should imitate *God*, in whose Seat they sit; who *repreffeth the Presumptuous*, and *giueth Grace*<sup>14</sup> to the *Modest*.<sup>b</sup> But it is more Strange, that

*Judges* should haue Noted Fauourites;<sup>15</sup> Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees,<sup>16</sup> and Suspicion of By-waies.<sup>17</sup> There is due from the *Judge*, to the *Aduocate*, some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causés* are well Handled, and faire Pleaded; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds, in

<sup>a</sup> Ps. cl. 5. (Prayer Book version).

<sup>b</sup> James. iv. 6.

*aperte favere*, 'should immoderately and openly favour some advocates above the others.'

<sup>16</sup> Multiplication of Fees. *Merces Advocatorum augeat et multiplicet*, 'increases and multiplies the fees of advocates.'

<sup>17</sup> By-waies. *Corruptionis et obliqui ad Iudices aditus*, 'of corruption and byways to the judges.'

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the Client the reputation of his counfel, and beats down in him the conceit of his caufe. There is likewise due to the publike a ciuill reprehension of Aduocates, where there appeareth cunning counfell, groffe neglect, flight information, indiscreet preffing, or an ouerbold defence.

The place of Iuftice is an hallowed place; and therefore not onely the bench, but the footepace and precincts and purprife thereof ought to bee preferued without scandall and corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture faith) *will not be gathered of thornes or thiftles*; neither can Iuftice yeeld her fruit with sweetneffe, amongft the briers and brambles of chatching and poling Clearkes and Minifters. The attendance of Courts is fubiect to foure bad instruments; Firft, certaine perfons that are fowers of fuits, which make the Court fwel, and the Country pine. The fecond fort is of thofe that ingage Courts in quarrels of Iurifdiction, and are not truly, *Amici Curia*, but *Parafiti Curia*, in puffing a Court vp beyond her bounds for their own fcrappes and aduantage. The third fort is of thofe that may bee accounted the left hands of Courts, perfons that are full of nimble and finifter trickes and fhiftes, whereby they peruert the plaine and direct courfes of Courts, and

<sup>18</sup> Let not the Counsel. *Advocatus autem illud tribuat Iudici*, 'let the advocate moreover allow this to the judge.'

<sup>19</sup> Halfe-Way. *Media, et nullatenus perorata*, 'half-way and not heard throughout.'

<sup>20</sup> Say. *Conqueratur*, 'complain.'

<sup>21</sup> Heard. *Ad plenum non auditas*, 'not fully heard.'

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the *Client*, the Reputation of his *Counsell*, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publique*, a Ciuill Reprehension of *Aduocates*, where there appeareth Cunning Counfel, Groffe Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Preffing, or an Ouer-bold Defence. And let not the *Counsell*<sup>18</sup> at the Barre, chop with the *Iudge*, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Iudge* hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the *Iudge* meet the *Cause* halfe Way;<sup>19</sup> Nor giue Occasion to the Partie to say;<sup>20</sup> *His Counsell or Proofes were not heard.*<sup>21</sup>

Thirdly, for that that concerns *Clerks*, and *Ministers*. The Place of *Iustice*, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise<sup>22</sup> thereof, ought to be preferued without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes*, (as the *Scripture* faith) *will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles*:<sup>a</sup> Neither can *Iustice* yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling<sup>23</sup> *Clerkes* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subiect to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarrels of Iurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curia*, but *Parasiti Curia*;<sup>b</sup> in puffing vp a Court beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Aduantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister<sup>24</sup> Trickes and Shifts, whereby they peruert the Plaine and Direct<sup>25</sup> Courses of *Courts*, and

<sup>a</sup> Matt. vii. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Not *friends* but *parasites of the Court*.

<sup>22</sup> Purprise. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>23</sup> Poling. *Lucris inhiantium*, 'gaping for gain.'

<sup>24</sup> Nimble and sinister. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>25</sup> Plaine and Direct. *Legitimos*, 'lawful.'

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bring iustice into oblike lines and labirinthes. And the fourth is the Poler and exacter of fees, which iustifies the common resemblance of the Courts of Iustice, to the bush, wherunto while the sheepe flies for defence in weather, hee is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side an ancient Clearke, skilfull in presidents, wary in proceeding, and vnderstanding in the businesse of the Court, is an excellent finger of a Court, and doth many times point the way to the Iudge himselfe.

Lastly,

Iudges ought aboue al to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelue Tables; *Salus populi suprema lex*, and to know that Lawes, except they bee in order to that ende are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often consult with Iudges; and againe, when Iudges doe often consult with the King and State: the one, when there is matter of Law interuenient in businesse of State; the other when there is some consideration of State interuenient in matter of Lawe. For many times the thing deduced to Iudgement, may bee *meum et tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate; I call matter of estate not only the parts of Soueraignty, but whatsoeuer introduceth any great alteration or dangerous president or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakely conceiue that iust lawes, and true pollicy, haue any antipathy. For they are like the spirits, and finewes

<sup>26</sup> Parts of Souereignty. *Quid ad Fura Regalia impetenda spectet*, 'what tends to attack royal rights.'



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bring *Injustice* into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which iustifies the Common Resemblance of the *Courts* of *Justice*, to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerke*, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Vnderstanding in the *Businesse* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*; And doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himselfe.

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the *Soueraigne* and *Estate*. *Judges* ought aboue all to remember the Conclusion of the *Roman Twelue Tables*; *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*;<sup>a</sup> And to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* doe often Consult with *Judges*; And againe, when *Judges* doe often Consult with the *King* and *State*: The one, when there is Matter of Law, interuenient in Businesse of State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State, interuenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to *Judgement*, may bee *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of *Soueraigntie*,<sup>26</sup> but whatsoeuer introduceth any Great<sup>27</sup> Alteration, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceiue, that Iust Lawes, and True Policie, haue any *Antipathie*: For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes,

<sup>a</sup> Not the laws of the Twelve Tables, but Cicero. *De Legibus*. iii. 3. *The welfare of the people is the highest law.*

<sup>27</sup> Great. *Minus tutam*, 'unsafe.'

that one moues with the other.

Neither ought Iudges to be so ignorant of their owne right, as to thinke there is not left to them as a principall part of their office, a wise vse and application of Lawes. For they may remember what the Apostle saith of a greater law then theirs, *Nos scimus, quia lex bona est, modo quis ea vtatur legitime.*



<sup>28</sup> Right. *Juris et Prerogativa*, 'right and prerogative.'

<sup>29</sup> Theirs. *Humanis legibus*, 'human laws.'

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that One moves with the Other. Let *Judges* also remember, that *Salomons Throne*, was supported by Lions, on both Sides;<sup>a</sup> Let them be Lions, but yet Lions vnder the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of *Soueraigntie*. Let not *Judges* also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right,<sup>28</sup> as to thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Vse, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater *Law*, then theirs;<sup>29</sup> *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est. modò quis cã vtatur Legitimè.*<sup>b</sup>



<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings. x. 20.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Tim. i. 8 (Vulgate).

## 37. Of Vaine-glory.

**T** was pretily deuifed 'of *Æfop*, *The Flie fate vpon the Axletree of the Chariot wheele*, and faid, *What a duft doe I raife?* So there are fome vaine perfons, that whatfoeuer goeth alone, or moues vpon greater meanes,

they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are glorious muft needs be factious; for all brauery ftands vpon comparifons. They muft needs be violent to make good their owne vaunts. Neither can they bee fecret, and therefore not effectually; but according to the *French* prouerb, *Beaucoup de bruit et peu de fruit*, Much bruit, little fruit. Yet certainly there is vfe of this quality in ciuill affaires. Where there is an opinion and fame to bee created, either of *Vertue* or *Greatneffe*: thefe men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Liuius* noteth in the cafe of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, *There are fometimes greate effects of croffe lies*; as if a man that fhould interpoſe himſelfe to negotiate between two,

fhould to either of them feuerally pretend, more intereſt then he hath in the other. And in this and the like kind, it often falls out, that fomewhat is produced of nothing. For lies are fufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on

## VE. Variations in poſthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Vaine. *Futiles et Vani*, 'worthleſs and vain.'

<sup>2</sup> Carry it. *Machinam totam vertere*, 'turn the whole machine.'

<sup>3</sup> Created. *Fama excitanda ſit, vel Opinio late ſpargenda*, 'fame to be raiſed or opinion to be widely ſpread.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 54. Of Vaine-Glory.



It was prettily Deuifed of *Æfopé*; *The Fly fate vpon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and faid, What a Dust doe I raife?* So there are some *Vaine*<sup>1</sup> *Persons*, that whatfoeuer goeth alone. or moueth vpon greater Means, if they haue neuer fo little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it.<sup>2</sup> They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factious*; For all Brauery ftands vpon Comparifons. They must needs be *Violent*, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be *Secret*, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the *French* Prouerb; *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit.* Yet certainly there is Vfe of this Qualitie, in Ciuill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created,<sup>3</sup> either of Vertue, or Greatneffe, thefe Men are good Trumpeters. Againe, as *Titus Linius* noteth, in the Cafe of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*; *There are fometimes great Effects of Croffe*<sup>4</sup> *Lies*:<sup>a</sup> As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to ioyne in a Warre againft the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, aboue Meafure,<sup>5</sup> the One to the Other: And fometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raifeth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Intereft, then he hath in Either. And in thefe, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that *Somewhat* is produced of *Nothing*: For Lies are fufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on

<sup>a</sup> Livy. xxxvii. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Crosse. *Reciproca, et ex utraque parte*, 'reciprocal and on both sides.'

<sup>5</sup> Measure. *Modum, et Veritatem*, 'measure and truth.'

substance.

But principally cafes of great enterprife, vpon charge and aduventure fuch composition of glorious natures doth put life into bufines, and thofe that are of folid and fober natures haue more of the ballaft, then of the faile.

Certainly *Vaine-glory* helpeth to perpetuate a mans memory, and *Vertue* was neuer fo beholding to humane nature, as it receiued his due at the fecond hand. Neither had the fame of *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Plinius Secundus*, borne her age fo well, if it had not beene ioined with fome vanity in themfelues; like vnto varnifh, that makes feelings not onely fhine, but laft. But all this while, when I fpeake of *Vaine-glory*, I meane not of that property that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus*, *Omnium quæ dixerat feceratque arte quadam ostentator*. For that proceedes not of vanity, but of a natural magnanimity and difcretion; and in fome perfons is not onely comely, but gracious. For exufations, ceffions, modefty it felfe well go-

<sup>6</sup> Substance. *Rem et Substantiam*, 'matter and substance.'

<sup>7</sup> Sharpeneth. *Acuuntur, et excitantur*, 'sharpen and stir up.'

<sup>8</sup> Learning. *Doctrinæ et Literarum*, 'learning and literature.'

<sup>9</sup> The Flight will be slow. *Non volitabit Fama illius per Ora Virum, neque bene Alata erit*, 'the fame thereof will not fly through the mouths of men, nor will it be well winged.'

<sup>10</sup> After Galen. (*Magna Nomina*,) '(great names.)'

<sup>11</sup> Perpetuate. *Propagandam et perpetuandam*, 'spread and perpetuate.'

<sup>12</sup> And Vertue . . . Second Hand. *Neque Virtus ipsa, tantum Humanæ Naturæ debet, propter Nominis sui Celebrationem, quantum sibiipſi*, 'nor does virtue itself owe as much to human nature for the celebration of its name as to itself.'

<sup>13</sup> Borne her Age. *Ad hunc usque diem vix durasset, aut saltem non tam vegeta*, 'would not have lasted till this time, or at least, not so fresh.'

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Substance.<sup>6</sup> In Militar[y] Commanders and Soldiers, *Vaine-Glory* is an Essential Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth<sup>7</sup> another. In Cases of great Enterprize, vpon Charge and Aduenture, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures, doth put life into Businesse; And those that are of Solide and Sober Natures, haue more of the Ballast, then of the Saile. In Fame of Learning,<sup>8</sup> the Flight will be slow<sup>9</sup>, without some Feathers of *Ostentation*. *Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt.*<sup>a</sup> *Socrates, Aristotle, Galen*,<sup>10</sup> were Men full of *Ostentation*. Certainly *Vaine-Glory* helpeth to Perpetuate<sup>11</sup> a Mans Memory; And Vertue was neuer so Beholding to Humane Nature, as it receiued his due at the Second Hand.<sup>12</sup> Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus*, borne her Age<sup>13</sup> so well, if it had not been ioyned, with some *Vanity*<sup>14</sup> in themselues: Like vnto Varnish, that makes Seelings<sup>15</sup> not onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speake of *Vaine-Glory*, I meane not of that Property, that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus*; *Omnium, quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator.*<sup>b</sup> For that proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of Naturall<sup>16</sup> Magnanimity, and discretion.<sup>17</sup> And in some Persons,<sup>18</sup> is not onely Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations,<sup>19</sup> Cessions,<sup>20</sup> Modesty it selfe well Go-

<sup>a</sup> Those who write books in contempt of glory, wrote their own names. Cicero. *Tusculanum Disputationes*. i. 15.

<sup>b</sup> The manifestor, by a certain art, of all things that he had said and done. Tacitus. *History*. ii. 80.

<sup>14</sup> Vanity. *Vanitate et Jactantia*, 'vanity and boastfulness.'

<sup>15</sup> Seelings. *Ligna*, 'wood-work.'

<sup>16</sup> Naturall. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>17</sup> Discretion. *Arte et prudentia*, 'art and wisdom.'

<sup>18</sup> After Persons. *Qui natura veluti comparati ad eam sunt*, 'who are fitted for this by nature.'

<sup>19</sup> Excusations. *Excusationes decoræ*, 'comely excusations.'

<sup>20</sup> Cessions. *Concessiones tempestivæ*, 'timely cessions.'

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uernerd are but arts of ostentation: and amongst those Arts there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of, which is to be liberall of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a mans selfe hath any perfection. For saith *Plinie* very wittily; *In commending another, you do your selfe right; for hee that you commend, is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferiour. If he be inferiour if he be to be commended; you much more: if he be superiour if hee be not commended; you much lesse.*



<sup>21</sup> Liberall. *Liberaliter et copiose*, 'liberally and abundantly.'

<sup>22</sup> Commendation. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>23</sup> In that you Commend. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>24</sup> Idols. *Prædæ et Esca*, 'booty and baits.'



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uernerd, are but Arts of *Offentation*. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of; which is to be Liberall<sup>21</sup> of Praise and Commendation<sup>22</sup> to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Perfection. For saith *Pliny* very Wittily: *In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend,*<sup>23</sup> *or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse.* Glorious Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles; The Idols<sup>24</sup> of Parasites; And the Slaues of their own Vaunts.<sup>25</sup>



<sup>21</sup> Pliny. *Epistles*. vi. 17

<sup>23</sup> Their own Vaunts. *Sibiipsis et Gloria vana*. themselves and their vain glory.

## 38. Of the greatnesse of Kingdomes.



He speech of *Themistocles*,  
was arrogant in challenge,

which

is profitable in censure.

Desired at a banquet to touch a Lute, hee said, *He could not fiddle; but he could make a small Towne to become a great Citie.* This speech at a time of folace, and not ferious, was vnciuill, and at no time could be decent of a mans selfe. But it may haue a pretie application: For to speake trully of politikes and Statesmen, there are sometmes, though rarely, those that can make a small estate great, and cannot fiddell. And there bee

many that can fiddell very cunningly, and yet the procedure of their Art is

to make a

flourishing estate ruinous and distressed.

For certainly those degenerate Arts, whereby diuers politikes and Gouvernors doe gaine both satisfaction with their Masters, and admiration with the vulgar, deserue no better name then fiddling;

if they adde nothing to the safetie, strength, and amplitude of the States they gouerne.

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Proferendis Finibus Imperii*, 'of extending the bounds of empire.'

<sup>2</sup> Metaphore. *Ad Sensum politicam translata*, 'transferred to a political meaning.'

<sup>3</sup> Expresse. *Optime describunt, et distinguunt*, 'well describe and define.'

<sup>4</sup> Estate. *Rerum Gubernacula tractant*, 'who manage the helm of affairs.'

British Museum Copy.

 29. Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates.<sup>1</sup>


He Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was Haughtie and Arrogant, in taking so much to Himselfe, had been a Graue and Wise Obseruation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne, a great Citty.*<sup>a</sup> These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore)<sup>2</sup> may expresse<sup>3</sup> two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse of Estate.<sup>4</sup> For if a true Suruey be taken, of Counsellours<sup>5</sup> and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make an *Small State*<sup>6</sup> *Great*, and yet cannot *Fiddle*: As on the other side, there will be found a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly,<sup>7</sup> but yet are so farre from being able, to make a *Small State Great*, as their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellours and Gouvernours, gaine both *Fauour* with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserue no better Name then *Fidling*; Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull to themselues onely, then tending<sup>8</sup> to the Weale and Aduancement of the State, which they serue. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Gouvernours, which may be held sufficient, (*Negotijs pares*,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from *Precipices*,

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. *Themistocles*. ii. *Cimon*. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Counsellours. *Regum Consiliarios, Senatores, aliosque ad Negotia publica admotos, qui usquam fuerunt*, 'councillors of kings, senators, and others applied to public business, who have lived anywhere.'

<sup>6</sup> State. *Regnum aut Civitatem*, 'kingdom or state.'

<sup>7</sup> Cunningly. *In Cythara, aut Lyra (hoc est Aulicis tricis) miri Artifices*. 'wonderful players on the lute or lyre [that is, in court tricks].'

<sup>8</sup> Tending. *Utiles, aut Accommodæ*, 'profitable or fit.'

The greatnes of a State in bulke or territory, doth fall vnder measure; and the greatnes of finances and reuenew, doth fall vnder computation: the population may appeare by Musters, and the number and greatnesse of Cities and Towns by Carts and Mappes: but yet there is nothing among ciuill affaires more subiect to error, then the right valuacion and true iudgement concerning the greatnes of an estate. Certainly there is a kind of resemblance betweene the Kingdome of heauen, and the Kingdomes vpon the earth. The Kingdome of heauen is compared not to any great kernell, or nut; but to a graine of Musterd; which is one of the least of graines, but hath in it a propertie and spirit hastily to get vp and spread. So are there States that are great in Territory, and yet not apt to conquer or enlarge: and others that haue but a small dimention or stemme, and yet apt to be the foundation of great Monarchies.

<sup>9</sup> Power, Meanes, and Fortune. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>10</sup> Meanes. *Quibus Artibus obtineri possit*, 'by what means it can be obtained.'

<sup>11</sup> Great and Mightie. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>12</sup> After Hand. *Et diligenter meditentur*, 'and carefully to consider.'

<sup>13</sup> Leese. *Implicent*, 'involve.'

<sup>14</sup> Vaine. *Vanis et nimis Arduis*, 'vain and too difficult.'

<sup>15</sup> Finances. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>16</sup> Iudgment. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>17</sup> Nut. *Nuci alicui grandiori*, 'any large nut.'

<sup>18</sup> Spread. *Latius diffundat*, 'spread widely.'

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and manifest Inconueniences ; which neuertheleffe, are farre from the Abilitie, to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune.<sup>9</sup> But be the workemen what they may be, let vs speake of the Worke ; That is ; The true *Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates* ; and the *Meanes*<sup>10</sup> thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie<sup>11</sup> Princes, to haue in their hand ;<sup>12</sup> To the end, that neither by Ouer-measuring their Forces, they leese<sup>13</sup> themselues in vaine<sup>14</sup> Enterprises ; Nor on the other side, by vnderualuing them, they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsell.

The *Greatnesse* of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall vnder Measure ; And the *Greatnesse* of Finances<sup>15</sup> and Reuenew doth fall vnder Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters : And the Number and Greatnesse of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Ciuill Affaires, more subiect to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Iudgement,<sup>16</sup> concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate.

The *Kingdome of Heauen* is compared, not to any great Kernell or Nut,<sup>17</sup> but to a *Graine of Mustard-seed* ;<sup>a</sup> which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get vp and spread.<sup>18</sup> So are there States,<sup>19</sup> great in Territorie,<sup>20</sup> and yet not apt to Enlarge,<sup>21</sup> or Command ;<sup>22</sup> And some, that haue but a small Dimension of Stemme.<sup>23</sup> and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xiii. 31.

<sup>19</sup> States. *Regna et status*, 'kingdoms and states.'

<sup>20</sup> Territorie. *Ambitu quidem et Regionum Tractu*, 'in circumference and extent of country.'

<sup>21</sup> Enlarge. *Ad Fines ulterius proferendos*, 'to extend their boundaries further.'

<sup>22</sup> Command. *Latius imperandum*, 'command more widely.'

<sup>23</sup> Of Stemme. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>24</sup> Of Great Monarchies. *In quibus maximæ Monarchiæ inædificentur*, 'on which great monarchies can be built.'

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Walled Towns, flored Arcenals and Armouries, goodly Stables, Elephants (if you wil) Maffe of treasure, Number in Armies, Ordinance, and Artillerie, they are all but a Sheep in a Lions skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be militarie.

<sup>25</sup> Armouries. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>26</sup> Ordnance, Artillery. *Machina atque Tormenta Bellica omnigena*, 'all kinds of military machines and engines.'

<sup>27</sup> Weake Courage. *Imbellis, et ignavi*, 'unwarlike and slothful.'

<sup>28</sup> Sea of People. *Oculis Macedonum, tanquam vastum Hominum Pelagus, subiciebatur*, 'lay before the eyes of the Macedonians like a vast sea of people.'

<sup>29</sup> Easie. *Opinione faciliior*, 'easier than he thought.'

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Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries,<sup>25</sup> Goodly Races of Horfe, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery,<sup>26</sup> and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage:<sup>27</sup> For (as *Virgil* faith) *It neuer troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.*<sup>a</sup> The Armie of the *Persians*, in the Plaines of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People,<sup>28</sup> as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexanders* Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to fet vpon them by Night; But hee answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.*<sup>b</sup> And the Defeat was Easie.<sup>29</sup> When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being incamped vpon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discovered the Armie of the *Romans*, being not about 14000. Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough, to giue him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Iudgement;<sup>30</sup> That the Principal Point of *Greatnesse*<sup>31</sup> in any *State*, is to haue a Race of Military Men.<sup>32</sup> Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is triuially said)<sup>33</sup> where the Sinewes of Mens Armes, in Base and Effeminate People, are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Cræsus* (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold) *Sir, if*

<sup>a</sup> *Virgil. Bucolics. vii. 52.*

<sup>b</sup> *Plutarch. Alexander. xxxi.*

<sup>30</sup> So that a Man . . . a Iudgement. *Pro re certissima, et exploratissima decernatur, et statuatur;* 'it may be determined and set down as a most certain and ascertained fact.'

<sup>31</sup> Of Greatnesse. *Omnium, quæ ad Magnitudinem Regni aut status spectent,* 'of all things which belong to the greatness of a kingdom or state.'

<sup>32</sup> Race of Military Men. *Ut populus ipse sit stirpe et Ingenio bellicosus,* 'that the people themselves should be warlike in race and disposition.'

<sup>33</sup> Neither is . . . (as it is triuially said). *Atque illud magis tritum, quam verum,* 'and that is more trite than true.'

The helpe is mercenary aides. But a Prince or State that resteth vpon waged Companies of forraine Armes, and not of his owne Natiues, may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them foone after.

The blessing of *Judah* and *Iffachar* will neuer meet, to be both the Lions whelpe, and the Affe laid betweene burthens: Neither will a people ouer charged with tributes, bee euer fit for Empire.

Nobilitie and Gentlemen multiplying in too great a proportion, maketh the common subiect grow to bee a

<sup>34</sup> Except his Militia of Natiues. *Cajus subditi Nativi et Indigenæ, non sunt*, 'whose natural and native subjects are not.'

<sup>35</sup> In this Case. *Cum Copiæ Nativæ desint*, 'when native forces fail.'

<sup>36</sup> Or Prince. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>37</sup> Feathers. *Pennas, Nido majores*, 'wings beyond his nest.'

<sup>38</sup> Abate. *Dejicere, et deprimere, quam quæ ex Imperio mero indicuntur*, 'cast down and depress less than those which are imposed by a mere command.'



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any Other come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold.<sup>a</sup> Therefore let any Prince or State, thinke soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia*<sup>34</sup> of Natiues, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that haue Subiects of Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength; vnlesse they be otherwise wanting vnto Themselues. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Helpe in this Case)<sup>35</sup> all Examples shew; That whatsoever Estate or Prince<sup>36</sup> doth rest vpon them; *Hee may spread his Feathers*<sup>37</sup> for a time, but he will mewe them soone after.

The *Blessing* of *Iudah* and *Iffachar* will neuer meet; *That the same People or Nation, should be both The Lions whelp, and the Asses betweene Burthens.*<sup>b</sup> Neither will it be, that a People ouer-laid with *Taxes*, should euer become Valiant, and Martiall. It is true, that *Taxes* leuied by Consent of the Estate, doe abate<sup>38</sup> Mens Courage lesse; As it hath beene seene notably, in the *Excises* of the *Low Countries*; And in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England*. For you must note, that we speake now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*,<sup>39</sup> laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse,<sup>40</sup> yet it workes diuersly vpon the Courage.<sup>41</sup> So that you may conclude; *That no People, ouer-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire,*

Let States<sup>42</sup> that aime at *Greatnesse*, take heed how their *Nobility*<sup>43</sup> and *Gentlemen*, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subiect, grow to be a

<sup>a</sup> Lucian. *Charon*.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xlix. 9, 14.

