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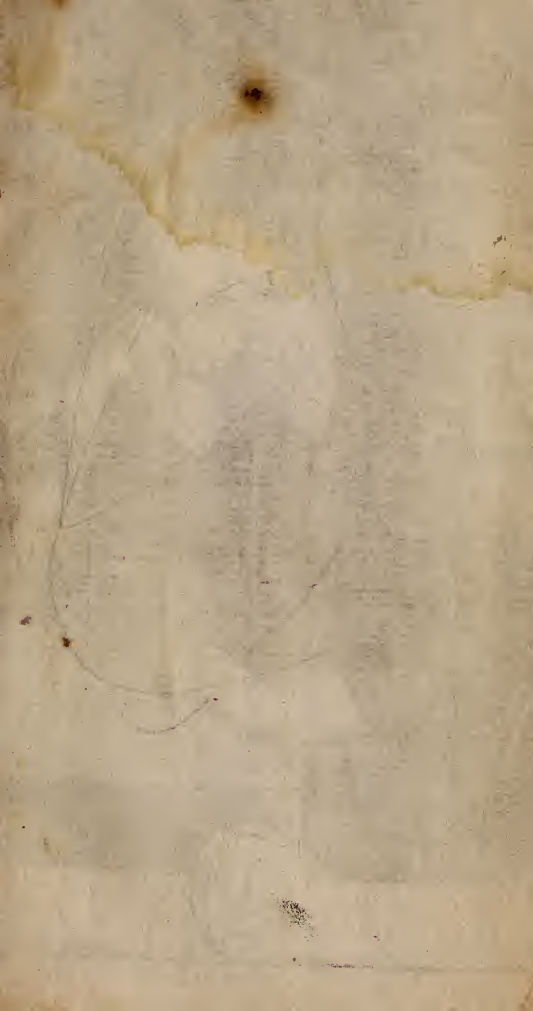
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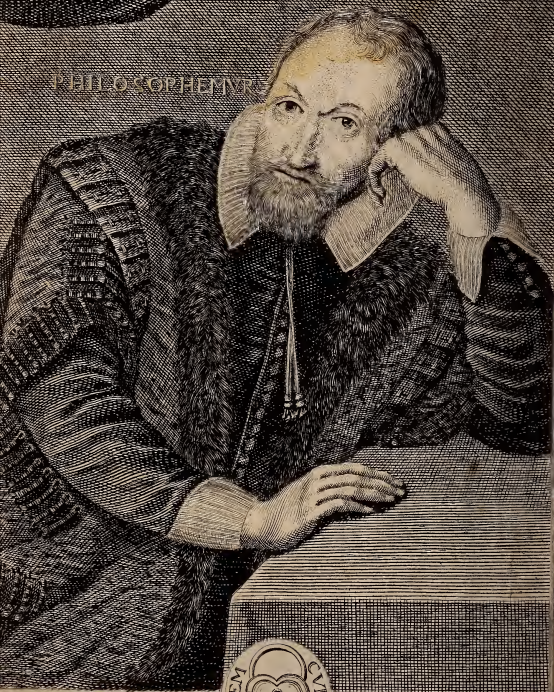
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PHILOSOPHEMYR



Lombart sculp. Alon

Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

OR,
A COLLECTION

of { LIVES,
LETTERS,
POEMS;

With
CHARACTERS
OF
Sundry PERSONAGES :

And other
Incomparable PIECES
of *Language and Art.*

By The curious PENCIL of
the Ever Memorable
S^r *Henry Wotton* K^t,
Late,
Provost of *Eton Colledg.*

LONDON,
Printed by *Thomas Maxey*, for *R. Marriot*,
G. Bedel, and *T. Garthwait*. 1651.



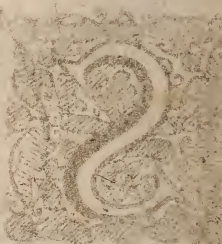
The Lady MARY WOTTON
Baroness, and John
Noble D. & C. & C.

KATHERIN STANLEY

MARGARET WOTTON

Ann

The books
of the
Justice
and
other
and in Henry
Wotton should be appointed in any
Person - Not only for the
of Alliance and blood
the
reput





To the Right Honourable,
The Lady MARY WOTTON
Baronness, and To her Three
Noble DAUGHTERS,

The Lady { KATHERIN STANHOP.
MARGARET TUFTON.
ANN HALES.



*Ince Bookes seeme
by custome to Chal-
lenge a dedicatiō,
Justice would not
allow, that what
either was, or con-
cern'd Sir Henry
Wotton, should be appropriated to any
other Persons; Not only for that
nearnesse of Aliance and Blood (by
which you may chalenge a civil right to
what*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

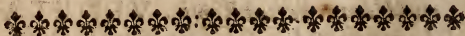
what was his;) but, by a title of that
intirenesse of Affection, which was
in you to each other, when Sir Henry
Wotton had a being upon Earth. i

O And since yours was a Friendship
made up of generous Principles, as I
cannot doubt but these indeavours to
preserve his Memory wil be acceptable
to all that lov'd him; so especially to
you: from whom I have had such in-
couragements as hath imboldned me
to this Dedication.

Which you are most humbly intreated
may be accepted from

Your very reall servant

J. W.





An Advertisement to the READER.

Reader,



Touching the value and Merit of the Author, it being farr above our abilities to speake of him in Termes equall to his deserving; it shall be sufficient to acquaint thee with these Testimonies.

I. That his Work of *Architecture* is Translated into Latin, printed with the Great *Vitruvius*, and this Elogy prefixed,

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS
*Anglo Cantianus, Thomæ Optimi Viri
Filius natu minimus, à Serenissimo Jaco-
bo I, MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, &c.
Rege, in Equestrem Titulum ascitus ;
ejusdemque ter ad Remp. VENETAM
Legatus Ordinarius ; semel ad Confœd-*

An account of the Worke.

ratarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio; bis ad Carolum Emmanuelem Sabaudicæ Ducem; semel ad unitos Superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunnensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wirtenbergensem, Civitates Imperiales Argentinam ulmâmq; & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum II. Legatus extraordinarius; Tandem hoc didicit,

ANIMAS SAPIENTIORES
FIERI QUIESCENDO.

II. The second Testimony is that of the Great Secretary of Nature, the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, who thought it not beneath Him to collect some of the Apothegmes and sayings of this Author.

III. Sir *Richard Baker* in his Chronicle of *England* sets to his seale also in a passage, thus; (Speaking of men of note in King *James* his Time) — Sir *Henry Wotton* was sent Embassador into *Italy* — and indeed the Kingdome yeelded not a fitter man to match the Capriciousnesse of the *Italian* wits. A man of so able dexterity with his pen, that he hath done himselfe much wrong and the Kingdome

An account of the Worke.

a great deale more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Now of the worke it selfe, Thou shalt find in it many curious things about

Architecture. p.201.

Picture. p.273.l.12.

Sculpture, p.273.l.25.

Landskip. p.413.l.20.

Magneticall experiments. p.318.l.13

Gardens. p.295.

Fountains ibidem.

Groves p.298.l.17.

Aviaries. p.299.

Conservatories of rare beasts. ibid.

Fish-ponds. ibid.

And also many observations of the *Mysteries* and *Laberinth*s in *Courts* and *States*, delivered in *Lives*, *Letters* to, and *Characters* of sundry *Personages*, as,

Observations and *Characters* (which He tooke in his *Employment* abroad) of these *Dukes* of *Venice*.

Giovanni Bembo. p.176.l.5.

Priuli. p.181.l.3.

Giustiniano. p.182.l.1.

Nani.

An account of the Worke.

Nani	p.182.l.18.
Donato	p.183.l.10.
Ferdinand Grand Duke of Tuscany	p.360.l.5.
An Account of Foscarini	p.459.l.10.
Of the Arch-Duke Leopold	p.378.l.12.
Of Count Tampier	p.471.l.8.

Artists and Famous men mentioned.

Tyco-brabe	p.298.l.17.
Kepler	p.413.l.17.
Aldrovandus	p.478.l.23.
Albert Durer	p.283.l.4.
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Leon Alberti.	p.246.l.10.
Philip D'Orme	p.252.l.6.
Antonio Labaca censured	p.256.l.24.
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Vassari	p.301.l.25.
Sir Henry Fanshaw	p.296.l.14.

Observations (at home) of the Courts
of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and
King Charles, with Lives and Characters
of

Earl. of Essex.

p.1.
D.of

An account of the Worke.

Duke of Buckingham p.4 & p.73.
Of K. Charles p.129

Characters and Observations of

Queen Elizabeth p.45.l.9.

E. of Essex father p.39.l.13.

E. of Leicester p.2. & p.23.l.11.

E. of Essex Employments p.27.

Arch B. Whitgift p.19.l.14.

M. Anthony Bacon p..12.l.27.

Sir Robert Cecill p.12.l.4.p.43.l.13.

The Cecillians p.25.l.10.

Walter Devereux p.20.l.5.

Sir Philip Sidney p.304.l.20.

Sir Walter Raleigh p.3.l.14.

Secretary Cuff p.31.l.24.

Of K. James p.5.l.3. p.417.l.11

p.94.l.22.

K. Charles p.160.l.2.

Q. Mary p.86.l.12. p.148.l.20

Q. of Bohemia p.156.l.7

Duke of Buck. p.73.

Spanish Journey p.81.l.20

L. Bacon p.9.l.13. p.411.l.13

L. Treasurer Weston p.388.

L. Treasurer Juxon p.304.l.10.

M. Bedell p.422.

Isle of Rheeze p.28.

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An account of the Work.

Of the *Dukes* ominous presagements p.118
l.16.

Countess of Denbigh p.120.l.2.

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Censure of

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D. Egglesham p.26.l.16.p.102.l.18

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Account of the West

Of the Daily common regulations for the

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Advice to the Reader.

If there shall be found some small Incongruities, either in time, or expression, in the Life of Sir *Henry Wotton*; The Reader is requested to afford him a gentle Censure, because it was by the Printer fetch'd so fast by pieces from the Relatour; that he never saw what he had writ all together, till 'twas past the Presse.

ERRATA of the Life.

PAGE 2. line 18. for of this, r. *this*. p 4. l. 29. for looke, r. *look'd*. p. 6. l. 8. for of many, r. *of the many*. p. 6. l. 7. for have, r. *these have*. p. 6. l. 30. for he often, r. *he as often*. p. 10. l. 4. for reverentiall, r. *this reverentiall*. p. 17. l. 5. for com- and prehensible, r. *comprehensible*. p. 17. l. 6. for out, r. *and out*. p. 20. l. 14. for security, r. *secrecy*. p. 24. l. 10. for first, r. *fifth*. p. 24. l. 17. for predeceffors, r. *predecessor*.

Of the Book.

PAGE 8. li. 1. for some marks, read *some warinesse*. p. 18. l. 23. dele *in*. l. 25. r. *indifferent*. p. 21. l. 1. r. *Solar influence*. p. 28. l. 19. r. *landing*. l. 23. forthwith, r. *some*. p. 31. l. 5. dele *not*. p. 37. dele l. 11, 12. p. 441. l. 21. after *namely*, read &c.





THE
LIFE
OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON.



SIR Henry Wotton (whose Life I intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption, 1568. in *Bocton hall* (commonly called *Bocton* or *Boughton place*) in the parish of *Bocton Malherbe*, in the fruitfull Countrey of *Kent*. *Bo-*

cton hall being an antient and goodly structure, beautifying and being beautified by the parish Church of *Bocton Malherb* adjoyning unto it: both being seated within a fair park of the *Wot-*
tons, on the brow of such a *Hill* as gives the advantage of large prospect and of equall pleasure to all beholders.

The Life of

But, this *House* and *Church* are not so remarkable for any thing, as for that the memorable *Family* of the *Wottons* have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their very many *Monuments* in that *Church*; The *Wottons* being a *Family* that hath brought forth many persons eminent for *Wisdom* and *Valour*, whose heroick *Acts*, and honorable *Employments* both in *England* and in *forraign* parts, have adorn'd themselves, and this *Nation*; which they have served abroad *faithfully*, in discharge of their great trust, and *prudently* in their *Negotiations* with severall *Princes*; and also serv'd it at home with much *Honor* and *Justice*, in their wise managing a great part of the publick affairs thereof in the *Various times* both of *war* and *peace*.

But lest I shall be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt of this *truth*, not to have observed *moderation* in this *Commendation* of that *family*; And also, for that I beleve the *merits* and *memory* of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded: I shall offer to the *Consideration* of the *Reader* out of the testimony of their own *Pedegree*, and our owne *Chronicles*, a part (and but a part) of that just *Commendation* which might be from thence enlarged, and then leave the indifferent *Reader* to judge whether my error be an *excesse* or *defect* of commendations.

Sir *Robert Wotton* of *Boston* *Mather* *Knight*, was born in the year of *Christ* 1463. He living in the *Raign* of *King Edward* the fourth was by him trusted to be *Leiftenant* of *Guisnes*, to be *Knight Porter* and *Comptroller* of *Callais*, where he died, and lyes honorably buried.

Sir

Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Edward Wotton of *Bocton Malherbe* Knight, (Son and Heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ, 1489. in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh. He was made Treasurer of *Calais*, and of Privie Councill to King Henry the Eighth, who offered him to be Lord Chancellour of England, but (saith *Hollinshead*) out of a veruious modesty he refused it.

Thomas Wotton of *Bocton Malherbe* Esquire, Son and Heir of the said Sir Edward, (and the Father of our Sir Henry, that occasions this relation) was born in the year of Christ, 1521. He was a Gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the *Liberall Arts*, in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very plentiful estate, and the ancient Interest of his Predecessours) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his *Countrey Recreations* and retirement for a *Court Life*, offering him a *Knight-hood* (she was then with him at *Bocton Hall*) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and profitable *Employment* under Her, yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind. A *Comendation* which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladnesse, and thankfully to boast himself the Son of such a Father: From whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himselfe, and which he ever both *Commended* and *Cherish'd* in others. This *Thomas* was also remarkable for *hospitality*, a great Lover, and much beloved of his *Countrey*; to which may justly be added, that

The Life of

he was a Cherisher of Learning, as appears by that excellent Antiquary Master *William Lambert*, in his perambulation of *Kent*.

This *Thomas* had four Sons, *Sir Edward*, *Sir James*, *Sir John*, and *Sir Henry*.

Sir Edward was Knighted by *Queen Elizabeth*, and made Comptroller of Her Majesties Household. He was (saith *Cambden*) a man remarkable for many and great Employments in the State during her Reign, and sent severall times *Ambassadour* into Forraign Nations: after her death, he was by *King James* made Comptroller of His Household, and called to be of His Privie Councell, and by him advanced to be *Lord Wotton*, *Baron of Morley* in *Kent*, and made *Lord Lieftenant* of that County.

Sir James (the second son) may be numbred among the martiall men of his age, who was in the 38 of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign (with *Robert Earl of Suffex*, *Counr Lodowick of Nassaw*, *Dou Christophoro* son of *Antonio* King of *Portugal*, and divers other Gentlemen of Nobleness and valour) Knighted in the Field neer *Cadix* in *Spain*, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of Injuries by taking that Town.

Sir John being a Gentleman excellently accomplish'd by Learning and Travel, was Knighted by *Queen Elizabeth*, and by her look'd upon with more then ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but Death, in his younger yeers, put a period to his growing hopes.

Of *Sir Henry* my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of those fore-named *Wottons* were

Sir Henry Wotton.

in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have convers'd. But if I had look'd so far back as Sir *Nicholas Wotton*, who lived in the reign of King *Richard* the second; or before him, upon divers others of great note in their severall ages, I might by some be thought tedious; yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention *Nicholas Wotton* the fourth son of Sir *Robert*, whom I first named. This *Nicholas Wotton* was a *Doctor of Law*, and sometime *Dean of Canterbury*; a man whom God did not onely bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his Countrey, as is testified by his severall Employments; having been sent nine times *Ambassadour* unto severall Princes, and being a privie *Counsellor* to King *Henry* the eighth, to *Edward* the sixth, to *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*; who also, after he had (during the Wars between *England*, *Scotland* and *France*) been three severall times (and not unsuccessfully) employ'd in *Committees* for settling of peace betwixt this and those Kingdoms, died (saith learned *Cambden*) full of commendations for *Wisdom* and *Piety*. He was, by the Will of King *Henry* the eighth, made one of his *Executors*, and was chief *Secretary* of State to his Son, that pious Prince *Edward* the sixth. Concerning whom I shall say but this little more; That he refused (being offered it by *Queen Elizabeth*) to be *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*, and that he died not rich, though he lived in the time of the dissolution of *Abbeys*.

More might be added; but by this it may appear, that Sir *Henry Wotton* was a Branch of such

a kindred as left a Stock of reputation to their Posterity, such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and Family to perform actions worthy of their Ancestors. And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly then my pen can express it, if of many of his surviving friends, some one of higher parts and imployment, had been pleased to have commended his to posterity. But since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of * one

* Mr. Nic. Oudert. that still lives solicitous to see this duty performed, have had a power to persuade me to undertake it: which, truly, I have not done but with some distrust of mine own abilities, and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I present all Readers with a commixture of truth and his merits.

The father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth the daughter of Sir John Rudstone Knight, after whose death (though his inclination was averse to all conventions, yet necessitated he was to severall suits in Law: in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time) he was by divers of his friends persuaded to remarriage; to whom he often answered, That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons.

Sir Henry Wotton.

namely, those } that had *Children*.
} that had *Law suits*.
} that were of his
} kindred.

And yet, following his own law suit, he met in *Westminster* hall with one *Mistresse Marton*, widdow to *Marton of Kent* Esquire, who was engaged in severall suites in Law; and observing her *Comportment* at the time of hearing of one of her causes before the Judges, he could not but at the same time both compassionate her Condition, and so affect her person, that although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection grew so strong, that he then resolved to sollicite her for a wife, and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of *Sir William Finch* of *Eastwell* in *Kent*) he had *Henry* his youngest son. His mother undertook to be *Tutors* unto him during much of his childhood, for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signes of future perfection in learning, as turn'd her employment into a pleasing trouble, which she was content to continue till his father took him into his more particular care, and disposed of him to a *Tutor* in his own house at *Boston*.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removall to a higher form, (which was very early) he was sent to *Winchester School*, a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might in his youth be moulded into a Method of living by rule; which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way, to make

The Life of

the future part of his life, both happie to himself, and usefull for the discharge of all busines, whether publick, or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this *regularity*, he was at a fit age removed from that *School*, to *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, both being founded by *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into *Queens Colledge*, where within that year, he was by the Chief of that Colledge, perswasively injoynd to write a Play for their private use, (it was the Tragedy of *Tauredo*) which was so interwoven with Sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed; that the gravest of that Society declared, he had in a slight employment, given an early and a solid testimony of future abilities. And though there may be some lower dispositions, which may think this not worth a *Memorialis*, yet that wise Knight *Guarina-Baptista* (whom learned *Italy* accounts one of her *Ornaments*) thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I passe to what wil be thought more serious.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he did proceed *Master of Arts*; and at that time read in *Latine* three *Lectures de Oculo*; wherein he having described the *Form*, the *Motion*, the curious *Composure* of the *Eye*, and demonstrated, how of those very many, every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion;

and

Sir Henry Wotton.

and all this, to the advantage of man; to whom it is given, not only as the bodies guide, but, whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul; this, in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After these Observations he fell to dispute this Optique Question; *Whether we see by the Emission of the Beams from within, or Reception of the Species from without?* and after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, in the Conclusion of his *Lectures*, he took a fair occasion to beautifie his *Discourse* with a Commendation of the blessing and benefit of *Seeing*: by which, we do not only discover *Natures Secrets*; but, with continued Content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great *Light* of the *World*, and by it discover the *Fabrick* of the *Heavens*, and both the *Order* and *Motion* of the *Celestiall Orbs*; nay, if the eye look but downward, it may rejoyce to behold the bosome of the *Earth*, (our *Common Mother*) imbroidered and adorned with numberlesse and various *Flowers*; which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time (like those *Flowers*) decays, withers, and then quickly returns again to that *Earth*, from which both had their *Origination*.

These were so exactly debated, and so Rhetorically heightned, as, among other admirers, caused that learned *Italian Albericus Gentilis* (then Professor of the *Civil Law* in *Oxford*) to call him *Henrice mi ocelli*; which deer expression of his was also used by divers other persons of note during his stay in the *University*.

The Life of

But that was not long, at least, not so long as his Friends once intended: for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his Father (whom Sir Henry did seldom mention without reverentiall expression, as, *That good man my Father; or, My Father the best of men:*) about that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, an hundred Mark a year, to be paid for ever, out of one of his Manors of much greater value.

But though this good man be dead, I wish a Circumstance or two concerning him may not be buried without a relation; which I shall undertake to do so, that I suppose, they may so much concern the Reader to know, that I may promise my self a pardon for a short Digression.

IN the year 1553, *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* (whom I formerly mentioned) being then Ambassador in *France*, did dream that his Nephew *Thomas Wotton* was inclined to be a party in such a Project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the losse of his life, and ruine of his Family. The Dean knowing that *Dreams*, (common *Dreams*, that usually look the same way that our over-engaged affections, or the particular business of the day do incline us, and so are but a paraphrase on our waking thoughts) may be superstitiously considered; and yet that other *Dreams* ought not to be slightly cast away; did therefore resolve rather to lay it aside, than totally to lose it: But dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a doubled Dream, like that of *Pharaoh*, (of which *Dreams* the Learned have made many observations)

Sir Henry Wotton.

ons) and, that it had no dependance on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart; then he did more seriously consider it, and remembred that almighty God was pleased to reveal, and in a Dream to assure *Monica*, the Mother of *St. Austen*, that he, her son (for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so much) should at last become a Christian: This he considered, and considering also that almighty God (though the causes of Dreams be often unknown) hath even in these later times, by a certain *illumination* of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that humane wisdom could not fore-see. Upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience to either party. And to that end, he wrote to the *Queen* ('twas *Queen Mary*) and besought her that she would cause his Nephew *Thomas Wotton* to be sent for out of *Kent*, and that the Lords of her Councell might interrogate him in some such fained questions as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable *Prison*; declaring, that he would acquaint her Majestie with the true reason of his request, when he should next be so happy as to see, and speak to Her.

'Twas done as the *Dean* desired: and in prison I must leave *M. Wotton*, till I have told the Reader what followed.

At this time a Marriage was concluded betwixt *Queen Mary* and *Philip King of Spain*; And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the perswasion of her privie Councel, as having many probabilities of advantage to this Nation: yet divers persons (being of a contrary perswasion)

on) did declare against it, and also raised forces to oppose it, beleiving it would be a means to bring *England* under subjection to *Spain*, and make those of this Nation slaves to strangers: And of this number *Sir Thomas Wyat* of *Boxley Abbey* in *Kent* (betwixt whose Family, and the Family of the *Wottons* there had been an ancient friendship) was the principall Actor; who having perswaded many of the Nobility and Gentry (especially of *Kent*) to side with him, and being defeated and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned, condemned, and lost his life: So did the Duke of *Suffolk*, and divers others, especially many of the Gentry of *Kent*, who were there in severall places executed as *Wyats* assistants. And of this number in all probability had *Master Wotton* been: For though he was not ignorant that another mans treason makes it mine by concealing it, yet he durst confesse to his Uncle, when he came to visit him in prison, that he had more then an intimation of *Wyats* intentions, and thought he had not continued actually *innocent*, if his Uncle had not happily dream'd him into a *Prison*; out of which when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his Commitment, they both considered the dream, and then both joynd in praising God, who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evill, or in shewing of mercy to those, whom of his good pleasure he hath chosen to love.

And this was the more considerable, because many of the Dreams of this *Thomas Wotton* did usually prove true, both in fore-telling things to come, and discovering things past: I will give the Reader but one particular, namely this; A little before his death, he dream'd that the *Univer-*
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city Treasury was rob'd by Towns-men, and poor Scholers, and that the number was five: And being that day to write to his Son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a Post-script in his Letter, to make a slight inquiry of it; The Letter which was writ out of Kent, came to his sons hands the very morning after the night in which the Robbery was committed; (for the Dream was true, and the circumstances, though not in the exact time) and when the City and University were both in a perplext Enquest of the Theeves: then did Sir Henry Wotton shew his Fathers Letter, and by it such Light was given of this Work of Darknesse, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered, and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble, as the Casting of a Figure.

And it may be yet more Considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being both men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretell the dayes of their death: Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty fifth year of his age, who being then in London, where he died, gave direction that his Body should be carried to Boston, and though he thought his Uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble Monument, which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himselfe, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his Funerall.

But it is now more then time, That I returne to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where after his
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Oprique Lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned *Albericus Gentilis* (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible, *Gentilis* would have breathed all his excellent knowledge both of the *Mathematicks* and *Law* into the brest of his dear *Henry*, (for so *Gentilis* used to call him;) and though he was not able to do that; yet there was in *Sir Henry* such a Propensity and Conaturalnesse to the *Italian* Language, and those Studies whereof *Gentilis* was a great Master, that during his stay in *Oxford*, this friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to *Sir Henry*, for the improvement of him in severall Sciences, during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a torraign Nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in *Oxford*, of memorable note for learning, and friends to *Sir Henry Watton*, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was betwixt him and *Doctour Donne* (sometimes Dean of *Pauls*) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he of this Nation that pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of *Doctour Donne*, deseryes not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented: and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent Inclinations and Studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In *Oxford* he stayed till about two years after his Fathers death: at which time he was about the

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two and twentieth year of his age; and having to his great wit, added the ballast of learning, & knowledge of the Arts, he then laid aside his books, & betook himself to the usefull Library of Travell, and a more generall Conversation with mankind; imploying the remaining part of his youth, his industry and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of forraign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many Nations, their severall Laws and Languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure, as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following Narration of his Life.

In his Travels, which was almost nine years before his return into *England*, he staid but one year in *France*, and *Geneva*; where he became acquainted with *Theodor Beza*, (then very aged) and with *Isaack Casaubon*, in whose Fathers house, (if I be rightly informed) *Sir Henry Wotton* was lodg'd, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with his most learned Son.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in *Germany*, the other five in *Italy*, (the Stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, he became acquainted with the most eminent men both for learning, and all manner of arts, as *Picture*, *Sculpture*, *Chimistry*, *Architecture*, and divers other manuell Arts, even Arts of inferiour Nature; of all which, he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge.

He returned out of *Italy* into *England* about the Thirtieth year of his age, being noted by many, both for his person and *Comportment*;
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for indeed he was of a choyce shape, tall of stature, and of a molt perswasive behaviour; which was so mix'd with sweet discourse, and Civilities, as gained him much love with all persons with whom he entred into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharpe wit, and apt to jest; that, by time, travel, and Conversation, was so polish'd and made usefull, that his Company seem'd to be one of the delights of mankind. In so much, as *Robert Earl of Essex* (then one of the darlings of fortune and in greatest favour with *Queen Elizabeth*) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledg of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries; the other being *Master Henry Cusse* somtimes of *Merton Colledg* in *Oxford*, and there the acquaintance of *Sir Henry Wotton* in his youth; *Master Cusse* being then a man of no Common note in the University for his learning, nor after his removall from thence for the great abilities of his mind; nor indeed, for the fatalness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the *Earl of Essex*, did personally attend his Councils and Employments in Two voyages at Sea against the *Spaniards*, and also in that (which was the *Earls* last) into *Ireland*; that wherein he did so much provoke the *Queen* to anger then, and worse at his return into *England*, upon whose Favour he had built such landy hopes, as encouraged him to those undertakings which (with the help of a contrary Faction) suddenly caused his Commitment. *Sir Henry Wotton* observing this, though he was not of that Faction (for the *Earls* followers were also

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divided into their severall interests) which incouraged the *Earl* to those undertakings which proved so fatall to him, and divers of his Confederation, yet knowing Treason to be so Com- & prehensible, as to take in, even Circumstances, out of them to make such Conclusions, as subtile States-men shall project either for their revenge or safety; Considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of *England*, a better security then to stay in it, and plead his innocency in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the *Earl* was apprehended, quickly and privately glide through *Kent* without so much as looking toward his native and beloved *Boston*, and was by the help of favourable winds and liberall payment, within sixteen houres after his departure from *London*, set upon the *French* shore, where he heard shortly after, that the *Earl* was arraign'd, condemn'd, and beheaded; that his friend *Master Cuffe* was hang- ed, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon him, as to invite his return into *England*: having therefore procured of his elder brother, the *Lord Wotton*, an assurance that his Annuity should be paid him in *Italy*, thither he went; happily renew- ing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed, his Content, in a new Conversation with his old acquaintance in that Nation; and more particularly in *Florence*, which City is not more eminent for the great *Dukes* Court, then for the great recourse of men of choycest note for Learning and Arts; of which number he there met with his old friend, *Signior Vieta*, then taken to be *Secretary* to the great *Duke of Tuscany*.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome; where in the English Colledge he had very many friends, whose humanity made them really so, though they knew Sir Henry Wat-
 son to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion; and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some Curiosities that did partly occasion his Journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him, which did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but introduce him a knowledg and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the Reader, That though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her Council) were never willing to declare her Successour; yet King James was confidently beleev'd by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble would be impos'd; and the Queen declining so fast, both by age, and visible infirmities, those of the Romish perswasion in point of Religion, (even Rome it self, and those of this Nation) knowing that the death of the Queen, and the establishing of her Successour were taken to be *criticall* dayes for destroying or establishing the Protestant Religion in this Nation, therefore did they improve all opportunities of preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed Her. And as the Pope's Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, did both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, expose her to be warrantably destroyed: so that (if

* Watson in his
 Quodlibets.

we may beleev'e an angry adversary, a * secular Priest against a Jesuite) then you may

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may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of the Queen) the Duke of Florence had intercepted certaine letters that discovered a designe to take away the life of the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, called his Secretary *Vienna*, to advise by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his Court. Sir Henry was gladly called by his Friend *Vienna* to the Duke, who (after much profession of friendship) acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatch'd him into Scotland with Letters to the King, and with those Letters such antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took upon him the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posteth into Norway, and through that Countrey towards Scotland; and finding the King at *Stirling*, he used means to *Bernard Lindsey*, then one of the Kings Bed-chamber, to procure him a private conference with his Majesty, assuring him that the business was of such consequence, as had caused the Duke of *Fuscany* to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native Countrey of *Italy*, to impart it to the King.

This being by *Bernard Lindsey* made known to
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the King, he after a little wonder and jealousy to hear of an *Italian* Ambassador, or Messenger, required his name; (which was said to be *Ottavio Baldi*) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixt hour that evening.

When *Ottavio Baldi* came to the Presence-chamber doore, he was requested to lay aside his long *Rapier*, which *Italian*-like he then wore; being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four *Scotch* Lords standing distant in several corners of the Chamber. At the sight of whom, he made a stand, which the King observing, bad him be bold, and deliver his Message, for he would undertake for the security of all that were present. Then did *Ottavio Baldi* deliver his Letters and Message to the King in *Italian*, which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, *Ottavio Baldi* steps to the Table, and whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an *English* man, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that Nation; This was promised and performed by the King during his stay there, which was three months; all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to *Ottavio Baldi* himself, as that Countrey could afford; from which he departed as true an *Italian* as he came thither.

He returnes to the Duke at *Florence* with a faire and gratefull account of his employment, and within some few months there came certain newes to *Florence*, that *Queen Elizabeth* was dead, and *James* King of the *Scots* proclaimed King of *England*. The Duke knowing travail and bu-

business

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finest to be the best schooles of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutor'd in both; advised him to return to *England*, and Joy the King with his new and better title, and there wait upon fortune for a better imployment.

When King James came into *England*, he found, amongst other of the late Queens Officers, the Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, and shortly after demanded of him, if he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in foreign Travell: The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother: then the King asking where he then was? was answered, at *Venice*, or *Florence*; but by late Letters from thence, he understood, he would suddenly be at *Paris*.

Send for him, said the King, and when he shall come into *England*, bid him repair to me. The Lord Wotton after a little wonder, ask'd the King, if he knew him? to which the King answered, You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the Gentleman to me.

Not many months after this Discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bad him welcome by the Name of *Ostasio Baldi*, saying, he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with; And said, seeing I know you neither want Learning, Travell, nor Experience, which are the best Schools of Wisdom: and that I have had so reall a Testimony of your faithfulness, and abilities to manage an Embassage: I have sent for you, to declare my purpose, which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter; And indeed the King did so,

so, most of those two and twenty years of His Raign : but before he dismiss Octavio Baldi from his present attendance, he restored him to his old name of *Henry Wotton* ; by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his Motto, *Beati pacifici*, to have a friendship with his Neighbour Kingdoms of *France*, and *Spain*, and also to enter into an alliance with the State of *Venice*, and to that end to send Ambassadors to those severall places, did propose the Choice of these Employments to Sir *Henry Wotton* ; who considering the smalnesse of his own estate (which he never took care to augment) and knowing the Courts of great Princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined to that of *Venice*, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his *Genius*, who did ever love to joyne with Businesse Study, and a Triall of naturall experiments ; for which fruitfull *Italy*, that Darling of Nature, and Cherisher of all Arts, is so justly fam'd in all parts of the Christian World.

Sir *Henry* having, after some few days Consideration, resolved upon *Venice*, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there ; he left *England*, being nobly accompanied through *France* to *Venice*, by Gentlemen, of the best Families and Breeding that this Nation afforded: they were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons may not be omitted, Sir *Albertus Morton* his Nephew, who went his Secretary, and *William Bedell*, a man of choice Learning, and sanctified Wildome, who went his Chaplain.

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Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of *Venice* with much honor and gladness, both for that he delivered his Embassage most elegantly in the *Italian* Language, and came in such a juncture of time, as his Masters friendship seemed useful for that Republick : the time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. *Leonardo Donato* being then Duke; a wise and resolv'd man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the State of *Venice* could not then have wanted; there having been formerly in the time of *Pope Clement* the eighth, some contests about the priviledges of Church-men, and the power of the Civil Magistrate; of which, for the information of Common Readers, I shall say a little, for that it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603. the Republick of *Venice* made several injunctions against Lay persons giving Lands or Goods to the Church, without Licence from the State; and in that inhibition, they exprest their reasons to be, for that when it once came into the hands of the Ecclesiasticks, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof, the people being charitable even to excess, the Clergy which grew every day more numerous, and at least pretended exemption from all publick services and taxes, the burthen did grow too heavy to be born by the Laity.

Another occasion of difference was, That about this time complaints were justly made by the *Venetians* against two Clergy men, the Abbot of *Nervesa*, and a Canon of *Vicenza*, for committing such sins as I think not fit to name, (nor name I these to the disgrace of any calling, for holiness is

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not tyed to Ecclesiastical Orders, and *Italy* is observ'd to breed the most vertuous, and most vicious men of any Nation :) these two having been long complained of at *Rome*, and no satisfaction given to the *Venetians*, they seized their persons, and committed them to prison.

The justice, or injustice of such power, used by the *Venetians*, had some calm debates betwixt Pope *Clement* the 8, and that *Republick*. But *Clement* dying, Pope *Paul* the first (who succeeded him) brought it to an high contention with the *Venetians*; objecting those acts of that State to be a diminution of his just Power, and limited a time for their revocation; threatning, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to Excommunication of the *Republick*; who offered to shew both reason and ancient custome to warrant their Actions. But this *Pope*, contrary to his Predecessors, required absolute obedience without disputes. Thus it continued for about a yeer, the *Pope* threatning Excommunication, and the *Venetians* still answering him with fair speeches, and no performance: At last, the *Pope* did excommunicate the *Duke*, whole *Senate*, and all their Dominion; then he shut up all the *Churches*, charging the whole *Clergie* to forbear all sacred offices to any of the *Venezians*, till their obedience should make them capable of absolution.

Matters thus heightned, the State advised with Father *Paul*, a holy and learned Fryer (the Author of the *History of the Councell of Trent*.) whose advice was, Neither to provoke the *Pope*, nor lose their own right; he declaring publickly in print, in the name of the State, That the *Pope* was trusted to keep two Keys, one of *Prudence*, and the other

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ther of *Power*; And that if they were not both used together, *Power* alone is not effectuell.

Thus it continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the *Venetians* were turned *Protestants*: which was beleev'd by many, for that it was observed, the *English* Ambassadour was so often in conference with the *Senate*, and his Chaplain more often with *Father Paul*. And also, for that the *Republick* was known to give Commission to *Gregory Justiniano*, their Ambassadour in *England*, to make all these proceedings known to the King, and crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require: and in the meantime, the *King's* advice, which was the same that he gave to *Pope Clement* at his first coming to the *Crown of England* (the *Pope* then moving him to an *Union* with the *Roman Church*) namely, To endeavour the calling of a free Councell, for the settlement, of peace in *Christendom*: And that hee doubted not but that the *French King*, and divers other *Princes* would joyn to assist in such a work; and in the meantime, the sin of this Breach, both with his, and the *Venetians* Dominions, must of necessity lie at the *Pope's* door.