<sup>39</sup> The same Tribute and Tax. *Tributa*, 'tributes.'

<sup>40</sup> To the Purse. *Quoad Opes exhaustiendas*, 'as to the exhaustion of wealth.'

<sup>41</sup> Courage. *Animos Subditorum*, 'courage of the subjects.'

<sup>42</sup> States. *Regnis et Statibus*, 'kingdoms and states.'

<sup>43</sup> Nobility. *Nobiles et Patricii, atque (quos vocamus) Generosi*, 'nobles and patricians, and those we call gentlemen.'

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pefant and base swaine driuen out of heart, and  
but the Gentlemans laborer :

like as it is in copices, where if you leaue your staddels  
too thick, you shal neuer haue cleane vnderwood, but  
shrubbes and bushes.

And take away the middle  
people, and you take away the infantry, which is the  
nerue of an Armie : and you bring it to this, that not  
the hundreth pole will be fit for a helmet, and so  
great population and little strength.

Certainely *Virgil* coupled Armes and the Plough to-  
gether well in the constitution of ancient *Italy* ;

*Terra potens armis atque ubere gleba :*

For it is the Plough that yeeldeth the best fouldier ;

<sup>44</sup> A Peasant and base Swaine. *Humilis et abjecta*, 'low and base.'

<sup>45</sup> Driuen out of Heart. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>46</sup> Labourer. *Nobilium Mancipia et Operarii*, 'the nobles' slaves and labourers.'

<sup>47</sup> Staddles. *Caudicum, sive Arborum majorum*, 'trunks or greater trees.'

<sup>48</sup> Cleane. *Sincera et pura*, 'sound and clean.'

<sup>49</sup> But Shrubs and Bushes. *Sed major pars in Vepres et Dumos degenerabit*, 'but the greater part will degenerate into shrubs and bushes.'

<sup>50</sup> Base. *Vilis and ignava*, 'base and sluggish.'

<sup>51</sup> Poll. *Caput*, 'head.'

<sup>52</sup> Nerue. *Robur precipuum*, 'chief strength.'

<sup>53</sup> After Ouermatch. *Pere semper in Bellis*, 'almost always in war.'

<sup>54</sup> Middle People. *Coloni, et inferioris Ordines Homines*, 'farmers and men of the lower order.'

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Peasant, and Base Swaine,<sup>44</sup> driuen out of Heart,<sup>45</sup> and in effect but the *Gentlemans* Labourer.<sup>46</sup> Euen as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leaue your fladdles<sup>47</sup> too thick, you shall neuer haue cleane<sup>48</sup> Vnderwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.<sup>49</sup>* So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base;<sup>50</sup> And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll,<sup>51</sup> will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerue<sup>52</sup> of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of *England* and *France*; whereof *England*, though farre lesse in Territory and Population. hath been (neuerthelesse) an Ouermatch;<sup>53</sup> In regard, the *Middle People<sup>54</sup>* of *England*, make good Souldiers, which the *Peasants* of *France* doe not. And herein, the deuce of King *Henry* the Seuenth, (whereof I haue spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound,<sup>55</sup> and Admirable; In making *Farmes<sup>56</sup>*, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land vnto them, as may breed a Subiect, to liue in Conuenient Plenty, and no Seruile Condition;<sup>57</sup> And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings.<sup>58</sup> And thus indeed, you shall attaine to *Virgils* Character, which he giues to Ancient *Italy*.

—*Terra potens Armis atque vberè Glebæ.<sup>a</sup>*

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is

<sup>a</sup> *A land powerful in arms and fruitful of soil. Æneid. i. 531.*

<sup>55</sup> Profound. *Profunda prudentia excogitatum*, 'devised with profound wisdom.'

<sup>56</sup> *Farmes. Prædia minora*, 'smaller farms.'

<sup>57</sup> Standard. . . . Seruile Condition. *Quæ habeant certum, eumque Mediocrem Agri Modum annexum, qui distrahi non possit; Eo fine, ut ad Victum liberaliorem sufficiat*, 'which should have a certain and moderate amount of land annexed to them, which might not be divided, that it might suffice for liberal living.'

<sup>58</sup> And to keepe . . . Hirelings. *Utque Agricultura ab iis exerceretur, qui Domini fuerint Fundi, aut saltem Usu-fructuarii, non Conductitii, aut Mercenarii*, 'so that husbandry might be exercised by the owners, or at least holders of the farm, and not by hired or paid men.'

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but how? maintained in plentie and in the hand of owners, and not of meere laborers.

[*The germ of the entire paragraph on the opposite page, —from By all meanes down to published, appeareth. on p. 481—will be found on p. 492.*]

<sup>59</sup> Free Seruants . . . Noblemen and Gentlemen. *Famuli scilicet Nobilium*, 'I mean the seruants of noblemen.'

<sup>60</sup> Armes. *Peditatum*, 'infantry.'

<sup>61</sup> After Hospitality. *Atque Famulitia*, 'and household seruants.'

<sup>62</sup> Close. *Obscura, et magis privata*, 'obscure and more private.'

<sup>63</sup> Liberall of. *Facile et libenter largiuntur*, 'easily and freely bestow.'

<sup>64</sup> Empire. *Imperii Magnitudinem*, 'greatness of empire.'

<sup>65</sup> Embrace. *Imperii Iugo cohibere and frænare*, 'hold and govern by the yoke of empire.'

<sup>66</sup> It will faile suddainly. *Diuturnitatem hæc res non assequitur*, 'this will not have long duration.'

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almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I meane the State of *Free Seruants* and *Attendants* vpon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*;<sup>59</sup> which are no waies inferiour, vnto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes.<sup>60</sup> And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality<sup>61</sup> of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, receiued into Custome, doth much conduce, vnto *Martiall Greatnesse*. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close<sup>62</sup> and Referued liuing, of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the *Trunck* of *Nebuchadnezzars* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the *Naturall Subiects* of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient Proportion, to the *Stranger Subiects*, that they gouerne. Therefore all States, that are liberall of<sup>63</sup> Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*.<sup>64</sup> For to thinke, that an Handfull of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the World, embrace<sup>65</sup> too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will faile suddainly.<sup>66</sup> The *Spartans* were a nice<sup>67</sup> People, in Point of Naturalization;<sup>68</sup> whereby, while they kept their Compasse,<sup>69</sup> they stood firme;<sup>70</sup> But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they became a Windfall vpon the suddaine.<sup>71</sup> Neuer

<sup>67</sup> Nice. *Parci and difficiles*, 'sparing and difficult.'

<sup>68</sup> Naturalization. *In cooptandis novis Civibus*, 'in receiving new citizens.'

<sup>69</sup> Compasse. *Intra paruos Limites dominati sunt*, 'ruled within small boundaries.'

<sup>70</sup> Firme. *Res eorum firmæ fuerunt, et stabiles*, 'their affairs were firm and stable.'

<sup>71</sup> But when they did spread . . . suddaine. *At postquam Limites suos capissent proferre, et latius dominari, quam ut Stirps Spartanorum, Turbam Exterorum, Imperio commode coercere posset, Potentia eorum corruit*, 'but when they began to extend their bounds, and to rule so widely, that the Spartan race could not easily govern the crowd of foreigners, their power fell to pieces.'

[The germ of the passage on the opposite page will be  
found at p. 492.]

### Sedentary and within-doores

<sup>72</sup> Romans. *Respublica Romana*, 'the Roman Republic.'

<sup>73</sup> It sorted with them accordingly. *Par erat, Instituto tam prudenti, Fortuna*, 'their fortune sorted with this wise ordinance.'

<sup>74</sup> Greatest. *Toto Orbe amplissimum*, 'greatest in the whole world.'

<sup>75</sup> Honorum. *Pctitionis sive Honorum*, 'right of holding office.'

<sup>76</sup> Nations. *Integris Nationibus*, 'entire nations.'

<sup>77</sup> Greatnesse. *Proferendi imperii*, 'extending empire.'

<sup>78</sup> Dominions. *Regna et Provincias*, 'kingdoms and provinces.'

<sup>79</sup> Whole Compasse of Spaine. *Hispaniæ ipsæ*, 'Spain itself.'

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any State was, in this Point, so open to receive Strangers, into their Body, as were the Romans.<sup>72</sup> Therefore it sortd with them accordingly;<sup>73</sup> For they grew to the greatest<sup>74</sup> Monarchy. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Ius Ciuitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely *Ius Commercij*, *Ius Connubij*, *Ius Hereditatis*; But also, *Ius Suffragij*, and *Ius Honorum*.<sup>75</sup> And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations.<sup>76</sup> Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation* of Colonies; whereby the Roman Plant, was removed into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread vpon the World; But it was the World, that spread vpon the Romans: And that was the sure Way of Greatnesse.<sup>77</sup> I haue marueiled sometimes at *Spaine*, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions,<sup>78</sup> with so few Naturall Spaniards: But sure, the whole Compasse of *Spaine*,<sup>79</sup> is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre aboue<sup>80</sup> *Rome*, *Sparta*, at the first. And besides, though they haue not had that vsage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they haue that, which is next to it; That is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*.<sup>81</sup> Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natiues;<sup>82</sup> as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now<sup>83</sup> published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that *Sedentary*, and *Within-doore*<sup>84</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Far aboue. *Cum longe ampliolem contineant Regionum Tractum quam*, 'as it contains a much larger extent of countries, than.

<sup>81</sup> And . . . commands. *Quinetiam, summum Belli Imperium, haud raro, ad Duces, Natione non Hispanos, deserunt*, 'nay also, they not seldom entrust the chief command of a war to generals not Spaniards by birth.'

<sup>82</sup> *After Natiues. Eique succurrere cupiisse*, 'and desire to remedy it.'

<sup>83</sup> Now. *Hoc anno*, 'in this year.'

<sup>84</sup> Within-doore. *Quæ non sub Dio, sed sub Tecto exercentur*, 'which are practised not in the open air, but in a house.'

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Arts, and nice manufaċtures, that require rather the finger than the hand or arme, haue in their nature a contrariety to a difpoſition militar[y]: and generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and loue danger better then pain: neither muſt they be too much broken of it, if they ſhall be preferued in vigor.

<sup>85</sup> Arts. *Artes Mechanicas*, 'mechanical arts.'

<sup>86</sup> Idle. *Feruari gaudent*, 'enjoy being idle.'

<sup>87</sup> They. *Animos ipſorum*, 'their ſpirits.'

<sup>88</sup> Slaues. *Non Ingenuos, ſed Seruos*, 'not freeborn but ſlaues.'

<sup>89</sup> Did rid. *Quorum Laboribus . . . expediebantur*, 'by whoſe toil were deſpatched.'

<sup>90</sup> That. *Mancipiorum uſus*, 'the uſe of ſlaues.'

<sup>91</sup> By the Chriſtian Law. *Post legem Chriſtianam receptam*, 'ſince the Chriſtian law has been received.'

<sup>92</sup> For that purpoſe. *Propterea alliciendi, aut*, 'for that purpoſe to be invited, or.'



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*Arts*,<sup>85</sup> and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) haue, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle ;<sup>86</sup> And loue Danger better then Trauaile ; Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they<sup>87</sup> shall be preferued in vigour. Therefore, it was great Aduantage, in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the vse of *Slaues*,<sup>88</sup> which commonly did rid<sup>89</sup> those Manufactures. But that<sup>90</sup> is abolished, in greatest part, by the *Christian Law*.<sup>91</sup> That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leaue those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose<sup>92</sup> are the more easily to be receiued) and to containe, the principall Bulke<sup>93</sup> of the vulgar Natiues, within those three kinds, *Tillers* of the Ground ; *Free Seruants* ; and *Handy-Crafts-Men*, of Strong, and Manly Arts,<sup>94</sup> as Smiths, Mafons, Carpenters, &c ; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But aboue all, for *Empire* and *Greatnesse*,<sup>95</sup> it importeth most ; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation.<sup>96</sup> For the Things, which we formerly haue spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Armes : And what is *Habilitation* without *Intention* and *Act*? *Romulus*, after his death (as they report, or faigne) sent a Present to the *Romans* ; That, aboue all, they should intend Armes ; And then, they should proue the greatest *Empire*<sup>97</sup> of the World. The *Fabrick*<sup>98</sup> of the State

<sup>85</sup> Principall Bulke. *Plebs*, 'commonalty.'

<sup>84</sup> Manly Arts. *Quorum Opera Robur et Lacertos viriles postulant*, 'whose work demands strength and manly arms.'

<sup>85</sup> Empire and Greatnesse. *Imperii magnitudinem*, 'greatness of Empire.'

<sup>86</sup> Study and Occupation. *Institutum Vitæ primarium, et in præcipuo Honore habitum*, 'their principal mode of life and held in the highest honour.'

<sup>87</sup> Greatest Empire. *In Caput Orbis Terrarum Urbs eorum insurget*, 'their city should rise to the head of the world.'

<sup>88</sup> Fabrick. *Fabrica uniuersa*, 'the whole fabric.'

<sup>99</sup> *After End. Ut Cives sui Belligeratores essent*, 'that their citizens should be warriors.'

<sup>100</sup> *Flesh. Idem erat Institutum, sed non tam constans aut diuturnum*, 'had the same custom, but not so constantly nor so long.'

<sup>101</sup> *Turks. Lege sua paululum extimulati*, 'urged on a little by their law.'

<sup>102</sup> *Hanc it. Illud adhuc retinet at profitetur*, 'still retain and profess it.'

<sup>103</sup> *Plaine. Liquida, et manifesta*, 'clear and plain.'

<sup>104</sup> *Intendeth. In quo plurimum impendit Studii*, 'in the study which he most considers.'

<sup>105</sup> *It needeth not to be Stood vpon. Verbis non indigeat*, 'does not need words.'

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of *Sparta*, was wholly (though not wisely) framed, and composed, to that Scope and End.<sup>99</sup> The *Persians* and *Macedonians*, had it for a flash.<sup>100</sup> The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others, had it for a Time. The *Turks*<sup>101</sup> haue it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that haue it,<sup>102</sup> are, in effect, onely the *Spaniards*. But it is so plaine,<sup>103</sup> *That euery Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth*,<sup>104</sup> that it needeth not to be stood vpon.<sup>105</sup> It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly professe Armes,<sup>106</sup> may looke to haue *Greatnesse* fall into their Mouths.<sup>107</sup> And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession<sup>108</sup> (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally haue done) do wonders.<sup>109</sup> And those, that haue professed Armes<sup>110</sup> but for an Age, haue notwithstanding, commonly, attained that *Greatnesse* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise<sup>111</sup> of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to haue those Lawes or Customes, which may reach forth vnto them, iust Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Iustice<sup>112</sup> imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not vpon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but vpon some, at the least Specious,<sup>113</sup> Grounds and Quarells. The *Turke*, hath

<sup>106</sup> Armes. *Arma et Militiam, iisque præcipue studeat et incumbat*, 'arms and warfare, and principally studies and pays attention thereto.'

<sup>107</sup> Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. *Insignem aliquam Imperii Magnitudinem*, 'any remarkable greatness of empire.'

<sup>108</sup> Profession. *Professione et studiis*, 'profession and study.'

<sup>109</sup> Wonders. *Miros in Imperio amplificando facere Progressus*, 'make wonderful progress in increasing their empire.'

<sup>110</sup> Professed Armes. *Bellica Gloria florueret*, 'flourished by warlike glory.'

<sup>111</sup> Profession and Exercise. *Disciplina*, 'training.'

<sup>112</sup> Iustice. *Iustitie Apprehensio*, 'understanding of justice.'

<sup>113</sup> At the least Specious. *Gravem ob Caussam, saltem speciosam*, 'for a serious ground or at least a specious one.'

No body can be healthfull without exercife, neither naturall body, nor politike; and to the politike body of a Kingdome or eftate,

a ciuill warre is as the heate of a feuer; but an honourable forraine warre is like

<sup>114</sup> Sit. *Torpeat, aut tardet*, 'be sluggish or slow.'

<sup>115</sup> Aids. Omitted in the Latin.

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at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be Great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they neuer rested vpon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to *Greatnesse*, haue this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either vpon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that they sit<sup>114</sup> not too long vpon a Prouocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready, to giue Aids<sup>115</sup> and Succours, to their Confederates: As it euer was with the *Romans*: In so much, as if the Confederate, had Leagues Defensiuē with diuers other States, and vpon Inuasion offered, did implore their Aides feuerally, yet the *Romans* would euer bee the formost, and leaue it to none Other to haue the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformite of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well iustified: As when the *Romans* made a Warre for the Libertie of *Grecia*: Or when the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, made Warres, to set vp or pull downe *Democracies*, and *Oligarchies*: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers,<sup>116</sup> vnder the pretence of Iustice,<sup>117</sup> or Protection, to deliuer the Subiects of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like.<sup>118</sup> Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, vpon any iust Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without *Exercise*, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre, is the true *Exercise*. A Ciuill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feauer; But a Forraine Warre, is like

<sup>116</sup> Forrainers. *Rebuspublicis aut Principibus*, 'states or princes.'

<sup>117</sup> Iustice. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>118</sup> Oppression; And the like. Omitted in the Latin.

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the heate of exercife. At leaft, difcoueries, nauigations, honourable fuccours of other States may keepe health : For in a flothfull peace, both courages will effeminate, and maners corrupt.

<sup>119</sup> Slothfull. *Deside atque torpente*, 'Slothful and torpid.'

<sup>120</sup> Tired out. *Delassasset, et attrivisset*, 'tired and worn out.'

<sup>121</sup> See. *Ex multis Exemplis patet*, 'is clear from many examples.'

<sup>122</sup> Arrested the greatnesse of the Turke. *Circulum in Naribus Turcæ possuit*, 'put a ring in the nose of the Turk.'

<sup>123</sup> Princes or States. Omitted in the Latin.

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the Heat of *Exercise*,

and serueth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull<sup>119</sup> Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happineffe, without all Question, for *Greatneffe*, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giueth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in *Spain*; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his Preparation against *Cæsar*, saith; *Consilium Pompeij planè Themistodeum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.*<sup>a</sup> And, without doubt, *Pompey* had tired out<sup>120</sup> *Cæsar*, if vpon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see<sup>121</sup> the great Effects of Battails by *Sea*. The Battaile of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battaile of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatneffe of the *Turke*.<sup>122</sup> There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* haue beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States,<sup>123</sup> haue set vp their Rest, vpon the Battails.<sup>124</sup> But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land, are many times neuerthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with vs of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at *Sea* (which is one

<sup>a</sup> *The counsel of Pompey is evidently that of Themistocles: for he thinks that he who is master of the sea will rule all things. Cicero. Ad Atticum. x. 8.*

<sup>124</sup> Set vp their Rest, vpon the Battails. *Alex hujusmodi Præliorum, totius Belli Fortuna commissa est, 'the whole fortune of war is set upon battles of this kind.'*

<sup>125</sup> Great. *Summi, ad Rerum Fastigia, momenti*, 'of great importance for attaining the highest place.'

<sup>126</sup> Wealth. *Thesauri et Opes*, 'treasures and wealth.'

<sup>127</sup> Martiall Encouragement. *Ad Animos faciendos*, 'to give courage.'

<sup>128</sup> Some Degrees, and Orders of Chivalry. *Ordines quosdam Honorificos Militia*, 'some honourable orders of knighthood.'

<sup>129</sup> Conferred promiscuously. *Communes*, 'common to.'

<sup>130</sup> Soldiers, and no Soldiers. *Armis et Togæ*, 'arms and the gown.'

<sup>131</sup> Maimed. *Emeritis et Mutilatis*, 'worn out and maimed.'

<sup>132</sup> Monuments. *Monumenta magnifica*, 'magnificent monuments.'

<sup>133</sup> Crowns and Garlands Personal. *Corona Civica, Militares, singulis concessæ*, 'civic crowns; military crowns conferred on individuals.'



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of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of *Great Brittain*) is Great :<sup>125</sup> Both becaufe, Most of the Kingdomes of *Europe*, are not meere Inland, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compasse; And becaufe, the Wealth<sup>126</sup> of both *Indies*, seemes in great Part, but an Accessary, to the Command of the *Seas*.

The *Warres* of *Latter Ages*, seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected vpon Men, from the *Warres* in *Ancient Time*. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement,<sup>127</sup> some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry;<sup>128</sup> which neuerthelesse, are conferred promiscuously,<sup>129</sup> vpon Soldiers, and no Soldiers;<sup>130</sup> And some Remembrance perhaps vpon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed<sup>131</sup> Soldiers; And such like Things. But in *Ancient Times*; The *Trophies* erected vpon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatiues and Monuments<sup>132</sup> for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal;<sup>133</sup> The Stile of Emperour, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed;<sup>134</sup> The Triumphes<sup>135</sup> of the Generalls vpon their Returne;<sup>136</sup> The great Donatiues and Largeesses vpon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages.<sup>137</sup> But about all, That of the Triumph, amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageants or Gauderie, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions, that euer was. For it contained three Things; Honour<sup>138</sup> to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles;

<sup>124</sup> After Borrowed. *A Belli Ducibus*, 'from commanders in war.'

<sup>125</sup> Triumphes. *Celebres Triumphi*, 'crowded triumphs.'

<sup>126</sup> Of Generalls vpon their Returne. *Redeuntium Ducum, Bellis prospere confectis*, 'of generals returning after successfully finishing a war.'

<sup>127</sup> Enflame all Mens Courages. *Hæc (inquam) tot et tanta fuerunt, et tam insigni splendore coruscantia, ut Pectoribus Mortalium etiam maxime conglaciatis, Igniculos subdere, eaque ad Bellum inflamare potuerint*. 'these, I say, were so many and so great, and shone with so much splendour, that they could set fire to the minds of mortals, however frozen, and inflame them to war.'

<sup>128</sup> Honour. *Decus et gloriam*, 'honour and glory.'

States liberall of naturalization, are capable of greatnesse; and the iealous states that rest vpon the first tribe and stirpe, quickly want body to carrie the boughes and branches.

Many are the ingredients into the receipt for greatnesse. No man can by care taking adde a cubit to his stature, in the little modell of a mans body. But certainly in the great frame of Kingdomes and Commonwealths, it is in the power of Princes or Estates by ordinances and constitutions, and manners which they may introduce, to fowe greatnesse to their posteritie and succeffion. But these things are commonly left to chance.

<sup>139</sup> Actual Triumphs. *Honorem ipsius Triumphi*, 'the honour of an actual triumph.'

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And Donatiues to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for *Monarchies*; Except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himselfe, or his Sonnes; As it came to passe, in the Times of the *Roman Emperours*, who did impropriate the Actuall Triumphs<sup>139</sup> to Themselfes, and their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did atchieue in Person: And left onely, for Wars atchieued by Subiects, some Triumphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the Generall.

{ [*Expanded in 1625 Edition, and transposed to pp.*  
479, 481.]

To conclude; No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* faith) *adde a Cubite to his Stature*; in this little Modell of a *Mans Body*: But in the Great Frame of *Kingdomes*, and *Common Wealths*, it is in the Power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and *Greatnesse* to their *Kingdomes*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we haue now touched, they may sow *Greatnesse*, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Obserued,<sup>140</sup> but left to take their Chance.

<sup>140</sup> *After* Obserued. *Apud Principes*, 'by princes.'





# A H A R M O N Y

OF THE

FOURTH GROUP

OF

E I G H T E E N

E S S A Y S.

- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| 41. OF TRUTH.                           | 51. OF PLANTATIONS.    |
| 42. OF REVENGE.                         | 52. OF PROPHECIES.     |
| 43. OF ADVERSITY.                       | 53. OF MASQUES AND     |
| 44. OF SIMULATION AND<br>DISSIMULATION. | TRIUMPHS.              |
| 45. OF ENVY.                            | 54. OF USURY.          |
| 46. OF BOLDNESS.                        | 55. OF BUILDING.       |
| 47. OF TRAVEL.                          | 56. OF GARDENS.        |
| 48. OF DELAYS.                          | 57. OF ANGER.          |
| 49. OF INNOVATIONS.                     | 58. OF VICISSITUDES OF |
| 50. OF SUSPICION.                       | THINGS.                |

*First published in 1625.*

COLLATED WITH THE POSTHUMOUS LATIN EDITION OF 1638.

*To which is added*

A Fragment of an Essay,

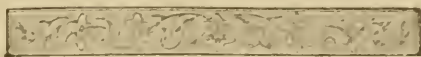
OF FAME.

*First published in Resuscitatio, in 1657.*



THE  
ESSAYES  
OR  
COVNSELS,  
CIVILL AND  
MORALL,  
OF  
*FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,*  
VISCOVNT St. ALBAN.

*Newly written.*



LONDON,  
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND for  
HANNA BARRET.  
1625.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.  
 TO  
 THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
 MY VERY GOOD LO. THE DVKE  
 of *Buckingham* his Grace, Lo.  
 High Admirall of England.