In this contention (which lasted severall yeers) the *Pope* grew still higher, and the *Venetians* more resolved and careless; still acquainting *King James* with their proceedings, which was done by the help of *Sir Henry Wotton*, *Master Bedell*, and *Padre Paulo*, whom the *Venetians* then called to be one of their *Consultors of State*, and with his *Pen* to defend their cause: which was so performed, that the *Pope* saw plainly, he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the *Venetians* Absolution upon very easie

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termes; which the *Venetians* still slighting, did at last obtain it, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of desiring it.

These Contests were the occasion of *Padre Paulo* his knowledg and interest with *King James*, for whose sake principally *Padre Paul* compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Councell of *Trent*; which was, as fast as it was written sent, in severall sheets in Letters by *Sir Henry Wotton*, *Mr. Bedell*, and others, unto *King James* and the Bishop of *Canterbury* into *England*, and there first made publick.

For eight years after *Sir Henry Wottons* going into *Italy* he stood faire and highly valued in the Kings opinion, but at last became much Clouded by an accident, which I shall proceede to relate.

At his first going Embassadour into *Italy*, as he past through *Germany*, he staid some dayes at *Augusta*; where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingenuoulness (those that are esteemed the *vertuosa* of that Nation) with whom passing an evening in Merriments, he was requested by *Christopher Flecamore* to write some Sentence in his *Albo*, a book of white paper which for that end many of the *German* Gentry usually carry about them. *Sir Henry Wotton* consenting to the motiõ, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present Company, to write a pleasant definition of an Embassador in these very words.

Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentium Reipublica causa.

Which *Sir Henry Wotton* could have been content should have been thus English'd.

An Embassadour is an honest man sent, to lie abroad for the good of his Countrey. But

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But the word for *lie* (being the hinge upon which the Conceit was to turn) was not so express'd in Latin as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a Construction as Sir Henry thought in *English*. But as it was, it slept quietly among other Sentences in this *Albo* almost *eight years*, till by accident it fell into the hands of *Fasper Scioppius* a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious pen; who with books against *King James* prints this as a principle of that Religion profess'd by the King and his Embassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at *Venice*; in which place, it was presently after written in severall glass windowes, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wottons. This coming to the knowledg of *King James*, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse in Sir Henry Wotton, as caus'd the King to express much wrath against him; and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to *Velsurus* (one of the Chiefes of *Augusta*) in the universall language, which he caus'd to be given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of *Germany* and *Italy*, as an Antidote against the venomous books of *Scioppius*; and another to *King James*, which was so ingenuous, so cleer, so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure Judg of it) could not forbear at the receipt thereof to declare publickly, that Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not onely recover, but was much more confirm'd in his Majesties estimation and favour then formerly he had been.

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And as that man (his friend) of great wit and usefull fancy, gave in a Will of his (*a Will of conceits*) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: so those friends that in this time of triall labour'd to excuse this facetious freedome of Sir *Henry Wottons*, were to him more deer, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error, to grow both more wise (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) and for the future to become most industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in *Italy*, where (notwithstanding the accusation of *Scioppius*) his interest still increas'd with this Duke *Leonardo Donato*, after whose death (as though it had been an intail'd love) it was still found living in the succeeding *Dukes*, during all the time of Sir *Henry Wottons* employment to that State (which was almost Twenty years. All which time he studied the dispositions of those *Dukes*, and the *Consultors* of State. Well knowing, that he who negotiates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends, which Sir *Henry Wotton* did not. But by a fine sorting of fit Presents, curious and not costly Entertainments, alwayes sweetned by various and pleasant discourse; for which, and his choyce application of stories, and his so elegant delivery of all these, even in their *Italian* Language, he first got, and still preserv'd such interest in the State of *Venice* that it was observ'd (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied any request.

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But this shews but his abilities, and fitness for that Employment: 'Twill therefore be needfull to tell the Reader, what use he made of his Interest which these procured him; and that indeed was, rather to oblige others, then to enrich himselfe; still endeavouring that the reputation of the *English* might be maintain'd both in the *German* Empire, and *Italy*; where many Gentlemen, whom travell had invited into that Nation, received from him chearfull Entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and shelter or deliverance from those accidentall storms of adversity, which usually attend upon Travell.

And because these things may appear to the Reader to be but Generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular Examples, one of his mercifull Disposition, and one of the Noblenesse of his Mind, which shall follow.

There had been many *English* brought by Commanders of their own Countrey to serve the *Venetians* for pay against the *Turk*: and those *English*, having by Irregularities, or Improvidence, brought themselves into severall Gallies and Prisons, Sir *Henry Wotton* became a Petitioner to that State for their Lives, and Inlargement; and his request was granted, so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad Examples of humane misery, by hard imprisonment, and unpitied poverty, in a strange Nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable Condition sent to thank God for their Lives and Liberty in their own Countrey; And this I have observ'd as a testimony of the compassionate Nature of him, who in those parts, was as a City of Refuge for the Distressed of this Nation.

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And for that which I offer as a Testimonie of the Nobleneffe of his mind, I shall make way to the Readers clearer understanding of it, by telling him that Sir *Henry Wotton* was sent thrice Embassadour to the Republick of *Venice*; and that at his second going thither, he was imploy'd Embassadour to severall of the *German* Princes, and to the Emperour *Ferdinando* the second, and this Employment to these Princes, was to incline them to equitable Conditions, for the restauration of the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Descendents to their Patrimoniall Inheritance of the *Palatinate*. This was by eight months constant Endeavours, and Attendance upon the Emperour, and his Court, brought to a probability of a successfull Conclusion, by a Treaty; But, about that time the Emperours Army fought a Battell so fortunately, as put an end to the expected Treaty, and Sir *Henry Wottons* hopes; who, when he was departing the Emperours Court, humbly advised him to use his Victory soberly; which advice the Emperour took in good part, being much pleased with his carriage; all the time he resided in his Court; saying, that though the King his Master was look'd upon as an abettor of his Enemy, yet, he desired Sir *Henry Wotton* to accept of that Jewell, as a testimony of his good opinion of him, (which was a Jewell of Diamonds of more worth then a thousand pounds) this was received with all tearms of honour by Sir *Henry Wotton*, but the next morning at his departing from *Vienna*, at his taking leave of the Countesse of *Sabrina*, an *Italian* Lady, in whose house he was lodged; he acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that Jewell, as a testimon-

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ny of his gratitude, presenting her with the same which was given him by the Emperour; which being afterwards discover'd, was by the Emperour taken for an affront: but Sir Henry Wotton acknowledging his thankfulness, declar'd an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his Royall Mistress; for so the Queen of *Bohemia* was pleas'd he should call her.

Many other of his services to his Prince, and this Nation, might be insisted upon; As his procurement of Priviledges and courtesies with the *German* Princes, and the Republick of *Venice*, for the *English* Merchants; & what he did by direction of King *James* with the *Venetian* State concerning the Bishop of *Spalato's* return to the Church of *Rome*. But for the particulars of these and many more, that I meant to make knowne; I want a view of some papers that might informe me, and indeed I want time too; for the Printers Press stays, so that I must make hast to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from *Venice* to *London*.

To which place he came that yeare in which King *James* died, who having for the reward of his forrain service promised him the reversion of an office which was fit to be turn'd into present money, and granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolles place if he out-lived Sir. *Julius Caesar*, who then possess'd it, and grown so old that he was said to be kept alive beyond natures Course by the prayers of those many poore which he daily reliev'd; but these were but in hope, and his condition required present support: For, in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother the *Lord Wotton*, the Rent-charge left by his

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good Father, and (which is worse) was now indebted to severall persons, whom he was not able to satisfie, but by the Kings payment of his arrears due for his forraign Employment; He had brought into *England* many servants, of which some were *German* and *Italian* Artists. This was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day. For it may by no means be said of his providence as himself said of *Sir Philip Sidney's* wit (that it was the very measure of Congruity) he being alwayes so careles of mony, as though our Saviours words, *Care not for to morrow*, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased God, that in this juncture of time, the Provostship of his Majesties Colledg of *Eton* became Void by the death of—*Murray*, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerfull suiters to the King. *Sir Henry*, who had for many years (like *Siciphus*) rolled the restless stone of a state employment, and knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a Colledg was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require; therefore did he use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure it. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary offices, and a piece of honest pollicy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant of it from his Majesty.

This was a faire settlement for his minde: but money was wanting to furnish him with those
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Sir Henry Wotton.

necessaries which attend removes, and settlement in such a place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Master *Nicholas Pay* for his assistance, of which *Nicholas Pay* I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some thing that I shall say hereafter. He was in his youth a Clarke, or in some such way, a servant to the Lord *Wotton*, and by him, when he was Comptroller of the Kings Household, made a great officer in his Majesties house. This, and other favours being conferred upon Master *Pay* (in whom was a radicated honesty) were always thankfully acknowledged, and his gratitude exprest by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that Family till his death. To him Sir *Henry Wotton* wrote, to use all his interest at Court to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears (for lesse would not settle him in the Colledg) and the want of it wrinckled his face with care ('twas his own expression): and that being procured, he should the next day after finde him in his *Colledg*, and *Invidiae remedium* writ over his study door.

This money being part of his Arrears, was by his own, and the help of *Nicholas Payes* Interest in Court, quickly procured him; and he as quickly in the *Colledge*, the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning; the *Colledge* being to his mind, as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage; where by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided in kind, where he was freed from corroding cares, and seated on such a Rock, as the Waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calme, and looking down, behold the busie

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multitude tost in a tempestuous Sea of dangers ; and, (as the Poet hath happily exprest)

*Laugh at the graver businesse of the State,
Which speaks men rather wise then fortunate.*

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the statutes of the Colledg : by which, he conceiv'd himself bound to enter into *holy Orders*, which he did ; being made *Deacon* with convenient speed : shortly after, as he came in his Surplice from the *Church service*, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him ; to whom Sir Henry Wotton replyed, I thank *God* and the *King*, by whose goodnes I now am in this condition : a condition, which that great Emperour *Charls* the fifth, seem'd to approve : who, after so many remarkable *Victories*, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave his *Crown* and the cares that attended it, to *Philip* his son, making a holy retreat to a cloysterall life, where he might by devout *meditations* consult with *God* (which the rich or busie men seldome doe) and have leasure both to examine the errors of his life, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions: And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him, *that makes the outgoings of the morning to praise him*: even from my *God*, whom I daily magnifie for this particular *Mercy*.

And now to speak a little of the employment of his *times* : After his customary publick devotions, his use was to retire into his *study*, & there to spend some hours in reading the Bible and Authors in *Divinity*, closing up his meditations with private prayer ; this was, for the most part, his employment

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in the forenoon : But when he was once sat to dinner , then nothing but chearful thoughts possess'd his mind : and those still increas'd by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure : But some part of most dayes was usually spent in *philosofhycall conclusions*. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of *Angling* ; which he would usually call, his idle time not idly spent, saying, he would rather live five *May months*, then forty *Decembers*.

He was a great lover of his neighbors, and often entertain'd them at his table, where his *meat* was choice, and his *discourse* better.

He was pleas'd constantly to breed up one or more hopefull youths, which he pick'd out of *Eton School*, and took into his own domestick care ; out of whose *discourse* and *behaviour* he gathered observations for the better compleating of his intended work of *Education*. Of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he liv'd to leave but a part to Posterity.

He was a great enemy to *wrangling disputes* of *Religion* ; concerning which I shall say a little, both to testifie that, and shew the readines of his wit. Having in *Italy* made acquaintance with a pleasant *Priest*, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper *musick* at *Church*, the *Priest* seeing Sir *Henry* standing obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy this question writ in a small piece of paper ; *Where was your Religion to be found before Luther?* To which question Sir *Henry Wotton* presently underwrit, *My Religion was to be found then where yours is not to be found now : in the written word of God.*

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To another that asked him, *Whether a Papist may be saved?* he replyed, *You may be saved without knowing that.* Look to your selfe.

To another that was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, Pray Sir, forbear, till you have studied the points better; For the wise *Italians* have this Proverb, *He that understands amisse, concludes worse:* And take heed of thinking, the farther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God.

And to another that spake indiscreet, and bitter words against *Arminius*, I heard him reply to this purpose.

In my travell towards *Venice*, as I past through *Germany*, I rested almost a year at *Leyden*, where I entred into an acquaintance with *Arminius*, (then the professour of *Divinity* in that University) a man much talk'd of in this Age of *Controversie*: And indeed, if I mistake not *Arminius* in his expressions (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do) then I know I differ from him in some points; yet, I professe my judgement of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning; and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so, appears by his Proposals to our Master *Perkins* of *Cambridge*, from whose book, of the Order and Causes of *Salvation*, which was first writ in Latine, *Arminius* took the occasion of writing some *queries* to him concerning the consequents of his *Doctrine*; intending them ('tis said) to come privately to Mr *Perkins* own hands, and to receive from him a like private, and a like loving *Answer*: But Master *Perkins* died before those *queries* came to him; and 'tis thought *Arminius* meant them to die with him;

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him; for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them, (but since his death his sons did not:) And 'tis pity (if God had been so pleased) that Master *Perkins* did not live to see, consider, and answer those Proposals himself: for he was also of a most meek *spirit*, and of great and sanctified *learning*: And though since their deaths, many (of high parts and piety) have undertaken to clear the Controversie; yet, for the most part, they have rather satisfied themselves, then convinc'd the dissenting partie. And doubtlesse, many middle-witted men (which yet may mean well;) many Scholers, that are not in the highest form for learning (which yet may preach well;) men that shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the Questions stick, will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the *Controversie*, and do therefore justly fall under the reproofe of Saint *Jude*, for being *Busy-bodies*, and for *medling with things they understand not*.

And here it offers it selfe, (I think not unfitly) to tell the Reader, that a Friend of Sir *Henry Wottons*, being designed for the Employment of an *Embassadour*, came to *Eton*, and requested from him some experimentall Rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his Negotiations; to whom, he smilingly gave this for an infallible *Aphorisme*, That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his *Country*, he should alwayes, and upon all occasions speak the *truth*. (It seems a *State Paradox*.) For, sayes Sir *Henry Wotton*, you shall never be believ'd; and by this means, your truth will secure your selfe, if you shall ever be called to any account: & 'twill also put your *Adversaries* (who will still hunt counter) to a
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losse in all their disquisitions, and undertakings.

Many more of this nature might be observ'd; but they must be laid aside.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the imployment of his time in the Colledge; where he seem'd to have his *youth* renew'd by a continuall Conversation with that learned Society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding, and parts; by which that great blessing of a chearfull heart was still maintain'd; he being alwayes free, even to the last of his dayes, from that peevishnesse which usually attends age: yet his mirth was somtimes damp'd by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his forraign Imployments, for which his just Arrears due from the King would have made double satisfaction; but, being still delayed with Court promises, and finding some decayes of health, he did (about two years before his death) out of a Christian desire, that none should be a loser by it, make his last Will: Concerning which, a doubt still remains, whether it discovered more *holy wit*, or *conscionable policy*: But there is no doubt, but that his chief Designe was a *Christian Endeavour* that his debts might be satisfied; And that it may remain as such a Testimony, and a *Legacy* to those that lov'd him, I shall here impart it to the Reader.

IN the Name of God Almighty and all mercifull, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesties Colledge by Eton, being mindfull of mine own mortality, which the sinne of our first Parents did bring upon all flesh. Do by this last Will and Testa-

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Testament, thus dispose of my selfe, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My Soul, I bequeath to the Immortall God, my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer, and Mediatour, through his all sole-sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect; In the number of whom, I am one by his meer Grace, and thereof most unremovably assured by his holy Spirit, the true Eternall Comforter. My Body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chappell of the said Colledge, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived (my God knowes) in all loving affection; Or if I shal die near Boston Malherbe, in the County of Kent, Then I wish to be laid in that Parish Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyfull Resurrection with him in the Day of Christ.

After this Account of his Faith, and this Surrender of his Soul to that God that inspir'd it; and this direction for the disposall of his body; he proceeded to appoint that his Executors should lay over his Grave a Marble Stone, plain, and not costly. And considering that time moulders even Marble to dust (for Monuments themselves must die) therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the Son of Sirac adviseth all men) by an usefull Apothegme, then by large enumerations of his descent, or merits, (of both which he might justly have boasted;) but, he was content to forget them; and did chuse onely this prudent, pious Sentence, to discover his disposition, and preserve his Memory.

It was directed by him to be thus inscribed.

Hic

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Hic jacet bujus Sententia primus Author,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS FIT EC-
CLESIIARUM SCABIES.

Nomen aliàs quare.

Which may be Englished thus,

Here lieth the first Author of this Sentence.

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WIL
PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

Inquire his Name elsewhere.

But if any shall object (as I think some have) that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first Authour of this Sentence; but, that this Sentence, or another like it, was long before his time; To him I answer, that Solomon sayes, *Nothing can be spoken that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the Sun.* But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like Sentence; yet reason will perswade all Readers to believe, That Sir Henry Wottons mind was then so fix'd on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy Lethargy did surprize his Memory; For doubtlesse, if he had not believed himselfe in what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the publick view, and censure of every Critick (with which that Age abounded, and this more.) And questionlesse, 'twill be charity in all Readers, to think his mind was then so fix'd on Heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and in this sacred Extasie, his thoughts being only of the Church Triumphant (into which he daily expected his admission) Almighty God was pleased to make him a Prophet to tell the Church Militant, (and parti-

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particularly that part of it in this Nation) where the weeds of Controversie grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble Piety; where men have consciences which boggle at ceremonies, and scruple not to speake and act such finnes as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sinne to think; where (as our Reverend *Hooker* sayes) Former *Simplicity* and softnesse of spirit is not now to be found, because *Zeal* hath drowned *Charity*, and *Skill* Meeknesse. These sad changes have proved this *Epitaph* to be a useful *Caution* unto us of this Nation: And the sad effects thereof in *Germany* have prov'd it to be a mournfull *Truth*.

This by way of *Observation* concerning his *Epitaph*; The rest of his *Will* followes in his own words.

Further, I the said *Henry Wotton* do constitute and ordain to be joynt *Executors* of this my last *Will* and *Testament*, my two *Grand-nephews*, *Albert Morton*, second son to *Sir Robert Morton Knight*, late deceased, and *Thomas Bargrave* eldest son to *Dr. Bargrave Dean of Canterbury*, Husband to my right vertuous and only *Neece*. And I do pray the foresaid *D. Bargrave*, and *M. Nicholas Pay*, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with *Mr. John Harison* one of the *Fellows* of *Eton Colledge*, best acquainted with my *Books* and *Pictures*, and other *Utensils*, to be *Supervisors* of this my last *Will* and *Testament*. And I do pray the foresaid *D. Bargrave* and *Mr. Nicholas Pay* to be *Solicitors* for such *Arrearages* as shall appear due unto me from his *Majesties Exchequer* at the time of my death, and to assist my fore-named *Executors* in some reasonable and conscientious

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Scientious satisfaction of my Creditors, and discharge of my Legacies now specified, or that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament, by any Codicel or Schedule, or left in the hands, or in any Memorial with the aforesaid M. John Harison. And first, To my most deer Sovereign and Master of incomparable Goodnesse (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest Man) I leave four Pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice in whose time I was there imployed, with their names written on the back-side, which hang in my great ordinary Dining room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a Table of the Venetian Colledg where Ambassadors had their Audiences, hanging over the Mantle of the Chimney in the said Room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little well resembling the famous Duke Leonardo Donati, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. It' The Picture of a Duke of Venice hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principall hand long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said Peeces may remain in some corner of any of his Houses, for a poor Memorial of his most humble Vassall.

It' I leave his said Majesty all the Papers and Negotiations of Sir Nich. Throckmorton Knight, during his famous Imployment under Q. Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France, which contain divers secrets of State, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-Office, after they have been perused and sorted by Master Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposall by Sir Arth. Throckmorton his son; to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith,
then

Sir Henry Wotton.

then by assigning them to the highest place of Trust. I leave to our most gracious and vertuous Queen Marie, Dioscorides with the plants naturally coloured, and the Text translated by Matthiolo in the best Language of Tuscanie, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankfull devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my private Study with her presence. I leave to the most hopefull Prince the Picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his Aunt, Of cleer and resplendent vertues through the clouds of her Fortune. To my Lords Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my Picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the Kings Galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great Wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London, Lord high Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity, and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a Picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the World: Most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, That out of compassionate memory of my long Services (wherein I more studied the publick Honour, then mine own Utility) some Order may be taken out of my Arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my Creditors as those whom I have ordained Supervisors of this my last Will and Testament shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble: Hoping likewise in his Majesties most indubitable Goodnesse, That he will keep mee from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by
any

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any defect of formality in the Demand of my said Ar-
rears. To _____ for a poor Addition to his Cabinet,
I leave as Emblems of his Attractive Vertues and
obliging Nobleness, my great Load-stone, and a
piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and
only differing in degree of Concoction, which is
thought somewhat rare. Item, A piece of Christall
Sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers
several things within it, which I bought among the
Rhatian Alpes in the very place where it grew: re-
commending most humbly unto his Lordship the Re-
putation of my poor Name in the point of my debts,
as I have done to the fore-named Spirituall Lords,
and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of
my humble thankfullness to his honoured Person.
It I leave to Sir Francis Windebanck, one of his
Majesties principal Secretaries of State (whom I found
my great friend in point of Necessity) the foure Sea-
sons of old Bassano, to hang neer the Eye in his Par-
lour (being in little forme) which I bought at
Venice, where I first entred into his most worthy Ac-
quaintance.

To the above-named Dr. Bargrave Dean of Can-
terbury I leave all my Italian Books not disposed in
this Will. I leave to him likewise my Viol de Gamba,
which hath been twice in Italie, in which Country I
first contracted with him an unremovable Affection. To
my other Supervisor Mr. Nicholas Pay, I leave my
Chest, or Cabinet
of Instruments and
Engines of all kinds
of uses: in* the low-
er box whereof, are
some fit to be bequea-
thed to none but so

* In it were Italian locks,
pick-locks, screws to force
open doors; and things of
worth and rarity, that he had
gathered in his forrain Tra-
vell.

Sir Henry Wotton.

entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pound for his pains in the solicitation of my Ar-rears, and am sorry that my ragged Estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my forraign Employments. To the Library at Eton Colledg I leave all my Manuscripts not before desposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain ring of gold enamelled black, all save the verge with this Motto within, Amor unit omnia.

This is my last Will and Testament, save what shall bee added by a schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the 1. of Oct. in the present year of our Redem-ption 1637. And subscribed by my selfe with the Te-stimony of these Witnesses.

H. WOTTON.

Nich. Oudert.

Geo. Lash.

ANd now, because the mind of man is best sa-tisfied by the knowledg of events, I think fit to declare that every one that was nam'd in his Will, did gladly receive their legacies; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joyned in assisting the Overseers of his Will, & by their joynt endeavours to the King (then whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the Reader, is, That he went usually once a year, if not oftner, to the beloved *Boeton hall*, where he would
say,

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say, he found both cure for all cares, by the company (which he call'd the living furniture) of that place, and a restorative of his strength, by the Conaturalness of that which he call'd his *geni-all* aire.

He yearly went also to *Oxford*. But the Summer before his death, he chang'd that for a journey to *Winchester* Colledg, to which Schoole he was first removed from *Bocton*. And as he rerurn'd from that towards *Eton* Colledg, said to a friend, his companion in that journey, How usefull was that advise of a holy *Monk*, who perswaded his friend to perform his Customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we usually meet with those thoughts which possess'd us at our last being there? And I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my being at that *Schoole*, seeing that place where I sate when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possess'd me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixture of cares; and those to be enjoyed when time (which I therefore thought slow pac'd) had chang'd my *youth* into *manhood*. But age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes. And though my dayes, which truly have been many, and mix'd with more pleasures then the sonns of men do usually enjoy; yet, I have always found it true, as my *Saviour* did fore-tell, *Sufficient for the day is the evill thereof*. Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boyes using the same recreations, and questionless possess'd with the same thoughts. Thus one generation succeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and deaths.

After

Sir Henry Wotton.

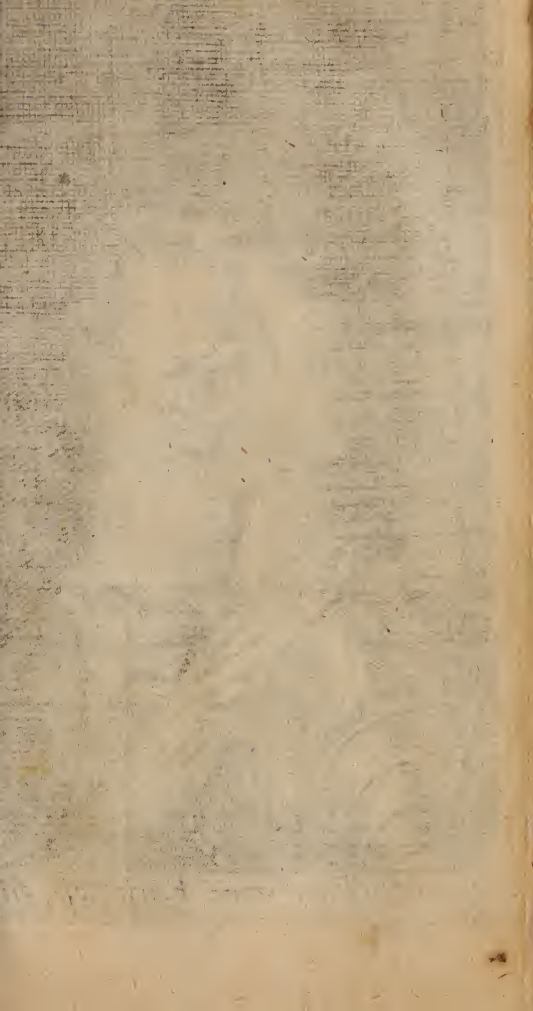
After his return from *Winchester* (which was about 9. months before his death) he fell into a dangerous *Fever*, which weakned him much; he was then also much troubled with a continuall short spitting; but that infirmity he seem'd to overcome in a good degree by leaving Tobacco, which he had taken somewhat immoderately; and about two months before his *death* (in *October* 1639) he again fell into a *fever*, which though he seem'd to recover, yet, these left him so weak, that those infirmities which were wont like Civill friends to visit him, and after some short time to depart; came both oftner, and at last took up their habitations with him, still weakning his body; of which he grew daily sensible, retiring oftner into his study, and making many papers that had past his pen both in the dayes of his *youth* and *business*, useles by fire. These and severall unusuall expressions to his friends, seem'd to foretell his death, for which he was well prepared, and still very free from fear, and chearful; (as severall letters writ in his bed, and but a few dayes before his death may testifie:) And in the beginning of *December* following he fell again into a *quartain Fever*, of which he died in the tenth fit: being at peace with God and man.

Thus the *Circle* of his *Life*, (that *Circle* which began at *Boston*, and in the *Circumference* thereof did first touch at *Winchester School*, then at *Oxford*, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in *Christendom*) That *Circle* of his *Life*, was by his *Death* clos'd up, and compleated in the seventy and second year of his *Age*, at *Eton Colledge* (where according to his *Will*) he now lies buried.) dying worthy of his *Name* and *Family*,
worthy

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worthy of the love and favour of so many *Princes*, and Persons eminent for: *Wisdom* and *Learning*; worthy of the trust committed unto him for the service of his *Prince*, and *Countrey*. And all Readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy Pen to have preserv'd his Memory, and commended his Merits to the Imitation of *Posterity*.

Iz. Wa.





Robert Devereux Earle of Essex



O F
ROBERT DEVEREUX,
Earl of ESSEX;
 AND
GEORGE VILLIERS,
Duke of Buckingham :

*Some Observations by way of PA-
 RALELL in the time of their
 estates of Favour.*



Amongst those Histori-
 call Employments,
 whereunto I have de-
 voted my later years,
 (for I read, that old
 men live more by me-
 morie than by hope) we thought it
 would be a little time not ill spent, to

confer the Fortunes and the Natures of these two great personages of so late knowledge. Wherein I intend to doe them right with the truth thereof, and my self with the freedom.

The beginning of the Earl of *Essex* I must attribute wholly or in great part to my Lord of *Leicester*: but yet as an Introducer or supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I goe along, it will easily appeare, that he neither lived nor dyed by his discipline. Alwaies certain it is, that he drew him first into the fatal Circle from a kind of resolved privatenesse at his house at *Lampsie*, in *South-wales*; where, after the Academicall life, hee had taken such a taste of the Rurall, (as I have heard him say) and not upon any flashes or fumes of Melancholy, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood) that he could well have bent his mind to a retyred course. About which time, the said Earle of *Leicester* bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the *Queens* favour; which was diversly interpreted by such as thought that great Artizan of Court to doe nothing by chance, nor much
by

by affection. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himsele the weight of time, and being almost tyred (if there be a satietie in power) with that assiduous attendance, and intensive circumspection which a long indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own ease, to bestow handsomly upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envie.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same ends brought in, or let in *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and having found him such an apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himsele, he now meant to allie him with this young Earle, who had yet taken no strong impressions. For though the said *Sir Walter Raleigh* was a little before this, whereof I now speake by occasion, much fallen from his former splendor in Court: yet he still continued in some lustre of a favoured man, like billowes that sink by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirred them.

Thus runnes the discourse of that

time at pleasure ; yet I am not ignorant that there was some good while a verie stiffe averfation in my Lord of *Essex* from applying himfelfe to the Earle of *Leicefter*, for what fecret conceite I know not ; but howfoever, that humour was mollified by time, and by his mother, and to the Court hee came under his Lord.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had another kind of Germination ; and furely had he been a plant, he would have been reckoned amonft the *Sponte Nafcentes*, for he fprung without any help, by a kind of congeniall compofure (as wee may terme it) to the likeneffe of our late Soveraigne and Master of ever blessed memory, who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to please himfelfe, and moulded him, (as it were) Platonically to his owne *Idea*, delighting firft in the choice of the Materials, because he found him fufceptible of good forme; and afterward by degrees, as great Architects ufe to do, in the workmanfhip of his Regal hand; nor ftaying here, after he had hardned and polished him about ten years in the
School

School of observance, (for so a Court is) and in the furnace of tryall about himselfe, (for he was a King could persuade men as well as bookes) he made him the associate of his Heir apparant, together with the new Lord *Cottington* (as an adjunct of singular experience and trust) in forraine travailes, and in a businesse of Love, and of no equall hazzard (if the tenderesse of our zeal did not then deceive us) enough (the world must confesse) to kindle affection even betwixt the distantest conditions ; so as by the various and inward conversation abroad (besides that before and after at home) with the most constant and best natured Prince, *Bona si sua nôrint*, as ever England enjoyed, this Duke becomes now secondly seized of favour, as it were by descent (though the condition of that estate be no more than a Tenancie at will, or at most for the life of the first Lord) and rarely transmitted : which I have briefly set down, without looking beyond the vaile of the Temple, I meane into the secret of high inclinations ; since even Satyricall Poets, (who are

otherwise of so licentious fancie) are in this poynt modest enough to confesse their ignorance.

Nescio quid certe est quod me tibi temperet Astrum.

And these were both their springings and Imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profuence or proceedings of their fortunes, I observe likewise not onely much difference between them; but in the Earle not a little from himself. First, all his hopes of advancement had like to be strangled almost in the very Cradle, by throwing himself into the *Portugal* Voyage without the Queens consent, or so much as her knowledge; wherby he left his Friends and Dependants neer six moneths in desperate suspense what would become of him. And to speak truth, not without good reason: For first, they might well consider, That he was himself not well plumed in favour for such a flight: Besides, that now he wanted a Lord of *Leicester* at home (for he was dead the year before) to smoothe his absence, and to quench the

the

the practises at Court. But above all, it lay open to every mans discourse, that though the bare offence to his Sovereigne and Mistirs was too great an adventure, yet much more when she might (as in this case) have fairely discharged her displeasure upon her Lawes. Notwithstanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was cleer, and this excursion was esteemed but a Sally of youth: Nay, he grew every day more and more in her Gracious conceit: whether such intermissions as these do sometimes foment affection; or that having committed a fault, he became the more obsequious and plyant to redeem it: Or that she had not received into her royall brest any shadows of his popularity.

There was another time long after, when Sir *Fulke Grevill* (late Lord *Brooke*) a man in apperance intrinsecal with him, or at the least admitted to his Melancholy houres, eyther belike espying some weariness in the Queen, or perhaps, with little change of the word, though more in the dangerous

marks towards him, and working upon the present matter (as she was dexterous and close) had almost superinduced into favour the Earle of *Southampton*; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of *Essex* chose to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queen, (as it was) by one *Hales*, in whose voyce she took some pleasure; whereof the complot, me thinkes, had asmuch of the Hermit as of the Poet:

*And if thou shouldst by Her be now
forsaken,
She made thy Heart too strong for to
be shaken:*

As if he had been casting one eye back at the least to his former retirednesse. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after fair weather over-head. Yet still, I know not how, like a gathering of Clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew Tart, as being now in the Lees of favour, it brake forth

forth into certain suddain recesses ; sometimes from the Court to *Wansteed*, otherwhiles unto *Greenwich*, often to his own Chamber, Doors shut, Visits forbidden, and which was worse, divers Contestations (between) with the Queen her self (all preambles of ruine) wherwith though now and then he did wring out of her Majesty some petty contentments, (as a man would press sower Grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the Counsell of a Wise, and then a Prophetical Friend, who told him, that such courses as those were like hot Waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often used, wil spoil the stomach.

On the Dukes part, we have no such abrupt strayns and precipees as these, but a fair fluent and uniform course under both Kings : And surely, as there was in his naturall Constitution a marvellous equality, wherof I shall speak more afterwards ; so there was an image of it in his Fortune, runing (if I may borrow an ancient comparifon) as smoothly as a numerous Verse, till it met with certain Rubs in *Parliament*,

wherof I am induced by the very Subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so far as shall concern the difference between their times.

WHen my Lord of *Essex* stood in Favour, the Parliaments were calme: Nay, I find it a true observation, that there was no Impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons from the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth untill the eighteenth of King *James*, nor any intervenient precedent of that Nature; not that something or other could be wanting to be sayd, while men are men: For not to go higher, we are taught easily so much by the very Ballads and Libels of *Leicestrian* time.

But about the aforesaid Year, many yong ones being chosen into the House of Commons more then had been usuall in great Councils, (who though of the weakest wings, are the highest Flyers) there arose a certain unfortunate and unfruitfull Spirit in some places; not sowing, but picking at every stone in the Field, rather then tending to the generall

generall Harvest. And thus far the consideration of the Nature of the Time hath transported me, and the occasion of the subject,

Now on the other side, I must with the like liberty observe two weighty and watchful Solicitudes (as I may call them) which kept the Earle in extream and continuall Caution, like a Bow stil bent, wherof the Dukes thoughts were absolutely free.

First, he was to wraastle with a Queens declyning, or rather with her very setting Age (as we may term it,) which, besides other respects, is commonly even of it selfe the more umbratious and apprehensive, as for the most part all Horizons are charged with certain Vapours towards their Evening.

The other was a matter of more Circumstance, standing thus, *viz.*

All Princes, especially those whom God hath not blessed with naturall issue, are (by wisdom of State) somewhat shy of their Successors; and to speak with due Reverence, there may be reasonably supposed in Queens Regnant, a little proportion of tenderness that
way,

way, more then in Kings. Now there were in Court two names of *Power*, and almost of *Affection*, the *Essexian* and the *Cecilian*, with their adherents, both well enough injoying the present; and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding correspondency with some of the principall in *Scotland*, and had received advertisements & instructions, either from them, or immediatly from the King as induciat Heir of this Imperiall Crown.

But least they might detect one another; this was Mysteriously carried by severall instruments and conducts, and on the *Essexian* side, in truth, with infinite hazard: for Sir *Robert Cecill* who (as Secretary of State) did dispose the publike Addresses, had prompter and safer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable passage on either part, as the story following shall declare.

The Earl of *Essex* had accommodated Master *Antony Bacon* in partition of his House, and had assigned him a noble entertainment: This was a Gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head,

head; and through his hand run all the intelligences with *Scotland*; who being of a provident nature (contrary to his brother the Lord Viscount Saint *Albons*) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could amend his Fortunes under the *Cecilians* (to whom he was neer of alliance and in blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be beleaved) some great profers to win him away: which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signes of apparent discontent to my Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, (who was of the party, and stood himself in much Umbrage with the Queen) that he flies presently to my Lord of *Essex* (with whom he was commonly *prima admissio*, by his bed side in the morning, and tells him, that unless that Gentleman were presently satisfied with some round summ, all would be vented.

This took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were

were low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him *Essex-House* ; which the good old Lady *Walsingham* did afterwards dis-engage out of her own store with 2500 pound : and before, he had distilled 1500 pound at another time by the same skill. So as we rate this one secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in present mony, besides at the least 1000 pound of annual pension to a private and bed-ridden Gentleman : What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business ?

There was another accident of the same nature on the *Cecilian* side, much more pleasant, but lesse chargeable, for it cost nothing but wit. The Queen having for a good while not heard any thing from *Scotland*, and being thirsty of newes, it fell out that her Majesty going to take the ayre towards the Heath (the Court being then at *Greenwich*) and Master Secretary *Cecill* then attending her, a Post came crossing by, and blew his Horn ; The Queen out of curiosity asked him from whence the Dispatch came ; and being answered

swered, From *Scotland* ; - she stops her Coach, and calleth for the Packet. The Secretary, though he knew there were some Letters in it from his Correspondents, which to discover, were as so many Serpents ; yet made more shew of diligence, then of doubt to obey ; and asks some that stood by (forsooth in great haste) for a knife to cut up the Packet (forotherwise he might perhaps awaked a little apprehension;) but in the mean time approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the Queen, he telleth her it looked and smelt il-favouredly coming out of a filthy Budget, and that it should be fit first to open and ayre it, because he knew she was averse from ill Sents.

And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen.

These two accidents precisely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpose, to shew how the Earl stood in certain perplexities, wherwith the Dukes days were not distracted. And this hath been the *Historicall* part

(as

(as it were:) touching the difference between them in the rising and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now consider their severall in-dowments both of *Person & Mind*, and then a little of their *Actions* and *Ends*.

The Earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler body: But the Duke had the neater limbes and free delivery; he was also the uprighter, and of the more comly motions; for the Earl did bend a little in the neck; though rather forwards then downwards: and he was so far from being a good dancer, that he was no gracefull goer. If we touch particulars, the Duke exceeded in the daintinesse of his leg and foot, and the Earl in the incomparable fairnesse and fine shape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praise) he took from his Father: For the generall Ayre, the Earl had the closer and more reserved Countenance, being by nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more then at meals, when others are least: Infomuch, as he was wont to make his
obser-

observation of himself, that to solve any knottie businesse which cumbred his mind, his ablest hours were when he had checked his first appetite with two or three morsels, after which he sate usually for a good while silent: yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention, which shewed that when he listed he could licence his thoughts.

The Duke on the other side, even in the midst of so many diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant face (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a singular assurance in his temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer Elogie, which the malignest eye cannot deny him, That certainly never man in his place and power, did entertain greatness more familiarly nor whose looks were less tainted with his felicity; wherin I insist the rather, because this in my judgment was one of his greatest vertues and victories of himself.

But to proceed, in the attyring and ornament of their bodies, the Duke had a fine and unaffected politeness, and upon occasion costly, as in his Legations.

The

The Earl as he grew more and more attentive to businesse and matter, so lesse and lesse curious of cloathing: Infomuch, as I do remember those about him had a conceit that possibly somtimes when he went up to the Queen, he might scant know what he had on; for this was his manner; His chamber being commonly stived with Friends or Suiters of one kind or other, when he gave his legs, armes, and brest to his ordinary servants to button and dresse him with little heed, his head and face to his Barbour, his eyes to his letters, and ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once, then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a cloak over his shoulders, he would make a step into his Closet, and after a short prayer, he was gone: on-ly in his Baths, he was somewhat delicate. For point of dyet and luxury, they were both very inordinate in their appetites, especially the Earl, who was by nature of so different a taste, that I must tel a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would stop in the midst of any physicall Potion, and

after

after he had licked his lips, he would drink off the rest ; but I am weary of such slight Animadversions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their minds, I will thus much declare.

The Earl was of good Erudition, having been placed at study in *Cambridge* very young by the Lord *Burleigh*, his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the oversight of Doctor *Whitgift*, then Master of *Trinity Colledge*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*: A man (by the way) surely of a most reverend and sacred memory, and (as I may wel say) even of the Primitive temper, when the Church in lowlinesse of temper, did flourish in high examples, which I have inserted as a due recordation of his vertues, having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About sixteen years of his age (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of Master of Arts, and kept his publick Acts. And here I must not smother what I have received by constant Information, that his own
Father

Father dyed with a very cold conceit of him, some say through the affection to his second son *Walter Devereux*, who was indeed a dyamod of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture: But it seems, this Earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open slowly; Nature sometimes delighting to play an after-game as well as Fortune, which had both their turnes and tides in course.

The Duke was Illiterate, yet had learned at Court, first to sift and question well, and to supply his own defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best Instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publike or his own proper use; so as the less he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the Graces.

To consider them in their pure Naturals, I conceive the Earls Intellectual faculties to have been his stronger part, and in the Duke his Practical.

Yet all know, that he likewise at the first was much under the expectation
of

of his after proof; such a sudden influence therin had the Sovereign aspect. For their Abilities of discourse or pen, the Earl was a very acute and sound speaker when he would intend it; & for his Writings, they are beyond example, especially in his familiar letters and things of delight at Court; when he would admit his serious habits, as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of entertainment; and above all in his darling piece of love, and self love; his Stile was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldome any bold Metaphors, and so far from Tumor, that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Dukes delivery of his mind, I conceive not to be so sharpe as solid and grave, not so solid and deep as pertinent, and apposite to the times and occasions.

The Earl I account the more liberal, and the Duke the more magnificent; for I do not remember that my Lord of *Essex* in all his life time did build or adorn any house, the Queen perchance spending his time, and himself his meanes, or otherwise inclyning
to

to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud houſ-keepers, then houſ-raiſers : They were both great cheriſhers of Scholers and Divines; but it ſeems, the Earl had obtained of himſelf one ſingular point, that he could depart his affection between two extremes : for though he bare always a kind of filial reverence towards Dr *Whitgift*, both before and after he was Archbiſhop; yet on the other ſide, he did not a little love and tender Maſter *Cartwright*, though I think truly, with large diſtinction between the Perſons and the Cauſes, howſoever he was taxed with other ends in reſpecting that party.

They were both fair-spoken Gentlemen, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; and in this the Earl hath been moſt falſly blemiſhed in our vulgar Story: only againſt one man he had forſworn all patience, namely *Henry Lord Cobham*, and would call him (*per Excellentiam*) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queen her ſelf, though of no ſmal inſinuation with her;
and

and one Lady likewise (that I may civilly spare to nominate, for her sex sake) whom he used to term, the Spyder of the Court: yet generally in the sensitive part of their Natures the Earl was the worse Philosopher, being a great Resenter and a weak Dissembler of the least disgrace: And herein likewise, as in the rest, no good Pupill to my Lord of *Leicester*, who was wont to put all his passions in his pocket.

In the growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a little the swifter, and much the greater; for from a younger brothers mean estate, he rose to the highest degree wherof a Subject was capable either in Title or Trust. Therin I must confesse much more comfortable to *Charls Brandon* under *Henry the Eight*, who was equall to him in both.

For matter of Donative and addition of substance, I do not beleeve that the Duke did much exceed him, all considered, under both Kings.

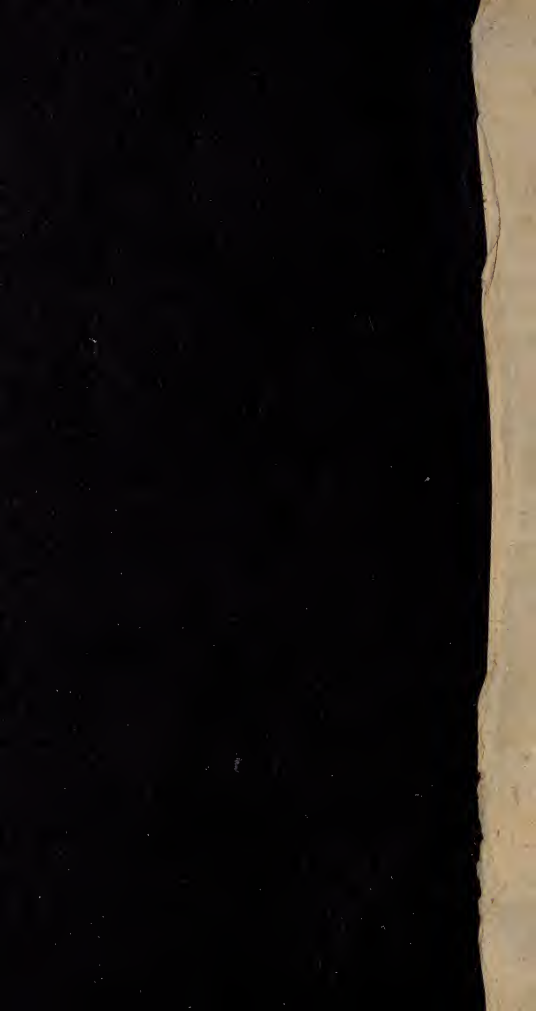
For that which the Earl of *Essex* had received from her Majesty, besides the Fees of his Offices, and the disposition of great Summes of money in her Armies,

Armies, was (about the the time of his Arraignment, when faults use to be aggravated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thousand pounds sterling in pure gift for his only use, to the Earl of *Dorset* then Lord Treasurer; who was a wise man, and a strict Computist, and not ill affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of note in the Margent of both Times, that the one was prosecuted with silence, and the other with murmure; so undoing a measure is popular judgment.

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in establishing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the first, the Duke had a care to introduce into neer place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high places very sound and grave Personages. Whereas, except a Pensioner or two, we can scant name any one man advanced of the Earls breeding, but Sir *Thomas Smith*, having been his Secretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble





noble House) then to the Clerk of the Counsell, and Register of the Parliament: not that the Earl meant to stand alone like a Substantive (for he was not so ill a *Grammarians* in Court;) but the Truth is, in this poynt the *Cecilians* kept him back, as very well knowing that upon every little absence or disaffiduity, he should be subject to take cold at his back.

For the Other, in the managing of their Fames, I note between them a direct contrary wisdom; For the Earl proceeded by way of Apology, which he wrote and dispersed with his own hands at large, though till his going to *Ireland* they were but airy objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his ease to do him that kinde of Service; He refused it with a pretty kinde of thankfull scorn, saying, that he would trust his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errors; and that he saw no fruit of Apologies, but the multiplying of discourse; which surely was a well settled Maxime. And for my own particular

B (though

(though I am not obnoxious to his memory) in the expression of *Tacitus*, *Neque injuria, neque beneficia*, saving that he shewed me an ordinary good Countenance : And if I were, yet I would distinguish between Gratitude and Truth. I must bear him this Testimony, that in a Commission layed upon me by Sovereign Command to examine a Lady about a certain filthy accusation, grounded upon nothing but a few single names taken up by a Foot-man in a kennell, and straight baptized : A list of such as the Duke had appoynted to be poysoned at home, himself being then in *Spain* : I found it to be the most malicious and frantick surmize, and the most contrary to his nature that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the World, howsoever countenanced by a Libellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Physician even in Print ; and yet of this would not the Duke suffer any answer to be made on his behalf, so constant he was to his own principles.

In their Military Services the Characters

acters of the Earls employments were these, *viz.*

His forwardest was that of *Portugal*, before mentioned.

The saddest, that of *Roan*, where he lost his brave Brother.

His fortunatest peece I esteem the taking of *Cadiz Malez*, and no less modest; for there he wrote with his own hands a censure of his Omissions.

His jealousdest employment was to the relief of *Calais* besieged by the Cardinall Arch-duke: about which, there passed then between the Queen and the French King much Art.

His Voiage to the *Azores* was the best, for the discovery of the Spanish weakness, and otherwise almost a saving Voiage.

His blackest was that to *Ireland*, ordained to be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph of his own Fortunes.

But the first in 88, at *Tilbury campe*, was in my judgement, the very poyson of all that followed; for there whilest the Queen stood in some doubt of a

Spanish Invasion (though it proved but a Morrice dance upon our Waves) she made him in Field Commander of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court,) and much graced him openly in view of the Souldiers and people, even above my Lord of *Leicester*: the truth is, from thenceforth he fed to fast.

The Dukes employment abroad in this nature, was onely in the Action of the *Isle of Reez*, of which I must note somewhat for the honour of our Country, and of His Majesties times, and of them that perished and survived, and to redeem it generally from mis-understanding. Therefore after enquiry amongst the wisest and most indifferent men; of that Action I dare pronounce, that all Circumstances pondered, A tumultuary banding on our part, with one thousand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred horse, with neer two thousand foot, and watching their best time of advantage, none of their foot discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and only some of their Horse descried stragling, but not in any bulk or body: their

their Cavalry not a Troop of *Bischoigners* mounted in haste, but the greater part Gentlemen of Family, and of pickt Resolution, and such as charged home both in Front and on both Flanks into the very Sea; about *sixscore* of their two hundred horse strewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with a great shot; and after this their foot likewise coming on to charge, till not liking the businesse they fell to flinging of stones and so walked away:

I say, these things considered and laid together, we have great reason to repute it a great impression upon an unknown place, and a noble argument that upon occasion we have not lost our Ancient vigour. Only I could wish that the Duke, who then in the animating of the souldiers shewed them very eminent assurance of his valour, had afterwards remembered that rule of *Apelles*, *Manum de Tabula*. But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publique ends, and too confident in the prosperity of beginnings, as somewhere *Polybius*, that great Critique of war,

war, observeth of yong Leaders whom fortune hath not before deceived. In this their Military care and dispensation of reward and punishment, there was very few remarkable occasions under the Duke, saving his continuall vigilancie and voluntary hazard of his person, and kindneses to the Souldiers, both from his own table and purse; for there could be few disorders within an Island where the troops had no scope to disband, and the Inferior Commanders were still in sight.

In the Earl we have two examples of his severity, the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his own hands out of a Ship; the other in *Ireland*, where he decimated certain troops that ran away, renewing a peece of the Roman Discipline.

On the other side we have many of his Lenitie, and one of his Facility, when he did connive at the bold Trespas of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who before his own arrivall at *Fyall*, had banded there against his precise Commandement; at which time he let fall a Noble

Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martiall Court: That I would do (said he) if he were not my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last act, which was written in the book of necessity.

At the Earls end I was abroad, but when I came home (though little was left for Writers to glean after Judges) yet, I spent some curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious Catastrophe; and I must, according to my professed freedom, deliver a circumstance or two of some weight in the truth of that story, which was neither discovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private confessions.

There was amongst his nearest attendants one *Henry Cuffe*, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counsells smothered under the habit of a Scholler, and slubbered over with a certain rude and
B 4 clownish

clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.

This Person not above five or six weeks before my Lords fatal irruption into the City, was by the Earls Special Command suddainly discharged from all further attendance, or access unto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and importune infusions, and out of a glimmering oversight, that he would prove the very instrument of his Ruine.

I must adde hereunto, that about the same time my Lord had received from the Countesse of *Warwick* (a Lady powerfull in the Court) and indeed a vertuous user of her power, the best advice that I think was ever given from either Sex; That when he was free from restraint, he should closely take any out-lodging at *Greenwich*, and somtimes when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, (wherof she would give him notice) he should come forth, and humble himselfe before Her in the field.

This Counsell sunk much into him, and for some days hee resolved it: but

but in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of *Southampton*, whom *Cuffe* had gained, he was restored to my Lords ear, and so working advantage upon his disgraces, and upon the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the finall destruction of his Master and himselfe, and almost of his restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.

True it is, that the Earl in *Westminster-hall* did in generall disclose the evill perswasions of this man; but the particulars which I have related by his dismissal and restitution, he buried in his own brest for some reasons apparent enough; Indeed. (as I conjecture) not to exasperate the Case of my Lord of *Southampton*, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true Report I had by infallible means from the person himselfe that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent Lady, and carried the discharge to *Cuffe*, who in a private Chamber was stricken

therewith into a Sound almost dead to the Earth, as if he had fallen from some high steeple, such Turrets of hope he had built in his own Fancy.

Touching the Dukes suddain period, how others have represented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I must confesse from my Soul, that I never recall it to mind without a deep and double astonishment of my discourse and reason.

First of the very horroure and atrocity of the Fact in a Christian Court, under so moderate a Government; but much more at the impudency of the pretence, wherēby a desperate discontented Assassinate would after the perpetration have honested a meer private revenge (as by precedent Circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publique respects, and would fain have given it a Parliamentary cover howsoever. Thus these two great Peers were dis-roabed of their Glory, the one by judgment, the other by violence, which was the small distinction.

Now

Now after this short contemplation of their diversities, (for much more might have been spoken, but that I was fitter for Rapsody then Commentary) I am lastly desirous to take a Summary view of their Conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient Parallel.

They both slept long in the arms of Fortune: They were both of ancient blood, and of Forraign extraction: They were both of straight and goodly stature, and of able and active bodies: They were both industrious and assiduous, and attentive to their ends: They were both early Privie-Councillours, and imployed at home in the secretest and weightiest affairs in Court and State: They were both likewise Commanders abroad in Chief, as well by Sea as by Land: both Masters of the Horse at home, both chosen Chancellours of the same University, namely, *Cambridge*: They were both indubitable strong, and high-minded men; yet of sweet and
accu-

accostable Nature, almost equally delighting in the press and affluence of Dependants and Suiters, which are alwayes the Burres, and sometimes the Briers of Favourits. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies. and sole Heirs, and left issue of either Sex, and both their Wives converted to contrary Religions. They were both in themselves rare and excellent examples of Temperance and Sobriety, but neither of them of Continency.

Lastly, after they had been both subject (as all Greatness and Splendor is) to certain obloquies of their actions; They both concluded their earthly felicity in unnaturall ends, and with no great distance of time in the space either of Life or Favour.

And so having discharged this poor Exereise of my Pen according to my Knowledge and Reality, let us commit those two noble Peers to their Eternall rest, with their memorable abilities remaining in few, and their compassionate infirmities common to all.



The Difference and

DISPARITY

Between

The Estates and Conditions

OF

GEORGE

Duke of *Buckingham,*

AND

ROBERT

Earl of *ESSEX.*

By *Sir HENRY WOTTON Knight;*

And dedicated to the Earl of

PORTLAND.



Hough it shall appear an
unseasonable itch of Wit
to say, ought in this Sub-
ject, and an unskilful one,
if invention reach not
what is already said, with all the swel-
ling Elogies that shall attend all that
fall.

fall from that pen ; yet I shall presume (disavowing only the vanities) to think that in the severest considerations of their Persons, in their Educations, in their Insinuations into favour, in managing that Favour, in their whole Education (but that they were both glorious in the eyes of their Princes) they were as distant, as unfit, as impossible for Paralels, as any two vertuous and great persons (for so they were both) we can direct our discourse to. Their ingagements, incumberances, and disadvantages, being so different, that it was the just wonder (and yet continues) of the world that the Earl could ever fall (his whole fate being in the discretion of his own soul,) and the Duke (who all his life of favour stood the mark, shot at by the most petulant and malicious spirits this Climate ever nourished) could stand so long.

He that shall walk in a short survey of both their times, actions, and dependancies shall find them these.

Though the first approach of the Earl to Court was under the shadow
of

of the Great Earl of *Leicester*, yet he owned him rather for his invitation thither, then his preferment there.

For no question he found advantage from the stock of his fathers Reputation; the people looking on his quality with reverence (for I do not find that any young noble man had yet surpris'd their hopes, or drawn their eyes) and on his youth with pittie; for they were nothing satisfied concerning his fathers death, who had been advanced to honourable dangers by the meditation of such as delighted not in his company.

As it was the mysterious wisdom of those times to poison with oyl, & *hominnes per honores ferire*: & if there were not any such compassion in the Queen, yet surely she beheld him as the son of an excellent man that died in her service, and had left a pretious fame surviving.

In the Court he staid not above a year, but undertook that journey into the Low Countries with his father in law, and went Generall of the Horse in a great army, though the was
not

not full nineteen years of age.

There being then no such Critisimes as interpreted the acceptance or pursuit even of the greatest dignity and cōmand a conspiracy against the State ; but all men were glad to see him set himself so brave a task by undertaking such an imployment.

From this first action he took a charter of the peoples hearts, which was never cancell'd ; but as if they had looked only on the boldness, not the successe of his enterprises, he was sure to return with triumph though the voyage miscarryed : for amongst all his forraign undertakings, if they be weigh-ed in the peoples usuall scale, the cost, though there was not above one or two prosperous returnes, and as many that had sad and calamitous issues ; yet he never suffered the least publick imputation or murmur ; but was received with that joy , as if the Fleet or Army were sent out to bring him home, not any spoil or conquest, (to which he had wholly dedicated his faculties.)

He moved only in his proper orb ;
out

out of it he was *extra spheram activitatis*, and rather of much business, (as a man towards whom the Queen had directed some rayes of affection) then of much dexterity above other men.

Surely I by no means imagain him built or furnished for a Courtier.

For however the arts and mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet as in the reformation and improvement of all sciences there are certain principles and maximes unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain comparity, conformity and complacency in the maners, and a discreet subtilty in the composition, without which (as those principles) no man in any age or Court shall be eminent in the Aulicall function.

Now how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, his servant *Cuffe* (whose observations were sharpe enough, what ever stoicismes raved in his nature) well discern'd, when he said; *Amorem & odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.*

And I shall not impute it to his want of will (though that would be but an
ill

ill argument, for his Courtship) nor of power, for he did many greater things; but only of skill to contrive conveniences of honours and preferments at Court for such friends as might have been good out-works to have fortifi'd and secur'd his own condition, except all his dependants were of another complexion then could have lived in that air.

And indeed, I do not find that the Earl much inclined to, or desired the reputation of a Courtier, besides the preservation of himself, and the Queens affection (which yet he endeavoured rather to master then to win;) but he seemed, though he had such places of honor and attendance as be the most significant badges of a Courtier, but *in pace belli gerere negotium*, and retired only from the war to prevent peace.

Then if we visit his correspondency abroad (which he rather maintain'd out of state, then contrived out of skill,) We shall see they were always with an eye upon actions, and his Intelligences had ever some hint of Tumult and Commotion, as if the
King

King of *Spain* was loud or frantick at his devotions, as when he vow'd at Masse, that he would be reveng'd of *England*, though he sold all those Candlesticks upon the Altar.

This Information was given by the Earl; but it was observed then, that if there were ought intended against the Life or Person of the Queen, though it were in the Court of *Spain*, where the Earl had especially his Leigiers, the first notice came over by my Lord *Cecill*, for whom (indeed) it seem'd as necessary there should be treasons, as for the State that they should be prevented.

Infomuch as it was then (how unjustly soever) conceived, that though he created none, yet he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty (having no other advantage as the Earl and others had in person) to justify him in an ordinary estimation, but by eminent services.

And those he knew must be best relished, that concerned her own preservation; and therefore in the least
vacations

vacations from Treasons, he was ever busie to set on foot some vigilant and tender Law (as there was scarce any Parliament, without some such) that had a peculiar eye to the Queens safety. Which (however they are by such as cannot apprehend the danger of those times, looked upon without much reverence) could not but make singular impression in the Queens heart of his fidelity.

The Incumbrances that the Earl had to wrestle withall (for I shall only look over his life without particular inquiry into his actions, which had all glorious ends, or glorious intentions) were fewer then ever any great man ever met withall, and his advantages more in number, and in weight.

'Tis true, he was rival'd by a strong and subtill faction, which cared and consulted for his ruine, as a foundation they must build upon; and were intent to betray him abroad, and misinterpret him at home: yet the danger was thus allay'd, that they were all his publique and professed enemies,

mies, and so known unto the Queen, that they durst never impertinently urge ought against him, since they were sure their malice was concluded, when the reason of their objection happily might not be considered.

And indeed, that trick of countenancing and protecting factions (as that Queen almost her whole reign did with singular and equall demonstration of grace look upon severall persons of most distinct wishes one towards another) was not the least ground of much of her quiet and success. And she never doubted but that men that were never so opposite in their good will each to others, nor never so dishonest in their projectments for each others confusion, might yet be reconciled in their Allegiance towards her. Infomuch that during her whole reign, she never endeavoured to reconcile any personall differences in the Court, though the unlawfull emulations of persons of nearest trust about her, were even like to overthrow some of her chiefest designs. A Policy seldom entertained by Princes, especially

ally if they have Issues to survive them.

Among the advantages the Earl had (and he had many that will distinguish him from any man that hath, or is likely to succeed him) I shall rank the nature and the spirit of that time in the first place. For I shall not mention his Interest in the Queens favour, till the last, which shall appear greatest by the circumstances that lost it.

'Twas an ingenuous un-inquisitive time, when all the passions and affections of the people were lapped up in such an innocent and humble obedience, that there was never the least contestations, nor capitulations with the Queen, nor (though she very frequently consulted with her Subjects) any further reasons urged of her actions, then her own will.

When there were any grievances, they but reverently conveyed them to her notice, and left the time and order of the rest to her Princely discretion. Once they were more importunate and formall in pursuing the complaints of the Purveyers for provision, which without question was a crying
and

and an heavie oppression. The Queen sent them word, they all thought themselves wise enough to reform the misdemeanours of their own families, and wisht that they had so good opinion of her as to trust her with her servants too. I do not find that the Secretary who delivered this message, received any reproach or check, or that they proceeded any further in their inquisition. In this excellent time the Queens remarkable Grace endeared the Earl to the regard of the people, which he quickly improved to a more tender estimation; neither was this affection of theirs ever an objection against him, till himselfe took too much notice of it; for the Queen had ever loved her people without the least scruple of jealousie, nor was ever offended if he was the darling of their eyes, till she suspected he inclined to be the darling of their hearts.

In his Friendships he was so fortunate, that though he contracted with ancient enemies, and such as he had undeserved by some unkindness, as
grievous

grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his trust, or had ever his secrets derived unhand-
somerly to any ears that they were not intended to: and this, if he had not planted himself upon such whose zeal to his service was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a fate.

Lastly, he had so strong an harbour in the Queens brest, that notwithstanding these dangerous indiscretions of committing himself in his recreations and shooting matches to the publique view of so many thousand Citizens which usually flocked to see him, and made within the reach of his own ears large reclamations in his praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his troop of attendance, and under that shadow bringing into the Court divers persons not liked by the Queen, and some that had been in prison for suspicion of treason, as Captain *Wainman*; and then his glorious feather-triumph, when he caused two thousand orange-tawny Feathers in despite of *S. Walter Raleigh*, to be worn in the Tilt-yard,
even

even before her Majesties own face, (all which would have found regret in the stomacks of most Princes :) yet neither these nor any whispers that were distill'd into the Queens ears (for ought appears) ever lessened him in her Highness regard, till he committed such strange mistakes as ever have been prosecuted with most exemplary punishments by the Laws themselves : which (though in jealousy of Princes they oft compound treasons out of circumstances and possibilites) yet are as tender of the reputation of great men as in any Commonwealth whatsoever.

If toward his period the Queen grew a less merciful interpreter of his failings and successes ; 'twas when she beleev'd he grew too familiar, and in love with his passions, and had a mind not to be satisfied but upon his conditions, & too insensible of his own errors. And (truly) that would not be unfitly applyed to him, that was once said of the terrible *Mountford* Earl of *Leicester*, in the reign of *Henry* the Third ; though nothing be more horrible to me then the petulance of that wit, which for an un-

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hand-

handsome jest, would accuse him of a purpose to be King (for doubtless in his solemn purposes he was of a firm and unshaken allegiance) that he had a spirit too great for a subject. For besides that he look'd from above, and with a displeasure that had a mixture of scorn more then anger upon such as courted not his protection, his talk was in an high and usuall dialect; he took much delight to discover an hatred (like a contempt) of the King of *Spain*, and would often mention his person as familiarly as *Luther* did our *Henry* the eighth; & as *Fox* begins his book against the Pope with the first lines of *Tullies* Oration against *Catiline*: *Quousque tandem, &c*: and so he would write in his ordinary letters, and publish in his apology, *I will teach that proud King to know, &c.* Which sounded possibly not so acceptable to the Queen her self, who though she were perfect enough in her dislike to that King, thought that the greatest subject ought not to approach the infirmities, or the mention of any King without some reverence. And the Earl in his



his zeale to the Hollanders (when the great designe was to mediate a Truce between *Spain* and them, and almost the whole Counsel board inclin'd that way) would not only in the violence of his opposition shew a dislike to the insolency and tyranny of the *Spaniards*, but of the very Government of a Monarchy.

Then his carriage towards the Queen her self was very strange, and his usuall converse upon too bold terms, which proceeded not from any distemper but his passions, (though naturall choler be but an unruly excuse for roughness with Princes :) but 'twas a way of traffick (I know not upon what unlucky success) he had from the beginning fancied, and lasted even to his end. Infomuch as upon his first restraint, (which was not many months before his conclusion) he did somewhat neglect the Queens pardon because it came not accompanied with a new grant of his Lease of the farm of sweet Wines, which was then near expired; though she intimated to him, that she only deferred that Grace up-

on the Physicians Maximes : *Corpora impura, quo magis pascas, laeseris.*

Lastly, If ever that uncouth speech fell from him to the Queen, which is delivered to us by one that was much conversant then in the secrets of the Court, That she was as crooked in her disposition as in her carcass (when haply there was a little unevennesse in her shoulders) all my wonder at his destruction is taken from me : and I must needs confesse, I am nothing satisfied with that loose report which hath crept into our discourse, that shortly after his miserable end; (which indeed deserved compassion from all hearts) I know not upon what unseasonable delivery of a Ring or Jewel by some Lady of the Court, the Queen expressed much reluctancy for his death. I am sure no discovery, no expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the indignity of the Sermon at *Pauls Crosse*, and set out by Command ; or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons ; which were two of the most pestilent Libels
against

against his Fame, that any Age hath seen published against any Malefactor, and could not with that deliberation have been contrived, and justified by Authority, had not there been some sparks of indignation in the Queen, that were unquenched even with his blood.

'Tis time to call my self homewards to the view of those considerations, in which will clearly appear the inequality of the Dukes condition, to what hath been said of the Earl: and it may be, I have been at my distance too bold an undertaker of these actions, which were perform'd so many years before my cradle.

I shall not much insist on the Dukes Morning, being so different from that of the Earls, as would discountenance all purposes of bringing them into one circle; he had no satisfaction in his friendships, or pretence in his quality, but was his own Harbinger at Court. For though the Herald may walk in as large a Field of his Pedegree, as shall concern any Subject, yet that being no in-let to his advancements, or occasion of his favour, I shall leave

to such as shall have the preferment to write his life. 'Tis true, that soon after his approach was found to be acceptable, and that he was like enough to be entertained by him that had most power to bid him welcome; he received pretty conveniences from the respects of some great men, which at most (being as much out of disaffection to others, as tenderesse to him) yielded him rather assistance, then support; so that indeed he was (if ever any) *Faber fortune suæ*; and all such as will not be impudent strangers to the discerning spirit of that King who first cherished him, cannot but impute it to a certain innate wisdom and vertue that was in him, with which he surprized, and even fascinated all the faculties of his incomparable Master.

He was no sooner admitted to stand there in his own right, but the eyes of all such as either look'd out of judgement, or gazed out of curiosity, were quickly directed towards him, as a man in the delicacy and beauty of his colour, decency, and grace of his motion,

on, the most rarely accomplished they had ever beheld, whilst some that found inconveniences in his nearness, intended by some affront to discountenance his effeminacy, till they perceived he had masked under it so terrible a courage as would safely protect all his sweetnesse.

And now he quickly shewed the most glorious Star that ever shined in any Court; insomuch that all Nations prosecuted him with love and wonder, as fast as the King with Grace; and to his last he never lost any of his iuitre.

His swiftness and nimbleness in rising, may be with lesse injury ascribed to a Vivacity, then any Ambition in his nature; since it is certain the Kings eagerness to advance him, so surprized his youth, that he seemed only to submit his shoulders, without resistance to such burdens as his Highnesse would be pleased to lay on him; and rather to be held up by the violent inclination of the King, then to clime up by any art or industry of his own: yet once seated, he would not affront that

judgment that raised him, by an unseasonable diffidence of himself, but endeavoured with an understanding boldness to manage those Employments which his modesty would never suffer him to court.

During the Reign of his first Master, I cannot but say, he enjoyed an indifferent calm in his Fortune and Favour; for though there were some boisterous interruptions by the clamour of the people, yet shortly again their affections were as violent (and almost as senseless) toward him, as ever their accusations were before or after; Inasmuch as the Chief-Rulers among them performed frequent visits to him, when he was somewhat diseased in his health, and out of a zealous care of him, would have begot in him some jealousy, that his Physicians and nearest Attendants about him, being (perhaps) of the same religion with the King of *Spain*, had a purpose by poison to revenge some injuries (these people had conceived) in the right of that Nation. And here the Fortunes of our great Personages met,

met, when they were both the Favou-rites of the Princes, and Darlings of the people. But their affections to the Duke were but very short-lived.

And now 'tis seasonable to say some-what of the disposition and spirit of this time, since the Disparity of those we treat of will be in that discerned, and the Earl be found by so much to have the advantage, that there will be little need of conferring the particulars of their lives. 'Twas a busie queru-lous froward time, so much degene-rated from the purity of the former, that the people under pretences of Re-formation, with some petulant discour-ses of Liberty (which their great Im-postors scattered among them, like false glasses to multiply their fears) began *Abditos Principis sensus, & quid occultius parat exquirere*: extended their enquiries even to the chamber and private actions of the King himself, forgetting that truth of the Poet, *Nusquam Libertas gratior extat, quam sub Rege pio*: 'Twas strange to see how men afflicted themselves to find out calamities and mischiefs, whilst they

borrowed the name of some great persons to scandalize the State they lived in. A generall disorder throughout the whole body of the common wealth, nay the vital part perishing, the Laws violated by the Judges, Religion prophaned by the Prelats, Heresies crept into the Church and countenanced: and yet all this shall be quickly rectified without so much as being beholding to the King, or consulting with the Clergy.

Surely had *Petronius* now lived, he would have found good cause to say. *Nostra regio tam presentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire*: For my part whether the frenzy was nourish'd in the warm brest of yong men (who are commonly too much in love with their own time to thinke it capable of reformation); or whether it was fomented by riper heads that had miscarried in their propositions of advancement, and are violent in the successes of *Queen Elizabeth*; or whether it was only the revolution of time that had made them unconcerned in the loyall fears that governed

governed sixty years since, I shall not presume to guesse: but shall rather wish for the spirit and condition of that time, as he did for wars and commotions: *Quoniam acerbissima Dei flagella sunt quibus hominum pertinaciam punit ea perpetua oblivione sepelienda, potius quam memoria mandanda esse.*

King *James* being no sooner dead, but such as had from his beginning impertinently endeavoured to supplant him, and found that he was so deeply rooted in his Sovereigns acceptance, that there should be no shaking him with clamorous objections, found some means to commend over his condition and transcendent power, as they termed it, as a matter of publique consequence to the people: and from this instant to his fatall end he stood as it were exposed, notwithstanding all the shelter of the Sovereigns regard, to all the calumnies & obloquies the impudent malice of the rabble could fling on him: and in all their pretences of Reformation, as if their end were only his shame, not amendment, they rather cudgell then reprehend him. Of this wilde rage (not
within

within the main purpose of an Apology) I shall give one or two instances, insisting on them only as they were mentioned in the indigested noise of the people, not as they were marshalled with other employments in any publick Declaration or Remonstrance.

There were two errors chiefly layd to his charge, and so eagerly urged that in them he was almost concluded an enemy to the King and Countrey; which certainly in the next age will be conceived marvellous strange Objections; the one being a strong argument of his Worth, the other a piece of its Reward: the first was the plurality of Offices, though they were immediately conferred on him by the King, or else such as he was promoted to by his Majesties own allowance, to acquire to the which there was no condition but his Majesty was a witness, if not a surety for the performance; and yet for the execution of them, never man studied more to apt himself, nor descended to meaner arts to give general content. And here possibly it concerned his Mirth to see his Ambition prosecuted

cuted of some, who desired to ease him of this Guilt by undertaking his Trust.

The other was the Preferment of his Kindred, upon whom his Majesty (delighting to give all gracious expression of his affection to the Duke) would (to enliven any branch that grew from the same Stock) conferr both Honour and Living. And this surely had so little signification of offence in the Dukes conscience, that he thought he should have sinned against the law of Nature, & a generous disposition, that it would have been an eternal brand to his Name and Memory, if being so siezed of his great Kings favour, he had no regard but to his own advancement.