EXCELLENT LO.



ALOMON saies; *A good Name is as a precious oyntment*; And I assure my selfe, such wil your *Graces* Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, haue beene Eminent. And you haue planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Effayes*; which, of all my other workes, haue beene most Current: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Vniuersall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My *Institution*, I dedicated to the *King*: My *Historie* of HENRY the *Seuenth*, (which I haue now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions* of *Naturall History*, to the *Prince*: And these I dedicate to your *Grace*; Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which *God* giues to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your *Grace* by the Hand.

*Your Graces most obliged and faithfull Seruant,*

F R. ST. ALBAN.



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British Museum Copy.

## 1. Of Truth.



**W**HAT is *Truth*; said jesting *Pilate*;<sup>a</sup> And would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddineffe; And count it a Bondage, to fix<sup>1</sup> a Beleefe; Affecting Free-will in Thinking, as well as in A<sup>c</sup>ting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, yet there remaine certaine discoursing<sup>2</sup> Wits, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth*; Nor againe, that when it is found, it imposeth<sup>3</sup> vpon mens Thoughts; that doth bring *Lies* in fauour: But a naturall, though corrupt Loue, of the *Lie* it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to thinke what should be in it, that men should loue *Lies*; Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Aduantage, as with the Merchant; but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth*, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs<sup>4</sup> of the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights.<sup>5</sup> *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth euer adde Pleasure. Doth

<sup>a</sup> John xviii. 38.

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> Fix. *Fide fixa aut Axiomatibus Constantibus, constringi*, 'to be restrained by a fixed faith or constant axioms.'

<sup>2</sup> Discoursing. *Ventosa et Discursantia*, 'windy and discoursing.'

<sup>3</sup> Imposeth. *Quæ. . . . imponitur Captivitas*, 'the captivity that it imposeth.'

<sup>4</sup> Triumphs. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> Candlelights *Tædæ, Lucernæque Nocturnæ*, 'torches and nocturnal lamps.'

any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leaue the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and vnpleasing to themfelues? One of the Fathers, in great Seuerity, called Poesie, *Vinum Dæmonum*;<sup>a</sup> because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Minde, but the *Lie* that sinketh in,<sup>b</sup> and fetleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoeuer these things are thus, in mens depraued Iudgements, and Affections, yet *Truth*, which onely doth iudge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of *Truth*, which is the Loue-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleefe<sup>c</sup> of *Truth*, which is the Enjoying<sup>d</sup> of it; is the Soueraigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason; And his Sabbath Worke, euer since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, vpon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chofen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand vpon the shore, and to see ships tost vpon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Aduentures thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, vpon the vantage ground of Truth: (A hill not to be*

<sup>a</sup> It is not certain to whom Bacon alludes; probably either Jerome, *Letters to Damasus*, 146; or Augustine, *Confessio*, i. 16.—See Mr. W. A. Wright's note at length at p. 289 of his edition.

<sup>b</sup> Sinketh in. *Quod a Mente imbibitur*, 'which is drunk in by the mind.'

<sup>c</sup> Beleefe. *Veritatis Receptionem cum Assensu*, 'the receiving of truth with

<sup>d</sup> Enjoying. *Fruitio et Amplexus*, 'enjoying and embrace of it.' [assent.]

<sup>e</sup> *Suave est*, &c. This is given merely in paraphrase, not as a literal quotation from Lucretius, *De rerum Natura*, ii. 1.

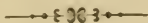
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commanded, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene;) *And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below*: So alwaies, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heauen vpon Earth, to haue a Mans Minde Moue in Charitie, Rest in Prouidence, and Turne vpon the Poles of *Truth*.

To passe from Theologicall, and Philosophicall *Truth*, to the *Truth*<sup>10</sup> of ciuill Businesse; It will be acknowledged, euen by those, that practize it not, that cleare and Round<sup>11</sup> dealing, is the Honour<sup>12</sup> of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is like Allay<sup>13</sup> in Coyne of Gold and Siluer;<sup>14</sup> which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding, and crooked courses, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely<sup>15</sup> vpon the belly, and not vpon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth so couer a Man with Shame, as to be found false, and perfidious. And therefore *Montaigny* saith prettily,<sup>16</sup> when he enquired the reason, why the word of the *Lie*, should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is braue towards God, and a Coward towards men.*<sup>a</sup> For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale, to call the Iudgements of God, vpon the Generations of Men, It being foretold that when Christ commeth, *He shall not finde Faith vpon the Earth.*<sup>b</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, ii. 18. p.

<sup>b</sup> Luke xviii. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Truth (of ciuil business). *Veritatem, aut potius Veracitatem*, 'truth, or rather truthfulness.'

<sup>11</sup> Round. *Minime fucata*, 'not painted (counterfeit).'

<sup>12</sup> Honour. *Præcipuum Decus*, 'chief honour.'

<sup>13</sup> Allay. *Plumbæ Materiæ*, 'leaden matter.'

<sup>14</sup> Coin of Gold and Siluer. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>15</sup> Basely. Omitted in the Latin

<sup>16</sup> Prettily. *Acutissime*, 'most acutely.'

British Museum Copy.

4. Of *Reuenge*.

*Reuenge* is a kinde of Wilde Iustice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law<sup>1</sup> to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the *Reuenge* of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, in taking *Reuenge*, A Man is but euen with his Enemy; But in passing it ouer, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And *Salomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.*<sup>a</sup> That which is past, is gone, and Irreuocable;<sup>3</sup> And wise Men haue Enough to doe, with things present, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselues,<sup>4</sup> that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs sake; But therby to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like.<sup>5</sup> Therefore why should I be angry with a Man, for louing himselfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerey out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no other.<sup>6</sup> The most Tolerable Sort of *Reuenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the *Reuenge* be such, as there is no law to

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xix. 11.

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Law. *Legibus severis*, 'severe laws.'<sup>2</sup> Putteth out of Office. *Auctoritate sua plane spoliatur*, 'clearly strips it of its authority.'<sup>3</sup> Gone and irreuocable. *In integrum restitui non potest*, 'cannot be restored entirely.'<sup>4</sup> Therefore, they doe . . . with themselues. *Nugantur igitur. et se frustra conturbant* 'they trifle therefore, and disturb themselves to no purpose.'<sup>5</sup> Or the like. Omitted in the Latin.<sup>6</sup> Because they can do no other. *Quia natura sua utuntur*, 'because they act according to their nature.'

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punish : Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one.<sup>7</sup> Some, when they take *Reuenge*, are Desirous the party should know, whence it commeth : This<sup>8</sup> is the more Generous. For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent : Büt Base and Crafty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, had a Desperate Saying,<sup>9</sup> against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were vnardonable :<sup>10</sup> *You shall reade* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgiue our Enemies ; But you neuer read, that wee are commanded, to forgiue our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Job*, was in a better tune ;<sup>11</sup> *Shall wee* (saith he) *take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take cuill also?*<sup>a</sup> And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine ; That a Man that studieth *Reuenge*, keeps his owne Wounds greene,<sup>12</sup> which otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique *Reuenges*, are, for the most part, Fortunate ; As that for the Death of *Cæsar* ; For the Death of *Pertinax* ; for the Death of *Henry* the Third<sup>13</sup> of France ; And many more. But in priuate *Reuenges* it is not so. Nay rather, Vindictiue Persons liue the Life of Witches ; who as they are Mischieuous, So end<sup>14</sup> they Infortunate.



<sup>a</sup> Job ii. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Two for one. *Ipse sibi Panam conduplicat*, 'he doubles the punishment for himself.'

<sup>8</sup> This. *Iste affectus*, 'this disposition.'

<sup>9</sup> Had a Desperate Saying. *Acutissimum telum vibravit*, 'brandished a very sharp weapon.'

<sup>10</sup> As if those wrongs were vnardonable. Omitted in Latin.

<sup>11</sup> Was in a better tune. *Loquitur meliora*, 'says what is better.'

<sup>12</sup> Keep green. *Resfricare*, 'rub open again.'

<sup>13</sup> Henry the Third. *Quarti*, 'fourth.'

<sup>14</sup> After End. *Plerumque*, 'generally.'

British Museum Copy.

## 5. Of Aduersitie.

**T** was an high speech<sup>1</sup> of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoickes) *That the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Aduersity, are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia; Aduersarum, Mirabilia.*<sup>a</sup> Certainly if Miracles, be the Command ouer Nature, they appeare most in Aduersity. It is yet a higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatnesse, to haue in one, the Frailty of a Man, and the Security of a God. Verè magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.*<sup>b</sup> This would haue done better in Poesy; where Transcendences are more allowed. And the Poets indeed, haue beene busy with it;<sup>2</sup> For it is, in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction, of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; Nay, and to haue some approach, to<sup>3</sup> the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when he went to vbinde Prometheus, (by whom Human Nature is represented) failed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher:* Liuely describing Christian Resolution; that faileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waues<sup>4</sup> of the World. But to speake in a Meane.<sup>5</sup> The Vertue of *Prosperitie*, is Temper-

<sup>a</sup> *Seneca, Epistles, lxvi.*<sup>b</sup> *Seneca, Epistles, liii.*

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> High speech. *Grande prorsus sonabat . . . cum diceret*, 'struck a high note . . . when he said.'<sup>2</sup> Beene busy with it. *Intactum non reliquerunt*, 'have not left this untouched.'<sup>3</sup> Approach, to. *Non obscure referre*, 'refers to not obscurely.'<sup>4</sup> Waves. *Fluctus, undique circumfusos*, 'waves surrounding it on every side.'<sup>5</sup> Speake in a Meane. *Ut a Granditate verborum, ad Mediocritatem descendamus*, 'to descend from grandeur of words to a mean.'

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ance ; The Vertue of *Aduersity*, is Fortitude : which in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing<sup>6</sup> of the Old Testament ; *Aduersity* is the Blessing of the New ;<sup>7</sup> which carrieth the greater Benediction,<sup>8</sup> and the Clearer Reuelation of Gods Fauour. Yet, euen in the old Testament, if you Listen to *Dauids* Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as<sup>9</sup> Carols : And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Salomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Feares and Distastes ; And *Aduersity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needleworkes, and Imbroideries,<sup>10</sup> It is more pleasing, to haue a Liuely Worke, vpon a Sad and Solemne<sup>11</sup> Grounde ;<sup>12</sup> then to haue a Darke and Melancholy Worke,<sup>13</sup> vpon a Lightfome Ground : Iudge therefore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed : For *Prosperity* doth best discouer Vice ; But *Aduersity* doth best discouer Vertue.



<sup>6</sup> Is the Blessing. *Ad Benedictiones pertinent*, 'belongs to the blessings.'

<sup>7</sup> Blessings of the New. *Novi beatitudines*, 'beatitudes of the New.'

<sup>8</sup> Which carrieth the greater Benediction. *Quæ, et reipsa majores sunt*, 'which [the beatitudes] are in themselves greater.'

<sup>9</sup> As many Herselike ayres, as. *Plures inuenias Threnos, quam*, 'you will find more dirges than.'

<sup>10</sup> Imbroideries. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>11</sup> Sad and Solemne. *Coloris magis opaci*, 'of a darker colour.'

<sup>12</sup> Ground. *Stamen telæ*, 'the warp of the web.'

<sup>13</sup> Worke. *Imagines*, 'figures.'

British Museum Copy.

## 6. Of Simulation and Dissimulation.



*D*issimulation is but a faint kind<sup>1</sup> of Policy, or Wisdome;<sup>2</sup> For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

*Tacitus*<sup>4</sup> saith; *Livia sorted well, with the Arts of her Husband, and Dissimulation of her Sonne.*<sup>a</sup> Attributing Arts or Policy<sup>5</sup> to *Augustus*, and *Dissimulation* to *Tiberius.*<sup>a</sup> And againe, when *Mucianus* encourageth<sup>6</sup> *Vespasian*, to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith; *We rise not, against the Piercing Iudgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closenesse<sup>7</sup> of Tiberius.*<sup>b</sup> These Properties of Arts or Policy,<sup>8</sup> and *Dissimulation* or *Closenesse*,<sup>9</sup> are indeed Habits and Faculties, seuerall,<sup>10</sup> and to be distinguished. For if a Man, haue that Penetration of Iudgment,<sup>11</sup> as he can discern, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom

<sup>a</sup> Tacitus. *Annals.* v. l.<sup>b</sup> Tacitus. *History.* ii. 76.

## EE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Faint kind. *Compendium quoddam, et Pars infirmior*, 'a kind of shortening and weaker part of.'<sup>2</sup> Policy or Wisdome. *Artium Civilium*, 'of political arts.'<sup>3</sup> Doe it. *Id facere audeat*, 'to dare to do it.'<sup>4</sup> Tacitus. *Quod Discrimen, bene apud Tacitum, Cæsarem Augustum inter, et Tiberium, adnotatum est. Etenim de Livia sic ait*, 'The difference between Cæsar Augustus, and Tiberius is well marked in Tacitus, for he says thus of Livia.'<sup>5</sup> Arts or Policy. *Artes imperii*, 'arts of government.'<sup>6</sup> When Mucianus encourageth. *Mucianum inducit . . . hortantem*, 'he brings in Mucianus, encouraging.'<sup>7</sup> Extreme Caution or Closenesse. *Cautissimam senectutem*, 'extremely cautious old age.'<sup>8</sup> Arts or Policy. *Artium Civilium*, 'political arts.'<sup>9</sup> Dissimulation or Closenesse. *Simulationum*, 'simulation.'<sup>10</sup> Habits and Faculties, seuerall. Omitted in the Latin.<sup>11</sup> Penetration of Iudgment. *Fælicis Acuminis, tantæque Perspicaciæ*, 'of such happy sharpness and penetration.'



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and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life,<sup>12</sup> as *Tacitus*<sup>a</sup> well calleth them) to him, A Habit of *Dissimulation*, is a Hinderance, and a Poorenesse.<sup>13</sup> But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Iudgment,<sup>14</sup> then it is left to him,<sup>15</sup> generally, to be Close, and a *Difsembler*. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary<sup>16</sup> in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way<sup>17</sup> in generall; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that euer were, haue had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name of Certainty,<sup>18</sup> and Veracity; But then they were like Horses, well managed; For they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed, required *Dissimulation*,<sup>19</sup> if then they vsed it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearnesse of dealing, made them almost Inuisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selse.<sup>20</sup> The first *Clofenesse*, *Reseruation*, and *Secrecy*;<sup>21</sup> when a Man leaueth himselfe without Obseruation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is.<sup>22</sup> The second *Dissimulation*, in the *Negative*; when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not,

<sup>a</sup> Mr. W. A. Wright in his edition states, 'It is difficult to say whether Bacon had in his mind the *egregium publicum et bonus domi artes* of *Tac. Ann.* iii. 70. or the *studia fori et civilium artius decus* of *Agr.* c. 39.'

<sup>12</sup> Arts of State, and Arts of Life. *Artes Politicæ, et Civiles.*

<sup>13</sup> Poorenesse. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>14</sup> That Iudgment. *Hunc Iudicii et Discretionis Gradum*, 'to this degree of judgment and discretion.'

<sup>15</sup> Left to him. *Tanquam tutissimum*, 'as the safest course.'

<sup>16</sup> Or vary. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>17</sup> Take the safest and wariest Way. *Caute insistere tutissimum est*, 'it is safest to proceed cautiously.'

<sup>18</sup> Name of Certainty. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>19</sup> Dissimulation. *Dissimulationem Profundam*, 'profound dissimulation.'

<sup>20</sup> Mans Selse. *Consilia et Mentem*, 'plans and mind.'

<sup>21</sup> Reseruation and Secrecy. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>22</sup> When a Man leaueth himselfe. . . . what he is, *Cum quis sensus Animi sui premit, adeoque relinquit in æquilibrio, ut in quam partem propendeat, nemo facile conjecerit.* 'When a man represses his opinions, and leaves it so evenly balanced that no one can easily guess to which side he is inclined.'

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that he is. And the third *Simulation*, in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously, and expressly,<sup>23</sup> feigns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy*: It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessor; And assuredly, the *Secret* Man, heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought *Secret*, it inuiteth Discoverie;<sup>24</sup> As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession, the Reuealing is not for worldly vse, but for the Ease of a Mans heart, so *Secret* Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say Truth) *Nakednesse* is vncomely,<sup>25</sup> as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no small Reuerence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke, what he knoweth not. Therefore set it downe; *That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall*. And in this Part,<sup>26</sup> it is good, that a Mans Face, giue his Tongue, leaue to Speake. For the Discoverie, of a Mans Selfe,<sup>27</sup> by the Tracts of his Countenance,<sup>28</sup> is a great Weaknesse, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleued, then a Mans words.

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

<sup>23</sup> Industriously, and expressly. *Aperte*, 'openly.'

<sup>24</sup> Inuiteth Discoverie. *Facile aliorum Animos reserabit*, 'He will easily unlock the minds of others.'

<sup>25</sup> Vncomely. *Deformis et inuenusta*, 'shapeless and uncomely.'

<sup>26</sup> And in this Part. *Illud addendum est*, 'it must be added.'

<sup>27</sup> Mans Selfe. *Animi*, 'mind.'

<sup>28</sup> Tracts of his Countenance. *Ex Vultu, aut Gestu* 'by his countenance or gesture.'

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that will be *Secret*, must be<sup>29</sup> a *Diffempler*, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be *Secret*,<sup>30</sup> without Swaying the Ballance,<sup>31</sup> on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions,<sup>32</sup> and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd<sup>33</sup> Silence, he must shew an Inclination,<sup>34</sup> one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equiuocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be *secret*, except he giue himselfe a little Scope of *Dissimulation*; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Train of *Secrecy*.

But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters.<sup>35</sup> And therefore a generall Custome of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree)<sup>36</sup> is a Vice, rising either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearfulness; Or of a Minde, that hath some maine Faults;<sup>37</sup> which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise<sup>38</sup> *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of vre.<sup>39</sup>

The great *Aduantages* of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* are three. First to lay asleepe<sup>40</sup> Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call vp, all that are against

<sup>29</sup> After Must be. *Vel nolens*, 'even if unwilling.'

<sup>30</sup> And to be Secret. Omitted in the Lat'n.

<sup>31</sup> Swaying the Ballance. *Inclinationis suæ declaratione*, 'any declaration of his inclining.'

<sup>32</sup> Questions. *Questionibus subtilibus*, 'subtle questions.'

<sup>33</sup> Absurd. *Obfirmato et absurdo*, 'obstinate and absurd'

<sup>34</sup> Shew an Inclination, one way. *Senonihil protere*, 'betray himselfe a little.'

<sup>35</sup> Great and rare Matters. *Nisi forte dignus vindice nodus inciderit*, 'Unless perchance a difficulty happens worthy of the Celverer.'

<sup>36</sup> (Which is this last Degree) Omitted in the Lat'n.

<sup>37</sup> Minde, . . . maine Faults. *Animi Constitutione, quæ Viti aliquo magno imbuta est*, 'constitution of mind, which is tainted with some great fault.'

<sup>38</sup> Practise. *Adhibere et exercere*, 'apply and practise.'

<sup>39</sup> Hand should be out of vre. *Habitus ipse intercidat*, 'lest the habit be lost.'

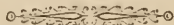
<sup>40</sup> Lay asleepe. *Amoliatur*, 'remove.'

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them. The second is, to referue to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat:<sup>41</sup> For if a man engage himfelfe, by a manifest Declaration,<sup>42</sup> he must goe through, or take a Fall.<sup>43</sup> The third is, the better to<sup>44</sup> discover the Minde of another. For to him that opêns himfelfe, Men will hardly shew themfelues aduerse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Prouerbe of the Spaniard; *Tell a lye, and finde a Troth.* As if there were no way of Discouery, but<sup>45</sup> by *Simulation*. There be also three *Disadvantages*, to set it euen. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation*, commonly carry with them, a Shew of Fearfulnesse, which in any Businesse, doth spoile the Feathers, of round flying vp to the Mark.<sup>46</sup> The second, that it pusleth and perplexeth the Conceits of many;<sup>47</sup> that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him;<sup>48</sup> and makes a Man walke, almost alone,<sup>49</sup> to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriueth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruments for Action; which is *Trust* and *Beleeve*.<sup>50</sup> The best Composition, and Temperature is, to haue *Opennesse* in Fame and Opinion;<sup>51</sup> *Secrecy* in Habit; *Dissimulation* in seasonable vse; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.



<sup>41</sup> Faire Retreat. *Ut pedem referat, et se absque Existimationis suae jactura de Negotio subducat*, 'to retreat and retire from the business without loss of reputation.'

<sup>42</sup> After Manifest Declaration. *Is cuneis quasi impactis includitur*, 'he is shut in, as if by wedges driven home.'

<sup>43</sup> Take a Fall. *Turpiter desistendum*, 'leave off with disgrace.'

<sup>44</sup> The better to. *Quod viam aperiat*, 'because it opens the way to.'

<sup>45</sup> No way of Discouery, but. *Clavis ad Secreta reseranda*, 'a key to unlock secrets.'

<sup>46</sup> Round. *Perniciter*, 'swiftly.'

<sup>47</sup> Pusleth and perplexeth . . . many. *In ancipites Cogitationes Animos conjiciant*, 'casts minds into doubtful thought.'

<sup>48</sup> After Co-operate with him. *Et studio suo rem promoturi*, 'and promote the matter by their zeal.'

<sup>49</sup> Alone. *Sine socia et amica opera . . . solus*, 'without the help of companions and friends—alone.'

<sup>50</sup> Trust and Beleeve. *Fide*, 'faith.'

<sup>51</sup> Opinion. Omitted in the Latin.

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British Museum Copy.

## 9. Of Envy.



Here be none of the *Affections*, which haue beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch,<sup>1</sup> but *Loue*, and *Envy*. They both haue<sup>2</sup> vehement wishes; They frame themselves readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye; especially upon the presence of the Objects; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth *Envy*, An *Euill Eye*: And the Astrologers, call the euill Influences of the Starrs, *Euill Aspects*; So that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of *Envy*, an Eiaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some haue beene so curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion of an *Envidious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party enuid* is beheld in Glory, or Triumph: For that sets an Edge vpon *Envy*: And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the *person Enuid*, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not vnworthy, to be thought on, in fit place), wee will handle,<sup>3</sup> what *Persons are apt to Envy others; What persons are most Subiect to be Enuid themselves; And, What is the Difference betweene Publique, and private Envy.*

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever *enuieth* Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed vpon<sup>4</sup> their owne Good, or vpon others Euill; And who

## FE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Bewitch. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Haue. *Præcipue, præcipue.*

<sup>3</sup> Wee will handle. *Trinitatem hæc tris, 'we shall handle these three points.'*

<sup>4</sup> Feed vpon. *Se pascunt, et delectantur. 'feed vpon and delight in.'*

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wanteth the one,<sup>5</sup> wil prey vpon the other ; And who fo is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at euen hand, by Depreffing an others Fortune.

A man that is Budy, and Inquifitiue, is commonly *Enuious* : For to know much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, becaufe all that Adoe may concerne his owne Eftate : Therefore it muft needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleafure, in looking vpon the Fortunes of others ; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Bufineffe, finde much matter for *Enuy*.<sup>6</sup> For *Enuy* is a Gadding Paffion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home ; *Non eft curiofus, quin idem fit maleuolus*.

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *enuious* towards New Men, when they rife. For the diftance is altered ; And it is like a deceit of the Eye, that when others come on, they thinke themfelues goe backe.

Deformed Perfons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Baftards, are *Enuious* : For he that cannot poffibly mend his owne cafe, will doe what he can to impaire anothers ; Except thefe Defects light, vpon a very braue, and Heroicall Nature ; which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants, part of his Honour : In that it fhould be faid, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did fuch great Matters ; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle ; as it was in *Narfes* the Eunuch, and *Ageflaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame men.

The fame, is the Cafe of Men, that rife after Calamities, and Misfortunes ; For they are, as Men fallen out with the times ; And thinke other Mens Harnes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that defire to excell in too many Matters, out

<sup>5</sup> The one. *Primo Alimento*, 'the former nourishment.'

<sup>6</sup> Matter for Enuy. *Segetem Invidia*, 'crop of envy.'

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of Leuity, and Vaine glory, are euer *Enuious*; For they cannot want worke; <sup>7</sup> It being impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *Enuied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers*, in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that haue beene bred together, are more apt to *Enuy* their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth vpbraide vnto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others: And *Enuy* euer redoubleth <sup>8</sup> from Speech and Fame. *Cains Enuy*, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother *Abel*; Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much for *those that are apt to Enuy*.

Concerning *those that are more or lesse subiect to Enuy*: First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are aduanced, are lesse *enuied*. For their Fortune seemeth but due vnto them; and no man *Enuieth* the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality <sup>9</sup> rather. Againe, *Enuy* is euer ioyned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selse; <sup>10</sup> And where there is no Comparison, no *Enuy*; And therefore Kings, are not *enuied*, but by Kings. Neuerthelesse, it is to be noted, that vnworthy Persons, are most *enuied*, at their first comming in, and afterwards ouercome it better; <sup>11</sup> wheras contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most *enuied*, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the

<sup>7</sup> For they cannot want worke. *Ubique enim occurrunt Objecta Inuidiæ*, 'for objects of envy everywhere meet them.'

<sup>8</sup> Redoubleth *Reflectitur, et conduplicatur*, 'is reflected and redoubled.'

<sup>9</sup> Rewards, and Liberality. *Largitioni supra Meritum*, 'liberality above desert.'

<sup>10</sup> Of a Mans Selse. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>11</sup> Ouercome it better. *Postea vero minus*, 'but afterwards less.'

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the same *Lustre*; For fresh Men grow vp, that darken it.

*Persons* of Noble Bloud, are lesse *enuied*, in their Rising:<sup>12</sup> For it seemeth, but Right, done to their Birth.<sup>13</sup> Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And *Envy* is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, vpon a Bank or steepe rising Ground;<sup>14</sup> then vpon a Flat.<sup>a</sup> And for the same reason, those that are aduanced by degrees, are lesse *enuied*, then those that are aduanced suddainly,<sup>15</sup> and *per saltum*.<sup>b</sup>

Those that haue ioyned with their Honour, great Trauels, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subiect to *Envy*. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pittie them sometimes; And *Pitty*, euer healeth *Envy*: Wherefore, you shall obserue that the more deepe, and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are euer bemoaning themselues, what a Life they lead; Chanting a *Quanta patimur*.<sup>c</sup> Not that they feele it so, but onely to abate the Edge of *Envy*. But this is to be vnderstood, of Businesse, that is laid vpon Men, and not such as they call vnto themselues. For Nothing increaseth *Envy* more, then an vnecessary, and Ambitious Ingrossing of Businesse. And nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, then for a great Person, to preferue all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places.<sup>16</sup> For by that meanes, there be so many<sup>17</sup> Skreenes betweene him, and *Envy*.

<sup>a</sup> This passage is transferred from the *Essay Of Nobility* in the 1612 edition.—See pp. 190, 191, 194.

<sup>b</sup> At a bound.

<sup>c</sup> How great things do we suffer.

<sup>12</sup> Rising. *Cum Honoribus cumulantur*, 'when they are laden with honours.'

<sup>13</sup> Birth. *Majoribus suis*, 'to their forefathers.'

<sup>14</sup> Steepe rising Ground. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>15</sup> Suddainly. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>16</sup> Preserve . . . in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. *Nihil detrahat*, 'detract nothing from.'

<sup>17</sup> So many. *Quot illi Ministri sunt, tot*, 'as many as there are officers, so many.'



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Above all, those are most subiect to<sup>18</sup> *Envy*, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: Being neuer well,<sup>19</sup> but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphanting ouer all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to *Envy*; in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose to be crost, and ouerborne<sup>20</sup> in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a plaine and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw lesse *Envy*, then if it be<sup>21</sup> in a more crafty, and cunning fashon. For in that course, a Man doth but disauow Fortune; And seemeth to be conscious, of his owne want in worth; And doth but teach<sup>22</sup> others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Envy*, had somewhat in it, of *Witchcraft*; so there is no other Cure of *Envy*, but the cure of *Witchcraft*:<sup>23</sup> And that is, to remoue the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it vpon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons, bring in euer vpon the Stage, some Body, vpon whom to deriue<sup>24</sup> the *Enuie*, that would come vpon themselves; Sometimes<sup>25</sup> vpon Ministers and Seruants; Sometimes vpon Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne, there are neuer wanting, some Persons of violent and vndertaking Natures, who so they may haue Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Subiect to. *In se concitant*, 'excite against themselves.'

<sup>19</sup> Well. *Sibi placentes*, 'pleasing to themselves.'

<sup>20</sup> Crost, and ouerborne. *Vinci*, 'overcome.'

<sup>21</sup> Then if it be. *Quam si se notæ subtrahat*, 'than if it withdraws itself from notice.'

<sup>22</sup> Teach. *Stimulat*, 'provoke.'

<sup>23</sup> Cure of Witchcraft. *Veneficii, et Incantationis*, 'witchcraft and charming.'

<sup>24</sup> Deriue. *Derivent*, 'turn off.'

<sup>25</sup> Sometimes. *Quandoque . . . eam rejicientes*, 'sometimes casting it off.'

<sup>26</sup> Take it at any cost. *Quovis periculo mercari*, 'buy it for any danger.'

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Now to speake of Publique *Enuy*. There is yet some good in *Publique Enuy*; whereas in *Private*, there is none. For *Publique Enuy* is as an *Ostracisme*,<sup>27</sup> that eclipseth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

This *Enuy*, being in the Latine word *Inuidia*, goeth in the Moderne languages, by the name of *Discontentment*: Of which we shall speake in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease, in a State,<sup>28</sup> like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth vpon that, which is sound, and tainteth it; So when *Enuy*, is gotten once into a State, it traduceth euen the best Actions<sup>29</sup> thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won by intermingling of plausible<sup>30</sup> Actions. For that doth argue, but a Weaknesse, and Feare of *Enuy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise vsuall in *Infections*; which if you feare them, you call them vpon you.<sup>31</sup>

This publike *Enuy*, seemeth to beat<sup>32</sup> chiefly, vpon principall Officers, or Ministers, rather then vpon Kings, and Estates<sup>33</sup> themselues. But this is a sure Rule, that if the *Enuy* vpon the Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is smal; or if the *Enuy* be generall, in a manner, vpon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the *Enuy* (though hidden) is truly vpon the State it selfe.<sup>34</sup> And so much of *publike enuy* or *discontentment*, and the difference therof from *Private Enuy*, which was handled in the first place.

<sup>27</sup> Ostracisme. *Salubris Otracismi*, 'a salutary ostracism.'

<sup>28</sup> State. *Regnis et Rebuspublicis*, 'kingdoms and states.'

<sup>29</sup> Actions. *Mandata et Instituta*, 'laws and ordinances.'

<sup>30</sup> Plausible. *Actiones gratas et populares, odiosis*, 'pleasing and popular actions with disagreeable ones.'

<sup>31</sup> Call them vpon you. *Facilius irruunt*, 'they attack you more easily.'

<sup>32</sup> Seemeth to beat. *Involat*, 'flies at.'

<sup>33</sup> And Estates. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>34</sup> State it selfe. *Regem, aut Statum ipsum*, 'the king or state itself.'

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We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of *Envy*; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continuall. For of other *Affections*,<sup>35</sup> there is occasion giuen, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit.*<sup>a</sup> For it is euer working vpon some, or other.<sup>36</sup> And it is also noted, that *Loue* and *Envy*, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraued; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute, of the Devill, who is called; *The Enuious Man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night.*<sup>b</sup> As it alwayes commeth to passe, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the preiudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.



<sup>a</sup> *Jealousy keeps not holidays.*

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xiii. 25.

<sup>35</sup> For of other Affections. *Aliis Affectibus excitandis*, 'of exciting other affections.'

<sup>36</sup> For it is euer working vpon some or other. *Quia semper Materiam se exercendi reperit*, 'for it always finds material on which to work.'

British Museum Copy.

## 12. Of Boldnesse.

**T** is a triuiall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise *Mans* Consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes*; *What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour?* He answered, *Action*; what next? *Action*; what next again? *Action*.<sup>a</sup> He said it, that knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Aduantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player; should be placed so high, about those other Noble Parts, of *Inuention*, *Elocution*, and the rest: Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wise; And therefore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case<sup>1</sup> of *Boldnesse*, in Ciuill Businesse; What first? *Boldnesse*; What Second, and Third? *Boldnesse*. And yet *Boldnesse* is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts.<sup>2</sup> But neuerthelesse, it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow<sup>3</sup> in Iudgment; or weake<sup>4</sup> in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea and preuaileth with wise men, at weake times.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we see it hath done wonders,<sup>6</sup> in Popular States; but with Senates

<sup>a</sup> Cicero, *Brutus*, xxxviii.

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Wonderfull like is the Case. *Mire conuenit, et quasi parallela est*, 'agrees wonderfully, and is as it were parallel.'<sup>2</sup> Other parts. *Ciuilis Scientiæ Partibus*, 'parts of political science.'<sup>3</sup> Shallow. *Infirmi*, 'weak.'<sup>4</sup> Weake. *Timidiore*, 'more timid.'<sup>5</sup> At weake times. *Cum Animis vacilleni*, 'when they waver in their minds.'<sup>6</sup> Done wonders. *Plurimum valuisse*, 'has been most strong.'

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and Princes lesse; And more euer vpon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, then soone after; For *Boldnesse* is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanques* for the Naturall Body:<sup>7</sup> So are there *Mountebanques* for the Politique Body: Men that vndertake great Cures; And perhaps have been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And therefore cannot hold out.<sup>8</sup> Nay you shall see a *Bold Fellow*, many times, doe *Mahomets* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the People beleue, that he would call an Hill to him; And from the Top of it, offer vp his Praiers, for the Obseruers of his Law. The People assembled; *Mahomet* cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe; And when the Hill stood still, he was neuer a whit abashed, but said; *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil.* So these Men, when they haue promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they haue the perfection of *Boldnesse*) they will but slight it ouer, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Iudgment, *Bold Persons*, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, *Boldnesse* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subiect of Laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldnesse* is seldome without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a *Bold Fellow* is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a most Shruncken, and wooden Posture;<sup>9</sup> As needs it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with *Bold Men*, vpon like occasion, they stand at a stay;<sup>10</sup> Like a Stale at Chesse, where

<sup>7</sup> For the Naturall Body. *Qui Corpori Naturali mederi profitentur*, 'who profess to heal the natural body.'

<sup>8</sup> Cannot hold out. *Sapius excidunt*, 'often fail.'

<sup>9</sup> Shruncken and wooden Posture. *In se reductum, sed deformiter*, 'drawn back into itself, but ill-favouredly.'

<sup>10</sup> Stand at a stay. *Attoniti hærent*, 'they stick, astounded.'

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it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot flirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Obseruation. This is well to be weighed; That *Boldnesse* is euer blinde: For it seeth not dangers, and Inconueniences. Therefore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Vse of *Bold* perfons is, that they neuer Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and vnder the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.



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British Museum Copy.

18. Of Trauaile.<sup>1</sup>

*T*rauaile, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *trauaileth* into a Country,<sup>2</sup> before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *Schoole*, and not to *Trauaile*. That Young Men trauaile vnder some Tutor, or graue<sup>3</sup> Seruant, I allow well; So that he be such a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seene<sup>4</sup> in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances<sup>5</sup> they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seene, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Trauaile*, wherein so much is to be obserued, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Obseruation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in vse. The Things to be seene and obserued are: The Courts of Princes, specially when they giue Audience<sup>6</sup> to Ambassadors.<sup>7</sup> The Courts of Iustice, while they sit<sup>8</sup> and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke: The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are there-

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Peregrinatione in Partes Exteras*, 'of travel into foreign parts.'

<sup>2</sup> Country. *Partes Exteras*, 'foreign parts.'

<sup>3</sup> Graue. *Experto*, 'experienced.'

<sup>4</sup> Seene. *Spectatu et cognitu*, 'seen and noticed.'

<sup>5</sup> Acquaintances. *Amicitie et Familiaritates*, 'friendships and acquaintances.'

<sup>6</sup> Giue Audience. *Admittunt*, 'admit.'

<sup>7</sup> Ambassadors. *Legatos Exteros*, 'foreign ambassadors.'

<sup>8</sup> While they sit. Omitted in the Latin.

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in extant : The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes ; And so the Hauens and Harbours : Antiquities. and Ruines : Libraries ; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are : Shipping and Nauies : Houfes, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities : Armories : Arfenals : Magazens :<sup>9</sup> Exchanges : Burfes : Ware-houfes : Exercifes of Horfe-man-ship ; Fencing ; Trayning<sup>10</sup> of Souldiers ; and the like : Comedies ; Such wherunto the better Sort of perfons doe resort ; Treasuries of Iewels, and Robes ; Cabinets,<sup>11</sup> and Rarities : And to conclude, whatfoeuer is memorable<sup>12</sup> in the Places ; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Seruants, ought to make diligent Enquire. As for Triumphs ; Masques ; Feasts, Weddings ; Funeralls ; Capitall Execu[tion]s ; and such Shewes ; Men need not to be put in minde of them ; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will haue a Young Man, to put his *Trauaille*,<sup>13</sup> into a little Roome, and in short time, to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must haue some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must haue such a Seruant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he trauelleth ; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one Citty, or Towne ; More or lesse as the place deserueth, but not long : Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change<sup>14</sup> his Lodging, from one End<sup>15</sup> and Part of the Towne, to another ; which

<sup>9</sup> Magazens. *Cellæ et Horrea publica*, 'public stores and granaries.'

<sup>10</sup> Trayning. *Delectus et Instructio*, 'levying and training.'

<sup>11</sup> Cabinets. *Curiositates*, 'curiosities.'

<sup>12</sup> Memorable. *Celebre aut memorabile*, 'remarkable or memorable.'

<sup>13</sup> Trauaille. *Fructum Peregrinationis*, 'the fruit of his travel.'

<sup>14</sup> Change. *Mutet sæpius*, 'change often.'

<sup>15</sup> End. Omitted in the Latin.



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is a great Adamant<sup>16</sup> of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he trauaileth. Let him vpon his Remoues, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he remoueth; that he may vse his Fauour,<sup>17</sup> in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge<sup>18</sup> his *Trauaile*, with much profit. As for the acquaintance,<sup>19</sup> which is to be fought in *Trauaile*; That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambassadors; For so in *Trauailing* in one Country he shall sucke<sup>20</sup> the Experience<sup>21</sup> of many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life<sup>22</sup> agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels,<sup>23</sup> they are with Care and Discretion to be auoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses;<sup>24</sup> Healths;<sup>25</sup> Place; and Words.<sup>26</sup> And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarrelsome<sup>27</sup> Persons; for they will engage him into their owne Quarels. When a *Trauailer* returneth home, let him not leaue the Countries, where he hath *Trauailed*, altogether behinde him;

<sup>16</sup> *After Adamant. Attrahendi Familiariitates, et Consuetudines Hominum complurium*, 'for attracting acquaintances and friendships with many men.'

<sup>17</sup> Fauour. *Favore et opera*, 'favour and help.'

<sup>18</sup> Abridge. *Vtilitatem accelerare*, 'hasten the profit.'

<sup>19</sup> Acquaintance. *Familiariitates et Amicitias*, 'acquaintances and friendships.'

<sup>20</sup> Sucke. *Ad se attrahet, et suget*, 'draw to himself and suck.'

<sup>21</sup> Experience. *Notitiam et Experientiam*, 'knowledge and experience.'

<sup>22</sup> Life. *Os, vultus, et Corporis Lineamenta et Motus*, 'face, countenance, and lineaments and movements of the body.'

<sup>23</sup> Quarels. *Rixas et Simultates*, 'quarrels and disputes.'

<sup>24</sup> Mistresses. *Amores*, 'loves.'

<sup>25</sup> Healths. *Computationes*, 'drinking bouts.'

<sup>26</sup> Words. *Verba contumeliosa*, 'insulting words.'

<sup>27</sup> Quarrelsome. *Qui facile Inimicitias suscipiunt*, 'who easily take up enmities.'

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But maintaine<sup>28</sup> a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth. And let his *Trouaile* appeare rather in his Discourfe, then in his Apparrell, or Gesture : And in his Discourfe, let him be rather aduised in his Answers, then forwards<sup>29</sup> to tell Stories ; And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts ; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his owne Country.



<sup>28</sup> Maintaine. *Conservet. et colat*, 'maintain and cultivate.'

<sup>29</sup> Forwards. *Facilis et pronus*, 'easy and disposed.'

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21. *Of Delays*.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Mora*, 'of delay.'

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holdeth vp the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common verſe) *turneth a Bald Noddle, after ſhe hath preſented her locks in Front, and no hold taken*: Or at leaſt turneth the Handle of the Bottle, firſt to be receiued, and after the Belly, which is hard to claſpe. There is ſurely no greater Wiſedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onſets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once ſeeme light: And more dangers haue deceiued Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet ſome Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing neare,<sup>2</sup> then to keepe too long a watch,<sup>3</sup> vpon their Approaches;<sup>4</sup> For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall aſleepe. On the other ſide, to be deceiued, with too long Shadowes, (As ſome haue beene, when the Moone was low, and ſhone on their Enemies backe) And ſo to ſhoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on, by ouer early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripeneſſe, or Vnripenefſe, of the Occaſion (as we ſaid) muſt euer be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to *Argos* with his hundred Eyes; And the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred Hands: Firſt to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politicke Man goe Inuiſible, is, *Secrecy* in the Counfell, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; Like the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth ſo ſwift, as it out-runs the Eye.



<sup>2</sup> Though they come nothing neare. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>3</sup> Watch. *Perpetuo inquirere, et observare*, 'continually to ſeek out and watch.'

<sup>4</sup> Approaches. *Motus, et Appropinquationem*, 'movements and approach.'

British Museum Copy.

## 24. Of Innouations.

**A**S the Births of Liuing Creatures,<sup>1</sup> at first, are ill shapen : So are all *Innouations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed : So the first President<sup>2</sup> (if it be good) is seldome attained<sup>3</sup> by Imitation.<sup>4</sup> For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands peruerted,<sup>5</sup> hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance : But Good, as<sup>6</sup> a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely euery *Medicine* is an *Innouation* ; And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Euils : For Time is the greatest *Innouatour* : And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worfe, and Wifedome, and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End?<sup>7</sup> It is true,<sup>8</sup> that what is setled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit.<sup>9</sup> And those Things, which haue long gone together,<sup>10</sup> are as it were confederate within themselues : Whereas New Things peece<sup>11</sup> not so well ; But though they helpe by their vtility, yet

## VI. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

- <sup>1</sup> Births of Liuing Creatures. *Partus recens editi*, 'recent births.'  
<sup>2</sup> First President. *Exemplaria, et Primordia*, 'precedents and beginnings.'  
<sup>3</sup> Seldome attained. *Plurimum, superant*, 'mostly surpass.'  
<sup>4</sup> Imitation. *Imitationem Ætatis sequentis*, 'imitation of the succeeding age.'  
<sup>5</sup> As it stands peruerted. Omitted in the Latin.  
<sup>6</sup> As. *Ut fieri amat*, 'as is usually done.'  
<sup>7</sup> End. *Finis Mali*, 'end of the evil.'  
<sup>8</sup> True. *Concedi prorsus debet*, 'must be granted.'  
<sup>9</sup> Fit. *Aptum . . . Temporibus*, 'fit for the times.'  
<sup>10</sup> Gone together. *Uno quasi Alveo fluxerunt*, 'have flowed as it were in one bed.'  
<sup>11</sup> Peece. *Veteribus . . . cohæreant*, 'cohere with the old.'  
<sup>12</sup> Inconformity. *Novitate tamen et Inconformitate*, 'by their newness and inconformity.'

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they trouble, by their Inconformity.<sup>12</sup> Besides, they<sup>13</sup> are like *Strangers*;<sup>14</sup> more Admired, and lesse Fauoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moueth so round, that a Froward<sup>15</sup> Retention of Custome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an *Innovation*: And they that Reverence too much Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the Example of Time it selfe; which indeed *Innouateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceiued:<sup>16</sup> For otherwise, whatsoeuer is New, is vnlooked for;<sup>17</sup> And euer it mends Some, and paires<sup>18</sup> Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments<sup>19</sup> in States;<sup>20</sup> Except the Necessity be Vrgent, or the vtility Euident: And well to beware, that it be the Reformation,<sup>21</sup> that draweth on the Change; And not the desire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Nouelty*,<sup>22</sup> though it be not reiected, yet be held for a Suspect; And, as the Scripture saith; *That we make a stand vpon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discouer, what is the straight, and right way, and so to walke in it.*<sup>a</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Jer. vi. 16.

<sup>12</sup> They. *Novitates*, 'novelties.'

<sup>13</sup> Strangers. *Advenæ aut peregrini*, 'newcomers or foreigners.'

<sup>14</sup> Froward. *Importuna et Morosa*, 'unsuitable and froward.'

<sup>15</sup> After Perceiued. *Illud enim pro certo habeas*, 'be assured of this.'

<sup>16</sup> Vnlooked for. *Præter Spem et Expectationem accedere*, 'comes, contrary to hope and expectation.'

<sup>17</sup> Paires. *Eripere*, 'takes away from.'

<sup>18</sup> Experiments. *Experimentis Novis*, 'new experiments.'

<sup>19</sup> States. *In Corporibus Politicis medendis*, 'in reforming political bodies.'

<sup>20</sup> Reformation. *Reformationis studium*, 'desire of reformation.'

<sup>21</sup> The Nouelty. *Omnis Novitas*, 'every novelty.'

British Museum Copy.

## 31. Of Suspicion.

**S***uspitions* amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they euer fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded: For they cloud the Minde; they leese Friends; and they checke with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Iealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry* the Seuenth of *England*: There was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition, they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man *Suspect* much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more,<sup>1</sup> and not to keep their *Suspitions* in Smother.<sup>2</sup> What would Men haue? Doe they thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints?<sup>3</sup> Doe they not thinke, they will haue their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselues, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate *Suspitions*, then to account vpon<sup>4</sup> such *Suspitions* as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a

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<sup>1</sup> Procuring to know more. *Ut quis Inquisitionem urgeat*, 'to press inquiry.'

<sup>2</sup> And not to keep their Suspitions in smother. *Fumo enim et Tenebris aluntur Suspiciones*, 'for suspicions are nourished by smoke and darkness.'

<sup>3</sup> Saints. *Angelos esse, aut Sanctos?* 'are angels or saints?'

<sup>4</sup> Account vpon. *Remedia parare*, 'prepare remedies.'

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Man ought to make use of *Suspicious*, as to provide, as if that should be true, that he *Suspects*, yet it may doe him no Hurt. *Suspicious*, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes;<sup>5</sup> But *Suspicious*, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads,<sup>6</sup> by the Tales, and Whisprings of others,<sup>7</sup> haue Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this same Wood<sup>8</sup> of *Suspicious*, is frankly to communicate them,<sup>9</sup> with the Partie, that he *Suspects*: For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect,<sup>10</sup> not to giue further Cause of *Suspicion*. But this would not be done to Men of base<sup>11</sup> Natures: For they, if they finde themselues once suspected, will neuer be true. The *Italian* saies: *Sospetto licentia fede.*<sup>a</sup> As if *Suspicion* did giue a Passport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selfe.



<sup>a</sup> *Suspicion gives a passport to trust.*

<sup>5</sup> Buzzes. *Iuanes Bombi*, 'empty buzzes.'

<sup>6</sup> Heads. *Animis*, 'minds.'

<sup>7</sup> Others. *Famigeratorum*, 'talebearers.'

<sup>8</sup> Same Wood. *Impedita Sylva*, 'tangled wood.'

<sup>9</sup> Frankly to communicate them. *Libera quadam et aperta illarum Declaratio*, 'a free and open declaration of them.'

<sup>10</sup> Circumspect. *Cautum magis et circumspectum*, 'more careful and circumspect.'

<sup>11</sup> Base. *Pravæ, et Degeneris*, 'bad and base.'

British Museum Copy.

33. Of Plantations.<sup>1</sup>

*Plantations*<sup>2</sup> are<sup>3</sup> amongst Ancient, Primitiue,<sup>4</sup> and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may iustly account new *Plantations*, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a *Plantation* in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not *Displanted*,<sup>5</sup> to the end, to *Plant* in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries, is like *Planting* of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost<sup>6</sup> Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence,<sup>7</sup> in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most *Plantations*,<sup>8</sup> hath beene the (Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit<sup>9</sup> is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Vnblest Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned<sup>10</sup> Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant*: And not only so, but it spoileth<sup>11</sup> the *Plantation*; For they will euer liue like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe

## VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Plantationibus Populorum, et Coloniis*, 'of plantations of peoples and colonies.'

<sup>2</sup> Plantations. *Colonia*, 'colonies.'

<sup>3</sup> Are. *Eminent*, 'are prominent.'

<sup>4</sup> Primitiue. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>5</sup> Displanted. *Destruitur*, 'destroyed.'

<sup>6</sup> Make account to leese almost . . . Profit. *De Utilitate capienda nihil cogitandum ante*, 'there must be no thought of getting profit before.'

<sup>7</sup> Recompence. *Fructus uber et locuples*, 'abundant and rich fruit.'

<sup>8</sup> Plantations. *Colonias, alias bene successuras*, 'plantations, which otherwise would have succeeded well.'

<sup>9</sup> Profit. *Lucri Segetem*, 'crop of profit.'

<sup>10</sup> Wicked Condemned. *Exules, et Damnati*, 'exiles and condemned men.'

<sup>11</sup> Spoileth. *Corrumpit et perdit*, 'spoils and destroys.'