And 'tis not improbable, that his noble care of his Family, confirm'd him in the estimation of his Master, who knew that all fountains ought to bestow themselves upon their Neighbour brooks, and could have hoped for little effects, from his service, whose care was only directed for himself.

Now whether the importunate clamour upon these two faults (whereof he found no regret, but comfort in himself),

himself) made him so to esteem of the popular discretion, and honesty; or whether he esteemed it the same ignominy to have his Allegiance exalted with blasphemy, as (for attending the Prince out of *Spain*) he was called our Redeemer; or to have his misfortunes mistaken into disloyalty, when his Enterprizes succeeded not according to the impossible expectation of the people: certain it is, that all his later time he wholly neglected all compliance with them. 'Tis not unlikely he might wonder, that in all the scrupulous enquiry for Reformation, there was never the least blemish of dislike towards any great man, but such as were in the immediat regard and estimation of the King: As if all misdemeanours had been committed within the Verge of his Majesties own Chamber.

I shall not confer any of these particulars with the Earl. When the noise of the people had disquieted him into action from Court (which was his Orbe) though he could not put off the place, or rather the Title of Command, he committed himself a most willing

willing Pupill to the directions of such as were generally thought fit to manage affairs of that nature ; and here it cannot be deny'd, but as he was a vigilant and observant Student in the contemplative part, so he improved the courage of the whole Army by his example.

And surely there is no cause to doubt, he would in short time have made so glorious a progresse in his profession, (however he seemed shaped for easier skirmishes) as the World should have seen that promptnesse and alacrity in his nature, that could happily have travelled in any path he could direct it, had he not been cut off by that execrable Treason, as makes all good men tremble, and Posterity shal start at it: and had he not been marvellously secure in the tranquillity of his own soul from any of that guilt the Rabble had conferred on him, it had been no hard matter to have fortifi'd himselfe against the knife of a Villain, though it were sharpened in the lewdest forge of revenge the great patron of murder hath countenanced since the spilling of the first blood. But he
that

that was unsafe only in the greatnesse of his own spirit, could not be perswaded to wear any Privie-coat, but (which he never put off) of a good conscience. And the same providence that conveyed him into grace, with so different marks from other men, would not suffer him to fall, but by such a fate as may determine all the Monarchies of the world; and which had been seldom acted, but upon the most eminent and honourable Persons of their times.

And here again, he may be said to meet with the Earl, that they both died by the people, though by very different affections, which continued so preposterous, as Justice upon the One (for Justice is the execution of the Law) was interpreted a Conspiracy: And Treason upon the Other, conceived Religion; And yet one had the Royall Sacrifice of his Sovereigns sorrow, which the other wanted.

In contriving and contracting his Friendships he was provident and circumspect enough (as may appear by those Marriages in which he linked

his,

his House;) and in the observation of them he was so severe and reall, as he wanted some of that, which is usually the poyson of Noble minds, Suspicion; looking no further into the affections of those he chose, then the testimony of their own hearts, though this Confidence somtimes was like to prove dangerous to him. And here the Earl had the day too: For his friends were Skreens between him and envie, and his own infirmities taken from him and imposed on them; when the Duke was so far from that ease, or being discharged of the burden that belonged to them, that he was traduced with all the mistakes of all his friends, kindred, and dependants; as if he were the mischievous Agent, they only improvident and surprized Instruments.

'Tis true, they were neither of them much skilled in that paradox of charity, loving their enemies: And yet the Dukes easiness to reconcilment, and too soon forgetting the circumstances of Grudges, betrayed him often to the injuries of such as had not the same spirit.

Con-

Concerning the parts and endowments of his Mind, if the consideration of learning extend it self not further then drudgery in books, the Dukes employments forbids to suspect him for any great Scholer : but if a nimble and fluent expression, and delivery of his mind (and his discourse was of all subjects) in a naturall & proper dialect be considered, he was well letter'd : But if he had that Eloquence of Nature or Art, I am sure he wanted that other accident, (which the best Judge attributed to the Earl as an Eloquence that ~~passed the other two~~) the pity and benevolence of his hearers ; insomuch that his words and speeches were never entertained with that candor or common charity of Interpretation, as civilly belongs to all delinquents : witness that Speech in the fulness of his joy, he let fall to his Majesty in the behalf of his people, which was immediately perverted and carpt at as an aggravation of his other imaginary and fantastick offences.

He was besides not only of an eminent affection to learning, in conferring dignities

nities and rewards upon the most learned men ; either of which is seldom without judgment ; and he was the Governour in a Province of Learning, which was an argument he confuted the people by, when he suffered himself to be chosen Chancellour of the University of *Cambridge*, even at the time when they had concluded his destruction, as a man odious to all Subjects.

In his Liberalities and rewards of those he fancied, he was so chearfully magnificent, and so much at the mercy of his Dependants, that if they proved improvident or immodest in their Suits, the inconveniency and mischief was surely his ; insomuch as he seemed wholly possest from himself, and to be only great for their use ; and he had then so happy a bravery in deriving of his favours, and conferred them with so many noble circumstances, as the manner was as obliging as the matter, and mens understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their gratitude.

If the Earl sided him here, his bounty

ty fell upon more unthrifty men ; for there are many Families owe their large possessions only to the opennesse of the Dukes hand, though much be lost too in the ingratitude of the receivers.

But that which shined with most luster in him, and which indeed flowed in his nature much above its proportion in other men, was an admirable affability and gentlenesse to all men. And this was the pomp and glory of all his Titles ; Insomuch as though his Memory were a place so taken up with high thoughts, and unlikely to have any room for matters of so small importance ; he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintance with that familiarity, as if they had been stairs by which he ascended to his Greatnesse.

He had besides such a tendernesse and compassion in his nature, that such as think the Laws dead if they are not severely executed, censured him for being too mercifull ; but his charity was grounded upon a wiser Maxime of State : *Non minus turpe Principi multa Supplicia, quàm Medico multa Funera.*

And

And he believed doubtlesse, that Hanging was the worst use man could be put to.

And now, me thinks, to believe a man drest in all these reall ornaments of Honour, could be an Enemy to the Publick, to his Countrey, is as ingenuous as to believe a man of a solemn friendlinesse to ten thousand men, and of a resolved hatred to mankind.

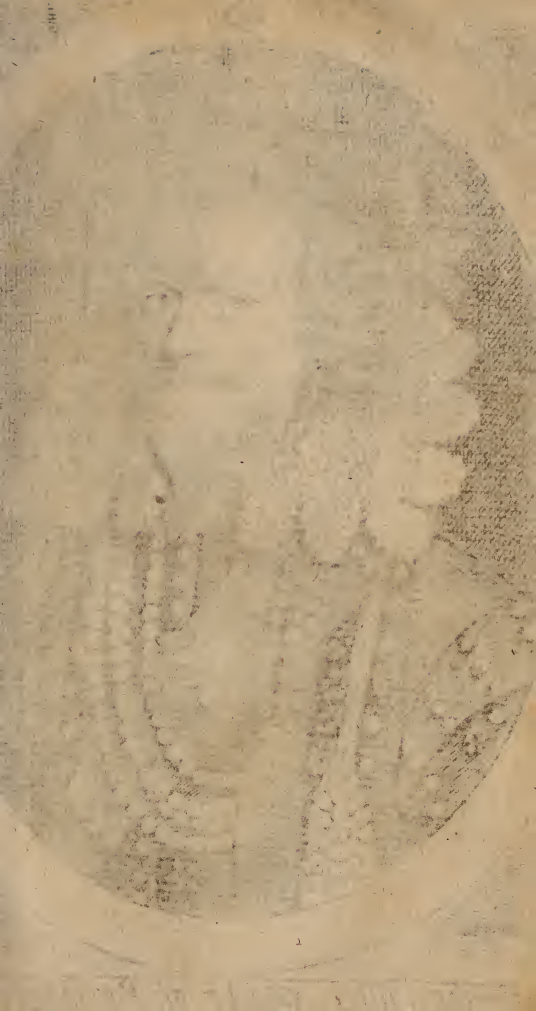
Of all imputations, that was the most unskilfull, which accused him of a purpose and designe to enrich himself. Certainly that was never in his vows; and possibly the Auditours of his Revenues do not find his Estate so much increased from the time of his first Master, though he enjoyed a glorious Harvest of almost four years, which if it had been brought in to his own use, could not but have made an envious addition.

Since then, till their Evenings, these two great Persons can hardly meet: Let not the violence of their deaths reconcile them, since the same consideration might as well unite the great King of *France*, and the Marshall *By-*

ron, and many others of more different conditions.

He that shall continue this Argument further, may haply begin his Paralell after their deaths; and not unfitly: He may say, that they were both as mighty in Obligations as ever any Subjects, and both their Memories and Families as unrecompensed by such as they had raised. He may tell you of the Clients that burnt the Pictures of the one, and defaced the Arms of the other, lest they might be too long suspected for their Dependants, & find dis-advantage by being honest to their Memories. He may tell you of some that grew strangers to their houses, lest they might find the Tract of their own footsteps, that might upbraid them with their former attendance. He may say, that both their Memories shall have a reverend Savour with all Posterity, and all Nations. He may tell you many more particulars which I dare not do.

F I N I S.





George Villiers Duke of Buckingham

A
VIEW

Of the

LIFE

AND

DEATH

OF

Geo. Villiers,

DUKE of

BUCKINGHAM.

WINTER









GEORGE

THE

TOUR



THE
LIFE and DEATH
 OF
 GEORGE VILLIERS,
Late
Duke of Buckingham.





 Determine to write the
 Life and the End, the


 I 

 Nature and the For-
 tunes of GEORGE
 VILLIERS late
 Duke of *Buckingham*:
 which yet I have not undertaken out
 of any wanton pleasure in mine own
 pen; Nor truly without often ponder-
 ing with my self before hand what
 Censures I might incur. For I would
 not be ignorant by long observation,
 both abroad and at home; That every
 D where

where all greatness of power and Favour is circumvested with much prejudice. And that it is not easie for Writers to research with due distinction (as they ought) in the Actions of eminent Personages, both how much many have been blemished by the envie of others, and what was corrupted by their own felicity; unless after the period of their Splendor, which must needes dazell their beholders, and perhaps oftentimes themselves, we could as in some Scenes of the fabulous Age, excite them again, and confer a while with their naked Ghosts. However, for my part, I have no servile or ignoble end in my present labor, which may on either side restrain or embase the freedom of my poor judgment. I wil therefore steer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his Cradle through the deepe and lubrick wayes of State and Court, till he was swallowed in the Gulfe of fatality.

I finde him borne in the yeere of our Saviour 1592. on the 28. of *August*, at *Brooksby* in *Leicester-shire*, where his Ancestors had chiefly continued
about

about the space of four hundred yeers, rather without obscurity, then with any great luster, after they had long before been seated in *Kinalton* in the County of *Nottingham*. He was the third son of *George Villiers* Knight, and *Mary* late Countess of *Buckingham*, & Daughter to *Anthony Beaumont* of *Coleorton* Esquire, names on either side well known of Ancient extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who in a wild Pamphlet which he published, besides other pittifull Malig-nities, would scant allow him to be a Gentleman. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his first Rudi-ments, till the years of ten; and from thence sent to *Billisden* School in the same County, where he was taught the principles of Musicke, and other slight Literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his Father dyed. Then his beautifull and provident Mo-ther, (for those Attributes will not be denied her) took him home to her house at *Goodby*, where she had him in especiall care; so as he was first, (as we may say) a Domestick favo-rite.

rite. But finding him (as it should seeme) by nature little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with conversative Qualities and Ornaments of youth, as Dancing, Fencing, and the like: Not without aym then perchance (though far off) at a Courtiers life: To which lessons, he had such a dexterous proclivity, as his teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness; to th'end that his brothers, who were under the same trayning, might hold pace with him. About the age of eighteen he travelled into *France*, where he improved himself well in the Language, for one that had so little Grammatical foundation; but more in the exercises of that Nobility, for the space of three years, and yet came home in his naturall plight, without affected formes (the ordinary disease of Travellers.) After his return, he passed again one whole year (as before) at *Goodby* under the Wing and Counsels of his Mother: And then was forward to become a Suter at *London* to Sir *Roger Ashbourns* Daughter, a Gentleman of
the

the Bed-chamber to King *James*, and Master of his Robes. About which times, he falls into intrinsecall society with Sir *John Greham*, then one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Privie Chamber: who, I know not upon what Luminaries he spyed in his face, dissuaded him from Marriage, and gave him rather encouragment to woe Fortune in Court. Which advice sank well into his fancy; for within some while, the King had taken by certain Glances, (whereof the first was at *Apthorpe*, in a Progresse) such liking of his person, that he resolved to make him a Master-piece, and to mould him as it were Platonically to his own *Idea*. Neither was his Majesty content onely to be the Architect of his fortune, without putting his Gracious hand likewise to som part of the work it self. Insomuch as it pleased him to descend, and to avale his goodness, even to the giving of his foresaid friend Sir *John Greham* secret directions, how, and by what degrees he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then as yet in some possession

of the Kings heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous then a favorite, especially towards the wayning time and suspect of society. So as many Arts were used to discuss the beginnings of new affliction, (which lye out of my Road, being a part of another mans story). All which notwithstanding (for I omit things intervenient) there is conveyed to Master *Villiers* an intimation of the Kings pleasure to waite, and to be sworn his servant; And shortly after, his Cup-bearer at large; And the Summer following he was admitted in Ordinary. After which time favours came thick upon him, (liker main Showers, then sprinkling Drops or Dewes) for the next Saint *Georges*-day he was Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Kings Bed-Chamber; and the same very day had an annual Pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At *Newyeers-tide* following the King chose him Master of the Horse. After this he was installed of the most Noble Order. And in the
next

next *August* he created him Baron of *Whaddon*, and Viscount *Villiers*. In *January* of the same year he was advanced Earl of *Buckingham*, and sworn here of his Majesties Privie Counsell ; as if a Favorite were not so before. The *March* ensuing he attended the King into *Scotland*, & was likewise sworn a Counsellor in that Kingdom, where (as I have been instructed by unpassionate men) he did carry himself with singular sweetness and temper ; which I held very credible, for it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one of their own , to study a moderate stile among those generous Spirits. About *Newyears-tide* after his return from thence (for those beginnings of years were very propitious unto him, as if Kings did chuse remarkable dayes to inaugurate their favours, that they may appeare acts aswell of the Times, as of the Will) he was Created Marquess of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admirall of *England*, Chiefe Justice in *Eyre* of all the Parks and Forrests on the South-side of *Trent*, Master of the Kings-Bench Office (none

of the unprofitableſt peeces) Head-Steward of *Westminſter*; and Conſtable of *Windsor-Caſtle*.

Here I muſt breath a while to ſatiſſie ſome that perhaps might otherwiſe wonder at ſuch an Accumulation of benefits, like a kind of Embroidering or liſting of one favour upon another. Certainly the hearts of great Princes, if they be conſidered as it were in abſtract, without the neceſſity of States, and Circumſtances of time, being beſides their naturall extent, moreover once opened and dilated with affection, can take no full and proportionate pleaſure in the exerciſe of any narrow Bounty. And albeit at firſt they give only upon Choice and love of the perſon, yet within a while themſelves likewiſe begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, no leſſe then Parents do their Children. But let us go on,

For theſe Offices and Dignities already rehearſed, and theſe of the like nature which I ſhall after ſet down in their place, were (as I am ready to ſay) but the facings or fringes of his Greatneſſe,

Greatnesse, in comparison of that trust which his most gracious Master did cast upon him in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, when he made him the chiefe Concomitant of his Heir apparant, and only sonne, our dear Sovereign, now being in a journey of much Adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacie) had been before not communicated with any other of his Majesties most reserved Counsellors at home, being carryed with great closenesse, liker a busines of Love then State; as it was in the first intendment. Now, because the whole Kingdom stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a Prince; I have been the more desirous to research with some diligence, the severall passages of the said Journey, and the particular Accidents of any moment in their way. They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tewesday the 18. of *February*, from the Marquess his house of late purchase, at *Newhall in Essex*, setting out with disguised Beards, and with borrowed Names of *Thomas and John Smith*.

And then attended with none, but Sir *Richard Greham* Master of the Horse to the *Marquesse*, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the River against *Gravesend*, for lack of silver they were faine to give the Ferry-man a piece of two and twenty shillings, which struck the poore fellow into such a melting tenderesse, that so good Gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrell beyond Sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the Officers of the Towne with what had befallen him, who sent presently post for their stay at *Rochester*, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the Hill beyond that City, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the *French* Embassador, with the Kings Coach and other attending him, which made them baulk the beaten Road, and teach Post-hackneys to leap hedges. At *Canterbury*, whither some voice, (as it should seem,) was run on before, the Mayor of the Town came himselfe to seise on them, as they were taking fresh
Horses

Horfes, in a blunt manner, alledging first a Warrant to stop them from the Councell, next from Sir *Lewis Lewkner* Master of the Ceremonies, and lastly from Sir *Henry Manwaring*, then Lieutenant of *Dover Castle*. At all which confused fiction, the Marquess had no leasure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a secret view (being Admirall) of the forwardnesse of his Majesties Fleet, which was then in preparation on the Narrow Seas: This, with much ado, did somewhat handsomly heal the disguisement. On the way afterwards, the baggage post-boy, who had been at Court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was easily shut. To *Dover*, through bad Horfes, and those pretty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir *Francis Cottington*, then Secretary to the Prince, now Baron of *Hanworth*, and Master *Endymion Porter*, who had been sent before to provide a Vessell for their Transportation.

The

The foresaid Knight was enjoyned for the nearnesse of his place on the Princes affairs, and for his long Residence in the Court of *Spain*, where he had gotten singular credit even with that cautious Nation, by the temper of his Carriage. Master *Porter* was taken in, not only as a Bed-chamber servant of Confidence to his Highnesse, but likewise as a necessary and usefull Instrument, for his naturall skill in the *Spanish* Tongue. And these five were at the first the whole Parada of this journey. The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the 19. of the foresaid Moneth, taking ship at *Dover* about six of the clock, they landed the same day at *Bulloyn* in *France*, near two hours after Noon; reaching *Monstruell* that night (like men of dispatch;) and *Paris* the second day after, being *Friday* the one and twentieth. But some three posts before, they had met with two *German* Gentlemen that came newly from *England*, where they had seen at *Newmarket* the Prince and the Marques taking Coach together with the King, and

and retained such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir *Richard Greham*, who would needs perswade them they were mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter, for the very strangeness of the thing it selfe; and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a Prince and Favourite so suddenly Metamorphized into Travellers, with no greater traine, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his five senses. And this, I suppose, next the assurance of their own well resolved Carriage against any new accident, to have been their best Anchor in all such Incounters. At *Paris* the Prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a famous City and Court, which was a neighbour to his future Estates. But for the better veiling of their Vissages, his Highness and the Marques bought each of them a Perriwig, somewhat to over-shadow their foreheads. Of the King they got a sight after dinner in a Gallery, where he was solacing himself with familiar
plea-

pleasures. And of the Queen-Mother as she was at her own Table; in neither place descried, no not by *Mounfier Cadinet*, who saw them in both, and had been lately Ambassadour in *England*. Towards Evening, by a meer chance, in appearance, though underlined with a providence, they had a full sight of the *Queen Infanta*, and of the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, with other great Ladies, at the practise of a Masquing Dance, which was then in preparation; having over-heard two Gentlemen who were tending towards that sight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the Duke *De Mont Bason*, the Queens Lord Chamberlain, out of humanity to strangers, when divers of the *French* went by. Note here, even with the point of a Diamond, by what oblique steps, and unimaginable preparatives, the high Disposer of Princes Affections doth sometimes contrive the secrets of his will. For by this casuall curiosity, it fell out, that when afterwards the Marriage came in motion between our Sovereign Lord and the aforesaid most Amiable

Amiable Princesse; it must needs be (howsoever unknown) no small spur to the Treaty, that she hath not before been altogether a stranger to his Eye.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the clock in the morning from *Paris*, the 23. of *February*, were spent six dayes to *Bayon*, the last Town of *France*, having before at *Bourdeaux*, bought them five riding Coates, all of one colour and fashion, in a kinde of Noble simplicity. Where Sir *Francis Cottington* was employed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the Duke *De Espernon*, telling him they were Gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little Courtship; who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial man in the practices of the World) have pierced somewhat deeper then their out-side.

They were now entred into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their Innes. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage (if I may insert it by the way among more serious:) There was neer *Bayon*, an Herd

of Goats with their yong ones, upon which sight, the said Sir *Richard Graham* tells the Marques, he would snap one of the Kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging. Which the Prince over-hearing, Why *Richard*, sayes he, do you think you may practise here your old tricks again upon the borders? Upon which words, they first gave the Goat-herd good contentment, and then while the Marques and his servant (being both on foot) were chasing the Kid about the stacke, the Prince from Horse-back killed him in the head with a *Scottish* Pistol. Set this Feare for a Journall Parenthesis, which yet may shew how his Highness even in such flight and sportfull damage had a Noble sense of just dealing.

At *Bayon*, the Count *De Gramont*, Governour of that jealous Key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, & opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be Gentlemen of much more worth then their habits bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass. And foure dayes

dayes after they arrived at *Madrid*, being *Wednesday* the fift of *March*. Thus have I briefly run over transcurfions; as if my pen had bin posting with them. Which done, I shall not need to relate the affluence of young Nobles and others from hence into *Spaine*, after the voyce of our Prince his being there had been quickly noysed, and at length beleevd; neither will I stay to consider the Arts of *Rome*, where now all Engines were whetted (though by the Divine blessing very vainly) when they had gotten a Prince of great *Brittaine* upon Catholick ground, as they use to call it.

This, and the whole matter of Negotiation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the Apprehensions on both sides, the aparance on neither; And in sum, all the circumstances and respect of Religion and State intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a Royall History, or a Councell Table, then a single life. Yet I cannot omit some things which inter-

intervened at the meeting of two Pleiades, me thinkes not unlike that which Astrologers call a conjunction of Planets, of no very benigne Aspect the one to the other ; I mean the Marquess of *Buckingham*, and the *Conde d'Olivares*. They had some sharper, and some milder differences, which might easily happen in such an intervene of Grandees, both vehement on the parts which they swayed. But the most remarkable was upon a supposition of the *Condees*, (as fancies are cheape) that the Marquess had intimated unto her some hopes of the Prince his Conversion, which coming into debate, the Marquess so roundly disavowed this gilded dreame, as *Olivares* alledged he had given him *La-Mentida*, and thereupon formes a Complement to the Prince himself; which *Buckingham* denying, and yet *Olivares* persisting in the said Complement, the Marquess, though now in strange hands, yet seeing both his Honour and the Truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replied with some heate, that the

Condees

Condees asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himself tied in terms of a Gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the harshest point that occurred between them; which that it went so far, was not the Dukes fault; Nor his fault neither (as it should seem) that it went no further.

There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The *Conde d' Olivares* tels the *Marquesse* of a certain flying noise that the Prince did plot to be secretly gone. To which the *Marques* gave a well temper'd answer, that though Love had made his Highnesse steal out of his own Countrey, yet Fear would never make him run out of *Spain* in other manner then should become a Prince of his Royall and generous Vertues. In *Spain* they stay'd near eight intire moneths, during all which times, who but *Buckingham* lay at home under millions of maledictions? Which yet,
at

at the Prince his safe arrivall in the *West* did die, and vanish here and there into praises and Elogies, according to the contrary motions of popular waves. And now to sum up the fruit of the Journey, discourses ran thus among the clearest Observers. It was said, that the Prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his Religion, had by the sight of Forraign Courts, and observations of the different Natures of people, and Rules of Government, much excited and awaked his Spirits, and corroborated his Judgement. And as for the Marquess, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained: First, he was returned with encrease of Title, having there been made Duke, by Patent sent him, which was the highest degree whereof an *English* Subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though closer; for by so long, and so private, and so various consociation with a Prince of such excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own Fortune and Greatnesse; whereas

whereas otherwise the estate of a Favourite is at the best but a Tenant at will, and rarely transmitted. But concerning the *Spanish* Commission which in publick conceit was the main scope of the Journey, that was left in great suspence, and after some time utterly laid aside; which threw the Duke amongst free Wits (wherof we have a rank Soil) under divers Censures. The most part were apt to believe, that he had brought down some deep distaste from *Spain*, which exasperated his Councils; Neither was there wanting some other that thought him not altogether void of a little Ambition, to shew his power either to knit or dissolve. Howsoever, the whole Scene of affairs was changed from *Spain* to *France*; there now lay the prospective. Which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of State being ever attributed to the powerfullest under Princes (as the manner is where the eminency of one obscureth the Rest;) the Duke became suddenly and strangely Gracious among the multitude, and

94 *The Life and Death of*

and was even in Parliament highly exalted; so as he did seem for a time to have overcome that naturall Incompatibility, which in the experience of all Ages hath been noted between the Vulgar and the Sovereign Favour. But this was no more then a meer bubble or blast, and like an Ephemerrall fit of applause, as eftsoon will appear in the sequell and train of his life. I had almost forgotten, that after his return from *Spain*, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports (which is as it were a second Admiralty) and Steward likewise of the Mannour of *Hampton-Court*; Dignities and Offices still growing of trust or profit. And the King now giving not only out of a beneficent disposition, but a very habituall and confirmed custom. One year, six moneths, two days after the joyfull reception of the Prince his Son from *Spain*, King *James* of immortall Memory (among all the lovers and admirers of divine and humane Sapience) accomplished at *Theobalds* his own days on Earth. Under whom
the

the Duke had run a long Course of calm and smooth prosperity: I mean long, for the ordinary life of favour; and the more notable, because it had been without any visible Eclipse or Wave in himselfe, amidst divers variations in others.

The most important and pressing care of a new and Vigorous King, was his Marriage, for mediate establishment of the Royall Line. Wherin the Duke having had an especiall hand, he was sent to conduce hither the most Lovely and Vertuous Princess *Henritta Maria*, youngest daughter to the great *Henry of Bourbon*, of whom his Majesty (as hath been said) had an ambulatory view in his Travells, (like a stollen taste of something that provoketh appetite). He was accompanied with none of our Peeres, but the Earl of *Mountgomery*, now Lord Chamberlain, a Noble Gentleman, of trusty, free, and open nature, and truly, no unsuitable Associate, for that he himself likewise at the beginning of King *James*, had run his Circle in the wheeling vicissitude of Favour.

And

And here I must crave leave in such of high quality, or other of particular note as shall fall under my pen (whereof this is the first) not to let them pass without their due Character, being part of my professed ingenuity.

Now this Ambassy, though it had a private shew, being charged with more formality then matter (for all the essentiall Conditions were before concluded) could howsoever want no Ornaments or bravery to adorn it. Among which I am neer thinking it worthy of a little remembrance, that the Duke one solemn day Gorgeously clad in a Sute all over-spreed with Diamonds, and having lost one of them of good Value, perchance as he might be dancing after his manner with lofty motion, it was strangely recovered again the next morning in a Court full of Pages. Such a diligent attendant was Fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair discharge, all civill honours having showred on him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into a
ction,

tion, a breach first with *Spain*, and not long after with *France* itself, notwithstanding so streight an affinity, so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other. As if indeed (according to that pleasant Maxime of State) Kingdoms were never married. This must of necessity involve the Duke in business enough to have over-set a lesser Vessel, being the next Commander under the Crown of Ports and Ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those Overtures of publick employment. For at the Parliament at *Oxford*, his youth and want of experience in Maritime service had somewhat bin shrewdly touch'd, even before the sluces and floud-gates of popular liberty were yet set open. So as to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his Majesties untroubled and serene Commands, even in a tempestuous time. Now the men fell a rubbing of Armour, which a great while had layen oyled; The Magazines of Munition are veiwed; E The

The Officers of Remaines called to account, frequent Counsells of War, as many private conferences with expert Sea-men, a Fleet in preparation for some attempt upon *Spain*.

The Duke himself personally imployed to the States Generall; and with him joyned in full Commission the Earl of *Holland*, a Peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable vertue for publick use.

These two Nobles, after a dangerous passage from *Harwich*, wherein three of their ships were foundred, arrived the fifth day at the *Hague* in *Holland*. Here they were to enter a treaty, both with the States themselves, and with the Ministers of divers allyed and confederate Princes, about a Common diversion, for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, where the Kings only Sisters Dowry had been ravished by the *German Eagle* mixed with *Spanish* Feathers. A Princess resplendent in darkness, and whose virtues were born within the chance, but without the power of Fortune

Here.

Here it were injurious to overslip a Noble act in the Duke during this Imployment, which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his expences, There was a Collection of certain rare Manuscripts exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of *Erpenius*, the most excellent Linguist: These had been left to the Widow of the said *Erpenius*, and were upon sale to the Jesuits at *Antwerp*, licourish Chapmen of such Ware. Whereof the Duke getting knowledge by his worthy and learned Secretary Doctour *Mason*, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor Widow for them five hundred pounds, a sum above their weight in silver, and a mixed act both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being much out of his naturall Element. These were they, which after his death were as Nobly presented, as they had been bought, to the University of *Cambridge* by the Dutchesse Dowager, assoon as she understood by the aforesaid Doctour *Mason*, her Husbands intention, who had

a purpose likewise (as I am well instructed) to raise in the said University (wherof he was Chancellour) a faire Case for such Monuments, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts, of his own charge; perchance in some emulation of that famous Treasury of knowledge at *Oxford*, without paralel in the Christian world. But let me resume the file of my relation, which this Object of books (best agreeable to my course of life) hath a little interrupted. The aforesaid Negotiation, though prosecuted with heate and probable apparance of great effects, took up a Month before the Dukes return from his excentricity (for so I account favourites abroad,) and then at home he met with no good News of the *Cadiz* attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had spent much solicitude *ex officio*, yet it principally failed (as was thought) by late setting out, and by some Contrariety of Weather at Sea; whereby the particular designe took vent before-hand, a point hardly avoydable
in

in actions of noyse, especially where the great *Indian Key* to all Cabinets is working. Not long after this, the King pondering in his Wisdome the weight of his forraign Affairs, found it fit to call a Parliament at *Westminster*; this was that Assembly where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the Dukes Case, from the most exalted, (as he had been both in another Parliament, and in common Voyce before) to the most depressed now, as if his condition had been capable of no Mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshly returned out of the *Low-Country Provinces*, out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the single example that our Annals have yeilded, from the time of *William de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolke*, under *Henry* the Sixth, of such a concurrence of two extremes, within so short time, by most of the same Commenders and Disprovers (like the naturall breath of man, that can

both heat and cool) would require no slight memoriall of the particular Motives of so great a change, but that the whole Case was dispersed by the Knights of Shires, and Burgeses of Towns, through all the Veins of the Land, and may be taken by any at pleasure, out of the Parliament Registers. Besides that, I observe it not usuall among the best patterns, to stuffe the report of particular lives with matters of publick record, but rather to dive (as I shall endeavour, before I wipe my pen) into secret and proper afflictions; howsoever somewhat I must note in this strange *Phaenomenon*. It began from a travelled Doctour of Physick, of bold spirit, and of able Elocution; who being returned one of the Burgeses (which was not ordinary in any of his Coat) fell by a Metaphoricall Allusion) translated from his own Faculty, to propound the Duke as a main cause of divers infirmities in the State, or near that purpose; being sure enough of Seconds, after the first On-set, in the Lower House. As for any close intelligence

ligence that they had before-hand with some in the Higher (though that likewise was said) I want ground to affirm or believe it more then a generall conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envie amongst those that were nearest the object, which we see so familiar, both in naturall and morall causes. The Dukes Answers to his Appeachments, in number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched: and though his heart was big, yet they all savour of an humble spirit one way, equitable consideration, which could not but possesse every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure, and white and fine Meal, but must needs have withall among it a certain mixture of Padar and Bran, in this lower age of humane fragility. Howsoever this tempest did only shake, and not rent his Sailes. For his Majesty considering that almost all his Ap-

peachments were without the compasse of his own Reign; and moreover, That nothing alledged against him, had, or could be proved by Oath, according to the Constitution of the House of Commons, which the Duke himself did not forget in the preface of his Answers.

And lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity, and observance abroad, where he was chief in trust, and in the participations of all hazards, found himself engaged in honour, and in the sense of his own naturall goodnesse, to support him at home from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimonies of divers important imputations, whereof the truth is best known to His Majesty while he was Prince. The Summer following this Parliament, (after an Embark of our trading Ships in the River of *Bourdeaux*, and other points of Sovereign affront) there did succeed the action of *Rheez*, wherein the Duke was personally imployed on either Element, both as Admirall and Generall, with hope in that service
to

to recover the publick good will, which he saw by his own example might quickly be won and lost. This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a Noble Gentleman of much learning and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right, which in truth he greatly wanted, having found more honourable censure even from some of the *French* Writers, then it had generally amongst our selves at home.

Now because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes, and these only touching the Dukes own deportment in that Island, the proper subject of my quill; for in the generall survey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if fortune had meant we should quickly be friends again. Wherein let their names that were bravely lost, be rather memorized in the full table of time; for my part, I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent description of miseries. The Dukes carriage was surely Noble throughout: to the Gentlemen of

fair respect, bountifull to the Souldier, according to any speciall value which he spied in any, tender and carefull of those that were hurt, of unquestionable Courage in himself, and rather fearfull of Fame, then Danger: In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration even after the succours which he expected did fail him; but the less he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsically, according to the nature of suppressed passions. For certain it is, That to his often mentioned Secretary, Doctor *Mason*, whom he layed in a Pallet neer him, for naturall Ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate Eruptions, protesting, That never his Dispatches to divers Princes, nor the great business of a Fleet, of an Army, of a Siege, of a Treaty, of War, of Peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his repose, as a conceit, That some at home, under his Majesty, of whom

whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him; but whom he meant, I know not, and am loth to rove at conjectures. Of their two Forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other; but in the generall Town he maintained a seisure and possession of the whole three full months and eighteen dayes; and at the first descent on shore, he was not immured within a wooden Vessell, but he did countenance the landing in his long Boat. Where succeeded such a defeat of neer two Hundred Horse (and these not (by his ghes) mounted in haste, but the most part Gentlemen of Family, and great resolution) seconded with 2000 Foot, as all circumstances well ballanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest Impressions in ancient time. In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kinde of improvident conscience, having brought off that with him to Camp, perchance too much from a Court, where Fortane had never deceived him: Besides,

sides, we must consider him yet but rude in the profession of Arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the Cause. At his return to *Plimouth*, a strange accident befell him, perchance not so worthy of memory for it self, as for that it seemeth to have been a kind of prelude to his finall period.

The now Lord *Goring*, a Gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his friend, sends to the Duke in all expedition an expresse messenger, with advisement to assure his own Person, by declining the ordinary Road to *London*, for that he had credible Intelligence of a plot against his life to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the Court. The Duke meeting the messenger on the way, read the Letter, and smothering it in his pocket without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forwards: His Company being about that time not above seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence, then with ordinary swords. After this, the Duke had advanced
three

three miles before he met with an old woman near a Town in the Road, who demanded whether the Duke were in the Company; and bewraying some especial occasion to be brought to him, was led to his Horse side, where she told him that in the very next Town where He was to passe, she had heard some desperate men vow his death. And thereupon would have directed him about by a surer way. This old womans casuall accesse joyn'd with that deliberate advertisement, which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the said Letter, and all the circumstances, with his Company, who were joyntly upon consent that the woman had advised him well. Notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved not to wave his way upon this reason; perhaps more generous then provident, that if, as he said, he should but once by such a diversion make his Enemy believe he were afraid of danger, he should never live without. Hereupon his young Nephew, Lord Viscount

Fielding

Fielding being then in his Company, out of a noble spirit besought him, that he would at least honour him with his Coat and blew Ribbon thorow the Town, pleading that his Uncles life, whereon lay the property of his whole Family, was of all things under heaven the most precious unto him; and undertaking so to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the Dukes manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern him, from him; and so he should be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which sweet Proposition, the Duke caught him in his armes, and kissed him; yet would not, as he said, accept of such an offer in that case, from a Nephew, whose life he tendred as much as himself; and so liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good will. After some short directions to his Company, how they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no sooner entred into the Town, but a scrambling Souldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a beg-

begging, or (perchance somewhat worse) in a drunken fashion; yet a Gentleman of his train that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving by the premisses it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his Horse, and with a violent rush severed him from the Duke, who with the rest went on quickly through the Town: neither for ought I can heare was there any further inquiry into that practice, the Duke peradventure thinking it wisdom not to reserve discontentments too deep. At his return to the Court he found no change in Fates, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many gallant Gentlemen; against which his friends did oppose in their discourses the chance of War, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time. After the complaints in Parliament, and the unfortunate issue at *Rheez*, the Dukes fame did still remain more and more in obloquie among the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes; so as he saw plainly that he
must

must abroad again to rectifie his best endeavour under the publick Service, his own reputation. Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at Sea. And in the mean while, he was not unmindfull in his civill course to cast an eye upon the ways to win unto him such as have been of principall credit in the Lower House of Parliament, applying lenitives, or subducing from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest: amidst which thoughts, he was surprized with a fatall stroke, written in the black Book of necessity.

There was a yonger brother of mean fortunes, born in the County of *Suffolk*, by name *John Felton*, by nature of a deep melancholy, silent and glomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a Souldier: and thereby raised to the place of Lieutenant to a foot-Company in the Regiment of Sir *James Ramsey*. This was the man that closely within himself had conceived the Dukes death. But what may have been the immediate
or

or greatest motive of that fellonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

It was said at first, that he had been stung with a deniall of his Captains place who dyed in *England*; whereof thus much indeed is true, That the Duke, before he would invest him in the said place, advising first (as his manner was) with his Colonell, he found him to interpose for one *Powell*, his own Lieutenant, a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and according to military custome, the place was good, that the Lieutenant of the Colonels Company might well pretend to the next vacant Captainship under the same Regiment. Which *Felton* acknowledged to be in it self very usuall and equitable, besides the speciall merit of the person. So as the aforesaid conceit of some rancour harboured upon this deniall had no true ground. There was an other imagination, that between a Knight of the same County (whom the Duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour) and the said *Felton*, there had been ancient quarrels.

rels not yet well healed, which might perhaps lye festring in his brest, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect. But that carries small probability, that *Felton* would so deface his own act, as to make the Duke no more then an oblique sacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third person. Therefore the truth is, that either to honest a deed after it was done, or to slumber his conscience in the doing, he studied other incentives, al-leadging not three hours before his execution to *Sir Richard Gresham*, two only inducements thereof. The first, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book written by one *Eggleston* a Scottish Physician, which made the Duke one of the foulest Monsters upon the earth; and indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Christian Court, and under so vertuous a King; but of any room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the least semblance of truth.

The second, was the Remonstrance it self of the Lower House of Parliament

ment against him, which perchance he thought the fairest cover, so he put in the second place. Whatsoever were the true motive, which I think none can determine but the Prince of darkness it self; he did thus prosecute the effect. In a by-Cutlers shop on Tower-hill, he bought a ten-penny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket) that he might at any moment draw forth the Blade alone with one hand, for he had maymed the other. This done, he made shift, partly, as it is said, on horse back, and partly on foot, to get to *Portsmouth*; for he was indigent and low in mony, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation. At *Portsmouth* on Saturday, being the 23. of *August* of that currant year, he pressed without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to Employment, into an inward Chamber, where the Duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with Monsieur-

de Soubes, and *Sir Thomas Fryer*. And there a little before the Dukes rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should pass through a kinde of Lobby between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, as I conceive, somewhat darker then the Chamber which he voided, while the Duke came with *Sir Thomas Fryer* close at his ear, in the very moment as the said Knight withdrew himself from the Duke, this Assasinate gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left side, leaving the knife in his body. Which the Duke himself pulling out, on a suddain effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediatly expired. Certain it is, that some good while before, *Sir Clement Throckmorton*, a Gentleman then living, of grave Judgement, had in a private conference advised him to wear a Privie-Coat, whose Counsell the Duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, That against any popular fury, a shirt of mayle would be but a silly

silly defence; and as for any single mans assault, he took himself to be in no danger. So dark is Destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident, is, I must confesse, to me beyond all wonder, as I received it from *gala* Gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the Duke well favoured: That within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removall thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the Chambers, no more then if it had lien in the Sands of *Aethiopia*; whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken and to see. But it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murtherer himself might have escaped (for who gave the blow none could affirm) if he had not lingered about the House below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed,

deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembered by a vertuous Fame, or an illustrious Infamy.

Thus died this great Peer in the 36 year of his age compleat, and three dayes over, in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependance upon him, the House and Town full of Servants and Suters, his Dutches in an upper room, scarce yet out of her bed; and the Court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the Stage of his Greatness.

I have spent some enquiry whether he had any ominous presagement before his end. Wherein though both ancient and modern Stories have been infected with much vanity; yet oftentimes things fall out of that kinde which may bear a sober construction; whereof I will glean two or three in the Dukes case.

Being to take his leave of my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, then Bishop of *London*, whom he knew well planted in the Kings unchangeable affection by his own great abilities; after courtesies
of

of course had passed between them : My Lord, sayes the Duke, I know your Lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the King our Sovereign, let me pray you to put his Majesty in minde to be good, as I no way distrust, to my poor wife and children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my Lord Bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him whether he had never any secret abodement in his mind. No (replyed the Duke) but I think some adventure may kil me as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the King was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed ; where, and after much serious and private discourse, the Duke at his Majesties departing, imbraced him in a very unusuall and passionate manner, and in like sort his friend the Earl of *Holland*, as if his soule had divined he should see them no more: which infusions towards fatall ends, had been observed by some Authors of no light authority.

On

On the very day of his death, the Countess of *Denbigh* received a Letter from him; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears: And after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yeeld no reason, but that her dearest brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoond. Her said Letter endeth thus:

I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you.

The day following, the Bishop of *Ely*, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a dolefull accident, came to visite her; but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of her self, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, *Her brother seeming to pass thorow a field with her in her Coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the Duke of Buckingham was sick.* Which naturall

naturall Impression she scarce had related unto her Gentlewoman, before the Bishop was entred into her Bed-chamber for a chosen Messenger of the Dukes death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgment, not unwillingly omitting certain prognostick Anagrams, and such strains of fancy.

He took to Wife, eight yeers and two months before his death, the Lady *Katherine Manners*, Heir generall to the Noble House of *Rutland*; who besides a solid addition to his estate, brought him three Sons and a Daughter, called the Lady *Mary*, his first born; his eldest Son died at Nurse, before his journey at *Rheez*; and his third, the Lord *Francis*, was born after his Fathers death; so as neither his first nor his last were participant of any sense of his misfortunes or felicities: His second Son, now Duke of *Buckingham*, was born to cheer him after his return from that unlucky Voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable vertues of her Person and Mind, he loved her dearly,

and well expressed his love in an act & time of no simulation towards his end, bequeathing her all his Mansion-houses during her naturall life, and a power to dispose of his whole personall Estate, together with a fourth part of his Lands in Joynture: He left his elder Brother of the same womb a Viscount, and his younger an Earl; Sir *Edward Villiers*, his half brother on the fathers side, he either preferred or removed (call it how you will) from his step-mothers eye to the Presidentship, where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality; and died with as much grief of the whole Province, as ever any Governour did (before his Religious Lady of sweet and Noble disposition) adding much to his honour. The eldest of the brethren, and Heir of the Name, was made a Baronet, but abstained from Court, enjoying perhaps the greater Greatness of self fruition.

He left his Mother a Countess by Patent, in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare since the dayes of *Queen Mary*. His Sister of *Denbigh* (that
right

right character of a good Lady) he most humbly recommended to the Queen; who after a discharge of some French in her Court that were to return, took her into three severall places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist upon every particular Branch of those private preferences, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, descending of the name of *Villiers* or *Beaumont*, within any neer degree, either matched with Peers of the Realm actually, or hopefully with Earls sons and heirs, or at least with Knights, or Doctors of Divinity, and of plentiful condition: He did not much strengthen his own subsistence in Court, but stood there on his own feet; for the truth is, the most of his Allies rather leaned upon him, then shoared him up.

His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of State, as his Secretaries; or of Office, as his Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight whom he long used to soli-

cite his Causes : He left all both in good Fortune, and, which is more, in good Fame :

Things very seldome consociated in the instruments of great Personages.



F I N I S.





Very faint, illegible text or a signature, possibly located at the bottom of the drawing area.



CAROLUS D. G. Angliæ, Scotiæ,
Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defensor

A
PANEGYRICK
TO
King CHARLS;

Being
OBSERVATIONS
Upon the *Inclination, Life,*
and *Government* of our
late SOVERAIGN.

Written in Latin By

Sir HEN. WOTTON Knight,
(Provost of *Eton Colledg*)
a little before his death.

And now Englished by a Friend
of the Authours.

LONDON,

Printed by *T.M.* for *Richard Marriot,*
in *St Dunstons Church-yard.*

1651.

F 3

1871

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TO OUR
Young CHARLES

DUKE
of CORNWALL,

EARL
of CHESTER, &c.

HENRY WOTTON
wistheth long life.



*These following Vowes and
Acclamations wherewith
Your Father (the best of
Kings) was received at
his Return from Scot-
land, I dedicate not unadvisedly to*
F 4 *Your*

*Your Highness: that when you shall be
season'd with Erudition (now your Orna-
ment from many Ancestors) you may
draw from this (whatever) small memo-
rial, a Treasure more glorious then a
triple Diadem, namely, AN HERE-
DITARY IMAGE OF VER-
TUE.*



T O






TO
THE KING,

at His RETURN from
SCOTLAND;

SIR HENRY WOTTON'S
Vows and Acclamations.

Imperiall CHARLS my King and Master;


 Custom it was anciently, among the civiller Nations, so oft as they enjoyed a just and a Gracious King, (that their mute felicity might not contract a dulnesse in their breasts) to pour forth their affections and joyes in elogies, wishes, and applauses; But chiefly then, when any nobler occasion invited the rejoycers expressions. Which sacred customs Emulation in some sort,

F 5

having

having transported me, and dispell'd the chilnesse from my brest, which the weight of age hath introduced, I shall with flagrant confidence betake my self to celebrate this Day, whereon your Majesty doth restore your Self to us, and us unto our selves. So far indeed am I from being discouraged by the weaknesse of mine own elocution, that I am even ready to esteem my self thereby the abler. For, what need is here of dressings rhetorical? Wherefore over-sollicitously ballance the weight of words? Suffice it this day simply to rejoyce. Sincerity is a plain and impolite thing, the lesse tricked, the more chearfull; and Eloquence while it adorneth, corrupteth our gladness. Nor is it my fear, that this shall seem a flatterers act, (as it were) ambitiously prostrate at Fortunes feet, which in truth were unworthy of that ingenuous modesty, derived from my *Parents*, unbecitting that blessed Rest of mind I drew from liberall Studies. Yet doth one solicitude at the very entrance, I confesse, surround me, lest (namely) even with true *praises* I offend

offend that modesty, wherewith Your Majesty useth so sweetly to season your other Vertues: for whereas you are most stout in all things else, that requires Validity of Body, or Constantness of Mind, I only doubt, lest you should bear this days Applauses and Elogies, by so much the more tenderly, by how much they are the more justly due.

We read that *Germanicus* (and yet how great a Personage) not long before the *battell* against the *Chatti*; did under the disguise of a beasts skin, (that he might not be observed) by night approach his souldiers tents; to catch up by dark what they conceived of him. *So do these commonly with most tendernesse admit their own commendations, who most deserve them.*

Whence I sufficiently foresee the necessity of assuring my accesse to your *Sacred Ears*, not by Arguments drawn from the slight Magazines of Rhetorick, but by others of a soberer sort. I shall therefore affirm it most equitable, that neither the gallant, nor the baser lives
of

of Princes be pressed down in ignoble silence. But that both good and bad be transmitted equally to the knowledge of Posterity, in a like freedom of writing, as living: And with no lesse reverence of Truth, then of Majesty. Those, least vertuous Examples failing, Vertues themselves by degrees decay: These, that evading the power of Laws, yet may be bridled through some awe of Record. This to you, I may dare to speak (my most Gracious Master) and even that I may dare, I owe to your self alone, who now have so lived 33. years, and so reigned near to nine, That you dread not Truth.

Most famous was of old, and will live for ever, that answer of *Virginius Rufus*, to *Cluvius*: You know *Virginius* (saith he) what credit is due to History: wherefore if you read any thing in my books, otherwise then you would have it, pardon me. To whom *Virginius*, Thou canst not. (*Cluvius*) be ignorant of this, That therefore I did what I have done, that it might be free for you to write what you pleased. This

was.

was indeed the confidence of a gallant, but yet of a private man.

How much more eminent may the joy be of this day, for a King returned, of whose Life and Morals we may speak both openly and safely. Yea, let me adde this with confidence, that if Nature her self (the first Architectress) had (to use an expression of *Vitruvius*) windowed your brest: if Your Majesty should admit the eyes of all men, not only within the privatest parts of your Bed-chamber, but even into the inwardest closets of your heart: no other thing at all would there appear, save the splendor of your Goodness, and an undistemper'd serenity of your Vertues. What said I? if you would admit? As if those whom the Supreme Power hath set on high, and in the light, could be hid from our eyes? or cover, as it were by a drawn cloud, the ways of their Lives and Government? Herein, no doubt, Obscurity and Solitude it self, is more veiled then Majesty. Thinks that *Abyssine* Emperour (whom men report to appear to publick view but once a year)

year) that therefore it is lesse known what he doth in secret? Know we not at this day, that *Domitian* even in his clofett Cabinet, wherein each day he shut up himself, did nothing but stick flies with a pointed bodkin? Lay *Tiberius* hid in his reffesse to the Islands of *Caprea*, when among so many wounds and tortures of his conscience (which as so many furies tormented him) many tokens of a distracted mind did daily break forth? Surely no.

Your Majesty hath taught the Princes of your own, and future times, the only and most wholsome way of self-concealing, in that you indeavour nothing to be concealed. There are certain creatures of ingratefull aspect, as *Bats* and *Owls*, condemn'd by nature to hate the light. I know also that some in power have held it among the secrets of State, and as a great mystery of craft, to be served at a distance: as if reverence did only dwell in Dens, and Caves; not in the light. Whence then these Subtilties of Government? In a word, and freely; they walked in crooked paths, because they

they knew not (the shortest way) to be good. But, your Majesty doth not shun the eys and accessse of your Subjects, delight not in covert; nor withdraw your self from your own people: you do not catch at false veneration with a rigid and clouded countenance; yea, somtime you vouchsafe to descend even to some familiarity without offence to your dignity: for thus you reason with your self in the clearnesse of your own bosom; *If it were not above our power to lie concealed, yet were it below our goodnesse to desire it:* then which nothing surely can be in effect more popular; for good Kings all good men openly revere, and even the worst do it silently: Whil'st Vertues beauty, not unlike some brightest Rayes, strikes into the most unwilling eys. Wherefore as of late, I took in hand *Tranquillus Suetonius*, (who hath laid open the very bowels of the *Cesars*) to beguile in the time of your absence with some literate diversion, the tedious length of those days, and fell by chance upon that passage, so lively describing the wail-

ing;

ings of *Augustus*, after the *Varian* defect, often crying out, *Render me, Quintilius Varus, my Legions*; my desires of Your Majesty instantly flamed out, and my wishes glowed for your Return: for it seemed then much juster for *England* to have solicited her **SISTER** with these panting suspirations, then *Augustus* the Ghost of *Quintilius*: *Restore to me, Scotland my Sister, our King*; *Restore the best of men, whom none but the wicked love not; none but the ignorant praise not: Restore both the Director and Rule it selfe of Morality, whereby we may become not the gladder only, but the better too, while at hand we may contemplate (a thing most rare) One in highest Place, not indulging to himself the least excessse.* Since therefore, such you are (O best of Kings;) suffer I humbly pray, if rather by Prayers then Arguments you choose to be inclined, That the nine Nations of different Language (for I reckon them no fewer) over which you gently reign, may glory in your being such: and may each declare it not in their native Dialects alone (which would

would not give sufficient compasse to our joys) but however, in this also more publick Tongue; That even Forraigners may know your *Britany*, which formerly bestowed upon the Christian World their first and most renowned Emperour, is not become so barren yet as not to afford, even at this day, a Type of the Highest Famed King.

Having now thus (I hope) somewhat smooth'd the way to your patience, in hearing: good it will be henceforth out of the whole state of your Life & Carriage thus far, summarily to pick up some particulars, as those do who make their choice of Flowers. For I please my self more in the choice, then in the plenty of my Matter. Although I am not ignorant neither, that in this kind of speaking, the diligence, or ambition of the Ancients was so profuse, that perhaps *Timeus* said not unwittily, That *Alexander* the *Macedonian* sooner subdued all *Asia*, then *Isocrates* did write his *Panegyrick*. Certainly there seemes then to have been too great an indulgence to Art, while the Wits of Orators were wanton in that fertile age of Eloquence: but

but it becometh me (mindfull both of my simplicity and age) to touch rather the heads of your prayſes, then to proſecute them all; that even the ſuccinctneſſe of my ſpeech, may as it were, reſemble the paſſage of my fleeting years. In the firſt place is offered the eminent Nobleneſſe of your Extraction: whereby in a long Order of antecedent Kings, your luſter is above them all, your Father himſelf not excepted. This in brief I will deduce more clearly: Your Great Great-Grand-father *Henry* the Feventh, (whether more valiant, or fortunate, I know not) being almoſt at once an Exile, and a Conqueror, united by the Marriage of *Elizabeth* of *York*, the white Roſe, and the red, the Armories of two very powerfull Families; which being in diviſion, had ſo many years polluted their own Countrey with bloud and deadly Fewds. The more bleſſed Colligation of the Kingdoms, then that of the Roſes, we owe to the Happineſſe of your Father, who even for that alone were to be remembered ever with higheſt veneration. But, in
you

you singly (most Imperiall *Charls*) is the conflux of the glory of all Nations, in all Ages, which since the *Romans* have possessed *Brittany*, either by right, or by Arms; in you, I say, alone: whom the *Cambrians* first, the *English-Saxons*, *Scots*, *Normans*, and finally the *Danes* do acknowledge with us, to be the branch of that Stock that hitherto hath worn the Crown. In this perchance (if the meannesse of the comparison be not rejected) not unlike to *Europes* famous *Ister*, which rolling along through vast Countries, is ennobled with the waters of so many famous streams. One not obscure among our Authors, hath written, that our Ancestors would not acknowledge the *Norman* Rule in *England* for legitimate (which had so weak a beginning) untill *Maud* marrying with *Henry* the First had brought into the world a child of the bloud of the ancient *Saxon* Kings: she was Sister to *David*, Nephew twice removed off King *Ethelred*, your Progenitor.

How much is there now a nobler cause for our imbracing your Majesty
with

with open arms, who are descended unto us from so plentiful a Race of Kings? since the access of the most ancient *Cambrian* Blood to the rest of your Nobility, by Queen ANNE your Mother, a Lady of a great and masculine Mind. And how much the more truly may we now repeat, that which in the former Age *Buchanan* (a Poet, next the Ancients, of most happy invention) sang to your Grandmother (I wish with happier fate!)

*From numberless Progenitors you hold
Transmitted Scepters, which they
sway'd of old.*

But all these hitherto you scarcely account your own. I passe then to such as are your own peculiar, which confer no lesse of luster, then they admit.

Three particulars we observe (O best of Kings,) which Appellation I now again willingly, and shall often use) in your Beginnings, of no small importance to your succeeding Progress; as for the most part the first favour of Principles, continues in the after-growths.

First, That you were not born to the supream hope of Sovereignty, so as
flattery

flattery (though an evill swift and watchfull) which attends the Cradles of Potent Heirs, more gently pressed on your tender years. And the whiles your native goodnesse drank in with a draught more uncompounded the generous liquour of Integrity; for no doubt, how the earliest dispositions of private persons (much more of Princes) be at first formed, and as it were instilled, that I may so speak, is of highest Importance to the Commonwealth; whereof they are to become afterwards not only the Props, but also the Precedents.

Next, That you succeeded a Brother of no small Naturall Endowments, which begat thence forward in your Parents a more industrious and closer sedulity (for it surpassed care) for the accomplishment of their only Son: Nay, your own spirits daily grew the more intent, when now the weight of so vast an expectation was lodged on your self alone. Then were advanced to you such who faithfully instructed in learning that youth of yours, as yet unapt for Businesse. Then such were
sent

sent for, who, as your strength increased, dressed you in the exercises of the Horse; which I call to mind with how gracefull a dexterity you managed: untill afterwards at a solemn Tilting, I became uncertain whether you strook into the beholders more Joy or Apprehension.

In the third place, It comes to mind, that for some time, while Nature was as it were in struggling, you were somewhat weak of limbs, and far below that vigour, which now with gladnesse we admire: which I may judge to have befallen by the secret Counsell of Providence, thereby at that time to render more intense the care of furnishing your mind, as became the Heir then secretly designed of a King; whom Malignants themselves deny not to have been the wisest of all Princes from many Ages past. From your first Essaies I shall hasten to your stronger times, not un-mindfull of my promised businesse.

After your forraign Travels, obnoxious to many hazards, you came unto the Crown, whence it appeared, how much your self then dared to adventure,

venture, when the while at home each one was trembling for your sake. But the Favour of Heaven brought you back safely to us; not so much as coloured with out-landish Dye; not unlike another *Ulysses*, who accounted it sufficient (even by *Homers* witness) To have known the *Morals* of Men and Cities:

When you had assum'd the Crown, before all other things, there was resplendent in you a Religious mind: the Support of Kingdoms: the Joy of good men. The Chappell Royall was never more in order. The number of eminent Divines daily increased. Sermons in no age more frequented, In none more learned; And the example of the Prince more effectually than the Sermons. No execrations rashly proceeded from your mouth. Your ears abhorring, not only any wanton, but even the least sordid word: which perchance under *Edward* the 4th, while toyish Loves did reign, passed for Courtly eloquence; Neither stopped this piety within the Walls of Court, but was diffused also through the Kingdom.

The

The Church Revenues were not touched ; Temples here and there new founded ; Dilapidations repaired ; And, (which Posterity will chiefly speak of) the Riches of your Kingdom, excited by your most religious exhortation, for restauration of the Church consecrated to the Apostle of the Nations, (out of question the amplest and equally ancient of the Christian world) which had sustained the injuries of time. Where your Majesties care was greatly conspicuous in demolishing those private dwellings which disgraced the aspect of so goodly a Fabrick : And not less in imposing the managment of that whole businesse upon that most vigilant Prelate, who for his singular fidelity and judgement, hath lately merited far higher place.

Now (next to God) how tender was your affection to your People? When the Sicknesse raged, by your Command recourse was had to publick Fastings. When we were pressed with greater fear then evill of Famine, the Horders of Provisions were constrained to open their Garners, and the
price

prices of grain abated. Among these most pious cares, I cannot omit one peculiar Elogie, proper to your own providence, whereof I must repeat the Originall a little higher.

There were hatched abroad some years agoe, or perhaps raked up out of Antiquity, certain Controversies about high^r points of the Creed, which having likewise flown over to us, (as flames of Wit are easily diffused) lest hereabout also both Pulpits and Pens might run to heat and publick disturbance; Your Majesty with most laudable temper by Proclamation suppressed on both sides all manner of debates. Others may think what pleaseth them; In my opinion (if I may have pardon for the phrase) *The Itch of disputing will prove the Scab of Churches.* I shall relate what I have chanced more then once to observe. Two (namely) arguing about some subject so eagerly, till either of them transported by heat of contention, from one thing to another, they both at length had lost first their Charity, and then also the Truth. Whither would

G

rest-

restlesse subtilty proceed, if it were not bounded? there is of captiousness no end: but seasonable provision was made against it.

To these praises of Piety, I will add a very great evidence of Gratitude: and almost a greater of Constancy, towards *George Villiers Duke of Buckingham*: him, when amidst the dangers of the *Spanish* Journey, he had been the nearest of your Attendants, your Majesty afterwards, as in requitall, bore safely with you at home, through all the rocks of either Fortune, till an unforeseen day was his conclusion.

We observed also no ordinary beams of your Favour to be cast upon another of your trusty Associates in the same Journey, a Person of approved Judgment. Neither do I recount these only among the arguments of an heart mindfull of faithfull offices (which indeed is Kingly) but likewise of singular obsequiousnesse towards your Father, even when deceased; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* had been for many years a Favourite: as if Your Majesty had reputed your self as much
the

the Heir of his Affections, as you were of his Kingdoms; An Example rare among the Memorials of all Ages. This Duke was indeed amiable in many respects, which seldom are concurrent. Each limb of his body almost very exactly compos'd: yet doubtfull it was, whether his shape, or gracefulness excelled: undubitably of an undaunted spirit; equally intent upon his cares, whether impos'd, or assumed: There was present with him in the midst of so many distractions an incredible temper and equability. I will not deny his appetite of glory, which generous minds do ever latest part from; but, above all, the most pleasing was, That he had no austerity of behaviour, nothing outwardly tumorous: but was obvious, affable, and almost to all men free and open: as if in so high a felicity, he had scarce been sensible of his happiness: for which alone he may seem to have deserved a more gentle end.

Hence forward there began to be powerfull, and so daily holds on in your Majesties most important cares, a person unquestionably of an habituall moderate

derate life, and sober counsell: and the oftner tried, the more acceptable; not sway'd to vanity, born to a solid prudence, whom to name might be injurious: for he that is described ingenuously, may be known without a name.

But the highest Empire over your affections, is deservedly challenged alone by the most worthy Consort of your Royal Bed, Her self likewise proceeding from a long descent of Kings But sufficient it is to know she is *THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY THE GREAT, AND THE SISTER OF LEWIS THE JUST*; Whom, for dearest pledges already of either Sex; for the comeliness of chastest graces, and (which chiefly blesteth the nuptial bed) For congruity of dispositions, Your Majesty so religiously and so particularly doth love, that justly you appeare to have pass'd from the Title of the best Patron to that of the best Husband.

To Chastity, you have added Temperance, her nearest Companion: which in miserable and impotent men,
who

who would not pass by with silence? but these in a King! in one so young! of such vigourous age! and in such a promptness of satisfying all desires, I know not whether we should more commend or admire them. Now, after these Elogies (which in part beget affection, in part also astonishment) to doubt once of the justness of your times, were most unjust. Yet shall I not think amiss to repeat a little at large a thing of noble example, in a person of obscure condition. There fell out at *London*, I know not what tumult, for one rescued from the Serjeants hands, whom for debt they were leading to prison. Amidst those confusions, one or other (as oft it chances) died of sudain hurts; whereupon one *John Stamford*, a man of a ready hand (who had fattally run into the broyle) was apprehended as guilty of murther; He wanted not intercessors of great power about your Majesty; and there seemed an assured hope of obtaining his pardon (as the vulgar beleevd) because he had attended on the Duke of *Buckingham* in his

Chamber, and among the followers of his own condition, had been for some time very acceptable to his Lord, for his singular ability of body, and skill in wrestling, whereof the remembrance as then was fresh, which perchance had made the poor man the more audacious. But neither the intercessions of the living, nor the mans own well known valour, nor finally the remembrance of such a Favorite but lately, whom he had served, could prevaile with Your Majesty above Justice, but that (which is glorious to speake) he concluded his life at the Gallows. Fresher is the remembrance of that Noblemans Death, a Baron of very ancient lineage, who suffred publicly for a fact, unworthy of his Birth. But, if a witty Authors old observation may yet have place, *that some examples are nobler, others greater*, I should verily beleieve the Barons Nobler, but *Stamfords* Greater.

But whither doth this pleasant meditation transport me, while I revolve these things? At Common Law your Majesty hath in the Courts of strict Justice,

stice, able Judges, which pronounce severely : you have also a most learned Chancellour for right and equity (not inferior to the ancient Pretors) who, for the peoples relief, qualifieth that severity ; But these are in distinct Courts placed apart. And if one should ask by chance, Why not together, since that might seem the more dispatching way ? I will deliver my opinion : It was the Wish of our Ancestors (out of a most grave providence) that Justice and Lenity, which have their seat dis-joynd in the inferiour Magistrate, might be consociated in the only brest of the Sovereign. And truly so it is ; for your Majesty being composed as it were, according to the wishes of those our Fore-Fathers, hath so tempered these together, that neither the evill presume, nor the good repine. Hitherto I would be understood to have only spoken of the restraint of common vices, which swarm in all parts of the world ; for of more hainous transgressions among our selves (by Gods goodnesse) we have not a word, no not so much as a dream : we suffer under an

excellent ignorance: we know not what a Rebell is; what a plotter against the Common-weal: nor what that is, which Gramarians call *Treason*: the names themselves are antiquated with the things: and (in truth) no marvell; for, what wretch (unlesse he were of all mortall men the most stupid and wicked, and as foolish as malicious) would violate the quiet of so just and pious a Moderator.

Now as you maintain your Justice, (which I may call the health of your Kingdom) in a most even ballance, that is neither too much stretching, nor slackning the Reins; so neither do you omit what concerneth security; The like else would befall Empires that happens to our bodies, which subsist dangerously, if nothing but meer health sustain them. Wherefore after a war with two mighty Kings together, with various event (as it chances in humane affairs) and quieted by new Confederations on either side; your principall care at home, was to repair the Maritime strength, as became the Defender of Insular Kingdoms. Hence was the
Navy

Navy Royal yearly more increased and furnished; and more commodious Harbours chosen for the Ships, and of readier issue upon sudden occasion; Your Majesty not only commanding, but with your own eys surveying the places, as if in a matter of that moment you might scarce trust another mans: Then a more exact view of Arms then formerly had been used, and generally the *Militia* at set times much better trained.

Amidst these things it were unhand-
som to passe by with silence, that
which the prudent of the time have
noted; namely, that Your Majesty is
more frequent at the Counsels of State
(as we call them) then any of our for-
mer Kings, except happily we cast
back our eys upon *Edward* the Sixth,
whom they say, even in his childhood,
to have been seldom absent.

In that Assembly of your Councell,
the chief Prelats adde reverence, the
Nobles chosen out of both Kingdoms,
dignity.

Some are there, whom forraign ex-
perience, some whom the knowledg

of our Laws adorns : and the learned and faithfull Sagacity of your Secretaries watcheth over all accidents ; but above these, the presence it self of the Sovereign breathes alwaies, I know not what of happiness. Your Presence only, have I said ? That is little ; yea of those who participate in your Counsels, have I many times heard (not uninquisitive I acknowledg, for which pardon me, I beseech you) how attentively (as often as you are pleased to be present) you revolve things propounded ; how patiently you hear, with how sharp judgment you ponder the particulars ; how stiff you are (for I wil use no milder word) in good resolutions, and how stout in great.

Finally, in secret affairs, what a close secrecy you command, and how severely you exact an account therof ; in this also, your own example leading your Commandement. For besides other, there are two things which Your Majesty hath most blessedly bound together ; namely, *There was never Prince since the Constitution of Empires, a safer preserver of a secret, and yet*

yet none whose secrecie and silence we less may fear; which we read anciently noted of that excellent man *Julius Agricola*, who was the first Roman that invaded the skirts of your *Caledonia*: for Your Majesty doth not nourish secretly in your bosom fierce and crafty thoughts, nor cover the embers of offence til they breake forth into heat; but out of a High and most Noble Candor, if any chance to be conceived, Your Majestie vents them, and (as I may say) exhales them. Truly I confess; I do not more willingly insist in the reverence of any of your Vertues, then in this very attribute of your heroi-call ingenuity: for as the supreme Character of the MOST HIGH is Verity: so what can more become or more magnificently deck his REPRESENTANTS on earth, then Veracity it selfe?

Hitherto we have observed your obsequiousness towards your Parents, constancy towards your Friends, fidelity towards your Consort, and towards cherishing of the Commonwealth, not only the affection of a
King

King, but of a Father. Neither amidst these (as the condition of the times, and the perplexed state of things would bear) did you neglect the offices of an excellent Brother towards your only Sister, whom I have always thought the only Person of her Sex, *greater then all troubles*, and even by her obscurity the more resplendent: indeed, placed *within the chances* of Fortune, but *out of her commands*: Whom how much Your Majesty loves, nay, how much you esteem, did appear by a late Ambassage, when in the depth of her Widow mournings, your Majesty, to carry her consolations, sent the chief of your Nobility, and him a Personage of most ancient vertue and behaviour; that to a most affectionate Legation, some addition might be made of Dignity, from the choice it self of the Ambassador. *This of Consolation.*

Concerning her Support: did not Your Majesty give leave to a Marquess of the chief Nobility in *Scotland*, though tied here to your Person by near and assiduous Attendance, to exercise his valour abroad? through intricacies most studied, in such a stop of passages; through

through hazards by Sea and Land; through Places and Towns beset with Plague and Famin: where it was almost easier to conquer, then to get entrance, and harder to suffer, then to act. If after this, Successe was wanting, yet was not the generous affection of a King; not the valour of his Subjects, not expences of divers kinds; not Legations (the while) upon Legations, to appease (if it were possible) by equall conditions, and by friendly Treaty, the frenzie of the time: for the rest, we must repose our selves in *Solon's* advice, *Let no man glory before his End.*

Now amongst so many cares (wherewith even the best of Kings are chiefly opprest) it will not be unpleasant to enquire a little, how elegantly Your Majesty doth dispose your vacant hours.

You delight in the use of the great Horse, whom already dressed, no man doth more skilfully manage; or better break, if rough and furious: Inso much as I doubt whether it were more aptly or deservedly done of him who hath lately erected an *Equestrian Statue* to
Your

Your Majesty of solid brasse, the lively work of *Lisierius*.

To this I must adde Musick, both instrumentall and vocall, which under you grows every day more harmonious and accurate, as being fitted to the judgment of your ear. This (lest it should seem too tender a delight) you temper as it were with hunting. In which Image of War you do so exercise your vigorous Spirits, that it is hard to say whether you love the pleasure more, or the labour; or whether you had rather with the killing, or the long standing of the Game.

But the most splendid of all your entertainments, is your love of excellent Artificers, and Works: wherewith in either Art both of Picture and Sculpture you have so adorned your Palaces, that *Italy* (the greatest Mother of elegant Arts) or at least (next the *Grecians*) the principall Nursery may seem by your magnificence to be translated into *England*.

What can be more delightfull then those sights? nay I am ready to ask, what more learned then to behold
the

the tonguelesse eloquence of lights and shadows, and the silent poesie of lines, and (as it were) living Marbles? Here would the spectator swear the limbs and muscles design'd by *Tintoret* to move; there the birds of *Bassano* to chirp, the oxen bellow, and the sheep to bleat: Here the faces of *Rafael* to breath, and those of *Titian* even to speak: there a man would commend in *Correggio* delicatnesse, in *Parmesano* concinnity. Neither do the *Belgians* want their praise; who if they paint Land-skips, all kind of vegetables seem in their verdure; the flowers do smile, the hills are raised, the vallies in depression: In your Statuary works the like learned variety; of which some glory in a kind of vivacity, some in tendernesse of parts. But those are the entertainment of your eye. Now to recreate your mind somtimes, a Book of choifest subject: but oftneest, Men you read, knowing full well how much it doth import a Prince to understand the conditions of his people. There are times also when you refresh your thoughts in the rehearfall of some
ancient

ancient Epigrams, with no lesse accutenesse then they were composed.

Thus have I cursorily run over your serious times, and your remissions: but the very pleasure I have taken in passing through these, though but very lightly, doth (I know not how) infuse into my pen now in motion, a new spirit, to represent (with Your Majesties leave) though it bee but to my self, your true pourtraiture in little, and (as it were) in one short view together, which I thus conceive in my fancie.

I may say your stature is next a just proportion; your body erect and active; your colour or complexion hath generally drawn more from the white Rose of *Yorke*, then the red of *Lancaster*; your haire neerer brown then yellow; your brow proclamech much fidelity; a certain verecundious generosity graceth your eyes, not such as we read of *Sylla*, but of *Pompey*; in your gestures nothing of affectation; in your whole aspect no swelling, nothing boysterous, but an alluring and well becoming suavity: your alacrity and vigour the celerity of your motions discovers

discovers : otherwise your affections are temperate, and demeanour well settled ; most firm to your purposes and promises. Loving Truth, hating Vice ; Just, Constant, Couragious, and not simply so, but knowingly Good.

Such you are ; and being such ; with what applause shall wee receive you ! Me thinks I see, when sometimes I compare together horrid and quiet Times, as often as *Richard* the Third return'd, perchance from his *Yorke*, or further off, to *London*, and assembled his Peeres about him ; how the heads of Noblemen did hang ! how pale their cheeks ! what solicitous suspicions and murmurs they conferred together ; as if suddenly some dismall Comet or inauspicious Starre had risen above the Horison ! But contrarywise, the return of a just, and a good Prince, is in truth nothing else but the very approach of the Sun, when with his vernal beams hee doth expell the deformed Winter, and with a gentle heat doth comfort and exhilarate all things about us.