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Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary,<sup>12</sup> and then Certifie<sup>13</sup> ouer to their Country, to the Discredit<sup>14</sup> of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardners,<sup>15</sup> Ploughmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Ioyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few<sup>16</sup> Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooke, and Bakers.<sup>17</sup> In a Country of *Plantation*, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall,<sup>18</sup> the Countrie yeelds of it selfe, to Hand:<sup>19</sup> As Chestnuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Oliues, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make vse of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish,<sup>20</sup> Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat,<sup>21</sup> Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serue for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. About all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such, as are least Subiect to Diseases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkeys, Geese, House doues,<sup>22</sup> and the like. The Victuall in *Plantations*, ought to be expended, almost as in a Belieged Townte; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed

<sup>12</sup> Weary. *Colonia Fastidio*, 'weary of the colony.'

<sup>13</sup> Certifie. *Nuncios et Literas mittent*, 'will send messengers and letters.'

<sup>14</sup> Discredit. *Præiudicium et dedecus*, 'prejudice and discredit.'

<sup>15</sup> Before Gardners. *Præcipue Artifices generum sequentium*, 'chiefly artificers of the following kinds.'

<sup>16</sup> With some few. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>17</sup> After Bakers. *Cerevisiarum, et huiusmodi*, 'brewers and the like.'

<sup>18</sup> Victuall. *Esculentorum et Potulentorum*, 'eatables and drinkables.'

<sup>19</sup> To Hand. *Sine cultura*, 'without tilling.'

<sup>20</sup> After Radish. *Melones, Pepones, Cucumeres*, 'melons, pumpkins, cucumbers.'

<sup>21</sup> After Wheat. *Siliquam*, 'pulse.'

<sup>22</sup> After House-doues. *Cuniculi*, 'rabbits.'

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to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke ;<sup>23</sup> And to be Laid in, and Stored vp,<sup>24</sup> and then Deliuered out in Proportion ; Besides some Spots of Ground, that any Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne Priuate.<sup>25</sup> Consider likewise, what Commodities the Soile, where the *Plantation* is,<sup>26</sup> doth naturally yeeld. that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the *Plantation* :<sup>27</sup> So it be not, as was said, to the vntimely Preiudice, of the maine Businesse :<sup>28</sup> As it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*.<sup>a</sup> Wood<sup>29</sup> commonly aboundeth but too much ; And therefore, Timber<sup>30</sup> is fit to be one.<sup>31</sup> If there be Iron Vre, and Streames whereupon to fet the Milles ; Iron is a braue<sup>32</sup> Commodity, where Wood aboundeth. Making<sup>33</sup> of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silke<sup>34</sup> likewise, if any be, is a likely<sup>35</sup> Commodity. Pitch and Tarre,<sup>36</sup> where store of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit. Soape Ashes<sup>37</sup> likewise, and other Things, that

<sup>a</sup> In the Latin this clause precedes the one before it in the text, and reads thus :—' Charge of the *Plantation*, As it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*, So it be not, as was said, to the vntimely Preiudice of the maine Businesse. Wood, commonly, &c.

<sup>23</sup> Common Stocke. *Horreis publicis*, 'public granaries.'

<sup>24</sup> Stored vp. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>25</sup> That any Particular Person . . . owne priuate. *In quibus Industria singulorum se exercent*, 'on which the industry of individuals may be

<sup>26</sup> Soile, where the *Plantation* is. *Regio illa*, 'that district.' [exercised.]

<sup>27</sup> That they may . . . . *Plantation*. *Vt Exportatio carum. in loca ubi maxime in pretio sunt, sumptus leuet*, 'that their exportation to places where they are of most value, may lessen the expense.'

<sup>28</sup> Maine Businesse. *Coloniæ ipsius*, 'the plantation itself.'

<sup>29</sup> *After* Wood. *In Regionibus desertis*, 'in uninhabited countries.'

<sup>30</sup> Timber. *Ligna, ad Edificia, Naves, aut ejusmodi usus apta*, 'timber, fit for building houses and ships or similar purposes.'

<sup>31</sup> To be one. *Inter præcipuas Merces numeranda*, 'to be counted among the chief articles of traffic.'

<sup>32</sup> Braue. *Questuosus*, 'profitable.'

<sup>33</sup> Making. *Confectio per Calorem Solis*, 'making by the heat of the sun.'

<sup>34</sup> Silke. *Sericum vegetabile*, 'vegetable silk.'

<sup>35</sup> Likely. *Lucrosa*, 'profitable.'

<sup>36</sup> Pitch and Tarre. *Pix cujuscuque generis*, 'pitch of all kinds.'

<sup>37</sup> Soape Ashes. *Cineres quibus ad Sapam utuntur, non medicum Utilitatem afferent*, 'ashes, which are used for soap, will bring no little advantage.'

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may be thought of. But moile not too much vnder Ground:<sup>38</sup> For the Hope<sup>39</sup> of Mines is very Vncertaine,<sup>40</sup> and vseth to make the *Planters*<sup>41</sup> Lazie, in other Things. For Gouernment, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them haue Commission, to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And about all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wilderneffe, as they haue God alwaies, and his Seruice before their Eyes. Let not the Gouernment of the *Plantation*, depend vpon too many Counsellours, and Vndertakers, in the Countrey that *Planteth*, but vpon a temperate Number;<sup>42</sup> And let those be, rather Noblemen, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke euer to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes from Custome,<sup>43</sup> till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only Freedom from Custome,<sup>44</sup> but Freedom to carrie their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme<sup>45</sup> not in People, by sending too fast, Company, after Company; But rather hearken how they waste,<sup>46</sup> and send Supplies proportionably; But so, as the Number may liue well, in the

<sup>38</sup> Moile not . . . ground. *Verum fodinis ne confidas nimium præsertim a principio*, 'but trust not too much to mines, especially in the beginning.'

<sup>39</sup> Hope. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>40</sup> Vncertaine. *Fallaces et sumptuosæ*, 'deceiving and expensive.'

<sup>41</sup> Vncertaine. *Spe pulchra lactantes, Colonos reddunt*, 'and alluring the planters with fair hopes, make them.'

<sup>42</sup> Let not the Gouernment . . . Number. *Rursus, Colonia, a numerosiore Concilio Intelligo in Regione. Matre Colonia, residente non pendeat; Nec ob Contributiones exiguas Multitudini nimie subjiciatur; Sed sit Numerus eorum, qui Negotia Coloniæ procurant et ordinant, moderatus*: 'again let not the colony depend on a too numerous council, residing in the mother country, nor let it be subject to too great a multitude on account of small contributions, but let the number of those who manage and order the business of the colony be moderate.'

<sup>43</sup> Custome. *Vectigalibus et Portoriis*, 'taxes and customes.'

<sup>44</sup> Custome. *Solutionibus Pecuniarum*, 'payment of money.'

<sup>45</sup> Cramme. *Farcias aut superoueres*, 'cram or overload.'

<sup>46</sup> Waste. *Quot Capita de tempore in tempus minuantur*, 'how the number is diminished from time to time.'

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*Plantation*, and not by Surcharge<sup>47</sup> be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some *Plantations*, that they haue built along the Sea, and Riuers, in Marish and vnwholesome<sup>48</sup> Grounds Therefore, though you begin there, to auoid Carriage, and other like Difcommodities, yet build still, rather upwards, from the Streames, then along.<sup>49</sup> It concerneth likewise, the Health of the *Plantation*, that they haue good Store of Salt with them, that they may vse it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary.<sup>50</sup> If you *Plant*, where Sauages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But vse them iustly, and gratioussly, with sufficient Guard neuerthelesse: And doe not winne their fauour, by helping them to inuade their Enemies, but for their Defence<sup>51</sup> it is not amisse. And send oft of them, ouer to the Country, that *Plants*, that they may see a better Condition<sup>52</sup> then their owne, and commend<sup>53</sup> it when they returne. When the *Plantation* grows to Strength, then it is time, to *Plant* with Women,<sup>54</sup> as well as with Men; That the *Plantation* may spread into Generations, and not be euer peeced<sup>55</sup> from without. It is the sinfullest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a *Plantation*, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Blood,<sup>56</sup> of many Commiserable Persons.



<sup>47</sup> Surcharge. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>48</sup> Vnwholesome. *Aquosis*, 'watery.'

<sup>49</sup> Then along. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>50</sup> Necessary. *Quos verisimile est putridos aliter sæpe futuros*, 'which (the victuals) will probably otherwise be often putrid.'

<sup>51</sup> Defence. *Sed Auxiliis Defensivis non incommodum erit subuenire*, 'but to help them by aid for their defence will not be amiss.'

<sup>52</sup> Condition. *Conditiones hominum*, 'condition of men.'

<sup>53</sup> Commend. *Divulgent*, 'publish.'

<sup>54</sup> Plant with Women . . . Men. *Mulieres summittere*, 'send women also.'

<sup>55</sup> Be . . . peeced. *Pendeat*, 'depend.'

<sup>56</sup> Guiltinesse of Blood. *Proditio mera Profusioque Sanguinis*, 'simple betrayal and shedding of blood.'

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## 35. Of Prophecies.



Meane not to speake of *Diuine Prophecies*; Nor of Heathen Oracles; Nor of Naturall Predictions; But only of *Prophecies*, that haue beene of certaine Memory, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*; *To Morroze thou and thy sonne shall be with me.*<sup>a</sup> *Homer* hath these Verses.

*At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,  
Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascuntur ab illis:*<sup>b</sup>

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

————— *Venient Annis  
Secula feris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens  
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque nouos  
Detegat Orbes; nec fit Terris  
Vltima Thule:*<sup>c</sup>

A *Prophecie* of the Discouery of *America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Iupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine washed it.<sup>d</sup> *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed, He sealed vp his Wiues Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But *Aris-*

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.

<sup>b</sup> But the family of *Æneas* shall rule over all lands. And his children's children and those that shall be born of them. Virgil. *Æneid.* iii. 97. which are adapted from *Homer. Iliad.* xx. 307, 8.

<sup>c</sup> There shall come a time in the series of years, in which the Ocean shall unloose the bounds of things and a vast earth shall appear; also another *Typhis* shall disclose new worlds, neither shall *Thule* be the farthest land. *Seneca. Metea.* ii. 375-380.

<sup>d</sup> *Herodotus.* iii.

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*tander* the Soothfayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not vse to Seale Veffells that are emptie.<sup>a</sup> A Phantafme, that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him; *Philippis iterum me videbis.*<sup>b</sup> *Tiberius* said to *Galba*. *Tu quoque Galba degustabis Imperium.*<sup>c</sup> In *Vespasians* Time, there went a *Prophecie* in the East; That those that should come forth of *Iudea*, should reigne ouer the World: which though it may be was meant of our *Sauour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian.*<sup>d</sup> *Domitian* dreamed, the Night before he was flaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke:<sup>e</sup> And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixt of *England*, said of *Henry* the Seuenth, when he was a Lad, and gaue him Water; *This is the Lad, that shall enioy the Crowne, for which we strue.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one *Dr. Pena*, that the *Q. Mother*, who was giuen to Curious Arts, caused the *King* her Husbands Natiuitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gaue a Iudgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband, to be aboue Challenges and Duels: but he was flaine, vpon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of *Mongomery*, going in at his Beuer. The triuiall *Prophecie*, which I heard, when I was a Childe, and *Queene Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

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

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. *Alexander*. ii.

<sup>b</sup> *Thou shalt see me again at Philippi.* Appian. *De Bellis Civilibus*. iv. 134.

<sup>c</sup> *Thou also wilt taste of Empire.* Suetonius. *Galba*. iv. tells it of Augustus.

<sup>d</sup> Tacitus. *History*. v. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Suetonius. *Domitian*. xxiii.

<sup>f</sup> Holinshed. iii. 678. *b. Ed.* 1587.

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

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

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

*Octogesima octauus mirabilis Annus;*<sup>a</sup>

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that euer swamme vpon the Sea. As for *Cleons* Dreame, I thinke it was a Iest. It was, that he was deuoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Saufages, that troubled him exceedingly.<sup>b</sup> There are Numbers of the like kinde; Especially if you include *Dreames*, and *Predictions* of *Astrologie*. But I haue set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Iudgement is, that they ought all to be *Despised*; And ought to serue, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say *Despised*, I meane it as for Beleefe: For other-

<sup>a</sup> *Eighty Eight, a year of wonders.*

<sup>b</sup> *Aristophanes. Knights. 195.*

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wife, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no fort to be *Despised*. For they haue done much Mischiefe: And I see many feuere Lawes made to suppress them. That, that hath giuen them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke, when they hit, and neuer marke, when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of *Dreames*. The second is, that Probable Coniectures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne themselues into *Prophecies*: While the Nature of Man, which coueteth *Diuination*, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subiect to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlanticke; which mought be Probably conceiued, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it mought encourage One, to turne it to a *Prediction*. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, haue beene Impostures, and by Idle and craftie Braines, meerey contriued and faigned, after the Euent Past.





British Museum Copy.

## 37. Of Masques and Triumphs.



Hese Things are but Toyes, to come amongst such Serious Obseruations. But yet, since Princes will haue such Things, it is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I vnderstand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musicke: And the Ditty fitted to the Deuice. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extreme Good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the *Voices* of the *Dialogue*, would be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treble;) And the *Ditty* High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. *Seuerall Quires*, placed one ouer against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Anthems* wise, giue great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure*, is a childish Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set downe, are such, as doe naturally take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and relieue the Eye, before it be full of the same Obiect. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied*: And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene*, haue some Motions, vpon the *Scene* it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discern. Let the *Songs* be *Loud*, and *Cheerefull*, and

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not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Musicke* likewise, be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and *Well Placcd*. The *Colours*, that shew best by Candlelight, are ; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene ; And *Oes*, or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not Discerned. Let the *Sutes* of the *Masquers*, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person, when the *Vizars* are off : Not after Examples of Knowne Attires ; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-masques* not be long : They haue been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nimphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua's Mouing, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in *Anti-Masques* ; And any Thing that is hideous, as Deuils, Giants, is on the other side as vnfit. But chiefly, let the *Musicke* of them, be Recreatiue, and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure ; and Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the *Roome* be kept Cleare, and Neat.

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



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41. Of Usurie.<sup>1</sup>

Any haue made Wittie Inuectiues against *Usurie*.<sup>2</sup> They say, that it is Pitie, the Deuill should haue Gods part, which is the *Tithe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth euey Sunday.<sup>3</sup> That the *Usurer* is the *Droane*, that Virgil speaketh of :

*Ignauum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent.*<sup>a</sup>

That the *Usurer* breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultus tui comedes Panem tuum*; Not, *In sudore Vultus alieni*.<sup>b</sup> That *Usurers* should haue Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe *Iudaize*. That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money*; And the like. I say this onely, that *Usury* is a *Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis*:<sup>c</sup> For since there must be Borrowing and Lending,<sup>4</sup> and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some Others haue made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes,<sup>5</sup> Discouery of Mens Estates, and other Inuentions. But few haue spoken of *Usury* vselfully.<sup>6</sup> It is good to set before vs, the *Incommodities*, and *Commodities* of *Usury*; That the Good may be,

<sup>a</sup> They drive away the drones, a slothful race, from the hives. Virgil. *Georgics*. iv. 168.

<sup>b</sup> In the sweat of thy face, shalt thou eat thy bread [Gen. iii. 18], not in the sweat of another's face.

<sup>c</sup> A concession on account of the hardness of the heart.

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1633.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Usura sive Fænore*, 'of usury or interest.'

<sup>2</sup> Usurie. *Feneratoros*, 'usurers.'

<sup>3</sup> Euey Sunday. *Sabbathis*, 'on Sabbaths.'

<sup>4</sup> Borrowing and Lending. *Ut Pecunias mutuo dent, et accipiant*, 'that men should give and receive money on loan.'

<sup>5</sup> Bankes. *Argentariis, et Excambiis publicis*, 'banks and public exchanges.'

<sup>6</sup> Vselfully. *Solide et utiliter*, 'solidly and usefully.'

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either Weighed out, or Culled out; And warily to provide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with<sup>7</sup> that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Vfury* are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of *Vfury*,<sup>8</sup> Money would not lie still,<sup>9</sup> but would, in great Part, be Employed vpon Merchandizing; Which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth<sup>10</sup> in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well,<sup>11</sup> if he sit at<sup>12</sup> a great Rent; So the Merchant cannot driue his Trade so well,<sup>13</sup> if he sit at<sup>14</sup> great *Vfury*. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States,<sup>15</sup> which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure<sup>16</sup> of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the *Vfurer*<sup>17</sup> being at Certainties, and others at Vncertainties, at the end of the Game;<sup>18</sup> Most of the Money will be in the Boxe;<sup>19</sup> And euer a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally<sup>20</sup> spread.<sup>21</sup> The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land:<sup>22</sup> For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either

<sup>7</sup> Meet not with. *Intercipiamur et incidamus*, 'are intercepted by and fall into.'

<sup>8</sup> Trade of Vsury. *Pecunia in Fœnus Erogatio*, 'giving out of money at interest.'

<sup>9</sup> Lie still. *Delitescerent præ Socordia*, 'be hidden away from idleness.'

<sup>10</sup> Of Wealth. *Ad Opes introducendas*, 'for bringing in wealth.'

<sup>11</sup> So well. *Ita fructuose*, 'so fruitfully.'

<sup>12</sup> Sit at. *Solvat*, 'pay.'

<sup>13</sup> So well. *Tam commode et lucrose*, 'so conveniently and profitably.'

<sup>14</sup> If he sit at. *Si Pecuniis Fœnore sumptis, negotietur*, 'if he do business with money taken up at interest.'

<sup>15</sup> Customes of Kings or States. *Portoriorum et Vectigalium publicorum*, 'public customs and taxes.'

<sup>16</sup> Treasure. *Thesaurum, et Pecunias*, 'treasure and money.'

<sup>17</sup> Vsurer. *Fœneratoris Lucrum*, 'the usurer's gain.'

<sup>18</sup> After Game. *Prout fit sæpe in Alea*, 'as often happens at dice.'

<sup>19</sup> The Boxe. *Promo*, 'the keeper.'

<sup>20</sup> Equally. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>21</sup> Spread. *Dispergantur, non coacerventur*, 'spread not heaped up.'

<sup>22</sup> Land. *Terre et Prædiorum*, 'land and farms.'

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Merchandizing, or Purchasing;<sup>23</sup> And *Vsfury* Way-layes both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improuements, and new Inuentions, wherin Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Sluggie. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in proceffe of Time breeds a Publike Pouertie.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Vsfury* are. First, that howsoever *Vsfury* in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it aduanceth it: For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is driuen by Young Merchants, vpon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Vsfurer*, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand<sup>24</sup> of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing vpon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw vpon them, a most sudder vndoing; In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre vnder Foot;<sup>25</sup> and so, whereas *Vsfury* doth but Gnaw vpon them, Bad Markets<sup>26</sup> would Swallow them quite vp. As for Mortgaging,<sup>27</sup> or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without *Vse*; Or if they doe, they will looke precisely for the Forfeiture.<sup>28</sup> I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man, in the Country, that would say: The Deuill take this *Vsfury*, it keeps vs from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceiue, that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit:

<sup>23</sup> Purchasing. *Prædiorum Coemptiones*, 'purchasing farms.'

<sup>24</sup> Stand. *Clades*, 'destruction.'

<sup>25</sup> Farre vnder Foot. *Nimis vili pretio*, 'at too low a price.'

<sup>26</sup> Bad Markets. *Distractioes*, 'selling piecemeal.'

<sup>27</sup> Mortgaging. *Ea que a Iureconsultis appelluntur Mortua vadia*, 'what are called by lawyers mortgages.'

<sup>28</sup> Forfeiture. *Solutione ad diem minime præstita, summo jure agent*, 'if payment is not made at the day, they will act according to the extremity of the law.'

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And it is impossible to conceiue, the Number of Inconueniences, that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of *Vfury* is Idle. All States haue euer had<sup>29</sup> it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to *Vtopia*.

To speake now, of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Vfury*; How the *Discommodities* of it may be best auoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appears by the Ballance, of *Commodities*, and *Discommodities* of *Vfury*, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the *Tooth* of *Vfurie* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to inuite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning<sup>30</sup> of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two seuerall *Sorts* of *Vfury*; A *Leffe*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Vfury*, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common<sup>31</sup> Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seeke for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucratieue, may beare *Vfury* at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serue both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be *Two Rates* of *Vfury*, The one Free, and Generall<sup>32</sup> for All; The other vnder *Licence* only, to *Certaine Persons*, and in *Certaine Places* of *Merchandizing*.<sup>33</sup> First therefore, let *Vfury*, in generall, be reduced to *Fiue in the Hundred*;<sup>34</sup> And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current;<sup>35</sup> And let the

<sup>29</sup> Had. *Tolerariunt*, 'have tolerated.'

<sup>30</sup> Continuing and Quickning. *Ne Commercium intercidat aut languescat*, 'that trade may not be interrupted or grow slack.'

<sup>31</sup> Common. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>32</sup> Free, and Generall. *Permittatur*, 'be permitted.'

<sup>33</sup> Certaine Places of Merchandizing. *Reipublicæ locis, ubi Mercatura seruet*, 'places of the State, where commerce is brisk.'

<sup>34</sup> Five in the Hundred. *Partem vicesimam . . . in Annum*, 'the twentieth part for a year.'

<sup>35</sup> Free and Current. *Libera omnibus*, 'free to all.'

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State<sup>36</sup> shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the same.<sup>37</sup> This will preferue Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drineffe.<sup>38</sup> This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Countrey. This will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares Purchase, wil yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Fiue.<sup>39</sup> This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improvements;<sup>40</sup> Because Many will rather venture in that kinde, then take Fiue in the Hundred,<sup>41</sup> especially hauing bene vsed to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be *Certaine Persons licensed to Lend, to knowne Merchants*,<sup>42</sup> vpon *Vjury* at a *Higher Rate*; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, euen with the Merchant himselfe,<sup>43</sup> somewhat more easie, then that he vsed formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers<sup>44</sup> shall haue some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whofoeuer. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but euery Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>36</sup> State. *Princeps sive Respublica*, 'prince or state.'

<sup>37</sup> Shut it selfe . . . same. *Mulctæ omni renunciet*, 'renounce all fines.'

<sup>38</sup> Drinesse. *Difficultate majore*, 'greater difficulty.'

<sup>39</sup> Because Land . . . but Fiue. *Quandoquidem annuus Valor prædiorum, hic apud Nos in Anglia, excedet illam Fænoris, ad hanc Proportionem redacti; Quantum annuus Valor sex Librarum, excedit illum quinque tantum*, 'since the yearly value of land, with us here in England, will exceed that of interest, reduced to this rate: as the yearly value of £6 exceeds that of £5.'

<sup>40</sup> Industrious and Profitable Improvements. *Industrias Hominum, ad utilia et lucrosa Inuenta*, 'the industries of men to useful and profitable inventions.'

<sup>41</sup> Fiue in the Hundred. *Lucro tam exili, quale diximus, ex Vsuris*, 'such a small profit, as we have said, from usury.'

<sup>42</sup> After Knowne Merchants. *Et non aliis quibuscunque Hominibus*, 'and to no other men.'

<sup>43</sup> Euen with the Merchant himselfe. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>44</sup> Borrowers. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>45</sup> Let it be no Banke . . . certain suspicions. Omitted in the Latin.

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Let the State<sup>46</sup> be answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest<sup>47</sup> left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small,<sup>48</sup> it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke<sup>49</sup> before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then giue ouer his Trade of *Vfury*; And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard.<sup>50</sup> Let these Licensfed Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneyes,<sup>51</sup> in the Country: So as the *Licence of Nine*,<sup>52</sup> will not sucke away the current *Rate of Fiue*: For no Man will fend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Vnknown Hands.

If it be Obiected, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize *Vfury*, which before was, in some places, but Permissiue: The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate *Vfury* by *Declaration*, then to suffer it to Rage by *Connuence*.<sup>53</sup>



<sup>46</sup> State. *Princeps sive Respublica*, 'prince or state.'

<sup>47</sup> The rest. *Reliquum Lucri*, 'the rest of the profit.'

<sup>48</sup> Abatement be but small. *Lucrum Fœneratoris leviter tantum minuat*, 'the gain of the lender be only slightly lessened.'

<sup>49</sup> Tooke. *Quotannis accipere solebat*, 'was wont to take yearly.'

<sup>50</sup> Goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. *Certa cum Incertis commutabit*, 'change certainties for uncertainties.'

<sup>51</sup> Colour other Mens Moneyes. *Prætextu Licentiarum, Opportunitatem non habebunt pecunias aliorum pro suis commodandi*, 'will not have opportunity, under the pretext of their licence, of lending other men's money as their own.'

<sup>52</sup> Nine. *Novem aut octo Librarum Proportio, Licentia munita*, 'the rate of £9 or £8 fortified by a licence.'

<sup>53</sup> If it be Obiected . . . Connuence. Omitted in the Latin.



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45. Of Building.<sup>1</sup>



*H*ouses are built to Live in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Vse bee preferred before Vniformitie;<sup>2</sup> Except where both may be had. Leauē the Goodly Fabrickes of *Houses*, for Beautie only,<sup>3</sup> to the *Enchanted Pallaces* of the *Poets*: Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire *House*, vpon an *ill Seat*, commiteth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an *ill Seat*, only, where the Aire is Vnwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is vnequall; As you shall see many fine *Seats*,<sup>4</sup> set vpon a knap of Ground, Enuironed<sup>5</sup> with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth<sup>6</sup> as in Troughes; So as you shall haue as great Diuerfitie of Heat and Cold, as if you Dwelt in feuerall Places. Neither is it *ill Aire* onely, that maketh an *ill Seat*, but Ill wayes,<sup>7</sup> Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with *Momus*, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter;<sup>8</sup> Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of feuerall Natures; Want of Prospeçt; Want of Leuell<sup>9</sup> Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote; Hauing the Commo-

VE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> TITLE. *De Edificiis*, 'of buildings.'

<sup>2</sup> Vniformitie. *Pulchritudini*, 'beauty.'

<sup>3</sup> For Beautie only. *Quæ Admirationem incutiunt*, 'which strike us with admiration.'

<sup>4</sup> Fine Seats. *Ædes*, 'house.'

<sup>5</sup> Enuironed. *Cincto undique, more Theatri*, 'girt on all sides like a theatre.'

<sup>6</sup> Gathereth. *Variis astibus reciprocantur*, 'are moved backwards and forwards in various tides.'

<sup>7</sup> Wayes. *Viarum et Adituum Inconmoditas*, 'inconvenience of roads and approaches.'

<sup>8</sup> Shelter. *Focum*, 'fuel.'

<sup>9</sup> Leuell. *Planæ et aquabilis*, 'level and even.'

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ditie<sup>10</sup> of Nauigable Riuers, or the discommoditie of their Ouerflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Prouisions, and maketh euey Thing deare; Where a Man hath a great Liuing laid together,<sup>11</sup> and where he is scanted:<sup>12</sup> All which, as it is impossiblle, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can:<sup>13</sup> And if he haue feuerall Dwellings,<sup>14</sup> that he fort them so, that what he wanteth in the One, hee may finde in the Other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well; Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his *Houses*, said; *Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter?* *Lucullus* answered: *Why, doe you not think me as Wise, as some Fowle are, that euer change their Aboad towards the Winter?*

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

First therefore, I say, you cannot haue a Perfect

<sup>10</sup> Having the Commodity. *Nulla commoditas*, 'no commodity.'

<sup>11</sup> Great Liuing laid together. *Latifundia ampla possideat, aut acquirere possit*, 'possesses or can acquire large estates.'

<sup>12</sup> Scanted. *Pennis extendere nequeat*, 'cannot extend his wings.'

<sup>13</sup> All which, as it is impossible . . . many as he can. *Quæ singula minime eo animo enumeramus, acsi Domus aliqua his Incommodis omnibus vacare possit verum ut tot ex illis evitemus, quot vitari concedatur*, 'which we have not enumerated, as if any house could be without all these disadvantages, but that we should avoid as many of them as possible.'

<sup>14</sup> Haue severall Dwellings. *Domos plures ædificet*, 'build several houses.'

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*Pallace*, except you haue two feuerall Sides; A Side for the *Banquet*, as is spoken of in the Booke of *Hester*; And a Side; for the *Houſhold*:<sup>15</sup> The One for Feaſts<sup>16</sup> and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I vnderſtand both theſe Sides, to be not onely Returnes,<sup>17</sup> but Parts of the *Front*; And to be vni-forme without, though feuerally Partitioned<sup>18</sup> within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and *Stately Tower*, in the Middeſt of the *Front*; That as it were, ioyneth them together, on either Hand. I would haue on the Side of the *Banquet*, in Front, one only *Goodly Roome*, aboue Staires, of ſome Fortie<sup>19</sup> Foot high; And vnder it, a Roome,<sup>20</sup> for a *Dreſſing* or *Preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs.<sup>21</sup> On the other Side, which is the *Houſhold* Side, I wiſh it diuided at the firſt, into a *Hall*, and a *Chappell*, (with a Partition betweene;)<sup>22</sup> Both of good State, and Bigneſſe: And thoſe not to goe all the length, but to haue, at the further end, a *Winter*, and a *Summer Parler*, both Faire.<sup>23</sup> And vnder theſe Roomes,<sup>24</sup> A Faire and Large *Cellar*,<sup>25</sup> funcke vnder Ground: And likewise,<sup>26</sup> ſome *Priuie Kitchins*, with *Butteries*, and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would haue it two Stories, of Eighteene<sup>27</sup> Foot High a peece, aboue the two Wings;

<sup>15</sup> Houſhold. *Mansionis ſivæ familia*, 'dwelling or houſehold.'

<sup>16</sup> Feaſts. *Magnificentias et Celebritates*, 'ſplendours and celebrations.'

<sup>17</sup> Returnes. *Latera Domus*, 'ſides of the houſe.'

<sup>18</sup> Seuerally Partitioned. *Longe diverſas*, 'far different.'

<sup>19</sup> Fortie. *Quinquaginta pedes ad minus*, 'fifty feet at leaſt.'

<sup>20</sup> A Roome. *Cameram item alteram, ſimilis longitudinis et latitudinis*, 'another room of the ſame length and width.'

<sup>21</sup> Times of Triumphs. *Festa, Ludos, et ejusmodi Magnificentias; Actores etiam dum ſe orient et porent, commode recipiat*, 'feaſts, plays, and ſuch magnificenties, and to receive conveniently the actors while dreſſing and preparing.'

<sup>22</sup> (With a Partition betweene;) Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>23</sup> Both Faire. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>24</sup> After vnder theſe Roomes. *Excepto ſacello*, 'except the chapel.'

<sup>25</sup> Faire and Large Cellar. *Amplas Cellas*, 'large cellars.'

<sup>26</sup> And likewise. *Quæ inſerviant*, 'which may ſerve for.'

<sup>27</sup> Eighteene. *Quindecim*, 'fifteen.'

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And a Goodly<sup>28</sup> *Leads* vpon the Top, railed with<sup>29</sup> Statua's interposed; And the same *Tower* to bee diuided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit.<sup>30</sup> The Staires likewise, to the vpper Roomes, let them bee vpon a Faire open *Newell*,<sup>31</sup> and finely raild in, with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a *Brasse*<sup>32</sup> Colour: And a very faire<sup>33</sup> *Landing Place* at the Top. But this is to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Seruants. For otherwise,<sup>34</sup> you shall haue the Seruants Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come vp as in a Tunnell. And so much for the *Front*. Only, I vnderstand the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene<sup>35</sup> Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a Faire<sup>36</sup> *Court*, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the *Front*. And in all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cafes,<sup>37</sup> cast into *Turrets*, on the Outside, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themfelues. But those *Towers*, are not to be of the Height of the *Front*; But rather Proportionable to the Lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be pauered,<sup>38</sup> for that striketh vp a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter.

<sup>28</sup> Goodly. *Æquabili*, 'even.'

<sup>29</sup> Railed with. *Per fulcra Laterum*, 'by the rails of the sides.'

<sup>30</sup> As shall be thought fit. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>31</sup> A Faire open Newell. *Apertos esse, et in se revertentes, et per Senos subinde diuisos*, 'open, turning back, and diuided into sixes.'

<sup>32</sup> Brasse. *Inauratis, vel saltem æuei coloris*, 'gilded, or at least of a brass colour.'

<sup>33</sup> Very faire. *Spatiosa et lata*, 'roomy and wide.'

<sup>34</sup> For otherwise . . . your owne. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>35</sup> Sixteene. *Viginti*, 'twenty.'

<sup>36</sup> Faire. *Spatiosam*, 'roomy.'

<sup>37</sup> Faire Staire . . . Buildings. *Turres extruantur, Altitudinem Laterum Prædictorum nonnihil superantes, ad Gradus, quibus in superiora ascendatur, capiendos: Quæ Turres non recipiantur in Planam ædificii; Sed extra promineant*, 'towers should be built, not exceeding the height of the said sides, to hold staircases to ascend to the upper rooms; which towers must not be received into the level of the building but stand beyond it.'

<sup>38</sup> Pauered. *Lapidibus latis quadrangulis substernatur*, 'be pauered with broad square stones.'

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But onely some Side Alleys,<sup>39</sup> with a Croffe, and the *Quarters* to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The *Row of Returne*,<sup>40</sup> on the *Banquet Side*, Let it be all *Stately*<sup>41</sup> *Galleries*; In which *Galleries*, Let there be<sup>42</sup> three, or five, fine *Cupola's*, in the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine *Coloured Windowes* of feuerall workes.<sup>43</sup> On the Household Side,<sup>44</sup> *Chambers of Prefence*, and Ordinary Entertainments, with some *Bed-chambers*; And let all three Sides, be a double House, without Thorow Lights, on the Sides,<sup>45</sup> that you may haue Roomes from the Sunne,<sup>46</sup> both for Fore-noone, and After-noone. Cast it also, that you may haue Roomes,<sup>47</sup> both for Summer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warne<sup>48</sup> for Winter. You shall haue sometimes Faire *Houfes*, so full of Glasse,<sup>49</sup> that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold: For *Inbowed*<sup>50</sup> *Windowes*, I hold them of good Vse; (In Cities indeed, *Vpright*<sup>51</sup> doe better, in respect of the Vniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that

<sup>39</sup> Alleys. *Ambulacra, ex ejusmodi Lapidibus*, 'walks of this kind of stone.'

<sup>40</sup> The Row of Returne. *Latus universum Areae*, 'the whole side of the court.'

<sup>41</sup> Stately. *Spatiosæ et speciosæ*, 'roomy and fair.'

<sup>42</sup> Let there be. *Sint in Laquearibus*, 'let there be in the ceilings.'

<sup>43</sup> Of severall workes. *Ubi pingantur Columnæ, Imagines omnigenæ, Flores, et similia*, 'where columns, images of all kinds, flowers and the like are painted.'

<sup>44</sup> After Household Side. *Simul cum Latere tertio e regione Frontis*, 'together with the third side towards the front.'

<sup>45</sup> Without Thorow Lights, on the Sides. *Non translucida, sed ex altera tantum parte fenestrata*, 'without through lights, but windowed only on one side.'

<sup>46</sup> From the Sunne. *In quas sol non intret*, 'in which the sun may not enter.'

<sup>47</sup> Roomes. *Cubicula et Camerae*, 'bedrooms and chambers.'

<sup>48</sup> Warne. *Ad frigus arcendum*, 'to keep out the cold.'

<sup>49</sup> Glasse. *Vitro et Fenestris*, 'glass and windows.'

<sup>50</sup> Inbowed. *Prominentes sive arcuatas*, 'projecting or embowed.'

<sup>51</sup> Vpright. *Ad Planum Edificii, et minime protuberantes*, 'in the plane of the buildings and not projecting.'

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which would strike almost thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the *Window*. But let them be but few, Foure in the *Court*, On the Sides onely.<sup>52</sup>

Beyond this *Court*, let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square, and Height; Which is to be enuironed, with the *Garden*, on all Sides: And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides, vpon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the *Vnder Story*,<sup>53</sup> towards the *Garden*, Let it be turned<sup>54</sup> to a *Grotta*,<sup>55</sup> or Place of Shade, or Estiuation. And onely haue opening and *Windowes* towards the *Garden*; And be Leuell vpon the Floare, no whit funke vnder Ground, to auoid all Dampishnesse.<sup>56</sup> And let there be a *Fountaine*,<sup>57</sup> or some faire *Worke of Statua's*, in the Middest of this *Court*; And to be Paved as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for *Priiue Lodgings*,<sup>58</sup> on both Sides; And the End,<sup>59</sup> for *Priiue Galleries*. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of them,<sup>60</sup> be for an *Infirmary*, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with *Chambers*,<sup>61</sup> *Bed-chamber*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, ioyning to it. This vpon the Second Story. Vpon the *Ground*

<sup>52</sup> On the Sides onely. *Duæ scilicet, ex utroque Latere Aræ*, 'two, that is, on each side of the court.'

<sup>53</sup> Vnder Story. *Pars autem exterior Solarii inferioris*, 'the external part of the lower story.'

<sup>54</sup> Turned. *Quatenus ad duo Latera, convertatur*, 'turned, as to two sides.'

<sup>55</sup> Grotta. *Specum sive Cavernam, (grottam Moderni vocant)*, 'cave or cavern (grotto, the moderns call it).'

<sup>56</sup> To auoid all Dampishnesse. *Et eleganti Pavimento strata, ad Terræ Vapores excludendos*, 'and paved with a fair pavement to keep off the vapours of the earth.'

<sup>57</sup> Fountaine. *Fons splendidus*, 'splendid fountain.'

<sup>58</sup> Lodgings. *Cameris, et Conclavibus*, 'chambers and closets.'

<sup>59</sup> End. *Latus transversum*, 'cross side.'

<sup>60</sup> One of them. *Alique, tam ex Cameris et Conclavibus, quam ex Porticibus*, 'some, as well of the chambers and closets, as of the galleries.'

<sup>61</sup> With Chambers. *Habeant autem Portiones singule ægris destinate (ut moderni loquuntur)*, 'let also each portion, intended for the sick, have what the moderns call.'

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*Story*,<sup>62</sup> a Faire Gallery, Open, vpon Pillars: And vpon the *Third Storey*,<sup>63</sup> likewise, an *Open Gallery* vpon Pillars, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the Garden. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Returne,<sup>64</sup> Let there be<sup>65</sup> two Delicate or Rich Cabinets,<sup>66</sup> Daintily Paued, Richly Hanged, Glased with *Crystalline Glasse*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon.<sup>67</sup> In the *Vpper Gallery* too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some *Fountaines*<sup>68</sup> Running, in diuers Places, from the Wall, with some fine Auoidances.<sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> And thus much, for the Modell of the *Pallace*:<sup>71</sup> Saue that, you must haue, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts. A *Greene*<sup>72</sup> Court Plain, with a Wall about it: A *Second Court*<sup>73</sup> of the same,<sup>74</sup> but more Garnished, with Little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, vpon the Wall: And a *Third*

<sup>62</sup> Vpon the Ground Story. *At Latus transversum Solarii inferioris, versus Hortum convertatur in Porticum*, 'but let the transverse side of the ground story towards the garden be converted into a gallery.'

<sup>63</sup> Third Storey. *Supra Solarium tertium, ex omnibus tribus Lateribus*, 'on the third story on all three sides.'

<sup>64</sup> By way of Returne. *In Solario secundo*, 'on the second story.'

<sup>65</sup> Let there be. *Accommodentur et ornentur*, 'let there be fitted and furnished.'

<sup>66</sup> Cabinets. *Conclavia* ('Cabinettos Moderni vocant'); 'closets (the moderns call them cabinets).'

<sup>67</sup> And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon. *Sint autem Conclavia illa, rebus curiosis omnigenis, et spectatu dignis, referta*, 'let those closets be filled with curious things of all kinds worth looking at.'

<sup>68</sup> Fountaines. *Fonticulos quosdam aquam emittentes*, 'some fountains discharging water.'

<sup>69</sup> With some fine Auoidances. *Qui per secretos Tubos iterum transeant*, 'which may cross again by secret tubes.'

<sup>70</sup> After Auoidances. *Interior autem pars, in Solario superiore, versus Arcam, formetur in Porticus et Ambulacra, bene munita et obducta, ad usum Convalescentium*, 'let the inner part, in the upper story, towards the area, be formed into galleries and walls, well walled and covered, for the use of convalescents.'

<sup>71</sup> After Of the Pallace. *Nam de Balneis, et Piscinis non, loquor*, 'for I say nothing of the baths and ponds.'

<sup>72</sup> Greene. *Viridis, gramine vestita*, 'green, clothed with grass.'

<sup>73</sup> Second Court. *Et juxta Parietem Arboribus, ordine positis, sata area altera*, 'and another area with trees planted in order near the wall.'

<sup>74</sup> Of the same. *Ejusdem amplitudinis*, 'of the same size.'

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*Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be built,<sup>75</sup> nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with *Tarrafes*, Leaded<sup>76</sup> aloft, and fairely garnished,<sup>77</sup> on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for *Offices*,<sup>78</sup> let them stand at Distance,<sup>79</sup> with some *Low*<sup>80</sup> *Galleries*, to passe from them to the *Pallace* it Selve.



<sup>75</sup> Built. *Ædificio aliquo circumdatam*, 'surrounded with a building.'

<sup>76</sup> Leaded. *Plumbo, vel Lapide Quadrato, coopertis*, 'covered with lead or square stones.'

<sup>77</sup> Garnished. *Elegantibus Statuis parvis, ænei coloris, munitis*, 'garnished with fair small statues of a brazen colour.'

<sup>78</sup> Offices. *Ad Ædificia omnia, quæ usibus familiaribus inserviunt*, 'all the buildings which serve for household purposes.'

<sup>79</sup> Distance. *Distantiam, a Palatio ipso*, 'distance from the palace itself.'

<sup>80</sup> Low. *Humiliores et obtectæ*, 'low and concealed.'



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## 46. Of Gardens.



**G**OD Almighty<sup>1</sup> first Planted a *Garden*. And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane pleasure. It is the Greatest Refreshment<sup>2</sup> to the Spirits of Man; Without which, *Buildings* and *Pallaces* are but Grosse<sup>3</sup> Handy-works: And a Man shall euer see, that when Ages grow to Ciuility and Elegancie, Men come to *Build Stately*, sooner then to *Garden Finely*:<sup>4</sup> As if *Gardening*<sup>5</sup> were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of<sup>6</sup> *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens*, for all the *Moneths* in the Yeare: In which, feuerally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Season.<sup>7</sup> For *December*, and *January*, and the Latter Part of *November*, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Iuy; Bayes; Iuniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh;<sup>8</sup> Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lauander; Periwinkle, the White, the Purple, and the Blene;<sup>9</sup> Germander; Flagges;<sup>10</sup> Orange-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stirred;<sup>11</sup> And Sweet Marioram warme set.<sup>12</sup> There followeth, for the latter Part of *January*, and *February*, the Mezerion<sup>13</sup>

## EE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> God Almighty. *Deus ipse*, 'God himself.'

<sup>2</sup> Is the greatest Refreshment. *Reficit et oblectat*, 'restores and delights.'

<sup>3</sup> Grosse. *Nec sapiunt Naturam*, 'and have no savour of nature.'

<sup>4</sup> Garden Finely. *Ad Hortorum Elegantiam et Amœnitatem*, 'to elegance and pleasantry of gardens.'

<sup>5</sup> Gardening. *Elegantia illa Hortorum*, 'that elegance of gardens.'

<sup>6</sup> Ordering of. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>7</sup> Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. *Plantæ, quæ illo Mense florent et vigent, producantur*, 'plants, which flourish and bloom in that month, may be grown.'

<sup>8</sup> After Eugh. *Buxus*, 'box.'

<sup>9</sup> Blene. [A misprint for blue.] *Cæruleo*, 'blue.'

<sup>10</sup> Flagges. *Irides quoad Folia*, 'flags for the leaves.'

<sup>11</sup> If they be stirred. *Si Calidariis conseruentur*, 'if they be stoved.'

<sup>12</sup> Warme set. *Juxta Parietem et versus Solem satus*, 'set near the wall and towards the sun.'

<sup>13</sup> Mezerion. *Arbustum Chamælea Germanica, sive Mezeriontis*. [John Gerard, M.D., in his *Herball*, p. 1216. *Ed.* 1597, *fol.* calls this "The Spurge Flaxe, or the Dwarfse Bay. . . . Which the Dutch men call *Mezereon*, is a small shrub about two cubits high."]

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Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hyacinthus Orientalis; Camairis; Frettellaria. For *March*, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In *Aprill* follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower;<sup>14</sup> The Stock-Gilly-Flower;<sup>15</sup> The Couflip; Flower-De-lices, and Lillies of Natures; Rose-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale<sup>16</sup> Daffadill; The French<sup>17</sup> Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Blossome; The Dammafin, and Plum<sup>18</sup>-Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne<sup>19</sup> in Leaf; The Lelacke Tree. In *May*, and *June*, come Pincks of all forts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Buglosse; Columbine; The French Mary-gold;<sup>20</sup> Flos Africanus;<sup>21</sup> Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raspes; Vine Flowers; Lauender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muscaria; Liliun Conuallium; The Apple-tree in Blossome.<sup>22</sup> In *July*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muske Roses; The Lime-Tree in blossome; Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit;<sup>23</sup> Ginnittings; Quadlins.<sup>24</sup> In *August*, come Plummes of all forts in Fruit,<sup>25</sup> Peares; Apricookes; Berberies; Filberds; Muske-Melons;

<sup>14</sup> Wall-flower. *Parietaria lutea*, 'yellow wallflower.'

<sup>15</sup> Stock-Gilly-Flower. *Leucoium*, 'white violet.'

<sup>16</sup> Pale. *Verus*, 'true.'

<sup>17</sup> French. *Sabaudicum*, 'of Savoy'

<sup>18</sup> Plum. *Prunus diversi generis*, 'plums of various kinds.'

<sup>19</sup> White-Thorne. *Acanthus*.

<sup>20</sup> French Mary-Gold. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>21</sup> After Flos Africanus. *Simplex, et multiplex*, 'single and double.'

<sup>22</sup> After Apple-tree in Blossome. *Flos Cyaneus*, 'corn-flower.'

<sup>23</sup> In Fruit. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>24</sup> Ginnittings; Quadlins. *Poma*, 'apples.'

<sup>25</sup> In Fruit. Omitted in the Latin.

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Monks Hoods,<sup>26</sup> of all colours. In *September*, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens; Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *November*, come Seruices; Medlars; Bullifes; Roses Cut or Remoued to come late;<sup>27</sup> Hollyokes,<sup>28</sup> and such like. These Particulars are for the *Climate* of *London*; But my meaning is Perceiued, that you may haue *Wer Perpetuum*,<sup>a</sup> as the Place affords.

And because, the *Breath* of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Musick) then in the hand,<sup>29</sup> therefore nothing is more fit for that delight,<sup>30</sup> then to know, what be the *Flowers*, and *Plants*,<sup>31</sup> that doe best perfume the Aire.<sup>32</sup> Roses Damask and Red,<sup>33</sup> are fast Flowers of their Smels;<sup>34</sup> So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and finde Nothing of their Sweetnesse; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewise yeeld no Smell,<sup>35</sup> as they grow. Rosemary little; Nor Sweet-Marioram That, which aboue all Others, yeelds the *Sweetest Smell* in the *Aire*, is the Violet; Specially the White-double-Violet, which comes<sup>36</sup> twice a Yeare; About the middle of *Aprill*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*.<sup>37</sup> Next to that is, the Muske-Rose. Then the

<sup>a</sup> *A perpetual spring.*

<sup>26</sup> Monks Hoods. *Delphinium, sive Consolida Regalis*, 'wolf's bane.'

<sup>27</sup> Cut or Remoued to come late. *Sera*, 'late.'

<sup>28</sup> Hollyokes. *Malvæ arborescentes flore Roseo*, 'hollyoaks with rose-coloured flowers.'

<sup>29</sup> In the hand. *Eos decerpas manu*, 'you pluck them with your hand.'

<sup>30</sup> Delight. *Delectationem illam, quæ ex Odore Florum percipitur*, 'that delight which is received from the scent of flowers.'

<sup>31</sup> Plants. *Plantas, quæ adhuc crescentes, nec avulsæ*, 'plants which are still growing and not plucked.'

<sup>32</sup> Perfume. *Maxime emittunt Auras suaves, et Aerem Odore perfundunt*, 'mostly emit sweet breath and perfume the air.'

<sup>33</sup> After Red. *Dum crescunt*, 'while they grow.'

<sup>34</sup> After Smell. *Nec Aerem tingunt*, 'and do not affect the air.'

<sup>35</sup> No Smell. *Odoris parum*, 'little smell.'

<sup>36</sup> Comes. *Floret*, 'flowers'

<sup>37</sup> Bartholomew-tide. *Finem Augusti*, 'end of August.'

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Strawberry Leaues dying, which [yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little duſt, like the duſt of a Bent,<sup>38</sup> which growes vpon the Cluſter, in the Firſt comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be ſet vnder a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, ſpecially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower.<sup>39</sup> Then the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, ſo they be ſomewhat a farre off.<sup>40</sup> Of Beane Flowers I ſpeake not, becauſe they are Field Flowers. But thoſe which *Perfume* the Aire moſt delightfully, not *paſſed by* as the reſt,<sup>41</sup> but being *Troden vpon* and *Cruſhed*, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to ſet whole Allies of them, to haue the Pleaſure, when you walke or tread.<sup>42</sup>

For *Gardens*, (Speaking of thoſe, which are indeed *Prince-like*, as we haue done of *Buildings*) the Contents, ought not well to be, vnder *Thirty Acres of Ground*; And to be diuided into three Parts: A *Greene* in the Entrance; A *Heath*<sup>43</sup> or *Defart* in the Going forth; And the *Garden* in the middeſt; Beſides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that Foure Acres of Ground, be aſſigned to the *Greene*; Six to the *Heath*; Foure and Foure to either *Side*; <sup>44</sup> And Twelue to the *Maine Garden*. The *Greene* hath two pleaſures; The one, becauſe nothing is more Pleaſant to the Eye, then *Greene Graſſe* kept finely ſhorne; The other, becauſe it will giue you a faire Alley in the midſt, by which you may go in front vpon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to

<sup>38</sup> Bent. *In caule Plantaginis*, 'on the ſtalk of a plantain.'