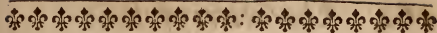
Live therefore, O King, to all that
are

are good, most gratefull. But in what wishes shall I end? After *Trajan's* times there was among the ancients (with whose example smitten, I have too boldly undertaken this smal Labour) under every renowned Emperour a form of Acclamation in this kind, *Long maist thou live Antoninus; Long maist thou reign Theodosius; happier then Augustus; better then Trajan:* but let this be the concluding Character of Your Majesties time; *That the things we can wish, are fewer then those we praise.*

Wherefore when I have out of an ardent zeale only wished this, that CHARLES our excellent King and Master may reign and live like himself alone, and long:

Be this the Conclusion,

*In what transcendent happiness were we,
If know we would how fortunate we bee.*



A CONCEPT

Of some

OBSERVATIONS

INTENDED

*Upon Things most Remarkable in the
Civil History of this Kingdom ;
And likewise in the State
of the Church,*

*From the NORMAN Invasion, till the
Twelfth yeer of our vertuous*

SOVERAIGN,

CHARLES

The FIRST,

Whom God have in his precious Custody.

Of WILLIAM the First.



William the first was a
Child of Fortune from
his Cradle. We do Com-
monly and justly stile
Him *The Conqueror* :
For he made a general Conquest of the
whole

whole Kingdome and People either by Composition or Armes. And he suppressed in great part the former Customs and Laws; and introduced new Behaviours and Habits, which under shew of Civilitie, were in effect but Rudiments of Subjection. Lastly, he was near the Imposing, and (as I may terme it) the Naturallizing here of his own *Language*: At least, he both made it and left it Currant in all Courts of *Plea*; wherof is yet remayning no small Impression.

Besides his Atchievements by Force, I note a great Secret of State silently wrapped in his high Tenures of Knight Service. For, those drawing as well Marriage as Wardship, gave him both power and occasion to Conjugate at pleasure the *Norman* and the *Saxon* Houses, which by degrees might prove a second Conquest of Affections, harder then the first.

Rarely had been seen for such a Prize an evener Tryall by Battaile then that at *Hastings*: Both Commanders well acquainted before with Adventures and Perill: Both animated and
edged

edged with Victories. In their Numbers (through confused Report) I can collect no enormous disparitie. In their Persons equally valiant. And for any Right or merit in the Cause, no difference but this: That either the One must keep a Kingdom ill gotten, Or the Other get it as ill.

What were the maine Errors, and what principally gave the Day, so long after is hard to affirm. Well we may conclude, that on either side the Fight was constant and fierce: And surely undeterminable without the death, at least, of one of the Chiefs. For the *English* would not run away, And the *Normans* could not.

After this Success, His not Marching immediatly to the Head-Citie, when Terror would have swept the ground before him: but Casting about (for so the most have delivered) more like a Progress then a Pursuit, as if one single Battail had given him leave to play with his Fortune, may seem strange, according to the Maximes of War at this Day: But, let all Discourse cease. States have their Conversions and Pe-
riods

riods as well as Naturall Bodies, And we were come to our *Tropique*.

In his farther Proceedings I note Him somtimes most helped, And another while most hindred by the Clergy, then of mighty perswasion with the Temporall Lords and People: which taught him afterwards a lesson when he was fast in the Throne, how to Rivet his own Greatness, by Changing the Natives into *Normans* or other Aliens of his proper choice in the Highest Ecclesiasticall Dignities.

Then was *Stigand* the Metropolitan, in a Synod formally & fairly Deposed, being too stiffe for the times: Which was indeed the wringing Point, though other Objections made more noise.

He was Crowned on *Christmas* Day, in the year of our Saviour 1066. At which Time He would faine have Compounded a Civil Title of I know not what Alliance or Adoption, or rather Donation from *Edward* the Confessor: As if Hereditarie Kingdoms did pass like New-years Guifts: The truth is, He was the Heir of his Sword. Yet from those Pretences howsoever, there

there sprang this good, That he was thereby in a sort ingaged to Cast his Government into a middle or mixed nature, as it were between a Lawful Successor and an Invader; though generally (as all new Empires do favour much of their Beginings) it had more of the Violent then of the Legall.

One of the first Things in his Intent, but in effect one of the last, was the perfecting of that which we call the *Winchester* Book: being a more particular Inquisition then had been before, of every Hide of Land within the precincts of his Conquest, and how they were holden: whenceforth we may account a full Resettlement of Lordship and Propriety through the Realm. *Quære* (for I finde it obscure) whether Possessions for the most part, had not remained all the while before, in a kind of Martial Disposure, or perchance little better.

We have at this day more knowledge of whom he doubted, then of whom he trusted, (which I believe were very few.) Certainly, his Reign must needs be full of strong Apprehensions; And
his

his Nature was prone enough to entertain them, as may well appear by the Event, in two Personages of all other the likeliest to sit fast about him; namely, *Fitz Aubert*, alias, *Fitz Osbern*, (for he is diversly termed) and *Odo*, one of his own brothers by the same womb. These two had each of them Contributed towards his Enterprize about forty Ships a piece, and were the first Foundation of his Fortunes, both in Strength, and in Example. But what became of Them? *Mary*, after they had been dignified here with Earldoms, the one of *Hereford*, the other of *Kent*; *Fitz Osbern* (as some report) was Executed under him: Or (as the most) was discarded into a Forraign Service, for a pretty shadow of Exilement. And *Odo* his Brother was a Prisoner even at the time of his own death: So heavy with some High Mindes is an over-weight of Obligation: Or otherwise, Great Deservers do perchance grow intolerable Presumers. Or lastly, Those that help to Raise, stand ever in some hazard to be thought likewise the fittest to Depresse.

I have been somtimes tempted to wonder, how among these Jealousies of State and Court, *Edgar Atheling* could subsist, being then the Apparant and Indubiate Heir of the *Saxon* Line: But he had tried and found Him a Prince of limber vertues: So as though he might peradventure have some Place in his Caution, yet he reckoned Him beneath his Fear.

He was contemporall with three Popes, *Victor*, and *Alexander* the Second of that Name, and *Hildebrand*, alias, *Gregory* the Seventh. *Victor* took the first hold of him, by Ratifying his Nuptiall Contract within the Degrees forbidden (which is none of the least Arts in the *Roman* Hierarchy, for the chaining of Princes and their Issue to a perpetual Dependance.) *Alexander* drave it somewhat further, By lending his Banner to this Invasion: As they have been always frank of their Blessings to Countenance any Great Action: and then (according as it should prosper) to Tissue upon it some Pre^{sen}tence or other. As, here first of all came in a Challenge of Homage, forsooth,

H by

by Promise: which though the Conquerour ever eagerly disavowed, Yet, I know not how, by the cunning Incroachments of *Hildebrand* (that famous Intruder) who succeeded, He did abase and avale the Sovereignty into more Servitude towards that See (as our Authours charge his Time) then had been since the Name of a State or a Church among us.

Now for the Constitution and Character of his Person and Mind: He was not of any delicate Contexture: His Limbs rather sturdy then dainty: Sublime and almost Tumorous in His Looks and Gestures: yea, even in His Oaths; for they say, He used to swear *By the Resurrection of the Son of God*. By nature far from Profusion, and yet a greater Sparer then a Saver; For though he had such means to accumulate, yet His Forts, Castles, and Towers which he built, and His Garrisons which he maintained, and his Feastings (wherein he was only Sumptuous) could not but soak His Exchequer. Besides, the multiplicity of Rewards which hang upon such Acquests;

Acquests; And likewise certain secret waste Pipes of *Espials* through the Realm, no lesse Chargeable, then Necessary for New Beginners. But above all, I must note the Popes Legats and Dreyners, which began here to be frequent in His Time; and are no where cheap.

One strange and excellent Fame doth follow Him: That the Land had never been before so free from Robberies and Depredations, as through His Reign; scarce Credible in such a Broken and Ruffling Time, if it were not so constantly delivered. But, it should seem, That to ingratiate himselfe with the Vulgar (with whom there is nothing more popular then Security) He made it a Master-Piece of his Regiment. And perchance Action had pretty well evacuated the idle People; which are the Stock of Rapine.

His Wife, the Lady *Magdalena*; brought him four Sons, and six Daughters; And (besides her naturall Fertility) we may almost account her pregnant of a Conquest: For, her Father Earl *Baldwin* of *Flanders* had

then the *French* King in Tutelage : So as (no doubt) by her Mediation he drew a great Concurrence from that Kingdom, and the adjacent Provinces. For these Reasons He loved Her well : And I find his life little tainted with extravagant Lust ; for, his pleasures were more of the Field, then of the Chamber. Yet, he had one Illegitimate Child (to keep it in fashion) namely, *Peverel*, Lord of *Nottingham* and *Derby*.

He left the Succession to his second Son, not because he bare his Name (though that perhaps might have been some Motive): nor, because he thought him the best timbred to support it. But *Robert* his eldest, having openly Rebelled against him ; and having (as they write) at a casuall Incounter given him his Life (which was too great a Guilt to be either forgotten or acknowledged) he had reason to prefer the more obsequious Child. And I think we shal need to seek no further.

As for *Henry* his third Son, albeit he was born after his Father was a King ; and the two former were but the

the Issue of a Duke of *Normandy*; so as by some ancient Examples (if Examples could carry Diadems) he might, and perchance did expect the Crown; yet, He left Him (by our best Relations) but a bare Legacy of five thousand pounds. Note the sober measure of that Age, when it was a Kings younger Sons Portion, which is now scant an Aldermans: So much is either Wealth increased, or Moderation decayed.

But let me Conclude my Notes upon the Heroicall Champion. He died not in his Acquisitive, but in his Native Soil: Nature her self as it were claiming a finall Interest in his body, when Fortune had done with Him. But one thing fell out to disquiet his Obsequies, That the Place where he should be laid, was put in Suit, as having formerly in the Time of his Power been wrested from the true Owner; which a while suspended his Interrment, and became a Declamatory Theam among the Religious Men of that Age; That so Great A Conquerour of Forraign Lands should at length

want Earth at Home to cover Him. But it was the last of his worldly Felicities, that for the better Establishment of His Heir, he survived his own Victory twenty Years, eight Months, and sixteen days. For, *Tempus concoquit omnia.*

The



THE ELECTION
OF
The NEW DUKE
OF
VENICE,

After the death of
GIOVANNI BEMBO.

ON Friday, being the 16.
of this year 1618. about
an hour before sunset-
ting. *Giovanny Bembo*
the 91. Duke of *Venice*,
ended his days in the 75. year of his
Age: His disease was a Feaver occa-
sioned by some obstruction in his reins

that stopped the course of his water : Whether the Physicians did hasten his end, by taking from him more blood than his years could spare, is now too late a question. His name is one of the Ancientest among them. His Father was a Gentleman, almost of the lowest poverty, til he matched with a wealthy Citizens daughter; who afterwards proved the heir of her Father, leaving issue male this Duke *Giovanni* and *Philippo* his brother : *Philippo* (who only was married, being not the Custom of *Venice* for more brothers then one to take wife) dyed some few months before the Duke, in greater reputation then degree : For their Laws do suppress the brothers of their Dukes : The Duke himself did arise by Employments at sea ; His first Action of note was in the Battaile of *Lepanto* ; where besides some wounds that he received for his own share, the success of that great day, in such trepidation of the State made every man meritorious. He was lastly (to omit his middle steps) while the Republick stood under Excommunication by this Pope (the

(the King of *Spain* likewise then arming) made Generall of their Maritime forces. This is the solemnest Title they can confer under the Princedom, being indeed a kind of Dictatorship: to which they have no Charge equivalent on the Land, having been content (as it seems) in honour of their Situation, to give the Prerogative of trust to that Element: To the Princedom he was chosen, being none of the Competitors then in voice. Who unable to make themselves, and unwilling to make their Concurrents, (as the fashion is) agreed in a Third: He held the Place two years, three months, and twelve daies with generall good liking; though indeed, his praises were rather Moral then Intellectual, as more Consisting in goodness of disposition, then any other eminent Abilitie. For he was neither eloquent, profound, nor learned, onely notable in his splendor and œconomicall magnificence, beyond ordinarie example, and perchance in an nother nature beyond Permission: For these Popularities among them, are somewhat hazardous. To Ambaf-

favours he gave small satisfaction, save with his eies, which were very gracious and kind. In his Countenance otherwise, there was an invincible weakness, alwaies blushing while he spake, and glad when he had done. Wherby his Answers were the more scant and meager. But this did imitate Wisdom: For a Duke of *Venice* that opens himself much wil be chidden. To conclude, he was in his civil course a good Patriot, and in his naturall a good man. They that are willing to censure him further, thinke his whole composition fitter for the quality of the State, then the Times. Now being thus passed away, the first publick Care was to order his Funeral; til when the Custome doth not suffer that a new can be chosen. This was done the Thursday following with all due solemnity; & in the mean time was made five Correctors and three Inquisitors. The Correctors are to consider what Lawes be fit to be added or amended touching the future Election, or in the form of the Dukes Oath, which
 * *La Promis-* they gently call his * *Pro-*
ssione Ducale. *mise*; The Inquisitors are
 upon

upon Complaint (and not otherwise) against the deceased Prince, especially in matter of Extortion, to enquire of the truth, and accordingly to punish his Heirs. Which office doth continue in Authority the term of a year. The Correctors at this time presented four new Laws.

1. *That the Brothers and Children of the Prince shall take place in Publick Processions, after the Principall Magistrates, namely, next to the Censors.*
2. *That immediately after the choice of any new Duke, in the next Grand Councill, shall be openly rehearsed all former Decrees against Defrauders of the Publick Chests. This they call in their Dialect Intaccamento di Casse, as unpardonable here as Treason.*

The other two merit no Memory, being only about little increase of Provision for the Dukes Attendants, and some Inlargement of time for the Correctors office, which heretofore did determine as soon as the Election began.

These new Orders thus made, and
appro-

approved by the Grand Councell (from whence all Authority floweth) they proceeded on *Friday* morning to the Election. About which time were discovered four Competitors, *Antonio Priuli*, *Gieconimo Giustiniano*, *Augustino Nani*, and *Nicolo Donato*. The three first all *Procuratori di St. Marco*; Who are in number IX, in degree the second Personages of the State, and commonly the Seminarie of their Princes; though not of necessity, as well appeareth by the fourth Concurrent, who was yet no more then a Senatour of the *Wide Sleeve*; a Vesture of eminent Gravity and Place in their Councils. Of these *Priuli* and *Giustiniano* having before been chosen Commissioners in the Businesse of the *Uscocchi*, were by a new Warning and Penalty in the Senate on *Friday* before (the Prince then languishing) commanded to be gone. But this did not prejudice their Hopes. For I have noted one singular property in the Composition of this State. That no mans fortunes without other Demerits are hindred by their Absence. Now

Now it shall be fit to set down, with what Foundations, and with what Oppositions, they entred the List. *Priuli* had passed through all the principall Charges of the State in the civill way; And had lastly in the Military been *Generalissimo* (till sicknesse sent him home) in the *Austrian* Action. His own Family numerous; His Alliance strong; Himselfe a man of moderate nature, of pleasant and popular Conversation, rather free then sower and reserved; of good extemporall judgment and discourse, for the satisfying of publick Ministers, which is the Dukes proper part. Lastly, Threescore and ten years old (for that must not be forgotten among his helps.) But he suffered two Objections, though both rather within his Fortune, then his Nature. The one that he was the Father of a Cardinall, which might distract his Affection between the State and the Church. The other, that he was poor, and somewhat behind-hand. Of which Objection on the other side, his Favourers made up part of his merit, as having indebted himself in the publick Service.

Giustiniano was a Gentleman, that had likewise passed through the best places at home, of excellent Gravity and Judgment, and of most unquestionable Integrity, not violent, not avaritious, singularly beloved of the people; to whose satisfaction in a time of this nature, it was perhaps meet to yield somewhat. He was besides one year elder then *Prinli*; but his old age did not help him so much as he was hindred by the Antiquity of his Name. For the Princedom having been for the two last Successions in the old Family, it was likely the new would now strive to bring it back again among their own Bloud.

Nani had carried himself meritoriously in forraign Employments, particularly against this Pope, in the time of the Interdict; which held up his Credit among the good Patriots. And having been near the Supream Place at the last Election, he re-entred now with the more hope. Besides, being by nature stiffe and sensative, his cunning friends did mould that to his advantage; the time seeming to need such
a man.

a man. But two wild rumours did much oppresse him. The one with the better sort, that he had purchased by close gifts certain of the poor Gentlemens Favours. The other with the people, that he had of late been Authour of some hard Decrees; his age besides was but 63. years, and his complexion durable.

Donato (surnamed *Testolina* for the littleness of his head) had been long time conversant in the gravest Consultations, was reputed one of the wealthiest Gentlemen of the whole City, of good naturall capacity, and above the rest adorned with Erudition. Besides, he had the Commendation of fourscore years, and of a weak body. But it was thought somewhat presumptuous, that he should contend with persons of higher Rank: whereupon some conceived his end, only to gain a friend by his voices, and to make himself Procuratour in the room of him that should be Prince. With these hopes, and with these objections, they entred the Field, after they had laboured their friends one whole Week, namely,

namely, from the *Friday* night of the Dukes death, to the *Friday* morning following, and perhaps a good while before : within which time, at the place of their *Broglia* (as they term it) where the Concurrents sue for voices. *Nani* the youngest of the four, was noted by some vacant searching wits, to tread softly, to walk stoopingly, and to raise himself from Benches where he sat with laborious and painfull gesture, as Arguments of no lasting man. Such a counterfeiting thing somtimes is Ambition. To come now to the Election.

The Election of the Duke of *Venice* is one of the most intricate and curious Forms in the World ; consisting of ten severall precedent Ballotations. Whereupon occurreth a pretty Question, What need there was of such a deal of solicitude in choosing a Prince of such limited Authority ? And it is the stranger, for having been long in use, the ancient Forms be commonly the most simple. To which doubt, this answer may serve the turn, that it was (as the tradition runneth) a Monks Invention of the *Benedictin* Order. And in truth, the

the whole mysterious frame therein, doth much favour of the Cloyster. For first, a Boy must be snatched up below, and this Child must draw the Bals, and not themselves, as in all other Elections: then is it strangely intermingled, half with Chance, and half with Choice. So as Fortune, as well as Judgment or Affection hath her part in it, and perhaps the greater. One point (as now and then happeneth, even in the most curious webs of this nature) seemeth somewhat unequall. Namely, that the 41. (who are the last immediate Electours of the Duke) must be all of severall Families, and of them twenty five at least concur to his Nomination. For hereby the old names (which are but twenty four) cannot make a Duke without help from some one of the new. And that is not easily gotten, through emulation between them, as strong perhaps as any publick respect. So as the two last Dukes, *Memo* and *Bembo*, both of the ancient Bloud, may upon the whole matter be accounted Irregularitives of Fortune, who hath likewise her *Anomola*. Now to set down the Variations
of

of Chance in every step of these Scrutinies were tedious. Sure it is, that at the inclosing of the 41. (for those must be shut up like our Jurours of Inquest, but that they are better fed) *Donato* had fifteen sure Bals, *Nani* twelve, *Giustiniano* ten, and *Priuli* but four. So as no one of them had voices enough to exclude the other three from making a Duke: for to this Privative Power are required seventeen Bals at least. Nor any two of them, except *Donato* and *Nani* had reciprocally an inclusive Power to advance each other by joyning: for though *Donato* might have made *Giustiniano*, yet he could not be made by him, because their united strength was but precisely twenty five, which number indeed would have served the turn, but that one of them on *Donato's* part (himself being of the number) must be abated. For contrary to the form of Election in the Empire, no man here can bestow his Ball upon his own person. So as upon the matter doth arise a kind of Riddle, That *Donato* was the weaker by his presence.

Thus

Thus they stood in their severall Strengths, when they were shut up with a Guard about the Palace: where during this Election, all Inferiour Tribunals cease, only the Colledge of the Preconsultors (as they term it) is daily open for the hearing of Ambassadours; the Senat likewise, and the High Council of Ten in their ordinary vigour: they remained close twelve full days: In which time divers false voices were vented. But none of the Competitours arriving to a sufficient number of Bals, they fell (as the fashion is) to ballote some others that did not concur. Among whom nothing was so memorable as the Ballotation of *Lorenzo Veniero*; who having in the late fight at Sea, with the *Neopolitan* Fleet preserved his honour, when the rest were nearer shame, had now 18. Bals for the supream place of his Countrey, though otherwise as yet, of but small rank himself. At last these forty one Electours tired with trials, *Nani* unable to make himself, not inclining to *Giustiniano* as being of an old house, which *Prinli* privatly distasted, and generally

generally wishing him best, that was unlikelyest to live long. On *Thursday* morning, being the fifth of *April*, declared unto his friends, that he would joyn with *Donato*: which the rest understanding, they owed though not to him, yet to themselves more good will, then not to favour that which they could not hinder. And so *Niccolo Donato* was made Duke, with thirty nine Bals, his own exempted (as I have said) by Law, and some one of the rest shrinking, I know not how, *per Capriccio* perhaps rather then despight. This is the sixth man under the Degree of a Procurator, that hath been made Duke since the foundation of the City; which makes *Nani* the more odious among his own Colleagues, for advancing an inferiour Order; which perchance hereafter upon the example may grow more familiar. He was published with slight Applause, and with more approbation (as it seems) of the Stars then of men. For it is vulgarly reported from his own mouth, and here strongly beleev'd, That an Astrologer some years since

since in *Padona*, having cast his Nativity, told him he should die in *Carcere nobili*, which they now apply to so restrained a Princedom, helping it with Concept ; as commonly those kind of Predictions do need.

The Election of the following Duke after the death of Niccolo Donato.

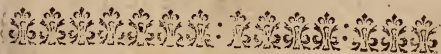
ON *Tuesday* the eighth of *May*, *Niccolo Donato* died about two hours of the night, as near as the moment could be known, which his Nephews and Servants did conceal, and is never hastily published by the State. His disease was an *Apoplexie*, where-with being surprized after a gentle fit or two of an *Ague*, he had no leisure, or no mind to alter a former Will, made while he was but a Senator, so miserably as if he had meant to be frugall even after his death: For therein he left but twenty five Ducats to all his

his

his Servants, and only twenty to the Nuns of *S^{ca}. Chiara* at *Murano*, where he disposed his body to be laid. The short time of his Princedom (having been but a moneth and two days) did yeild little matter of observation. One thing was notable, that entring with small applause of the common men, he suddenly got their favours upon a false conceit. For a Decree having passed in his Predecessours time about the reformation of Bakers (who made scant loaves) and being conceived to be his deed, the *Plebeyity* (whose supream Object is Bread) cried in all corners, *Viva Donato*. In his nature there was a strange Conjunction of two things rarely seen together, *Love of learning, and Love of money*. And this is all that can be said of him.

Now being gone, the following Election was likely to be short, the same Concurrence appearing as before, and the affections having been so newly founded and prepared. Therefore (not to extend discourse) the Dukes Funerall Rites being performed the *Munday* after

after his death, the *Thursday* morning following *Antonio Priuli* was made Duke, with all Bals. For *Giustiniano* having but eight voices among the last One and forty Electours, and *Nani* (by strange and almost prodigious fortune) none, the foresaid eight friends of *Giustiniano* unprofitable for him whom they loved best, did immediately concur with *Priuli's* thirty three voices. And so a solemn Ambassage is preparing out of the body of the Senate to determine his Commission in *Friuli*, and to recall him to the supream Honour of his Countrey. When at the very same time or little difference, one of the two *Austrian* Commissioners on the other side, is dead in the midst of the Treaty. So various are humane Fortunes and Conditions.



F I N I S.



121

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122

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THE
ELEMENTS
OF
ARCHITECTURE,

Collected by
HENRY WOTTON K^c,

From the
Best AUTHOURS
AND
EXAMPLES.

THE
ELEMENTS

OF
ARITHMETIC

Collected by

W. WOTTON

OF ALLIANCE

AND

W. WOTTON

OF ALLIANCE

AND

W. WOTTON

THE
P R E F A C E.



Shall not need (like the most part of Writers) to celebrate the Subject which I deliver; In that point I am at ease. For Architecture can

want no commendation, where there are Noble-Men, or Noble Mindes; I will therefore spend this Preface, rather about those from whom I have gathered my knowledge: For I am but a gatherer and disposer of other mens stufte, at my best value.

Our principall Master is Vitruvius, and so I shall often call him; who had this felicity, that he wrote when the Roman Empire was neer the pitch; Or at least, when Augustus (who favoured his endeavours) had some meaning (if he

Tacit. lib. 1. *were not mistaken*) to bound
 Annal. *the Monarchie: This, I say,*
was his good hap; For in growing and
enlarging times, Arts are commonly
drowned in Action: But on the other
side, it was in truth an unhappinesse, to
expresse himselfe so ill, especially writing
(as hee did) in a season of the ablest
Pennes; And his obscurity had this
strange fortune; That though he were
best practised, and best followed by his
own Country-men; yet after the revi-
ving and repolishing of good Literature,
(which the combustions and tumults of
the middle-Age had uncivillized) hee
was best, or at least, first understood by
Strangers: For of the Italians that took
him in hand, those that were Gramma-
rians seeme to have wanted Mathematicall
knowledge; and the Mathematicians per-
haps wanted Grammer: til both were suf-
ficiently conjoynd, in Leon-Batista Al-
berti the Florentine, whom I repute the
first learned Architect beyond the Alpes;
But he studied more indeed to make him-
selfe an Author, then to illustrate his
Master. Therefore amongst his Com-
menters, I must (for my private con-
venience) *cite;*

THE PREFACE. 194

ceite) yeeld the cheife praise unto the French, in Philander; and to the high Germans, in Gualterus Rivius: who besides his notes, hath likewise published the most elaborate Translation, that I think is extant in any vulgar Speech of the world: though not without bewayling, now and then, some defect of Artificiall terms in his own; as I must likewise: For if the Saxon, (our mother tongue) did complaine; as justly (I doubt) in this point may the Daughter: Languages, for the most part, in terms of Art and Erudition, retaining their originall poverty, and rather growing rich and abundant in complementall phrases and such froth. Touching divers moderne men that have written out of meere practise, I shall give them their due upon occasion.

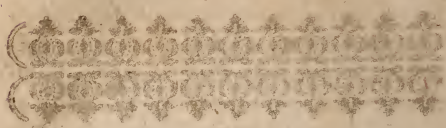
And now, after this short Censure of others, I would fain satisfie an Objection or two, which seem to lie somewhat heavily upon my self; It will be said, That I handle an Art, no way suteable either to my Employments, or to my Fortune. And so I shall stand charged, both with Intrusion, and with Impertinency.

*To the First I answer, That though by the ever acknowledged goodnesse of my most deare and gracious S O V E R A I G N E; and by his long indulgent tolerations of my defects, I have born abroad some part of his civil Service; yet when I came home, and was again resolved into mine own simplicity, I found it fitter for my Penne (at least in this first publique adventure) to deale with these plain Compilements, and tractable Materials; then with the Laberynth and Mysteries of Courts and States; And lesse presumption for me, who have long contemplated a famous Republique, to write now of Architecture; then it was anciently for *Hippodamus the Milesian, to write of Republicques, who was himself but an Architect.*

* Aristot. 2. lib. Politi. cap. 6.

To the Second, I must shrink up my shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confesse indeed, that my fortune is very unable to exemplifie and actuate my Speculations in this Art, which yet in truth, made me the rather even from my very disability, take encouragement to hope, that my present Labour would
finde

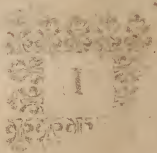
finde the more favour in others, since it was undertaken for no mans sake lesse then mine owne. And with that confidence, I fell into these thoughts; Of which, there were two wayes to be delivered; The one Historicall, by description of the principall Works, performed already in good part by Giorgio Vassari in the lives of Architects. The other Logickall, by casting the rules and cautions of this Art into some comfortable Method: whereof I have made choice, not only as the shortest and most Elementall; but indeed as the soundest. For though in practicall knowledges, every compleat Example may beare the credit of a Rule; yet peradventure Rules should precede, that we may by them be made fit to judge of Examples: Therefore to the purpose; for I will preface no longer.



OF
THE ELEMENTS
OF
ARCHITECTURE.

The First Part

By W. S. ...
...
...
Opera...




...



O F
THE ELEMENTS
O F
ARCHITECTURE.

The First Part.

 I *N Architecture, as in all other Operative Arts, the End must direct the Operation.*

The *End* is to build well.

Wel-building hath three Conditions, *Commodity, Firmnesse, and Delight:*

A common Division among the Deliverers of this *Art*, though I know

not how, somewhat misplaced by *Vitruvius* himself, *lib. 1. cap. 3.* whom I shall be willinger to follow as a Master of *Proportion*, then of *Method*.

Now, For the attaining of these *Intentions*, we may consider the whole *Subject* under two generall Heads;

The *Seat*, and the *Work*.

Therefore first touching *Situation*.

The *Precepts* thereunto belonging do either concern the *Totall Posture*, (as I may term it) or the *Placing* of the *Parts*: whereof the first sort, howsoever usually set down by *Architects* as a piece of their *Profession*, yet are in truth borrowed from other *Learnings*: there being between *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as between *Men*, a kind of good fellowship, and communication of their *Principles*.

For you shall find some of them to be meerly *Physicall*, touching the quality and temper of the *Aire*: which being a perpetuall ambient and ingredient, and the defects thereof incorrigible in single *Habitations* (which I most intend) doth in those respects require the more exquisite caution; That

it be not too *grosse*, nor too *penetrative*; Not subject to any foggie noy-somnesse, from *Fens* or *Marshes* near adjoining; nor to *Minerall* Exhalations from the Soil it self. Not undigested, for want of *Sun*; Not unexercised, for want of *Wind*: which were to live (as it were) in a *Lake*, or standing *Pool* of *Aire*, as *Alberti* the *Florentin Architect* doth ingeniously compare it.

Some do rather seem a little *Astrologically*, as when they warn us from Places of malign *Influence*: where *Earth-quakes*, *Contagions*, *Prodigious Births*, or the like, are frequent without any evident cause: whereof the Consideration is peradventure not altogether vain: Some are plainly *Oeconomically*; As that the *Seat* be well watered, and well fuelled; That it be not of too sleepy and incommodious *Access*, to the trouble both of *Friends* and *Family*; That it lie not too far from some navigable *River* or *Arme* of the *Sea*, for more ease of provision, and such other *Domestick* notes.

Some again may be said to be *Optical*:

cal: Such I mean as concern the *Properties* of a well chosen *Prospect*: which I will call the *Royalty* of *Sight*. For as there is a *Lordship* (as it were) of the *Feet*, wherein the Master doth much joy when he walketh about the *Line* of his own *Possessions*: So there is a *Lordship* likewise of the *Eye*, which being a *Ranging*, and *Imperious*, and (I might say) an *Usurping Sense*, can indure no narrow *Circumscription*; but must be fed both with extent and variety. Yet on the other side, I find vaste and indefinite views which drown all apprehension of the uttermost *Objects*, condemned by good Authours, as if thereby some part of the pleasure (whereof we speak) did perish. Lastly, I remember a private *Caution*, which I know not well how to fort, unlesse I should call it *Politicall*: By no means, to build too near a great *Neighbour*; which were, in truth, to be as unfortunately seated on the earth, as *Mercury* is in the Heavens, for the most part, ever in *combustion* or *obscurity* under brighter beams then his own.

From these severall *Knowledges*, as I
have

have said, and perhaps from some other, do *Architects* derive their Doctrine about Election of *Seats*: wherein I have not been so severe as a great Scholer of our time, who precisely restraineth a perfect *Situation*, at least for the main point of health, *Ad locum contra quem Sol radios suos fundit cum sub Ariete oritur*; That is, in a word, he would have the first *Salutation* of the *Spring*. But such *Notes* as these, wheresoever we find them in grave or slight Authours, are to my conceit rather *Wishes* than *Precepts*; and in that quality I will passe them over. Yet I must withall say, that in the *seating* of our selves (which is a kind of *Marriage* to a *Place*) *Builders* should be as circumspect as *Wooers*; lest when all is done, that *Doom* befall us, which our Master doth lay upon *Mitylene*: *A Town, in truth (saith he) finely built, but foolishly planted.* And so much touching that which I termed the *Total Posture*.

* Joannes Heurnius Institut. Medicin. lib. 7. cap. 2.

Opidum quidem ædificatum elegantius, sed imprudenter positum.

The next in Order is the placing of the *Parts*; About which (to leave as little as I may in my present labour, unto *Fancie*, which is wilde and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine own Collection, upon which I fell in this manner. I had noted, that all *Art* was then in truest perfection, when it might be reduced to some naturall *Principle*. For what are the most judicious *Artisans* but the *Mimiques* of *Nature*? This led me to contemplate the Fabrick of our own Bodies, wherein the *High Architect* of the World had displayed such skill as did stupifie all humane reason. There I found the *Heart*, as the Fountain of Life, placed about the Middle, for the more equall communication of the vitall spirits. The *Eys* seated aloft, that they might describe the greater Circle within their view. The *Arms* projected on each side, for ease of reaching. Briefly (not to lose our selves in this speculation) it plainly appeareth, as a Maxime drawn from the Divine Light; That the *Place* of every part is to be determined by the *Use*.

So then from Naturall *Structure*, to proceed

proceed to Artificiall; and in the rudest things, to preserve some *Image* of the excellentest. Let all the principall Chambers of *Delight*, All *Studies* and *Libraries*, be towards the *East*: For the Morning is a friend to the *Muses*. All Offices that require heat, as *Kitchens*, *Stillatories*, *Stoves*, rooms for *Baking*, *Brewing*, *Washing*, or the like, would be *Meridionall*. All that need a cool and fresh temper, as *Cellars*, *Pantries*, *Butteries*, *Granaries*, to the *North*. To the same side likewise, all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as *Galleries*, especially in warm Climes, or that otherwise require a steady and unvariable light, as *Pinacotheca* (saith *Vitruvius*) by which he intendeth, (if I may guesse at his Greek, as we must do often even at his Latine) certain *Repositories* for Works of Rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the Italians called *Studioli*; which at any other Quarter, where the course of the *Sun* doth diversifie the *Shadows*, would lose much of their grace. And by this Rule having always regard to the *Use*, any other Part may be fitly accommodated.

I must here not omit to note, that the Ancient *Grecians*, and the *Romans* by their example, in their Buildings abroad, where the *Seat* was free, did almost Religiously situate the *Front* of their Houses towards the South: perhaps that the Masters *Eye*, when he came home, might not be dazeled, or that being illustrated by the *Sun*, it might yeild the more gracefull *Aspect*; or some such reason. But from this the Modern *Italians* do vary; whereof I shall speak more in another place. Let thus much suffice at the present for the *Position* of the severall *Members*, wherein must be had, as our Authour doth often insinuate, and especially *lib. 6. cap. 10.* a singular regard to the nature of the *Region*: Every Nation being tyed above all Rules whatsoever, to a discretion of providing against their own *Inconveniencies*: And therefore a good *Parlour* in *Egypt*, would perchance make a good *Cellar* in *England*.

There now followeth the second Branch of the generall *Section* touching the *Work*.

In the *Work*, I will first consider the Principall parts, and afterwards the Accessory, or *Ornaments*; And in the Principall, first the Preparation of the *Materials*; and then the Disposition, which is the *Form*.

Now, concerning the *Material* Part; Although surely, it cannot disgrace an *Architect*, which doth so well become a Philosopher, to look into the Properties of *Stone* and *Wood*: as that Fir-trees, Cypresses, Cedars, and such other *Aëreall* aspiring *Plants*, being by a kind of naturall rigour (which in a Man I would call pride) inflexible downwards, are thereby fittest for *Posts* or *Pillars*, or such upright use: that on the other side, Oak, and the like true hearty Timber, being strong in all Positions, may be better trusted in crosse and traverse Work; for *Summers*, or girding, and binding *Beams*, as they term them. And so likewise to observe of *Stone*, that some are better within, and other to bear *Weather*: Nay, to descend lower, even to examine *Sand*, and *Lyme*, and *Clay* (of all which things *Vitruvius* hath discoursed, with-
out

out any daintiness, and the most of new Writers) I say, though the *Speculative* Part of such knowledge be *liberall*: yet to redeem this Profession, and my present pains from indignity; I must here remember, That to choose and sort the *Materials* for every part of the *Fabrick*, is a Duty more proper to a second *Superintendent* over all the *Under-Artisans*, called (as I take it) by our Author, *Officinator*, *lib. 6. cap. 11.* and in that Place expressly distinguished from the *Architect*, whose glory doth more consist in the Designement, and *Idea* of the whole *Work*; and his truest ambition should be to make the *Form*, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the *Matter*: whereof I cannot but mention by the way, a foreign Pattern; namely, the Church of *Santa Giustina* in *Padova*: In truth, a sound piece of good Art, where the *Materials* being but ordinary stone, without any garnishment of Sculpture, do yet ravish the Beholder (and he knows not how) by a secret *Harmony* in the *Proportions*. And this indeed is that end, at which in some degree,
we

we should aim even in the privatest works : whereunto though I make haste , yet let me first collect a few of the least triviall Cautions belonging to the *Materiall Provision*.