<sup>39</sup> Specially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower. *Tam minores, quam maiores*, 'both ſmall and large.'

<sup>40</sup> *Aſter* A farre off. *Tum flores lavenderæ*, 'the lavender flowers.'

<sup>41</sup> Not paſſed by as the reſt. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>42</sup> Tread. *Vt Odorem eorum calcando exprimas*, 'that you may preſſ out their ſmell by treading on them.'

<sup>43</sup> Heath. *Fruticetum*, 'thicket.'

<sup>44</sup> *Aſter* to either Side. *Ad Ambulacra*, 'for walks planted with trees.'

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inclose the *Garden*. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by Going in the Sunne thorow the *Greene*, therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Greene*, to Plant a *Couert Alley*, vpon Carpenters Worke, about Twelue Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the *Garden*, As for the Making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *Diuers Coloured Earths*, that they may lie vnder the Windows of the House, on that Side, which the *Garden* stands, they be but Toyes: You may see as good Sights,<sup>45</sup> many times, in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a *Stately Arched Hedge*. The *Arches* to be vpon *Pillars*, of Carpenters Worke, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the *Spaces* between, of the same Dimension, with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Ouer the *Arches*, let there bee an *Entire Hedge*, of some Foure Foot High, framed<sup>46</sup> also vpon Carpenters Worke: And vpon the *Vpper Hedge*, ouer euery *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receiue a *Cage* of *Birds*: And ouer euery *Space*, betweene the *Arches*, some other little *Figure*,<sup>47</sup> with Broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glasse*, gilt,<sup>48</sup> for the *Sunne*, to Play vpon. But this *Hedge* I entend to be, raised vpon a *Bancke*, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of some Six Foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I vnderstand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leaue, on either Side, Ground enough, for diuersity of *Side Alleys*: Vnto which, the Two *Couert Alleys* of the *Greene*, may deliuer you. But there must be, no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either *End*,

<sup>45</sup> As good Sights. *Talia*, 'such things.'

<sup>46</sup> Framed. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>47</sup> Little Figure. *Figura inaurata*, 'gilt figures.'

<sup>48</sup> Gilt. Omitted in the Latin.

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of this great *Inclosure*.<sup>49</sup> Not at the *Hither End*,<sup>50</sup> for letting your Prospect vpon this Faire Hedge from the *Greene*; Nor at the *Further End*,<sup>51</sup> for letting your Prospect from the Hedge,<sup>52</sup> through the Arches, vpon the *Heath*.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*,<sup>53</sup> I leaue it to Variety of Deuice; Aduising neuerthelesse, that whatsoeuer forme you cast it into, first it be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like *Images Cut out* in *Iuniper*, or other *Garden stufte*: They be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round, like *VVelts*,<sup>54</sup> with some Pretty *Pyramides*, I like well: And in some Places, *Faire Columnnes*<sup>55</sup> vpon Frames of Carpenters *VVorke*.<sup>56</sup> I would also, haue the *Alleys*, Spacious and Faire. You may haue *Clofer*<sup>57</sup> *Alleys* vpon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Maine Garden*.<sup>58</sup> I wish also, in the very Middle, a *Faire Mount*, with three *Ascents*, and *Alleys*, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would haue to be Perfect Circles, without any *Bulwarkes*,<sup>59</sup> or *Imbosments*; <sup>60</sup> And the *Whole Mount*, to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine *Banqueting House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glasse*.

For *Fountaines*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But *Pooles* marre all, and make the *Garden*

<sup>49</sup> Either end, of this great Inclosure. *Ad Introitum et Exitum Porti*, 'at the entrance and outlet of the garden.'

<sup>50</sup> Hither End. *Introitu*, 'entrance.'

<sup>51</sup> Further End. *Exitu*, 'outlet.'

<sup>52</sup> From the Hedge. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>53</sup> Great Hedge. *Clastrum sepis*, 'boundary of the hedge.'

<sup>54</sup> Welts. *Fimbriarum*, 'a fringe [or border].'

<sup>55</sup> Faire Columnnes. *Columnas etiam, et Pyramides altas*, 'high columns also and pyramids.'

<sup>56</sup> After Carpenters Worke. *In aliquibus locis sparsas, Sepibus vestitas*, 'set apart in places covered with hedges.'

<sup>57</sup> Closer. *Angustiora et obteictora*, 'narrow and more concealed.'

<sup>58</sup> Maine Garden. *In Pomario Horti præcipui*, 'in the outside of the main garden.'

<sup>59</sup> Bulwarkes. *Figuris Propugnaculorum*, 'figures of bulwarks.'

<sup>60</sup> Imbosments. Omitted in the Latin.

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vnwholefome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountaines* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *Sprinkleth* or *Spouteth Water*; <sup>61</sup> The Other a *Faire Receipt* of *Water*, <sup>62</sup> of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in vse, doe well: But the maine Matter is so to Conuey the Water, as it neuer Stay, <sup>63</sup> either in the Bowles, or in the Cesterne; That the Water be neuer by Rest *Discoloured*, *Greene*, or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Mossineffe* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed euery day <sup>64</sup> by the Hand. Also some *Steps* vp to it, and some *Fine Pauement* about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing Poole*, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selues: As, that the Bottome be finely Paued, <sup>65</sup> And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes <sup>66</sup> of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point, is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of *Fountain*; which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetuall Motion*, Fed by a Water higher then the *Poole*, and Deliuered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away vnder Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Deuices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rise in feuerall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like, <sup>67</sup>)

<sup>61</sup> After Spouteth Water. *Cum Crateribus suis*, 'with its basins.'

<sup>62</sup> Water. *Aquæ puræ*, 'pure water.'

<sup>63</sup> Neuer Stay. *Perpetuo fluat, Nec consistat*, 'flows continuously and does not stay.'

<sup>64</sup> Euery day. *Quotidie, ut moneat limpida*, 'every day, that it may remain clear.'

<sup>65</sup> Finely Paued. *Decoratum*, 'adorned with.'

<sup>66</sup> Fine Railes. *Clausura*, 'enclosure.'

<sup>67</sup> And the like. *Campanarum et similibus; Etiam rupes artificiosas, et hujusmodi*, 'bells and the like; also, artificial rock and the like.'

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they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetnesse.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildnesse*. *Trees* I would haue none in it;<sup>68</sup> But some *Thickets*, made onely of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honny-suckle*, and some *Wilde Vine* amongst; And the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Prime-Roses*. For these are Sweet,<sup>69</sup> and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order.<sup>70</sup> I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-hils*, (such as are in *Wilde Heaths*) to be set, some with *Wilde Thyme*; Some with *Pincks*; Some with *Germander*, that giues a good Flower to the Eye; Some with *Periwinkle*; Some with *Violets*; Some with *Strawberries*; Some with *Couflips*; Some with *Daisies*; Some with *Red-Roses*; Some with *Lilium Conuallium*; Some with *Sweet-Williams Red*; Some with *Bears-Foot*; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which *Heapes*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*,<sup>71</sup> prickt vpon their Top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be *Roses*; *Iuniper*; *Holly*; *Beare-berries* (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Bloffome);<sup>72</sup> *Red*

<sup>68</sup> *After None in it. Nisi quod in aliquibus locis, erigi præcipio Arborum series, quæ in Vertice Ambulacra contineant, Ramis Arborum cooperta, cum Fenestris. Subjaceat autem Pars Soli Floribus Odoris suavis abunde consita, qui Auras in superius exhalent; Alias Fruticetum apertum esse sine Arboribus velim,* 'except that in some places I should direct rows of trees to be planted, which may cover the paths with their top branches, leaving openings: a part, moreover, should be exposed to the sun, and plentifully planted with flowers of sweet odours, to exhale their breath above. Otherwise, I should have the heath open without trees.'

<sup>69</sup> Sweet. *Jucundum spirant Odorem,* 'breathe a pleasant smell.'

<sup>70</sup> And these are to be in the Heath, here and there, not in any Order. *Dumeta autem, et Ambulacra super Arbores, spargi volumus ad placitum, non ordine aliquo collocari,* 'thickets and the walks without the trees, I would have scattered according to pleasure, not placed in any order.'

<sup>71</sup> Standards, of little Bushes. *Frutices,* 'shrubs.'

<sup>72</sup> Smell of their Blossome. *Odoris gravitatem,* 'strength of their smell.'



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Currans; Goofe-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Varietie* of *Alleys*, Priuate, to giue a full Shade; Some of them, wheresoeuer the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those *Alleys* must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these *Clofer Alleys*, must bee very finely Grauelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; As well vpon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally obserued, that the *Borders*,<sup>73</sup> wherin you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Faire<sup>74</sup> and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly,<sup>75</sup> lest they Deceiue<sup>76</sup> the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would haue a *Mount* of some Pretty Height, leauing the Wall of the Enclosure, Brest high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the *Maine Garden*, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire<sup>77</sup> *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees*; And some Pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, And *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by no Meanes, set too thicke; But to leaue the *Maine Garden*, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for *Shade*, I would haue you rest, vpon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare,<sup>78</sup> or day; But to make Account,

<sup>73</sup> Borders. *Terra elevata*, 'raised ground.'

<sup>74</sup> Faire. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>75</sup> Sparingly. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>76</sup> Deceiue. *Succo defraudent*, 'rob of moisture.'

<sup>77</sup> Faire. *Minime angusta*, 'not narrow.'

<sup>78</sup> After Of the Yeare. *Vernas et autumnales*, 'spring and autumn.'

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that the *Maine Garden*, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Euening, or Ouer-cast Dayes.

For *Auiaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largeness, as they may be *Turfed*, and haue *Liuing Plants*, and *Bushes*, set in them; That the *Birds* may haue more Scope,<sup>79</sup> and Natural Nestling,<sup>80</sup> and that no *Foulenesse* appeare, in the *Floare* of the *Auiary*.<sup>81</sup> So I haue made a Platform of a *Princely Garden*, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it;<sup>82</sup> And in this I haue spared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the most Part, taking Aduice with Workmen,<sup>83</sup> with no Lesse Cost,<sup>84</sup> set their Things together; And sometimes adde *Statua's*, and such Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure<sup>85</sup> of a *Garden*.



<sup>79</sup> Scope. *Liberius volitent, et se per diversa oblectare*, 'fly about freely and enjoy themselves in diuers ways.'

<sup>80</sup> Naturall Nestling. *Componere*, 'settle.'

<sup>81</sup> This paragraph follows after *Auiary*. *Quantum vero ad Ambulacra in Clivis, et variis Ascensibus amœnis conficienda, illa nature Dona sunt, nec ubique extrui possunt: Nos autem ea posuimus, quæ omni loco conveniunt*, 'as to walks to be made on a slope, and with various pleasing ascents, these are the gifts of nature, and cannot be made everywhere. We, however, have mentioned what suits every place.'

<sup>82</sup> By Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it. *Partim modulo generali, sed minime accurato*, 'partly by a general model but not a detailed one.'

<sup>83</sup> Workmen. *Hortulanos*, 'gardeners.'

<sup>84</sup> Cost. *Sumptu, parum cum Iudicio*, 'cost, with little judgment.'

<sup>85</sup> Pleasure. *Voluptatem et Amœnitatem*, 'pleasure and delight.'

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## 57. Of Anger.



O seeke to extinguish *Anger* vtterly, is but a Brauery of the *Stoickes*. We haue better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe down vpon your Anger.*<sup>a</sup> *Anger* must be limited, and confined,<sup>1</sup> both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, *To be Angry*, may be attempted, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of *Anger*, may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger* in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminatē<sup>2</sup> well, vpon the Effects<sup>3</sup> of *Anger*, how it troubles<sup>4</sup> Mans life. And the best Time, to doe this, is, to looke backe vpon *Anger*, when the Fitt is throughly ouer. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes<sup>5</sup> it Selfe, vpon that it fall's.*<sup>b</sup> The Scripture exhorteth vs; *To possesse our Soules in Patience.*<sup>c</sup> Whosoever is out of *Patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soule*. Men must not turne<sup>6</sup> *Bees*;  
 ———*Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*<sup>d</sup>

*Anger* is certainly a kinde of Baseness:<sup>7</sup> As it appears well, in the Weaknesse of those Subiects, in

<sup>a</sup> Ephes. iv. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Seneca. *De Ira*. i. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Luke, xxi. 19

<sup>d</sup> *And lay down their lives in the wound.* Virgil. *Georgics*. iv. 238.

FF. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

<sup>1</sup> Limited, and confined. *Limites Iræ apponeudi sunt*, 'limits must be set to anger.'

<sup>2</sup> Meditate and Ruminatē. *Serio in animo revolvat*, 'turn over seriously in your mind.'

<sup>3</sup> Effects. *Mala et Calamitates*, 'evils and disasters.'

<sup>4</sup> Troubles. *Vehementer perturbat et infestat*, 'violently troubles and attacks.'

<sup>5</sup> Breakes. *Comminuit et frangit*, 'splits and breaks.'

<sup>6</sup> Turne. *Imitari*, 'imitate.'

<sup>7</sup> Baseness. *Res humilis est, et infra Dignitatem Hominiis*, 'is a base thing and beneath the dignity of man.'

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whom it reignes:<sup>8</sup> Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware,<sup>9</sup> that they carry their *Anger*, rather with Scorne, then with Feare:<sup>10</sup> So that they may seeme rather, to be aboue the Iniury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will giue Law to himselfe in it.<sup>11</sup>

For the Second Point; The *Causēs* and *Motives* of *Anger*, are chiefly three. First, to be too *Sensible* of *Hurt*: For no Man is *Angry*, that *Feeles* not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft *Angry*: They haue so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robust Natures haue little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offered,<sup>12</sup> to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of<sup>13</sup> *Contempt*. For *Contempt*<sup>14</sup> is that which putteth an Edge vpon<sup>15</sup> *Anger*, as much,<sup>16</sup> or more, then the *Hurt* it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of *Contempt*,<sup>17</sup> they doe kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans *Reputation*,<sup>18</sup> doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*. Wherein the Remedy<sup>19</sup> is, that a Man should haue, as

<sup>8</sup> As it appears . . . reignes. *Hoc liquebit, si illos intueamur, in quibus Ira regnat: Qui plerumque ex Infermioribus sunt,* 'this will be plain, if we look at those in whom anger reigns, who are generally of the weaker sort.'

<sup>9</sup> Beware. *Cum irasci contigerit, caveant Homines (si modo Dignitatis suæ velint esse memores),* 'men must beware, when they happen to be angry, if at least they wish to remember their dignity.'

<sup>10</sup> Feare. *Metu eorum quibus irascuntur,* 'fear of those with whom they are angry.'

<sup>11</sup> Giue Law to himselfe in it. *Iram suam, paululum regat, et inflectat,* 'will gradually rule and bend his anger.'

<sup>12</sup> Apprehension and Construction, of the Iniury offered. *Si quis Curiosus et perspicax sit, in Interpretatione Injuriam illatam,* 'if one is particular and sharp-sighted in the interpretation of an injury offered to him.'

<sup>13</sup> Full of. *Spiraret,* 'breathe.'

<sup>14</sup> Contempt. *Opinio contemptus,* 'opinion of contempt.'

<sup>15</sup> Putteth an Edge vpon. *Excitat et acuit,* 'rouses and sharpens.'

<sup>16</sup> As much. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>17</sup> In picking out Circumstances of Contempt. *Ad ista,* 'in that.'

<sup>18</sup> Opinion . . . Reputation. *Opinio Contumeliæ, sive quod Existimatio Hominis per consequentiam ledatur et perstringatur,* 'opinion of insult, or that the reputation of the man will be in consequence hurt and dulled.'

<sup>19</sup> Remedy. *Remedium presentium est,* 'present remedy.'

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*Confaluo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiore.*<sup>a</sup> But in all Refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleue, that the Opportunity of his Reuenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time<sup>20</sup> for it; And so to still Himselfe<sup>21</sup> in the meane Time, and reserue it.<sup>22</sup>

To containe *Anger* from *Mischiefe*,<sup>23</sup> though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must haue speciall Caution. The one, of extreme *Bitternesse of Words*; Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper:<sup>24</sup> For *Communia Maledicta*<sup>b</sup> are nothing so much:<sup>25</sup> And againe, that in *Anger*, a Man reueale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not *peremptorily breake off*, in any Businesse, in a *Fit of Anger*: But howsoeuer you shew Bitternes,<sup>26</sup> do not *Act* any thing, that is not Reuocable.

For *Raising* and *Appeasing Anger* in Another: It is done chiefly, by *Choosing*<sup>27</sup> of Times. When Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them.<sup>28</sup> Againe, by gathering<sup>29</sup> (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggrauate<sup>30</sup> the *Contempt*. And the two *Remedies*<sup>31</sup> are by the *Con-*

<sup>a</sup> A thicker web of honour.

<sup>b</sup> Common revilings.

<sup>20</sup> Foresees a Time. *Sed instare, quasi ad manum, Opportunitatem aliquam majorem*, 'but that a greater opportunity is just at hand.'

<sup>21</sup> Himselfe. *Motum animi*, 'the working of his mind.'

<sup>22</sup> Reserue it. *Se in Tempus aliud seruare*, 'reserve himself for another time.'

<sup>23</sup> Containe Anger from Mischiefe. *Ut citra noxam erumpat*, 'that it may break out without doing mischief.'

<sup>24</sup> Aculeate and Proper. *Aculeatorum et ei, quem ferimus, propriorum*, 'stinging and appropriate to him whom we attack.'

<sup>25</sup> Are nothing so much. *Mordent minus*, 'bite less.'

<sup>26</sup> Shew Bitternes. *Irae frenum laxet*, 'loose the bridle of anger.'

<sup>27</sup> Choosing. *Electionem prudentem*, 'wise choosing.'

<sup>28</sup> To incense them. *Tempus est iram incendendi*, 'is the time to kindle anger.'

<sup>29</sup> Gathering. *Ut antea diximus, decerpendo et inculcando*, 'as we have said before by gathering and insisting on.'

<sup>30</sup> Aggrauate. *Arguere aut aggravare*, 'prove or aggravate.'

<sup>31</sup> The two Remedies. *Ira sedatur*, 'anger is calmed.'

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*traries*. The Former, to take good<sup>32</sup> Times, when first to relate to a Man, an *Angry*<sup>33</sup> Buſineſſe: For the first Impreſſion is much; And the other is, to feuer, as much as may be, the Conſtruction of<sup>34</sup> the Iniury, from the Point of<sup>35</sup> *Contempt*: Imputing it, to Miſunderſtanding, Feare, Paſſion,<sup>36</sup> or what you will.



<sup>32</sup> Good. *Serena, et ad Hilaritatem prona*, 'calm and disposed to cheerfulness.'

<sup>33</sup> Angry. *Ingratum, et ad Iracundiam provocans*, 'unpleasant and provocative of anger.'

<sup>34</sup> The Construction of. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>35</sup> The Point of. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>36</sup> Passion. *Animi Concussioni repentinæ*, 'sudden excitement of the mind.'

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British Museum Copy.

## 58. Of Vicissitude of Things.



ALOMON faith; *There is no New Thing upon the Earth.*<sup>a</sup> So that as *Plato* had an Imagination; *That all Knowledge was but Remembrance:* So *Salomon* giueth his Sentence; *That all Noueltie is but Obliuion.*<sup>b</sup> Whereby you may see, that the Riuer of *Lethe*, runneth as well about Ground, as below. There is an abstruse<sup>1</sup> Astrologer that faith; *If it were not, for two things, that are Constant;* (*The one is, that the Fixed Starres euer stand at like distance, one from another, and neuer come nearer together, nor goe further afunder;* *The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time:*<sup>2</sup>) *No Indiuiduall would last one Moment.* Certain it is, that the *Matter*, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and neuer at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Obliuion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earth-quakes*. As for *Conflagrations*, and great *Droughts*, they doe not meereley dispeople, and destroy.<sup>3</sup> *Phaetons* Carre went but a day.<sup>4</sup> And the *Three yeares Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but Particular, and left People<sup>5</sup> Aliue. As for the great *Burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow.<sup>6</sup> But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge*, and *Earth-quake*, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be referued, are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can

<sup>a</sup> Eccles. i. 9.

<sup>b</sup> *Phædrus*. 72c. *Menæ*. 81 d.

<sup>1</sup> Abstruse. *Abstrusus, et parum notus*, 'abstruse and little known.'

<sup>2</sup> Perpetually keepeth Time. *Non variet*. 'does not vary.'

<sup>3</sup> And destroy. *Aut destruunt*, 'or destroy.'

<sup>4</sup> *Phaetons* Carre went but a day. *Fabula Phaetontis, Brevitatem Conflagrationis, ad unius tantum Diei spatium, representavit*, 'the fable of *Phaeton* represented the shortness of a conflagration, lasting only for one day.'

<sup>5</sup> People. *Multos*, 'many.'

<sup>6</sup> *After* Narrow. *Nec magna spatia occupant. Pestilentias etiam prætereo, quia nec ille totaliter absorbent*, 'nor occupy a great space. Pestilences also I pass over, as they do not totally destroy.'

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giue no Account,<sup>7</sup> of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you consider well, of the People of the *West Indies*,<sup>8</sup> it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earth-quakes*, (As the *Ægyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*; *That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake*;) But rather, that it was desolated,<sup>9</sup> by a Particular *Deluge*. For *Earth-quakes* are seldome in those Parts. But on the other side, they haue such *Powring*<sup>10</sup> *Riuers*, as the *Riuers* of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*, are but Brookes to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or Mountaines, are farre higher, then those with us; Whereby it seemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a Particular *Deluge*, faued. As for the Obseruation, that *Macciauel* hath, that the *Jealousie*<sup>11</sup> of *Señls*, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things;<sup>a</sup> Traducing *Gregory* the *Great*, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not finde, that those Zeales, doe any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did reuiue the former Antiquities.<sup>12</sup>

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations*, in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's great Yeare*, if the World should last so long,<sup>13</sup> would haue some Effect; Not in renew-

<sup>a</sup> Macchiavelli. *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*. ii. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Giue no Account. *Memoriam Posteris tradere*, 'hand down the recollection to their descendants.'

<sup>8</sup> Of the People of the West Indies. *Indorum Occidentalium Conditionem*, 'condition of the West Indians.'

<sup>9</sup> Desolated. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>10</sup> Powring. *Immania et vasta*, 'strong and great.'

<sup>11</sup> Jealousie. *Zelotypiam et Æmulationem*, 'jealousy and rivalry.'

<sup>12</sup> After Former Antiquities. *Tum vero prohibita, licet Tenebris cooperta, obrepuit tamen, et suas nanciscuntur Periodos*, 'then, indeed, what is forbidden, even if covered in darkness, creeps out and has its time.'

<sup>13</sup> Last so long. *Nisi Mundus ante Dissolutioni esset destinatus*, 'unless the world is destined to dissolution before that.'



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ing the State of like Individualls (for that is the Fume<sup>14</sup> of those, that conceiue the Celestiall Bodies, haue more accurate Influences, vpon these Things below. then indeed they haue) but in grosse.<sup>15</sup> *Comets*, out of question, haue likewise Power and Effect,<sup>16</sup> ouer the Grosse and Masse of Things:<sup>17</sup> But they are rather gazed vpon, and waited vpon in their Iourney, then wisely obserued in their Effects;<sup>18</sup> Specially in their Respective Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour,<sup>19</sup> Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heauen,<sup>20</sup> or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I haue heard, and I would not haue it giuen ouer, but waited vpon a little. They say, it is obserued, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part<sup>21</sup>) that Euery Fiue and Thirtie years, The same Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the *Prime*.<sup>22</sup> It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I haue found some Concurrence.<sup>23</sup>

But to leaue these Points of *Nature*, and to come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of Things amongst

<sup>14</sup> Fume. *Fumus et Vanitas*, 'fume and vanity.'

<sup>15</sup> Grosse. *Summis et massis rerum*, 'the sum and mass of things.'

<sup>16</sup> Haue . . . Power and Effect. *Aliquid operantur*, 'work something.'

<sup>17</sup> After Masse of Things. *Verum Homines, ut nunc est, indiligentes, aut curiosi, circa eos sunt*, 'but men at present are not careful or curious about them.'

<sup>18</sup> But they are rather . . . in their Effects. *Eosque potius mirabundi spectant; Atque Itineraria eorundem conficiunt, quam Effectus eorum prudenter et sobrie notant*, 'and they rather gaze at them with wonder and make records of their path, than wisely and soberly observe their effects.'

<sup>19</sup> Colour. *Coloris et Lucis*, 'colour and light.'

<sup>20</sup> After Heauen. *Tempestatis Anni; Semite aut Coursus*, 'the season of the year; the path or course.'

<sup>21</sup> I know not in what Part. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>22</sup> It the Prime. *Hujusmodi Circulum Annorum, Primam*, 'this kind of circle of the years—the prime.'

<sup>23</sup> Concurrence. *Congruentiam; haud exactam sane, sed non multum discrepantem*, 'concurrence; not really exact, but not very different.'

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*Men*, is the *Vicissitude* of *Seets*, and *Religions*. For those Orbs rule in Mens Minds most. The True *Religion* is built vpon a *Rocke*; The Rest are tost vpon the *Waues* of *Time*. To speake therefore, of the *Causēs* of *New Seets*; And to giue some *Counsell* concerning them; As farre, as the *Weaknesse* of *Humane* *Iudgement*, can giue stay<sup>24</sup> to so great *Reuolutions*.

When the *Religion* formerly<sup>25</sup> receiued, is rent by *Discords*; And when the *Holinesse* of the *Professours* of *Religion* is decayed, and full of *Scandall*; And withall the *Times* be *Stupid*, *Ignorant*, and *Barbarous*; you may doubt<sup>26</sup> the *Springing* vp of a *New Seet*; If then also there should arise, any *Extravagant* and *Strange*<sup>27</sup> *Spirit*, to make himselfe *Author* thereof.<sup>28</sup> All which *Points* held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law*. If a *New Seet*<sup>29</sup> haue not two *Properties*, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the *Supplanting*,<sup>30</sup> or the *opposing*, of *Authority* established: For *Nothing* is more *Popular* then that.<sup>31</sup> The other is, the *Giuing* *Licence*<sup>32</sup> to *Pleasures*, and a *Voluptuous* *Life*. For as for *Speculative Heresies* (such as were in *Ancient* *Times* the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they worke mightily vpon *Mens* *Wits*, yet they doe not produce any great *Alterations* in *States*: except it be by the *Helpe* of *Ciuill* *Occasions*. There be three *Manner* of *Plantations* of *New Seets*. By the *Power* of *Signes*<sup>33</sup> and *Miracles*: By the *Eloquence* and *Wisdomē* of *Speech* and *Perswasion*:<sup>34</sup> And by

<sup>24</sup> Giue stay. *Moras injicere, aut Remedia exhibere*, 'give stay or apply remedies.'

<sup>25</sup> Formerly. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>26</sup> Doubt. *Metuendum*, 'fear.'

<sup>27</sup> Strange. *Paradoxa spirans*, 'breathing paradoxes.'

<sup>28</sup> To make himselfe Author thereof. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>29</sup> New Sect. *Secta nova, licet pullulet*, 'a new sect though it is produced.'

<sup>30</sup> Supplanting, Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>31</sup> Then that. *Quam Principatus, et Politias, conuellere*, 'than to attack sovereignties and governments.'

<sup>32</sup> Giuing Licence. *Porta aperta*, 'an open gate.'

<sup>33</sup> Signes. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>34</sup> And Wisdomē of Speech and Perswasion. Omitted in the Latin.

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the *Sword*. For *Martyrdomes*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles*; Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe the like of *Superlatiue* and *Admirable Holinesse* of *Life*. Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the Rising of *New Sects*, and *Schismes*; then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed<sup>35</sup> mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off<sup>36</sup> the Principall Authours, by Winning and Aduancing them, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Warres* are many: But chiefly in three Things; In the *Seats* or *Stages*<sup>37</sup> of the *Warre*; In the *Weapons*; And in the *Manner* of the *Conduēt*.<sup>38</sup> *Warres* in ancient Time, seemed more to moue from *East* to *West*: For the *Persians*, *Afsyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars*, (which were the Inuaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the *Gaules* were Westerne: But we reade but of two IncurSIONS of theirs; The one to *Gallo-Grecia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* haue no certaine Points of Heauen: And no more haue the *Warres*, either from the *East*, or *West*, any Certainty of Obseruation. But *North* and *South* are fixed:<sup>39</sup> And it hath seldome or neuer been seene, that the farre Southern People haue inuaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the *Northern Traēt* of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are vpon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline,<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Proceed. *A principio procedere*, 'proceed from the beginning.'

<sup>36</sup> Take off. *Mollire atque allicere*, 'soothe and entice.'

<sup>37</sup> Or Stages. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>38</sup> Manner of the Conduct. *Disciplina militari*, 'military training.'

<sup>39</sup> Fixed. *Natura fixi*, 'fixed by nature.'

<sup>40</sup> Without Aid of Discipline. *Absque alia Causa quacunque*, 'without any other cause.'

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doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.<sup>41</sup>

Vpon the *Breaking* and *Shiuering* of a great *State*<sup>42</sup> and *Empire*, you may be sure to haue *Warres*. For great Empires, while they stand, doe eneruate and destroy the Forces of the Natiues, which they haue subdued, resting vpon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey.<sup>43</sup> So was it, in the Decay of the *Roman Empire*; And likewise, in the *Empire of Almaigne*, after *Charles* the Great, euery Bird taking a Fether; And were not unlike to befall to *Spaine*, if it should break.<sup>44</sup> The great *Accessions*<sup>45</sup> and *Vnions* of *Kingdomes*, doe likewise stirre vp *Warres*. For when a State growes to an Ouer-power, it is like a great Floud,<sup>46</sup> that will be sure to ouerflow. As it hath been seene, in the States of *Rome*, *Turky*, *Spaine*, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest *Barbarous Peoples*,<sup>47</sup> but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to liue,<sup>48</sup> (As it is almost euery where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no Danger of Inundations<sup>49</sup> of People: But when there be *great Shoales of People*, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing<sup>50</sup> Meanes of Life<sup>51</sup> and Sufentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or

<sup>41</sup> After Warmest. *Ut liquet in populo Araucensi; qui ad ulteriora Austri positi, omnibus Peruiensibus Fortitudine longe præcellunt,* 'as is seen in the people of Arauco, who seated at the farthest east, far surpass all the Peruvians in courage.'

<sup>42</sup> State. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>43</sup> Prey. *Aliis Gentibus in prædam,* 'a prey to other nations.'

<sup>44</sup> Break. *Viribus decideret,* 'fail in strength.'

<sup>45</sup> Accessions. *Accessiones Ditionum,* 'accessions of dominion.'

<sup>46</sup> Great Floud. *Pluuiò intumescenti,* 'a swelling flood.'

<sup>47</sup> After Barbarous Peoples. *Sed Civiliores fere sunt,* 'but are mostly more civilized.'

<sup>48</sup> Liue. *Familiam alendi, aut saltem Victum parandi,* 'raise a family or at least get food.'

<sup>49</sup> Inundations. *Inundationibus aut Migrationibus,* 'inundations or migrations.'

<sup>50</sup> Without foreseeing. *In futurum minime solliciti,* 'not careful for the future.'

<sup>51</sup> Meanes of Life. *Fortunis,* 'fortunes.'

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two, they discharge a Portion of their People vpon other Nations:<sup>52</sup> Which the ancient *Northern People*, were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes.<sup>53</sup> When a *Warre-like State* growes *Soft* and *Effeminate*, they may be sure of a *Warre*.<sup>54</sup> For commonly such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inuiteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the *Weapons*,<sup>55</sup> it<sup>56</sup> hardly falleth vnder Rule and Obseruation: yet we see, euen they haue *Returns* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance*<sup>57</sup> was known<sup>58</sup> in the City of the *Oxidrakes* in *India*; And was that, which the *Macedonians* called<sup>59</sup> Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne, that the vse of *Ordnance*<sup>60</sup> hath been in *China*, aboue 2000. yeares. The Conditions of *Weapons*, and their Improvement are; First, the Fetching a farre of:<sup>61</sup> For that outruns the Danger:<sup>62</sup> As it is seene in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherein likewise *Ordnance* doe exceed all Arietations,<sup>63</sup> and ancient Inuentions. The third is, the commodious<sup>64</sup> vse of them: As that they may

<sup>52</sup> Discharge . . . nations. *Exouerent, et novas Sedes quærant; et sic alias Nationes invadant*, 'discharge, and seek new settlements, and so invade other nations.'

<sup>53</sup> Seeke their Fortunes. *Alio migraret*, 'migrate elsewhere.'

<sup>54</sup> A Warre. *Gentes alias, ad eosdem invadendos*, 'other nations to invade them.'

<sup>55</sup> Weapons. *Armorum et telorum genus*, 'the kind of arms and missile weapons.'

<sup>56</sup> It. *Illorum mutationes*, 'their changes.'

<sup>57</sup> Ordnance. *Tormenta Ænea*, 'brass ordnance.'

<sup>58</sup> Known. *Tempore Alexandri Magni cognita*, 'known in the time of Alexander the Great.'

<sup>59</sup> Called. *Habita et appellata*, 'considered and called.'

<sup>60</sup> Ordnance. *Pulveris Pyrii, et Tormentorum igneorum*, 'gunpowder and fire-arms.'

<sup>61</sup> Fetching a farre off. *Ad Distantiam majorem feriant*, 'striking at a greater distance.'

<sup>62</sup> Danger. *Periculum, ab Hostili parte*, 'danger from the enemy.'

<sup>63</sup> Arietations. *Arietationes*.

<sup>64</sup> Commodious. *Commodior et faciliior sit; Id quod etiam Tormentis Ignæ Majoribus competit*, 'more commodious and easy; which also belongs to ordnance.'

ferue in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the *Warre*: At the first, Men rested extremely vpon *Number*: They did put the Warres likewise vpon *Maine Force*, and *Valour*; Pointing Dayes<sup>65</sup> for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, vpon an euen Match: And they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battailes*. After they grew to rest vpon *Number*, rather Competent, then Vast: They grew to *Aduantages* of *Place*, *Cunning*, *Diuerfions*, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the *Ordering* of their *Battailes*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Armes* doe flourish: In the *Middle Age* of a *State*, *Learning*; And then both of them together for a time: In the *Declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanicall Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning,<sup>66</sup> and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Iuvenile; Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust.<sup>67</sup> But it is not good, to looke too long, vpon these turning<sup>68</sup> Wheelles of *Vicifitude*, lest we become Giddy. As for the *Philology* of them,<sup>69</sup> that is but a Circle of Tales,<sup>70</sup> and therefore not fit for this Writing.

<sup>65</sup> Pointing Dayes. *Dies et loca constituebant*, 'appointing days and places.'

<sup>66</sup> Beginning. *Leuiusculæ*, 'trifling.'

<sup>67</sup> After Exhaust. *Manente etiam Garrulitate*, 'the loquaciousness also remaining.'

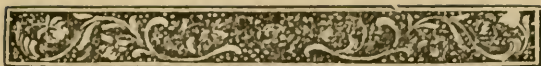
<sup>68</sup> Turning. Omitted in the Latin.

<sup>69</sup> Of them. *Quæ in hoc Argumento, ut plurimum, versatur*, 'which is much used on this subject.'

<sup>70</sup> Circle of Tales. *Narratiuncularum et Observationum futillum Congeries quædam*, 'a mass of tales and useless observations.'

FINIS.





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*Of Fame, a fragment.* . . . [579]





A  
FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY,  
OF F A M E.



He *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monster*. They describe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, grauely, and sententiously. They say, look how many *Feathers* she hath, so many *Eyes* she hath vnderneath: So many *Tongues*; So many *Voyces*; She pricks up for many *Ears*.

This is a *flourish*: There followe 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 Terroure 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 multiplied; 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 gaue 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*, settled 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 *Fannizaries*, 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 *Hellepont*. 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 *Governors*, have as great a watch, and care, ouer *Fames*, as they have, of the *Actions*, and *Designes* themselves.

*The rest was not Finished.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES

respecting

LORD BACON AND HIS WRITINGS.

We fairly despair of giving any adequate representation of either the Author or his Works. Some vital contemporary testimony has been adduced at *ff.* xi.-xxi.; and the few following notes, which are all our space will admit, may be taken simply as a handful of gleanings out of a vast harvest.

1558. Nov. 17. Elizabeth succeeds to the throne.

1560. JAN. 22. Francis Bacon is born at York House.

1576. NOV. 21. Bacon becomes an 'Ancient' of Gray's Inn. *Harl. MS.* 1912.

1579. He becomes a Student of his Inn. *Harl. MS.* 1912.

1582. JUNE 27. He becomes an 'Utter Barrister.' *Harl. MS.* 1912.

1586. He becomes a Bencher of Gray's Inn. *Harleian MS.* 1912.

1588. He is appointed a 'Reader' of his Inn. *Harleian MS.* 1912.

1592. Mr. Spedding edited, in 1870, for his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, '*A Conference of Pleasure*, composed for some festive occasion about the year 1592.' The original title of the partially burnt MS. is *Mr. ff. Bacon of tribute or giuing that which is due.* 1. The praise of the worthiest vertue [Fortitude]. 2. The praise of the worthiest affection [Love]. 3. The praise of the worthiest power [Knowledge]. 4. The praise of the worthiest person [Queen Elizabeth]. The first two are quite new.

1596. JUNE 2. *Remedies against Discontent, &c.* is registered at Stationers' Hall: see *p.* xi.

1596. JULY 31. The Earl of Lincoln and suite were away from England on OCT. 7. an embassy to the Landgrave of Hesse. An account of the journey was immediately written by one of the suite, Edward Monings, and published in October or November, under the title of *The Landgrave of Hesse, his princelie receiuing of her Maiesties Ambassador.* [There is a copy in the Grenville Collection, No. 2938.]

OCT. 26. It is thus entered in the Stationers' Register C. *fol.* 15.

26 OCTOBER.

Robert Robinson Entred for his copie in th[e] and of Mr. Hartwell and the Wardens a booke intituled The langraue of Hessen his princelye Receavinge of her ma[ies] ambassadors. } *vjd*

This work is connected with the Essays, through the following undoubted plagiarism from the Essay on 'Studies,' at *ff.* 6-10; as yet in MS.

"His education prince-like, generally known in all things, and excellent in many, seasoning his graue and mor[e] important studies for ability in iudgment, with studies of pastime for retiring, as in poetrie, musike, and the *Mathematikes*, and for ornament in discourse in the languages, *French, Italian, and English*, wherein he is expert reading much, conferring and writing much he is a full man, a readie man, an exact man, and so excellent a Prince that a man may say of him without flatterie as *Tullie* did of Pompey *vnus in quo summa sient omnia*, and for my priuate opinion I thinke there are but fewe such men in the world." *p.* 21.

It was such 'garnishment' as this, that induced Bacon to publish his Essays, as he states in his dedicatory letter to his brother Anthony, see *p.* 4.

1597. JAN. 30. Date of Bacon's dedication to his brother Anthony, see *p.* 4.

1597. FEB. 5. The first Edition of the *Essayes* is registered at Stationers' Hall. The entry at the top of *fol.* 18. of Register C. [1595-1620 A.D.] is as follows.

1596. Anno Reginæ. Eliz. xxxix<sup>o</sup>.

5 FEB.

Henry Hooper. Entered for his copie vnder th[e] hands of Mr Fr. Bacon Mr D. Stanhope Mr Barlow, and Mr Warden Dawson, a booke intituled *Essaies Religious Meditations, Places of perswasion and disswasion* by Mr Fr. Bacon. } vja

We haue here given the entry as it stands: because the regnal year corrects the date. The 5th of February in 39. Eliz. was the 5 Feb. 1597: or as it is more technically written 1596/7.

FEB. 7. The "*Essaies*" thus registered were published immediately. At the top of the title-page of the Museum copy (C. 21. a) is written *Septimo die Ffebruarii 39. E. R. pretium xx<sup>d</sup>*. [The seventh day of February in the 39th of Queen Elizabeth: price Twenty pence.] It is interesting thus to learn from this early purchaser, the price of the first publication of the great English Philosopher.

1600. Bacon is appointed a "Double Reader" of his Inn. *Harl.* 1912.

1600. This year appeared *Essaies* by Sir W. Cornwallis.

1601. There appeared this year, a small book by Robert Johnson, gent. entitled *Essaies, or rather Imperfect Offers*. A work reprinted in 1604, 1621, and 1630.

1603. Mar. 24. James I. succeeds to the English throne.

1603. JULY 23. Bacon is knighted by King James.

1604. AUG. 25. Sir F. Bacon is made King's Counsel.

1605. SEPT. 19. The *Two Bookes of the Proficiencie and Aduancement* are thus registered in the Stationers' Register B. [1595-1630] fol. 129.

Mr Ockold. "Entered for his copie vnder the hande of my Lo. Byschop of London and the Wardens a booke as well in Latyn as in Englysh called The Second } xij<sup>d</sup>  
[This work was printed for Henry Tomes.] [two] book of frauncis Bacon of the proficiencie and advancement of learninge Divine and humaine."

This was simply a license to publish it in Latin: into which language it was not as yet translated.

1605. NOV. 7. John Chamberlain informs Dudley Carleton of 'Sir F. Bacon's new book on Learning.' *Orig. in S. P. Office*.

1607. JUNE 25. Sr F. Bacon is made Solicitor General.

1608. This year appeared *Essaies Politicke and Morrall*. by D. T[jewell] gent.

1610. A second part of Sir W. Cornwallis' Essays appeared.

1612. OCT. 12. At fol. 227 of Stationers' Registers, is the following register in the year 1612. 10 James. of Text V in this Reprint.

12 OCTOBER.

William Hall. Entered for their copy vnder the hande of my Lo. John Beale. Bysshopp of London and the Wardens a book called } vja  
The Essays of Sr. ffr. Bacon Knight the Kings Sollici-  
tor Generail.

For this edition, he wrote the dedication on p. 158 to Prince Henry: but on

1612. NOV. 3. Prince Henry died.

NOV. Bacon then wrote a fresh dedication to his brother-in-law Sir John Constable, see p. 420, beginning thus—"My last *Essaies* I dedicated to my deare brother Master *Anthony Bacon*." It is therefore clear that he himself looked on this edition, as a *second* and revised Text.

1612. DEC. 17. Nicolas Chamberlain writing on this day to Sir Dudley Carleton says, 'Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new Essays, where, in a chapter of *Deformity*, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin [Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury] to the life.' *Court and Times of James I. i.* 214. *Ed.* 1848.

- 1613.** OCT. 27. Sir F. Bacon is made Attorney General.  
**1615.** Nicholas Breton published his *Characters upon Essaies Morrall and Diuine*, and dedicates them to Sir Francis Bacon.  
**1616.** JUNE 9. Sir F. Bacon is made a Privy Councillor.  
**1617.** MAR. 3. Sir F. Bacon is promoted to be Lord Keeper.  
**1619.** JAN. 4. Sir F. Bacon is made Lord Chancellor.  
 JULY 11. Sir F. Bacon is made Baron Verulam.

**1620.** Bacon publishes his great work *Instauratio Magna*.  
 The geniuses laughed at it, and men of talent and acquirement, whose studies had narrowed their minds into particular channels, incapable of understanding its reasonings, and appreciating its originality, turned wits for the purpose of ridiculing the new publication of the philosophic Lord Chancellor. Dr. Andrews, a forgotten wit of those days, perpetrated a vile pun upon the town and title of St Alban's, by saying, some doggerel verses that it was on the high road to *Dunce table*, i.e. Dunstable, and therefore appropriate to the author of such a book. Mr. Secretary Cuffe said it was 'a book which a fool could have written, and a wise man would not.' King James declared it was like the Peace of God—'it passeth all understanding.' Coke wrote, under a device on the title page, of a ship passing through the pillars of Hercules

"It deserveth not to be read in schools  
 But to be freighted in the ship of fools."  
 —Quoted by A. S. Allibone. *Crit. Dict.* i. 91. Ed. 1859.

**1621.** JAN. 22. Lord Verulam is created Viscount St Alban.  
 His patent was drawn in the most flattering terms, and the Prince of Wales signed it as a witness. The ceremony of investiture was performed with great state at Theobalds, and Buckingham condescended to be one of the chief actors. *Lord Macaulay. Ed. Rev. No. 132, p. 48. July 1837.*

**1621.** MAY 3. He is sentenced by the House of Lords.  
**1623.** MAR. 23. Bacon writing at this day to Conway, the Secretary of State, thus finishes his letter, which is now in the State Paper Office.

"I was looking over some short papers of mine touching usury, how to grind the teeth of it, and yet to make it grind to his Majesty's mill in good sort, without discontent or perturbation: if you think good I will perfect it, as I send it to his Maiesty as some fruits of my leisure. But yet I would not have it come from me, not from any tenderness in the thing, but because I know well in the courts of princes it is usual *non res, sed displicet Auctor.* Fr. St. Alban." Quoted by Mr Dixon in *Personal History of Lord Bacon, p. 296. Ed. 1861.*

About this time then, Bacon wrote the Essay on *Usury*, see pp. 541-6.  
**1625.** [1624 Dec. 15] Bacon published *The translation of Certaine Psalmes into English verse.* 4to. It is thus dedicated:  
*To his very good frend, Mr George Herbert.*

The paines, that it pleased you to take, about some of my Writings, I cannot forget; which did put mee in minde, to dedicate to you, this poore Exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being my manner for Dedications, to choose those that I hold most fit for the Argument, I thought in respect of Diuinitie and Poesie, met, (whereof the one is the Matter, the other the Stile of this little Writing) I could not make better choice. So, with signification of my Loue and Acknowledgement I euer rest.

*Your affectionate Frend, FR. S<sup>t</sup> ALBAN.*

**1625.** [1624 DEC.] There appeared this year, Lord Bacon's '*Apophthegmes New and Old*' with the following preface.

*Tullius Casar*, did write a *Collection* of *Apophthegmes*, as appears in an *Epistle of Cicero*. I need say no more, for the worth, of a Writing, of that nature. It is pitie his Booke is lost: for I imagine, they were collected, with Iudgement, and Choice: whereas that of *Plutarch*, and *Stobaeus*, and much more, the *Moderne* ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly, they are of excellent vse. They are, *Mucrones Verborum, Pointed Speeches.* Cicero prettily calls them, *Salinas, Salt pits*; that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it, where you will. They serue, to be interlaced, in continued Speech.

They serue, to be recited, vpon occasion of themselves. They serue, if you take out the kernell of them, and make them your owne. I haue used them for recreation, in my sicknesse, fann'd the Old; Not omitti  
are vulgar; (for many vulgar ones are excellent good;) because of the Person; but because they are dull, and flat: As many New, that otherwise would haue died.

**1625.** MAR. 13. The final English edition of the Essays was thus registered on fol. 97 of the Stationers Register, D. [1620-1645] on 13 Mar. 1624, 22 James I. [*i.e.* 13 Mar. 1625].

Mr. Whitacre. Entered for their copie vnder the hande of the Lo. Hanna Barrett. B. of London and Mr. Iohnnes warden The Essayes and Counsell morrall and Civill of Francis lo. Verulam } vjd  
vicount st. Alban.

Two title pages are found to this Edition. The first corresponding to the above entry. *The Essayes or Counsels, civill and morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. New enlarged. London, Printed by Iohn Haviiland for Hanna Barret, and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the Kings head in Paul's Church-yard.* 1625.

On a copy with this title in Cambridge Univ. Library (xvii. 36. 14.) Mr. W. A. Wright states is the memorandum *To: Finch 30<sup>o</sup> Martij. 1625 ex dono Authoris.* From which it is clear that the final English edition was issued between 13-30 March 1625. The second title page is reprinted at p. 497: the first in Mr Wright's Edition.

**1625.** MAR. The dedication on p. 498 was clearly written in the reign of James.

**1625.** MAR. 27. Charles I. became King.

**1626.** Apr. 9 (*Easter Sunday*). Lord St. Alban dies.

**1644.** [*i.e.* 1645] On this day appeared in London: *Memorials of Godlinesse and Christianitie.* Part I. *Of making Religion one's Businesse.* This was written by the Rev. Herbert Palmer, B.D. [*b.* 1601] at this time President of Queen's College, Cambridge, [which office he held till his death on 13. August 1647.]

**1645.** [JULY 24.] There appeared a 12 paged surreptitious tract entitled, *The Character of a Believing Christian. Set forth in Paradoxes and seeming Contradictions.* There is a copy in the British Museum [Press mark E. 1182.].

**1645.** JULY 25. The next day is the date of Mr Palmer's *Address To the Christian Reader* in Part II of the *Memorials, &c.* in which occurs the following passage.

"There is offered thee a second part of *Memorials of Godlinesse and Christianity*: smal indeed for bulk but more sutable for that to the title and the lesse burthensome to thee. Withall I must needs say, I meant thee somewhat more: but whilst (in the midst of many employments) I was getting it ready, a strange hand was liked to haue robbed me of the greatest part of this, by putting to the presse (unknown to me) an imperfect copy of the Paradoxes. This made me hasten to tender a true one, and to content myself for the present with the addition of the other lesser pieces, which here accompany them."

**1647.** AUG. 13. Rev. H. Palmer, B.D. died.

**1648.** In this year was published *Remaines, being Essayes and several Letters of Lord Bacon*: of unknown and almost valueless Editorship; in which *The Paradoxes* of Herbert Palmer appear as a writing of Lord Bacon: and as such, have been repeated in many later editions of his Works. It is to Rev. A. B. Grosart in his privately printed '*Lord Bacon, not the author of The Christian Paradoxes,*' 1865, that we are indebted to the rectification of this 'two-century-old literary error, if not fraud.'



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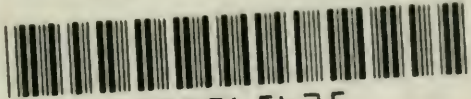
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