Leon Batista Alberti is so curious, as to wish all the *Timber* cut out of the same *Forrest*, and all the *Stone* out of the same *Quarrie*.

Philibert de l'Orme the *French Architect* goes yet somewhat further, & would have the *Lyme* made of the very same *Stone*, which we intend to imploy in the *Work*; as belike imagining that they will sympathize and joyn the better by a kind of *Original* kindred. But such conceits as these seem somewhat too fine among this *Rubbage*, though I do not produce them in sport. For surely, the like agreements of Nature may have oftentimes a discreet application to Art. Always it must be confessed, that to make *Lyme* without any great choice, of refuse stuffe, as we commonly do, is an *English* error of no small moment in our Buildings. Whereas the *Italians* at this day,

day, and much more the *Ancients*, did burne their firmeſt *ſtone*, and even fragments of *Marble* where it was copious, which in time became almoſt *Marble* again, or at leaſt of indiffoluble durity, as appeareth in the ſtanding *Theaters*. I muſt here not omit, while I am ſpeaking of this part, a certain forme of *Brick* deſcribed by *Daniel Barbaro Patriarch* of *Aquileia*, in the largeſt Edition of his *Commentary upon Vitruvius*. The Figure triangular, every ſide a foot long, and ſome inch and a half thick, which he doth commend unto us for many good conditions: As that they are more commodious in the management, of leſſe expence, of fayrer ſhow, adding much beauty and ſtrength to the *Murall Angles*, where they fall gracefully into an indented *Worke*: ſo as I ſhould wonder that we have not taken them into uſe, being propounded by a man of good authority in this knowledge; but that all Nations do ſtart at *Novelties*, and are indeed married to their own *Moulds*. Into this place might aptly fall a doubt, which ſome have well moved; whether the ancient

cient *Italians* did burne their *Bricke* or no; which a passage or two in *Vitruvius* hath left ambiguous. Surely, where the *Naturall* heat is strong enough to supply the *Artificiall*, it were but a curious folly to multiply both *Labour* and *Expence*. And it is besides very probable, that those *Materials* with a kindly and temperate heate would prove fairer, smoother, and lesse distorted, then with a violent: Only, they suffer two exceptions. First, that by such a gentle drying much time will be lost, which might otherwise be employed in compiling. Next, That they will want a certain sucking and soaking *Thirstinesse*, or a fiery appetite to drink in the *Lime*, which must knit the *Fabrick*. But this question may be confined to the *South*, where there is more Sunne and patience. I will therefore not hinder my course, with this incident scruple, but close that part which I have now in hand, about the *Materials*, with a principall caution: That sufficient *Stuffe* and *Money* be ever ready before we beginne: For when we build now a piece, and then

then another by *fits*, the *Worke* dries and sinkes unequally, whereby the *Walles* grow full of *Chinks* and *Crevices*; Therefore such pawings are well reprov'd by *Palladio*, *lib. 1. cap. 1.* and by all other. And so having gleaned these few remembrances touching the preparation of the *Matter*, I may now proceed to the *Disposition* thereof, which must forme the *Worke*. In the *Forme*, as I did in the *Seat*, I will first consider the generall *Figuration*, and then the severall *Members*.

Figures are either *simple* or *Mixed*. The simple be either *Circular* or *Angular*. And of *Circular*, either *Complate*, or *Deficient*, as *Ovals*; with which kindes I will be contented, though the *Distribution* might be more curious.

Now the exact *Circle* is in truth a *Figure*, which for our purpose hath many fit and eminent properties; as fitnessse for *Commodity* and *Receipt*, being the most capable; fitnessse for *strength* and *duration*, being the most united in his parts; fitnessse for *beauty* and *delight*, as imitating the celestiall

stiaall Orbes, and the universall *Forme*. And it seemes, besides, to have the approbation of *Nature*, when she worketh by *Instinct*, which is her secret Schoole: For birds do build their nests *Spherically*: But notwithstanding these Attributes, it is in truth a very unprofitable Figure in private *Fabricks*, as being of all other the most chargeable, and much roome lost in the bending of the *Walles*, when it comes to be divided: besides an ill distribution of light, except from the *Center* of the *Roofe*. So as anciently it was not usuall, save in their *Temples* and *Amphi-Theaters*, which needed no *Compartitions*. The *Ovals* and other imperfect circular *Formes*, have the same exceptions, and lesse benefit of capacity: So as there remaines to be considered in this generall survey of *Figures*, the *Angular*, and the *Mixed* of both. Touching the *Angular*, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely, but it is a true observation, that this *Art* doth neither love many *Angles*, nor few. For first, the *Triangle*, which hath the fewest sides and corners, is of
all

all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirme (whereof the reason shall be afterwards rendred) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular *Forme* then it self in the inward *Partitions*.

As for Figures of five, six, seven, or more *Angles*: They are surely fitter for *Militar Architecture* (where the Bulworks may be layed out at the *Corners*, and the sides serve for *Curtaines*) then for civill use; though I am not ignorant of that famous Piece at *Caprarola*, belonging to the house of *Farnese*, cast by *Baroccio* into the forme of a *Pentagone*, with a *Circle* inscribed, where the *Architect* did ingeniously wrestle with divers inconveniences in disposing of the *Lights*, and in saving the vacuities. But as designs of such nature do more ayme at *Rarity*, then *Commodity*; so, for my part, I had rather admire them, then commend them.

These things considered, we are both by the *Precepts* and by the *Practice* of the best Builders, to resolve upon *Rectangular Squares*, as a mean between

tween too few, and too many Angles; and through the equall inclination of the sides (which make the right Angle) stronger then the *Rhombe*, or *Loſenge*, or any other irregular *Square*. But whether the exact *Quadrat*, or the long *Square* be the better, I finde not well determined, though in mine own conceit, I muſt preferre the latter; provided that the *Length* do not exceed the *Latitude* above one third part, which would diminifh the beauty of the *Aſpect*, as ſhall appear when I come to ſpeak of *Symmetry* and *Proportion*.

Of mixed Figures, partly *Circular*, and partly *Angular*, I ſhall need to ſay nothing; becauſe having handled the ſimple already, the mixed, according to their compoſition, do participate of the ſame reſpects. Only againſt theſe, there is a proper *Objection*, that they offend *Uniformity*: Whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to ſay ſomewhat, as farre as ſhall concerne the outward *Aſpect*, which is now in Diſcourſe.

In *Architecture*, there may ſeem to be

two opposite affectations, *Uniformity* and *Variety*, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilment, as we may see in the great Pattern of *Nature*, to which I must often resort: For surely, there can be no *Structure* more uniform then our *Bodies* in the whole *Figuration*: Each side agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the quality, and in the measure of the Parts: And yet some are round, as the *Armes*; some flat, as the *Hands*; some prominent, and some more retired: So as upon the matter, we see that *Diversity* doth not destroy *Uniformity*, and that the Limbs of a noble *Fabrick*, may be correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided always, that we do not run into certain extravagant Inventions, whereof I shall speak more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole *Work*. We ought likewise to avoide Enormous heights of six or seven *Stories*, as well as irregular *Forms*; and the contrary fault of low-distended *Fronts*, is as unseemly; Or again, when the *Face* of the Building is narrow,

row, and the *Flank* deep: To all which extreams some particular Nations or Towns are subject, whose Names may be civilly spared: And so much for the generall *Figuration*, or *Aspect* of the *Work*.

Now concerning the Parts in Severalty. All the Parts of every *Fabrick* may be comprised under five Heads, which Division I receive from *Batista Alberti*, to do him right. And they be these.

The *Foundation*.

The *Walls*.

The *Appertions* or *Overtures*.

The *Compartition*.

And the *Cover*.

About all which I purpose to gather the principall Cautions, and as I passe along, I will touch also the naturall Reasons of *Art*, that my Discourse may be the lesse *Mechanicall*.

First then concernig the *Foundation*, which requireth the exactest care; For if that happen to dance, it will marre all the mirth in the House: Therefore that we may found our Habitation firmly, we must first examine the *Bed*

of *Earth* (as I may term it,) upon which we will Build; & then the underfillings, or *Substruction*, as the Ancients did call it: For the former, we have a generall Precept in *Vitruvius* twice precisely repeated by him, as a Point indeed of main consequence; first, *l. 1. c. 5.* And again more fitly, *l. 3. c. 3.* in these words, as *Philander* doth well correct the vulgar Copies: *Substructionis Fundationes fodiantur* (saith he) *si queant inveniri ad solidum, & in solido.* By which words I conceive him to commend unto us, not only a diligent, but even a jealous examination what the *Soil* will bear: advising us, not to rest upon any appearing *Solidity*, unless the whole *Mould* through which we cut, have likewise been *solid*; But how deep we should go in this search, he hath no where to my remembrance determined, as perhaps depending more upon *Discretion*, then *Regularity*, according to the weight of the *Work*; yet *Andrea Palladio* hath fairly adventured to reduce it into Rule: Allowing for that *Cavazione* (as he calleth it) a sixth part of the height of the whole *Fabrick*, unless the

the Cellars be under ground, Under-dig-
ing, or Holl-
owing of
the Earth.
in which case he would have
us (as it should seem) to
found somewhat lower.

Some *Italians* do prescribe, that
when they have chosen the *Floor*, or
Plot, and laid out the Limits of the
Work, we should first of all Digge
Wels and *Cisterns*, and other Under-
conducts and Conveyances, for the
Swillage of the House, whence may a-
rise a double benefit: for both the na-
ture of the *Mould* or *Soil*, would therby
be safely searched, and moreover those
open vents will serve to discharge such
Vapours, as having otherwise no issue,
might peradventure shake the Buil-
ding. This is enough for the naturall
Grounding; which though it be not a
Part of the solid *Fabrick*, yet here was
the fittest place to handle it.

There followeth the *Substruction*, or
Ground-work of the whole *Edifice*,
which must sustain the *Walls*; and
this is a kind of *Artificiall* Foundation,
as the other was *Natural*. About which
these are the chiefe Remembrances:
First, that the bottom be precisely le-

vell, where the *Italians* therefore commonly lay a platform of good Board; Then that the lowest *Ledge* or *Row* be meerly of *Stone*, and the broader the better, closely laid without *Mortar*, which is a generall Caution for all parts in Building, that are contiguous to *Board* or *Timber*, because *Lime* and *Wood* are infociable; and if any where unfit Confiners, then most especially in the *Foundation*. Thirdly, That the bredth of the *Substruction* be at least double to the *insistent Wall*, and more or lesse, as the weight of the *Fabrick* shall require; for as I must again repeat, *Discretion* may be freer then *Art*. Lastly, I find in some a curious precept, that the *Materials* below, be laid as they grew in the *Quarry*, supposing them belike to have most strength in their *Natural* and *Habitual* Posture. For as *Philippe de l'Orme* observeth, the breaking or yeilding of a stone in this part, but the bredth of the back of a knife, will make a *Cleft* of more then half a foot in the *Fabrick* aloft: So important are *fundamental Errors*. Among which notes I have said nothing of

Pallification, or *Pyling* of the *Ground-plot*, commanded by *Vitruvius*, when we build upon a moist or marshy *Soil*, because that were an error in the first choyce. And therefore all *Seats* that must use such provision below (as *Venice* for an eminent example) would perhaps upon good enquiry, be found to have been at first chosen by the *Counsell of Necessity*.

Now the *Foundation* being searched, and the *Substruction* laid, we must next speak of the *Wals*.

Wals are either entire and continuall, or intermitted; and the *Intermissions* be either *Pillars* or *Pylasters*; for here I had rather handle them, then, as some others do, among *Ornaments*.

The entire *Muring* is by Writers diversly distinguished: By some, according to the quality of the *Materials*, as either *Stone* or *Brick*, &c. Where, by the way, let me note, that to build *Wals* and greater Works of *Flint*, whereof we want not example in our *Island*, and particularly in the *Province of Kent*, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the *Ancients*, who observing in that *Mate-*

Artificiall, a kind of *Metall* Nature, or at least a *Fusibility*, seem to have resolved it into nobler use; an Art now utterly lost, or perchance kept up by a few *Chymicks*. Some again do not so much consider the quality, as the *Position* of the said *Materials*: As when Brick or squared Stones are laid in their lengths with sides and heads together, or their Points conjoynded like a *Network* (for so *Vitruvius* doth call it *reticulatum opus*) of familiar use (as it should seem) in his Age, though afterwards grown out of request, even perhaps for that subtill speculation which he himself toucheth; because so laid, they are more apt in swagging down, to pierce with their points, then in the jacent Posture, and so to crevice the *Wall*: But to leave such cares to the meaner Artificers, the more essentiall are these.

That the *Walls* be most exactly perpendicular to the *Ground-Work*, for the right *Angle* (thereon depending) is the true cause of all *Stability*, both in Artificiall and Naturall Positions: A man likewise standing firmest,

meft, when he ftands uprighteft. That the maffieft and heaviest *Materials* be the loweft, as fitter to bear, then to be born. That the *Work*, as it rifeth, diminish in *thickneffe* proportionally, for ease both of weight, and of expence. That certain *Courses* or *Ledges* of more strength then the rest, be interlayed like *Bones*, to sustain the *Fabrick* from totall ruine, if the under parts should decay. Lastly, that the *Angles* be firmly bound, which are the *Nerves* of the whole *Edifice*, and therefore are commonly fortified by the *Italians*, even in their Brick buildings, on each side of the corners, with well squared Stone, yeilding both strength and grace. And so much touching the entire or solid *Wall*.

The Intermiffions (as hath been said) are either by *Pillars*, or *Pyliasters*.

Pillars, which we may likewise call *Columnes* (for the word among Artificers is almost naturalized) I could distinguish into *Simple* and *Compounded*. But (to tread the beaten and plainest way) there are five *Orders* of *Pillars*, according to their dignity and perfection, thus marshalled.

The *Tuscan*.

The *Dorique*.

The *Ionique*.

The *Corinthian*.

And the *Compound Order*, or as some call it, the *Roman*; others more generally the *Italian*.

In which five *Orders*; I will first consider their *Communities*, and then their *Proprieties*.

Their *Communities* (as far as I observe) are Principally three. First, they are all *Round*; for though some conceive *Columna Atticurges*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* to have been a squared Pillar, yet we must pass it over as irregular, never received among these *Orders*, no more then certain other licentious inventions, of *Wreathed*, and *Vined*, and *Figured Columnes*, which our Author himself condemneth, being in his whole Book a professed enemy to *Fancies*.

Secondly, they are all *Diminished* or *Contracted* insensibly, more or lesse, according to the proportion of their heights, from one third part of the whole *Shaft* upwards, which *Philander* doth

doth prescribe by his own precise measuring of the Ancient remainders, as the most gracefull *Diminution*. And here I must take leave to blame a practice grown (I know not how) in certain places too familiar, of making *Pillars* swell in the middle, as if they were sick of some *Tympany*, or *Drop-sie*, without any Authentique Patterne or Rule, to my knowledge, and unseemely to the very judgment of sight. True it is, that in *Vitruvius*, lib. 3. cap. 2. we finde these words, *De adjectione, quæ adjicitur in mediis Columnis, quæ apud Grecos Ἐνλασις appellatur, in extremo libro erit formatio ejus*; which passage, seemeth to have given some countenance to this error. But of the promise there made, as of diverse other elsewhere, our Master hath fayled us, either by slip of memory, or injury of time, and so we are left in the dark. Alwayes sure I am, that besides the authority of example which it wanteth, It is likewise contrary to the Originall and Naturall *Type*, in *Trees*, which at first was imitated in *Pillars*, as *Vitruvius* himself observeth, lib. 5. cap. 1. For who

who ever saw any *Cypress*, or *Pine* (which are there alledged) small below and above, and tumerous in the middle; unless it were some diseased Plant, as Nature (though otherwise the comliest *Mistresse*) hath now and then her deformities and *Irregularities*?

Thirdly, they have all their *Under-settings*, or *Pedistals*, in height a third part of the whole *Columnne*, comprehending the *Base* and *Capitall*; and their upper Adjuncts, as *Architrave*, *Frize*, and *Cornice*, a fourth part of the said Pillar; which rule, of singular use and facility, I find settled by *Jacobo Baroccio*; and hold him a more credible Author, as a man that most intended this piece, then any that vary from him in those *Dimentions*.

These are their most considerable *Communities* and agreements.

Their *Proprieties* or *Distinctions* will best appeare by some reasonable description of them all, together with their *Architraves*, *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, as they are usually handled.

First therefore, the *Tuscan* is a plain, massie, rurall Pillar, resembling some
sturdy

sturdy well-limb'd Labourer, homely clad, in which kinde of comparisons *Vitruvius* himself seemeth to take pleasure, *lib. 4. cap. 1.* The length thereof shall be six *Diameters*, of the grossest of the Pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most naturall; For our Author tells us, *lib. 3. cap. 1.* that the foote of a man is the sixth part of his body in ordinary measure, and *Man* himself according to the saying of *Protagoras* (which *Aristotle* doth somewhere vouchsafe to celebrate) is τὸ πρὸς ἀπάντων χημᾶτων μέγεθος, as it were, the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetrie*, which we have had other occasions to touch before: This *Columnne* I have by good warrant called *Rurall Vitru. cap. 2. lib. 3.* And therefore we need not consider his rank among the rest. The distance or *Intercolumniation* (which word Artificers do usually borrow) may be neer four of his own *Diameters*, because the *Materials* commonly layd over this Pillar, were rather of wood then stone; through the lightness whereof the *Architrave* could not suffer, though thinly supported, nor the

the *Columnne* it self being so substanti-
all. The *Contraction* aloft shall be
(according to the most received pra-
ctice) one fourth part of his thickness
below. To conclude, (for I intend on-
ly as much as shall serve for a due Di-
stinguishment, and not to delineate
every petty member) the *Tuscan* is of
all the rudest Pillar, and his Principall
Character *Simplicity*,

The *Dorique Order* is the gravest
that hath been received into civill
use, preserving, in comparison of those
that follow, a more *Masculine Aspect*,
and little trimmer then the *Tuscan* that
went before, save a sober garnishment
now and then of *Lions heads* in the
Cornice, and of *Triglyphs* and *Metopes*
alwayes in the *Frize*. Sometimes like-
wise, but rarely, channeled, and a little
slight Sculpture about the *Hypotrache-
lion* or *Necke*, under the *Capitall*. The
length, seven *Diameters*. His rank or
degree, is the lowest by all *Congruity*,
as being more massie then the other
three, and consequently abler to sup-
port. The *Intercolumniation*, thrice as
much as his thickness below. The

Contraction aloft, one fifth of the same measure. To discern him, will be a peice rather of good *Heraldry*, then of *Architecture*: For he is best known by his place when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his *Frize* (before mentioned) when he is alone.

The *Ionique Order* doth represent a kinde of Feminine slenderness, yet saith *Vitruvius*, not like a light Housewife, but in a decent dressing, hath much of the *Matrone*. The length eight *Diameters*. In degree as in substantialnesse, next above the *Dorique*, sustayning the third, and adorning the second Story. The *Intercolumniation* two of his own *Diameters*. The *Contraction* one sixth part. Best known by his trimmings, for the body of this *Columnne* is perpetually channeled, like a thick pleighted Gown. The *Capitall* dressed on each side, not much unlike womens Wires, in a spirall wreathing, which they call the *Ionian Voluta*. The *Cornice* indented. The *Frize* swelling like a pillow; And therefore by *Vitruvius*, not unelegantly termed *Pulvinata*. These are his best *Characters*.

The *Corinthian*, is a *Columnne* laciviously decked like a *Curtezan*, and therein much participating (as all Inventions do) of the place where they were first born: *Corinth* having been without controversie one of the wantonest Townes in the world. This *Order* is of nine *Diameters*. His degree, one Stage above the *Ionique*, and alwaies the highest of the simple *Orders*. The *Intercolumniation* two of his *Diameters*, and a fourth part more, which is of all other the comliest distance. The *Contraction* one seventh Part. In the *Cornice* both *Dentelli* and *Modiglioni*. The *Frize*, adorned with all kinds of *Figures* and various *Compartments* at Pleasure. The *Capitals*, cut into the beautifullest leafe that Nature doth yeeld; which surely, next the *Aconitum Pardalianches* (rejected perchance as an ominous Plant) is the *Acanthus*, or *Brancha Ursina*; though *Vitruvius* do impute the choice thereof unto Chance, and we must be contented to beleve him: In short, As *Plainness* did Characterize the *Tuscan*, so must *Delicacy*

cacy and Variety the Corinthian Pillar ; besides the height of his Rank.

The last is the Compounded Order : His name being a briefe of his Nature. For this Pillar is nothing in effect, but a Medlie, or an Amasse of all the precedent Ornaments, making a new kinde, by stealth ; and though the most richly tricked, yet the poorest in this, that he is a borrower of all his Beauty. His length, (that he may have somewhat of his own) shall be of ten *Diameters*. His degree should, no doubt, be the highest by reasons before yeelded. But few *Palaces*, Ancient or Moderne, exceed the third of the *Civill Orders*. The *Intercolumniation* but a *Diameter* and an half, or alwayes somewhat less then two. The *Contraction* of this Pillar must be one eighth Part less above then below. To know him will be easie by the very mixture of his *Ornaments*, and *Clothing*.

And so much touching the five *Orders* of *Columnes*, which I will conclude with two or three not impertinent *Cautions* :

First, that where more of these *Orders*

ders then one, shall be set in severall *Stories* or *Contignations*, there must be an exquisite care to place the *Columnes* precisely, one over another, that so the *solid* may answer to the *solid*, and the *vacuities* to the *vacuities*, as well for *Beauty*, as strength of the *Fabrick*: And by this Caution the Consequence is plain, that when we speak of the *Intercolumniation* or *Distance* which is due to each *Order*, we mean in a *Dorique*, *Ionicall*, *Corinthian Porch*, or *Cloister*, or the like of one *Contignation*, and not in *Storied Buildings*.

Secondly, Let the *Columnes* above be a fourth part lesse then those below, saith *Vitruvius*, *lib. 5. cap. 1.* A strange Precept in my opinion; and so strange, that peradventure it were more suitable, even to his own Principles, to make them rather a fourth Part greater. For *lib. 3. cap. 2.* where our Master handleth the *Contractions* of Pillars, we have an *Optique* Rule, that the higher they are, the lesse should be always their diminution aloft, because the *Eye* it selfe doth naturally contract all *Objects* more or lesse, according to the

the *Distance* ; which Consideration may, at first sight, seem to have been forgotten in the Caution we have now given ; but *Vitruvius* (the best Interpreter of himselfe) hath in the same place of his fift Book well acquitted his Memory by these words : *Columnæ superiores quarta parte minores, quam inferiores, sunt constituendæ ; propterea quòd, operi ferendo quæ sunt inferiora, firmiora esse debent ;* preferring like a wise Mechanick, the *naturall Reason* before the *Mathematical*, and sensible conceits before abstracted. And yet *lib.4. cap.4.* he seemeth again to affect *Subtilty*, allowing Pillars the more they are channeled, to be the more slender ; because while our *Eye* (saith he) doth as it were distinctly measure the eminent and the hollowed Parts, the Totall Object appeareth the bigger, and so as much as those excavations do subtract, is supplied by a *Fallacy* of the *Sight* : But here me thinks, our Master should likewise have rather considered the *naturall Inconvenience* ; for though Pillars by channeling, be seemingly ingrossed to our Sight, yet
they

they are truly weakened in themselves; and therefore ought perchance in sound reason not to be the more slender, but the more corpulent, unlesse apparances preponder truths, but *Contra Magistrum non est disputandum.*

A third Caution shall be, that all the projected or jutting Parts (as they are termed) be very moderate, especially, the *Cornices* of the lower *Orders*; for whilest some think to give them a beautifull and royall Aspect by their largenesse, they somtimes hinder both the Light within, (whereof I shall speak more in due place) and likewise detract much from the view of the *Front* without, as well appeareth in one of the principall *Fabricks* at *Venice*, namely, the *Palace* of the *Duke Grimani* on the *Canal Grande*, which by this magnificent error, is somewhat disgraced: I need now say no more concerning *Columns* & their *Adjuncts*, about which *Architects* make such a noyse in their Books, as if the very terms of *Architraves*, and *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, and the like, were enough to graduate a Master of this

Art;

Art: yet let me before I passe to other matter, prevent a familiar Objection; It will perchance be said, that all this Doctrine touching the five *Orders*, were fitter for the *Quarries* of *Asia*, which yeilded 127. *Columnes* of 60. Foot high to the *Ephesian Temple*; or for *Namidia*, where *Marbles* abound; then for the *Spirits* of *England*, who must be contented with more ignoble *Materials*: To which I answer, That this need not discourage us: For I have often at *Venice* viewed with much pleasure, an *Atrium Græcum* (we may translate it an *Anti-porch*, after the Greek manner) raised by *Andrea Palladio*, upon eight *Columnes* of the *compounded Order*; The *Bases* of Stone, without *Pedistals*; The *Shafts* or *Bodies* of meer Brick, three foot and an halfe thick in the *Diameter* below, and consequently thirty five foot high, as himself hath described them in his second Book; Then which, mine Eye hath never yet beheld any *Columnes* more stately of Stone or Marble; For the Bricks having first been formed in a *circular Mould*, and then cut before
their

their burning into four Quarters or more, the sides afterwards joyne so closely, and the points concenter so exactly, that the *Pillars* appear one entire *Peece*; which short description I could not omit, that thereby may appear, how in truth we want rather *Art* then *Stuffe*, to satisfie our greatest *Fancies*.

After *Pillars*, the next in my distribution are *Pylasters*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *lib.5. cap. 1.* and scant any where else under the name of *Parastates*, as *Philander* conceiveth, which *Grammatical Point* (though perchance not very clear). I am contented to examine no further. Always, what we mean by the thing it selfe is plain enough in our own vulgar; Touching which, I will briefly collect the most considerable Notes.

Pylasters must not be too tall and slender, lest they resemble *Pillars*, nor too *Dwarfish* and grosse, lest they imitate the *Piles* or *Peers* of Bridges; Smoothnesse doth not so naturally become them, as a *Rustick Superficies*; for they aim more at *State & Strength*,
 then

then *Elegancie*. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower then one Third, nor broader then two parts of the whole Vacuity between *Pylaster* and *Pylaster*; but to those that stand at the Corners, may be allowed a little more Latitude by discretion, for strength of the *Angles*: In *Theaters* and *Amphi-theaters*, and such weighty Works, *Palladio* observeth them, to have been as broad as the half, and now and then as the whole *Vacuity*: He noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their true *Proportion* should be an exact *Square*; But for lessening of expence, and inlarging of room, they are commonly narrower in *Flank*, then in *Front*: Their principall *Grace* doth consist in halfe or whole *Pillars* applied unto them; in which case it is well noted by Authours, that the *Columns* may be allowed somewhat above their ordinary length, because they lean unto so good *Supporters*. And thus much shall suffice touching *Pylasters*, which is a cheap, and a strong, and a noble kind of *Structure*.

Now

Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty and Majesty, found *arched*, then otherwise; I am here orderly led to speak of *Arches*, and under the same head of *Vaults*: for an *Arch* is nothing indeed but a contracted *Vault*, and a *Vault* is but a dilated *Arch*: Therefore to handle this Piece both compendiously, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole businesse into a few *Theorems*.

Theorem 1.

All solid *Materials* free from impediment, do descend *perpendicularly* downwards, because *Ponderosity* is a naturall inclination to the Center of the World, and *Nature* performeth her Motions by the shortest lines.

Theorem 2.

Bricks moulded in their ordinary *Rectangular* forme, if they shall be laid one by another in a leuell row, between any Supporters sustaining the two ends, then all the pieces between
will

will necessarily sink; even by their own natural *Gravity*; and much more, if they suffer any depression by other weight above them, because their sides being *paralell*, they have room to descend *perpendicularly*, without impeachment, according to the former *Theorem*; Therefore to make them stand, we must either change their *Posture*, or their *Figure*, or both.

Theorem 3.

If Bricks moulded, or Stones squared *Cuneatim* (that is, *Wedge-wise*, broader above then below) shall be laid in a *Row-levell*, with their ends supported, as in the precedent *Theorem*, pointing all to one *Center*; then none of the pieces between can sink till the *Supporters* give way, because they want room in that *Figuration*, to descend *perpendicularly*. But this is yet a weak piece of *Structure*, because the *Supporters* are subject to much impulsion, especially if the line be long; for which reason this *Form* is seldom used, but over *Windows*, or narrow *Doors*.

L

There-

Therefore to fortifie the *Work* as in this third *Theoreme*, we have supposed the *Figure* of all the *Materials* different from those in the second: So likewise we must now change the *Posture*, as will appear in the *Theoreme* following.

Theoreme 4.

If the *Materials* figured as before *Wedge-wise*, shall not be disposed levelly, but in form of some *Arch*, or portion of a *Circle*, pointing all to the same *Center*, In this case neither the pieces of the said *Arch* can sink downwards, through want of room to descend *By the first* * perpendicularly; Nor the *Theor.* *Supporters* or *Butments* (as they are termed) of the said *Arch* can suffer so much violence, as in the precedent flat *Posture*; for the roundness will always make the incumbent weight rather to rest upon the *Supporters*, then to shove them; whence may be drawn an evident *Corolary*: that the safest of all *Arches* is the *Semi-circuler*, and of all *Vaults* the *Hemisphere*, though not absolutely exempted from some natural

rall weaknesse, * as *Barnardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guaftalla*, in his Commentary upon *Aristotles Mechanicks*, doth ver-
 ry well prove: where let me note by the way, that when any thing is *Mathematically* demonstrated weak, it is much more *Mechanically* weak: Errours ever occurring more easily in the management of *Grosse Materials* then *Lineall* *Designes*.

Which is the sole Prerogative of perpendicular Lines, and right Angles.

Theoreme 5.

As *Semicircular Arches*, or *Hemisphericall Vaults*, being raised upon the totall *Diameter*, be of all other the roundest, and consequently the secur-
 est, by the precedent *Theoreme*: So those are the gracefullest, which keeping precisely the same height, shall yet be distended one fourteenth part longer then the said entire *Diameter*; which addition of distent will confer much to their *Beauty*, and detract but little from their *Strength*.

This Observation I find in *Leon-Batista Alberti*; But the practice how to preserve the same height, and yet

distend the Arms or Ends of the Arch, is in *Albert Durers Geometry*, who taught the *Italians* many an excellent *Line*, of great use in this *Art*.

Upon these five *Theoremes*, all the skill of *Arching* and *Vaulting* is grounded: As for those *Arches*, which our *Artizans* call of the third and fourth point; And the *Tuscan Writers* *di terzo*, and *di quarto acuto*, because they alwayes concurre in an acute Angle, and do spring from division of the *Diameter* into three, four, or more parts at pleasure; I say, such as these, both for the naturall imbecility of the sharp Angle it selfe, and likewise for their very *Uncomelineffe*, ought to be exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first *Inventors*, the *Gothes* or *Lumbards*, amongst other *Reliques* of that barbarous Age.

Thus of my first *Partition* of the parts of every *Fabrick*, into five Heads, having gone through the two former, & been incidently carried into this last *Doctrin* touching *Arches* and *Vaults*. The next now in order are the *Apertions*; under which term I do

do comprehend *Doors*, *Windowes*, *Stair-cases*, *Chymnies*, or other *Conducts*: In short, all *In-lets*, or *Out-lets*; To which belong two generall *Cautions*.

First, That they be as few in number, and as moderate in Dimension, as may possibly consist with other due respects: for in a word, all *Openings* are *Weakenings*.

Secondly, That they do not approach too near the *Angles* of the *Wals*; for it were indeed a most essentiall *Solecisme* to weaken that part which must strengthen all the rest: A precept well recorded, but ill practised by the *Italians* themselves, particularly at *Venice*, where I have observed divers *Pergoli*, or *Meniana* (as *Vitruvius* seemeth to call them, which are certain ballised out-standings to satisfie curiosity of sight) very dangerously set forth, upon the very point it self of the *Murall Angle*.

Now, Albeit I make haste to the casting and comparting of the whole *Work*, (being indeed the very *Definitive Sum* of this *Art*, to distribute

usefully and gracefully a well chosen Plot) yet I will first under their severall Heads, collect briefly some of the choicest notes belonging to these particular *Overtures*.

Of *Doors* and *Windows*.

THese *In-lets* of *Men* and of *Light*, I couple together, because I find their *Dimensions* brought under one Rule by *Leon Alberti* (a learned Searcher) who from the School of *Pythagoras* (where it was a fundamentall *Maxime*, that the *Images* of all things are latent in *Numbers*) doth determine the comeliest Proportion between breadths and heights; Reducing *Symmetrie* to *Symphonie*, and the *harmony* of *Sound*, to a kinde of *harmony* in *Sight*, after this manner: The two principal *Consonances*, that most ravish the Ear, are by consent of all Nature, the *fift*, and the *Octave*; whereof the first riseth radically from the proportion between *two* and *three*; The other from the double *Intervall*, between *One* and *Two*, or between *Two* and

and *Four*, &c. Now if we shall transport these proportions from Audible to Visible *Objects*; and apply them as they shall fall fittest (the nature of the Place considered) namely, in some *Windows* and *Doors*, the *Symmetrie* of *Two* to *Three* in their Breadth and Length; In others, the double as aforesaid; There will indubitably result from either a gracefull and *harmonious* contentment to the Eye: Which speculation, though it may appear unto vulgar *Artizans*, perhaps too subtil, and too sublime, yet we must remember, that *Vitruvius* himself doth determine many things in his profession, by *Musical* Grounds, and much commendeth in an *Architect*, a *Philosophical* Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficial, and floating *Artificer*; but a *Diver* into *Causes*, & into the *Mysteries* of *Proportion*. Of the *Ornaments* belonging both to *Doors* and *Windows*, I shall speak in other place; But let me here adde one *Observation*; That our *Master* (as appeareth by divers passages, and particularly *lib. 6. cap. 9.*) seems to have

been an extream Lover of *Luminous Roomes*; And indeed, I must confesse, that a Frank Light can mis-become no *Edifice* whatioever, *Temples* only excepted; which were anciently dark, as they are likewise at this day in some Proportion. *Devotion* more requiring collected then diffused Spirits.

*Lumen est
diffusivum
sui & alieni.*

Yet on the other side, we must take heed to make a House (though but for civill use) all *Eys*, like *Argus*; which in *Northern Climes* would be too cold, In *Southern* too hot: And therefore the matter indeed importeth more then a merry comparison. Besides, There is no part of *Structure* either more expenceful then *Windows*, or more ruinous; not only for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather; but because consisting of so different and unsociable pieces, as *Wood*, *Iron*, *Lead*, and *Glasse*, and those small and weak, they are easily shaken; I must likewise remember one thing, (though it be but a *Grammatical Note*) touching *Doors*. Some were *Fores* and some were *Valva*. Those (as the very word may seem to import) did open

out-

outwards, These *inwards*, and were commonly of two *Leaves* or *Panes*, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed a lesser *Circuit* in their *unfoldings*; And therefore much in use among *Italians* at this day; But I must charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they keep out worse.

Of *Stair-cases*.

TO make a Compleat *Stair-case*, is a curious piece of *Architecture*: The vulgar Cautions are these.

That it have a very liberall *Light* against all Casualty of *Slips*, and *Falls*,

That the space above the Head, be large and *airy*, which the *Italians* use to call *Un bel-sfogolo*, as it were good *Ventilation*, because a man doth spend much breath in mounting.

That the *Half-paces* be well distributed at competent distances, for reposing on the way.

That to avoid *Encounters*, and be-

sides to gratifie the beholder, the whole *Staire-case* have no niggard *Latitude*, that is, for the principall *Ascent*, at least ten foot in *Royall Buildings*.

That the breadth of every single *Step* or *Staire* be never less then one foot, nor more then eighteen inches.

That they exceed by no means half a foot in their height or thickness, for our *Legges* do labour more in *Elevation*, then in *Distention*: These I say are familiar remembrances, to which let me add,

That the steps be layd where they joyn *Con un tantino di scarpa*; we may translate it somewhat *sloaping*, that so the foot may in a sort both ascend and descend together, which though observed by few, is a secret and delicate deception of the pains in mounting.

Lastly, to reduce this doctrine to some *Naturall*, or at least *Mathematicall* ground, (our *Master*, as we see, *lib. 9 cap. 2.*) borroweth those proportions that make the sides of a *Rectangular Triangle*, which the Ancient Schoole did express in lowest termes, by the numbers of 3. 4. and, 5. That is, *Three*
for

for the *Perpendicular*, from the *Staire-head* to the ground ; *Foure* for the *Ground-line* it self, or *Recession* from the wall ; And *Five* for the whole *Inclination* or sloopeness in the ascent ; which proportion, saith he, will make *Temperatas graduum librationes*. Hitherto of *Staire-cases* which are direct : There are likewise *Spirall*, or *Coekle staires*, either *Circular*, or *Ovall*, and sometimes running about a *Pillar*, sometimes vacant, wherein *Palladio*, (A man in this point of singular felicity) was wont to divide the *Diameter* of the first sort into three parts, yeelding one to the *Pillar*, and two to the *Steps* ; Of the second into four, whereof he gave two to the *Staires*, and two to the *Vacuity*, which had all their light from above. And this in exact *Ovals* is a *Master-piece*.

OF CHIMNIES.

IN the present business, *Italians* (who make very frugall fires, are perchance not the best Counsellors.) Therefore from them we may better learn, both
how

how to raise faire *Mantels* within the roomes, and how to disguise gracefully the shafts of Chimnies abroad (as they use) in sundry formes, (which I shal handle in the later part of my Labour) and the rest I will extract from *Philippe de l'Orme*; in this part of his *Work* more diligent, then in any other; or, to do him right, then any man else.

First, he observeth very soberly, that who in the disposition of any Building will consider the nature of the *Region*, and the *Windes* that ordinarily blow from this, or that *Quarter*; might so cast the roomes which shall most need fire, that he should little feare the incommodity of *Smoke*: and therefore he thinkes that inconvenience, for the most part, to proceede from some inconsiderate beginning. Or if the errour lay not in the *Disposition*, but in the *Structure* it self; then he makes a *Logicall* enquiry, That either the *Winde* is too much let in above, at the mouth of the *Shaft*, or the *Smoke* stifled below: If none of these, Then there is a repulsion of the *Fume*, by
some

some higher *Hill* or *Fabrick*, that shall overtop the Chimney, and worke the former effect: If likewise not this, Then he concludes, that the Roome which is infested, must be necessarily both little and close, so as the smoke cannot issue by a naturall *Principle*, wanting a succession and supply of new *Ayre*,

Now, In these cases he suggesteth divers Artificiall remedies, of which I will allow one a little *Description*, because it favoureth of *Philosophie*, and was touched by *Vitruvius* himself, *lib. 1 cap. 6.* but by this man ingeniously applied to the present use: He will have us provide two hollow *brass Balls* of reasonable capacitie, with little holes open in both, for reception of Water, when the Air shall be first sucked out; One of these we must place with the hole upwards, upon an iron Wire, that shall traverse the *Chimney*, a little above the *Mantell*, at the ordinary height of the sharpest heate or flames, whereof the water within being rarified, and by rarification resolved into *Winde*, will break out, and so force up the
 smoke,

smoke, which otherwise might linger
 in the *Tunnell*, by the way, and of-
 tentimes revert; With the other, (saith
 he) we may supply the place of the for-
 mer, when it is exhausted; or for a
 need blow the *Fire* in the mean while:
 Which Invention I have interposed for
 some little intertainment of the Reader;
 I will conclude with a note from *Pal-
 ladio*, who observeth that the *Ancients*
 did warm their Roomes with certain
 secret *Pipes* that came through the
 Walles, transporting heate (as I con-
 ceive it) to sundry parts of the House
 from one common *Furnace*; I am
 ready to baptize them *Caliducts*, as
 well as they are termed *Venti-ducts*
 and *Aqua-ducts* that convey Winde
 and Water; which whether it were a
 custome or a delicacie, was surely both
 for thrift, and for use, far beyond the
 German *Stoves*; And I should prefer
 it likewise before our own fashion, if
 the very sight of a fire did not add to
 the Roome a kind of
Reputation, * as old
Homer doth teach us
 in a verse, sufficient to
 prove

* Αἰθουρῶν δ' ἄνω-
 γος γεραῶ τερος
 οἶκος ἰδέσθαι. Hom.
Epigr.

prove that himself was not blind, as some would lay to his charge.

Touching *Conducts* for the *Swillage*, and other necessities of the House, (which how base soever in use, yet for health of the inhabitants, are as considerable, & perhaps more then the rest) I finde in our Authors, this Counsell; That *Art* should imitate *Nature*, in those ignoble conveyances; and separate them from Sight, (where there wants a running Water) into the most remote, and lowest, and thickest part of the *Foundation*; with secret vents passing up through the Walls like a *Tunnell* to the wilde Aire aloft: which all Italian Artizans commend for the discharge of noysome vapours, though else-where to my knowledge little practised.

Thus having considered the precedent *Apertions*, or *Overtures*, in severally, according to their particular Requisites, I am now come to the casting and *Contexture* of the whole *Work*, comprehended under the term of *Compartition*: Into which (being the mainest piece) I cannot enter without

a few generall Precautions, as I have done in other Parts.

First therefore, Let no man that intendeth to build, settle his Fancy upon a draught of the *Worke* in *paper*, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in *perspective*; And much less upon a bare *Plant* thereof, as they call the *Schiographia* or *Groundlines*; without a *Modell* or *Type* of the whole *Structure*, and of every parcell and Partition in *Pastbord* or *Wood*.

Next, that the said Model be as plain as may be, without colours or other beautifying, lest the pleasure of the *Eye* preoccupate the *Judgment*; which advise, omitted by the *Italian Architects*, I find in *Philippe de l'Orme*; and therefore (though *France* be not the *Theater* of best Buildings) it did merit some mention of his name.

Lastly, the bigger that this *Type* be, it is still the better, not that I will persuade a man to such an enormity, as that *Modell* made by *Antonio Labaco*, of *Saint Peters Church* in *Rome*, containing 22 foot in length, 16 in breadth, and 13 in heighth, and costing 4184 crowns:

crowns : The price, in truth, of a reasonable Chappel : Yet in a Fabrick of some 40. or 50. thousand pounds charge, I wish 30. pounds at least laid out before hand in an exact *Modell* ; for a little misery in the *Premises*, may easily breed some absurdity of greater charge, in the *Conclusion*.

Now, after these premonishments I will come to the *Compartition* it selfe, By which, the Authors of this *Art* (as hath been touched before) doe understand, a *gracefull* and *usefull* distribution, of the whole *Ground plot* both for roomes of *Office*, and of *Reception* or *Entertainment*, as far as the Capacity therof, and the nature of the *Coun- trey* will comport. Which circumstances in the present Subject, are all of main consideration, and might yeeld more discourse then an *Elementall Rapsodie* will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the *Gracefulness* (whereof we speake) will consist in double *Analogie*, or correspondencie. First between the *Parts*, and the *Whole*, whereby a *great Fabrick* should have *great Partitions*, *great Lights*,

Lights, great Entrances, great Pillars or Pylasters; In sum, all the Members great. The next between the *Parts* themselves, not only, considering their *Bredths*, and *Lengths*, as before when we spake of *Doors* and *Windows*; but here likewise enters a third respect of *Height*, a point (I must confesse) hardly reduceable to any generall precept.

True it is, that the *Ancients* did determine the *Longitude* of all *Rooms*, which were longer then broad, by the double of their *Latitude*, *Vitruvius lib.6.cap.5.* And the *Height* by the half of the bredth and length summed together. But when the Room was precisely square, they made the *Height* half as much more as the *Latitude*; which *Dimensions* the modern *Architects* have taken leave to vary upon discretion: Somtimes squaring the *Latitude*, and then making the *Diagonal* or overthwart Line, from *Angle* to *Angle*, of the said *Square*; the measure of the *Height* somtimes more, but seldom lower then the full bredth it self; which boldnesse of quitting the old *Proportions*, some attribute first to *Michael*

Michael Angelo da Buonaroti, perchance upon the credit he had before gotten in two other Arts.

The second Point is *Usefulness*, which will consist in a sufficient *Number* of Rooms, of all sorts, and in their apt *Coherence*, without *distraction*, without *confusion*; so as the beholder may not only call it, *Una Fabrica ben raccolta*, as *Italians* use to speak of well united Works; but likewise, that it may appear *airy* and *spiritous*, and fit for the welcome of chearfull Guests; about which the principall Difficulty will be in contriving the *Lights*, and *Stair-cases*, whereof I will touch a note or two: For the first, I observe that the ancient *Architects* were at much ease. For both the *Greeks* and *Romans* (of whose private dwellings *Vitruvius* hath left us some description) had commonly two *cloistered* open *Courts*, one serving for the *Womens* side, and the other for the *Men*; who yet perchance now adays would take so much separation unkindly. Howsoever, by this means, the reception of *Light* into the Body of the building,

was

was very prompt, both from without and from within : which we must now supply either by some open *Form* of the *Fabrick*, or among gracefull refuges, by *Tarrasing* any *Story* which is in danger of darknesse ; or lastly, by *perpendicular Lights* from the *Roof*, of all other the most naturall, as shall be shewed anon. For the second Difficulty, which is casting of the *Staircases* ; That being in it self no hard point, but only as they are incombrances of room for other use, (which lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved here to speak of them. And first of Offices.

I have marked a willingnesse in the *Italian Artisans*, to distribute the *Kitchen, Pantrie, Bakehouse, washing Rooms* : and even the *Buttery* likewise, underground ; next above the *Foundation*, and somtimes levell with the plain, or *Floor* of the *Cellar* : raising the first Ascent into the house Fifteen Foot, or more for that End, which besides the benefit of removing such Annoies out of sight, and the gaining of so much more room above, doth also
by

by elevation of the *Front*, add *Majesty* to the whole *Aspect*. And with such a disposition of the principall *Stair-case*, which commonly doth deliver us into the *Plain* of the second *Story*, there may be wonders done with a little room, whereof I could alledge brave *Examples* abroad; and none more Artificiall and Delicious, then a House built by *Daniele Barbaro Patriarch* of *Aquileia*, before mentioned, among the memorable *Commenters* upon *Vitruvius*. But the *Definition* (above determined) doth call us to some consideration of our own *Country*; where though all the other petty *Offices* (before rehearsed) may well enough be so remote, yet by the naturall *Hospitality* of *England*, the *Buttery* must be more visible, and we need perchance for our *Raunges*, a more spacious and luminous *Kitchen* then the foresaid *Compartition* will bear; with a more competent nearnesse likewise to the *Dining Room*, or else besides other *Inconveniencies*, perhaps some of the *Dishes* may straggle by the way; Hear let me note a common defect, that we have
of

of a very usefull *Roome*, called by the *Italians*, *Il Tinello*; and familiar, nay almost essentiall, in all their great *Families*. It is a Place properly appointed to conserve the meat that is taken from the Table, till the *Waiters* eat, which with us by an old fashion, is more unseemly set by in the mean while.

Now touching the distribution of *Lodging* chambers; I must here take leave to reprove a fashion, which I know not how, hath prevailed through *Italie*, though without ancient examples, as farr as I can perceive by *Vitruvius*. The thing I mean, is, that they so cast their *partitions*, as when all *Doors* are open, a man may see through the whole *House*, which doth necessarily put an intollerable servitude upon all the *Chambers* save the *Inmost*, where none can arrive but through the rest; or else the *Walles* must be extream thick for secret passages. And yet this also will not serve the turn, without at least *Three* doors to every *Roome*: A thing most insufferable in cold and windy Regions, and every where no small weakening to
the

the whole *Work*: Therefore with us that want no cooling, I cannot commend the direct opposition of such *Overtures*, being indeed meerely grounded upon the fond ambition of displaying to a *Stranger* all our *Furniture* at one *Sight*, which therefore is most maintained by them that mean to harbour but a few; whereby they make onely advantage of the *vanity*, and seldome prove the *Inconvinience*. There is likewise another defect (as absurdities are seldome solitarie) which will necessarily follow upon such a servile disposing of inward Chambers; That they must be forced to make as many common great *Roomes*, as there shall be severall *Stories*; which (besides that they are usually dark, a point hardly avoided, running as they do, through the middle of the whole *House*) do likewise devoure so much Place, that thereby they want other *Galleries*, and *Roomes of Retreat*, which I have often considered among them (I must confess) with no small wonder; for I observe no *Nation* in the World, by nature more *private*
and

and reserved, then the *Italian*; and on the other side, in no *Habitations* less *privacie*; so as there is a kind of Conflict between their *Dwelling* and their *Being*: It might here perchance be expected, that I should at least describe (which others have done in *draughts* and *designes*.) divers *Formes* of *Plants* and *Partitions*, and varieties of *Inventions*, But speculative *Writers* (as I am) are not bound to comprise all particular Cases within the Latitude of the *Subject* which they handle; Generall Lights, and *Directions*, and pointings at some faults, is sufficient. The rest must be committed to the sagacity of the *Architect*, who will be often put to divers ingenious shifts, when he is to wrestle with scarcity of *Ground*. As

The *Italians* call it *una stanza dannata*, as when a Buttery is callt under a stayre-Cafe or the like.

sometimes * to damm one Room (though of speciall use) for the benefit and beauty of all the rest; Another while, to make those fairest, which are most in *Sight*, and to leave the other (like a cunning Painter) in shadow, *cum multis aliis*, which

it were infinite to pursue. I will therefore close this Part touching *Compartition*, as chearfully as I can, with a short description of a *Feasting* or *entertaining Room*, after the *Ægyptian* manner, who seem (at least till the time of *Vitruvius*) from the ancient *Hebrews* and *Phenicians* (whence all knowledge did flow) to have retained, with other *Sciences*, in a high degree, also the *Principles*, and *practice* of this magnificent *Art*. For as far as I may conjecture by our Masters Text, *lib. 6. cap. 5.* (where as in many other places he hath tortured his *Interpreters*) there could no *Form* for such a Royall Use be comparably imagined like that of the foresaid *Nation*, which I shall adventure to explain.

Let us conceive a *Floor* or *Area* of goodly length, (for example at least of 120. foot) with the *breadth* somewhat more then the half of the *Longitude*, whereof the reason shal be afterwards rendred. About the two longest Sides and Head of the said *Room* shall run an Order of *Pillars*, which *Palladio* doth suppose *Corinthian*, as I see by his

design) supplying that point out of *Greece*, because we know no *Order* proper to *Egypt*. The Fourth Side I will leave free for the *Entrance*: On the foresaid *Pillars* was laid an *Architrave*, which *Vitruvius* mentioneth alone: *Palladio* adds thereunto (and with reason) both *Freez* and *Cornice*, over which went up a continued *Wall*, and therein half or three quarter *Pillars* answering directly to the *Order* below, but a fourth Part lesse; and between these half *Columnes* above the whole *Room* was windowed round about.

Now, from the lowest *Pillars* there was laid over a *Contignation* or *Floor* born upon the outward *Wall*, and the *Head* of the *Columns* with *Tarrace* and *Pavement*, *Sub dio* (saith our Master;) and so indeed he might safely determine the matter in *Egypt*, where they fear no *Clouds*: Therefore *Palladio*, (who leaveth this *Tarrace* uncovered in the middle, and ballised about) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein discording from others: Always we must understand a sufficient breadth of *Pavement* left between the
open

open part and the *Windows*, for some delight of Spectatours, that might look down into the *Room*: The *Latitude* I have supposed, contrary to some former Positions, a little more then the half of the length; because the Pillars standing at a competent distance from the outmost *Wall*, will, by interception of the *Sight*, somewhat in appearance diminish the breadth; In which cases, (as I have touched once or twice before) *Discretion* may be more licentious then *Art*. This is the description of an *Egyptian* room for *Feasts* and other *Jollities*. About the *Walls* whereof we must imagine entire *Statues* placed below, and illuminated by the descending Light from the *Terrace*, as likewise from the *Windows* between the half Pillars above: So as this *Room* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and besides other garnishing, must needs receive much *State* by the very height of the *Roof*, that lay over two Orders of *Columnes*. And so having run through the four parts of my first generall *Division*, namely, *Foundations*, *Walls*, *Aperti-*

ions, and *Compartition*; the *House* may now have leave to put on his *Hat*; having hitherto been uncovered it self, and consequently unfit to cover others. Which point, though it be the last of this Art in execution, yet it is always in *Intention* the first: For who would build but for *Shelter*? Therefore obtaining both the *Place*, and the dignity of a *Finall Cause*, it hath been diligently handled by divers, but by none more learnedly then *Bernardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guaftalla* (before cited upon other occasion) who doth fundamentally, and *Mathematically* demonstrate the firmest *Knittings* of the upper *Timbers*, which make the *Roof*. But it hath been rather my *Scope*, in these *Elements*, to fetch the ground of all from *Nature* her self, which indeed is the simplest Mother of Art. Therefore I will now only deliver a few of the properest, and (as I may say) of the naturallest considerations that belong to this remaining *Piece*.

There are two Extremities to be avoided in the *Cover*, or *Roof*: That it be not too *heavy*, nor too *light*. The first,

first, will suffer a vulgar objection of pressing too much the under-work. The other containeth a more secret inconvenience; for the *Cover* is not only a bare defence, but likewise a kind of *Band* or *Ligature* to the whole *Fabrick*, and therefore would require some reasonable weight. But of the two extreames, a House *Top-heavy* is the worst. Next, there must be a care of *Equality*, that the *Edifice* be not pressed on the one side more then on the other; and here *Palladio* doth wish (like a cautelous Artizan) that the inward Walls might bear some good share in the burthen, and the outward be the lesse charged.

Thirdly, the *Italians* are very precise in giving the *Cover* a gracefull *pendence* of *sloapnesse*, dividing the whole breadth into nine Parts; whereof two shall serve for the elevation of the highest *Toppe* or *Ridge* from the lowest. But in this Point the quality of the *Region* is considerable: For (as our *Vitruvius* insinuateth) those *Climes* that fear the falling and lying of much *Snow*, ought to provide more inclining

Pentices: and *Comelineffe* must yeild to *Necessity*.

These are the usefullest Cautions which I find in *Authours*, touching the last *Head* of our Division, where-with I will conclude the first Part of my present *Travel*. The second remaineth concerning *Ornaments* within, or without the *Fabrick*: A Piece not so dry as the meer *Contemplation* of Proportions. And therefore I hope therein somewhat to refresh both the *Reader*, and my self,



OF
 THE ELEMENTS
 OF
 ARCHITECTURE,

The Second Part.

VERY Mans proper
 Mansion House and
 Home, being the Thea-
 ter of his Hospitality,
 the Seate of Self-fruiti-
 on, the Comfortablest part of his own
 Life, the noblest of his Sons Inheri-
 tance, a kind of private Princedome;
 Nay, to the Possessors thereof, an E-
 pitomie of the whole World; may well
 deserve

deserve by these *Attributes*, according to the degree of the *Master*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned. For which end, there are two *Arts* attending on *Architecture*, like two of her principall *Gentlemen*, to *dress* and *trimme* their *Mistress*; PICTURE and SCULPTURE: Between whom, before I proceed any further, I will venture to determine an ancient quarrell about their *Precedency*, with this *Distinction*; that in the garnishing of *Fabricks*, *Sculpture* no doubt must have the *preheminance*, as being indeed of neerer affinity to *Architecture* it self, and consequently the more naturall, and more sutable *Ornament*. But on the other side, (to consider these two Arts as I shall do *Philosophically*, and not *Mechanically*) An excellent Piece of *Painting*, is, to my judgment, the more admirable *Object*, because it comes neer an *Artificiall Miracle*, to make diverse distinct *Eminences* appear upon a *Flat* by force of *Shadowes*, and yet the *Shadowes* themselves not to appear: which I conceive to be the uttermost value and vertue of a *Painter*,
and

and to which very few have arrived in all Ages.

In these two *Arts* (as they are applicable to the *Subject* which I handle) it shall be fit first to consider how to choose them ; and next how to dispose them. To guide us in the *choyce*, we have a *Rule* somwhere (I well remember) in *Pliny*, and it is a pretty observation ; That they do mutually help to censure one another. For *Picture* is best when it standeth off, as if it were carved ; and *Sculpture* is best when it appeareth so tender, as if it were painted : I mean, when there is such a seeming softness in the *Limbes*, as if not a *Chissell* had hewed them out of *Stone*, or other *Materiall*, but a *Pencil* had drawn and stroaked them in *Oyl* ; which the judicious *Poet* took well to his *Fancy*.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius era.

But this generality is not sufficient to make a good *choofer*, without a more particular contraction of his *Judgement*. Therefore when a *Piece of Art* is set before us, let the first *Caution* be, not to ask who made it, least the

Fame of the *Author* doe Captivate the *Fancie* of the *Buyer*. For, that excellent men doe alwaies *excellently*, is a false Conclusion; wherupon I observe among *Italian* Artizans three notable *Phrases*, which well decipher the degrees of their *Works*.

They will tel you, that a thing was done *Con diligenza*, *Con studio*, and *Con Amore*; The first is but a bare and ordinary *diligence*, The second is a *learned diligence*; The third is much more, even a *loving diligence*: They mean not with love to the *Bespeaker* of the *Workē*, but with a love and delight in the *Workē* it selfe, upon some speciall *Fancy* to this, or that *Story*; And when all these concur (particularly the last) in an eminent *Authour*, Then perchance *Titianus fecit*, or ὁ φίδιος ἐποίησεν will serve the turn, without farther *Inquisition*; Otherwise Artizans have not only their *Growths* and *Perfections*, but likewise their *Vains* and *Times*.

The next Caution must be (to proceed *Logically*) that in judging of the *Work* it self, we be not distracted with too many things at once; Therefore

fore first (to beginne with *Picture* :) we are to observe whether it be well drawn, (or as more elegant *Artizans* term it) well *Design'd*; Then, whether it be well *Coloured*, which be the two generall *Heads*; And each of them hath two principall *Requisites*; For in well *Designing*, there must be *Truth* and *Grace*; In well *Colouring*, *Force* and *Affection*; All other *Praises* are but *Consequences* of these.

Truth (as we Metaphorically take it in this Art) is a *Just* and *Natural Proportion* in every Part of the determined Figure. *Grace* is a certain *free Disposition* in the whole Draught, answerable to that unaffected Franknesse of *Fashion* in a living *Body*, Man or Woman, which doth animate Beauty where it is, and supply it, where it is not.

Force consisteth in the *Roundings* and *Raisings* of the *Work*, according as the *Limbs* do more or lesse require it; So as the *Beholder* shall spie no *sharpnesse* in the bordering *Lines*; As when *Taylor*s cut out a *Sute*, which *Italians* do aptly term according to that comparison, *Contorni taglianti*; Not any flat-

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nessesse within the *Bodie* of the *Figure*, which how it is done, we must fetch from a higher *Discipline*; For the *Op-ricks* teach us. That a *plaine* will appear *prominent*, and (as it were) *embossed*, if the *Parts* farthest from the *Axel-tree*, or middle *Beam* of the *Eye*, shall be the most shadowed; Because in all *Darknesse*, there is a kind of *Deepnesse*. But as in the *Art* of *perswasion*, one of the most *Fundamentall Precepts* is the *Concealment* of *Art*; So here likewise, the *Sight* must be sweetly deceived by an insensible passage, from *brighter colours* to *dimmer*, which *Italian Artizans* call the *middle Tinctures*; That is, Not as the *whites* and *yolkes* of *Egs* lie in the *Shel*, with visible distinction; But as when they are *beaten*, and *blended* in a *Dish*, which is the nearest comparison that I can suddenly conceive.

Lastly, *Affection* is the *Lively Representment* of any *passion* whatsoever, as if the *Figures* stood not upon a *Cloth* or *Board*, but as if they were *acting* upon a *Stage*; And here I must remember, in truth with much marvell, a note
which

which I have received from excellent *Artizans*, that though Gladness and Grief be *opposites* in Nature; yet they are such *Neighbours* and *Confiners* in Art, that the least touch of a *Penfili* will translate a *crying*, into a *laughing* Face; as it is represented by *Homer* in the person of *Hectors* wife; as *Painters* and *Poets* have always had a kind of congeniality,

Ι Λ Ι Α Δ. ζ.

Ὡς εἰπὼν ἀλόχοιο Φίλης ἐν χέρσιν ἔθηκε,
Παῖδ' ἔδον, ἥδ' ἄρα μὲν μνώδει δέξατο κόλπῳ
Δακρύειν γελάσασα. — That is,

She took her son into her arms, weeping-ly laughing.

Which Instance, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my memory that ingenuous Speculation of the Cardinal *Cusanus*, extant in his Works, touching the *coincidence* of *Extremes*. And thus much of the four *Requisites*, and *Perfections* in *Picture*.

In *Sculpture* likewise, the Two first are absolutely necessary; The third impertinent; For *Solid* *Figures* need no elevati-

elevation, by force of *Lights*, or *Shadows*; Therefore in the Room of this, we may put (as hath been before touched) a kind of *Tenderness*, by the *Italians* termed *Morbidezza*, wherein the *Chizell*, I must confesse, hath more glory then the *Pensil*; that being so hard an *Instrument*, and working upon so unpliant stuffe, can yet leave *Strokes* of so gentle appearance.

The Fourth, which is the expressing of *Affection* (as farre as it doth depend upon the *Activity* and *Gesture* of the *Figure*) is as proper to the *Carver*, as to the *Painter*; though *Colours*, no doubt, have therein the greatest power; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with us the *Fashion* of colouring, even *Regall Statues*, which I must take leave to call an *English Barbarisme*.

Now in these four *Requisites* already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no *Artizan*, having ever been blamed for excesse in any of the three last; only *Truth* (which should seem the most *Innocent*) hath suffered some *Objection*; and all *Ages* have yeelded some one or two *Artificers* so prodigiously

exquisite, that they have been reputed too *Naturall* in their *Draughts*; which will well appear by a famous passage in *Quintillian*, touching the *Characters* of the ancient *Artizans*, falling now so aptly into my memory, that I must needs translate it, as in truth it may well deserve.

The place which I intend, is extant in the last *Chapter* save one of his whole *Worke*, beginning thus in *Latine*;

Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratiâ visenda sunt clari Pictores, fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, &c.

The whole *Passage* in *English* standeth thus.

THE first *Painters* of Name, whose *Workes* be considerable for any thing more then only *Antiquity*, are said to have been *Polygnotus* and *Aglaophon*; whose bare *Colouring* (he means I think in *white* and *black*) hath even yet so many followers, that those rude and first *Elements*, as it

laure

were of that, which within a while, became an Art, are preferred before the greatest *Painters* that have been extant after them, out of a certain *Competition* (as I conceive it) in point of *Judgement*. After these, *Zeuxes* and *Parafius* not far distant in age, both about the time of the *Peloponnesian War*, (for in *Xenophon* we have a Dialogue between *Parafius* and *Socrates*) did add much to this *Art*. Of which the first is said to have invented the due disposition of *Lights* and *Shadows*; The second, to have more subtilly examined, the *Truth* of *Lines* in the *Draught*; for *Zeuxes* did make *Limbs* bigger then the *life*; deeming his *Figures*, thereby the more stately and Majestical; and therein (as some think) imitating *Homer*, whom the stoutest Form doth please, even in *Women*. On the other side, *Parafius* did exactly limit all the Proportions so, as they call him the *Law-giver*, because in the *Images* of the *Gods*, and of *Heroical Personages*, others have followed his Patterns like a *Decree*; But *Picture* did most flourish about the days of *Philip*, and even to the

the Successours of *Alexander*; yet by sundry *Habilities*; for *Protogenes* did excell in *Diligence*; *Pamphilus* and *Melanthius* in due *Proportion*; *Antiphilus* in a frank *Facility*; *Theon* of *Samos*, in *Strength* of *Fantasia* and conceiving of *Passions*; *Apelles*, in *Invention* and *Grace*, whereof he doth himself most vaunt; *Euphranor* deserves admiration, that being in other excellent *Studies* a principall Man, he was likewise a wondrous Artizan, both in *Painting* and *Sculpture*. The like difference we may observe among the *Statuaries*; for the works of *Calon* and *Egeſias* were somewhat *stiffe*, like the *Tuscan* Manner; Those of *Calamis* not done with so cold stroaks; And *Myron* more tender than the former; a diligent *Decency* in *Polycletus* above others; to whom though the highest prayſe be attributed by the most, yet lest he should go free from exception, some think he wanted *solemneſſe*; for as he may perchance be said to have added a comely *Dimension* to humane ſhape, somewhat above the *truth*; so on the other side, he seemed not to have fully expressed the

the *Majesty* of the *Gods*: Moreover, he is said not to have medled willingly with the *graver age*, as not adventuring beyond *smooth cheeks*: But these vertues that were wanting in *Policletus*, were supplied by *Phidias* and *Alcmenes*; yet *Phidias* was a better Artizan in the representing of *Gods*, then of *Men*; and in his works of *Ivory*, beyond all emulation, even though he had left nothing behind him but his *Minerva* at *Athens*, or the *Olympian Jupiter* in *Elis*, whose *Beauty* seems to have added somewhat, even to the received *Religion*; the *Majesty* of the *Work*, as it were, equalling the *Deity*. To *Truth*, they affirm *Lysippus* and *Praxiteles*, to have made the nearest approach: for *Demetrius* is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding then deficient; having been a greater aimer at *Likeness*, then at *Loveliness*.

This is that witty Censure of the ancient Artizans which *Quintillian* hath left us, where the last *Character* of *Demetrius* doth require a little *Philosophical Examination*; How an *Artificer*, whose end is the *Imitation* of *Nature*.

ture, can be too *naturall*; which likewise in our days was either the fault, or (to speak more gently) the too much perfection of *Albert Durer*, and perhaps also of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, between whom I have heard noted by an ingenuous Artizan a pretty nice difference, that the *German* did too much expresse *that which was*; and the *Italian*, *that which should be*: Which severe Observation of *Nature*, by the one, in her *commonest*, and by the other in her *absolute* Forms, must needs produce in both a kind of *Rigidity*, and consequently more *Naturalnesse* then *Gracefulnesse*: This is the clearest reason, why some exact *Symmetrists* have been blamed for being too true, as near as I can deliver my conceit. And so much touching the choice of *Picture* and *Sculpture*: The next is, the application of both to the beautifying of *Fabricks*.

First therefore, touching *Picture*, there doth occurre a very pertinent doubt, which hath been passed over too slightly, not only by some *Men*, but by some *Nations*; namely, whether
this

this *Ornament* can well become the *Out-side* of *houses*, wherein the *Germans* have made so little scruple, that their best *Towns* are the most painted, as *Augusta* and *Norembergh*. To determine this question in a word: It is true, that a *Story* well set out with a good *Hand*, will every where take a *Judicious* eye: But yet withall it is as true, that various colours on the *Out-walles* of *Buildings* have alwayes in them more *Delight* then *Dignity*: Therefore I would there admit no *Paintings* but in *Black* and *White*, nor even in that kinde any *Figures* (if the roome be capable) under *Nine* or *Ten* foot high, which will require no ordinary *Artizan*; because the faults are more visible then in small *Designes*. In unfigured *paintings* the noblest is the imitation of *Marbles*, and of *Architecture* it self, as *Arches*, *Treeces*, *Columnes*, and the like.

Now for the *Inside*, here growes another doubt, wherein *Grotesca* (as the *Italians*) or *Antique* work (as we call it) should be received, against the expresse authority of *Vitruvius* himself, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* where *Pictura* (saith he)

he) *fit ejus, quod est, seu potest esse*; excluding by this severe definition, all *Figures* composed of different *Natures* or *Sexes*; so as a *Syrene* or a *Centaure* had been intolerable in his eye: But in this we must take leave to depart from our Master; and the rather, because he spake out of his own Profession, allowing *Painters* (who have ever been as little limited as *Poets*) a lesse scope in their imaginations, even then the gravest *Philosophers*, who sometimes do serve themselves of *Instances* that have no *Existence* in *Nature*; as we see in *Plato's Amphisbœna*, & *Aristotles Hirco-Cervus*. And (to settle this point) what was indeed more common and familiar among the *Romanes* themselves, then the *Picture* and *Statue* of *Terminus*, even one of their *Deities*? which yet if we well consider, is but a piece of *Grotesca*; I am for these reasons unwilling to impoverish that Art, though I could wish such *medlie* and *motlie* *Designes* confined only to the *Ornament* of *Freezes*, and *Borders*, their properest place. As for other *Storied Workes* upon *Walles*, I doubt our *Clime* be

too yeelding and moist for such *Garnishment*; therefore leaving it to the Dwellers discretion according to the quality of his Seat, I will only add a Caution or two about the disposing of *Pictures* within.

First, That no Room be furnished with too many; which, in truth, were a Surfet of *Ornament*, unlesse they be Galleries, or some peculiar *Repository* for Rarities of Art.

Next, That the best Pieces be placed not where there are the *least*, but where there are the *fewest lights*: therefore not only Rooms windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted; but with two or moe windows on the same side, are enemies to this *Art*: and sure it is, that no Painting can be seen in full perfection, but (as all Nature is illuminated) by a *single Light*.

Thirdly, That in the *placing* there be some care also taken how the *Painter* did stand in the *working*, which an intelligent *Eye* will easily discover; and that *posture* is the most natural: so as *Italian* Pieces will appear best in a Room where the Windows are high,
because

because they are commonly made to a descending Light, which of all other doth set off mens Faces in their truest spirit.

Lastly, That they be as properly bestowed for their *quality*, as *fitly* for their *grace*: that is, *chearefull* Paintings in *Feasting* and *Banquetting* Rooms, *Graver Stories* in *Galleries*; *Land-skips* and *Boscage*, and such *wilde* works, in open *Tarraces*, or in *Summer houses* (as we call them) and the like.

And thus much of *Picture*, which let me close with this Note; that though my former Discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable *leading* in the choice of such delights; yet let no man hope by such a *speculative* erudition, to discern the *Masterly* and *mysterious* touches of *Art*, but an Artizan himself; to whom therefore we must leave the *prerogative* to censure the manner & handling, as he himself must likewise leave some points, perchance of no lesse value, to others; as for example, whether the *Story* be rightly *represented*, the *Figures* in true *action*, the *Persons* *suted* to their several qualities, the

the *affections* proper and *strong*, and such like Observations.

Now for *Sculpture*, I must likewise begin with a Controversie, as before (falling into this Place;) or let me rather call it a very meer *Fancy* strangely taken by *Palladio*, who having noted in an old Arch or two at *Verona*, some part of the *Materials* already cut in fine *Forms*, and some *unpolished*, doth conclude (according to his *Logick*) upon this particular, that the Ancients did leave the outward *Face* of their *Marbles* or *Free-stone* without any *Sculpture*, till they were laid and cemented in the Body of the Building; For which likewise he findeth a reason (as many do now and then very wittily, even before the thing it self be true) that the *Materials* being left *rough* were more managable in the *Masons* hand, then if they had been *smooth*; And that so the *sides* might be laid together the more exactly; Which Conceit, once taken, he seems to have further imprinted, by marking in certain Storied *Sculptures* of old time, how precisely the Parts and Lines
of

of the *Figures* that pass from one Stone to another, do meet; which he thinks could hardly fall out so right, (forgetting while he speaks of *ancient* things, the *ancient Diligence*) unless they had been cut after the joyning of the *Materials*. But all these *Inducements* cannot countervaile the sole *Inconvenience* of *Shaking* and *Disjoynting* the *Commissures* with so many Strokes of the *Chizell*, besides an *Incommodious* Working on *Scaffolds*; especially having no testimony to confirme it, that I have yet seen, among the records of *Art*: Nay, it is indeed rather true, that they did *square*, and *carve*, and *polish* their *Stone* and *Marble* Works, even in the very *Cave* of the *Quarry*, before it was hardened by open *Aire*: But (to leave disputation) I will set down a few *Positive* notes for the placing of *Sculpture*; because the chusing hath been handled before.

That first of all, it be not too *generall* and *abundant*, which would make a *House* look like a *Cabinet*; and in this point, *moral Philosophy*, which tempereth *Fancies*, is the *Superintendent* of *Art*.

That especially, there be a due moderation of this *Ornament* in the first approach; where our Authors do more commend (I mean about the Principall *Entrance*) a *Dorique*, then a *Corinthian* garnishment; So as if the great *Doore* be *Arched* with some brave *Head*, cut in fine *Stone* or *Marble* for the *Key* of the *Arch*, and two *Incumbent* Figures gracefully leaning upon it towards one another, as if they meant to conferr, I should thinke this a sufficient Entertainment for the first Reception of any *judicious* Sight, which I could wish seconded with two great standing *Statues* on each side of a paved way that shall lead up into the *Fabrick*, so as the Beholder at the first entrance may passe his Eye between them.

That the *Nices*, if they contain *Figures* of white *Stone* or *Marble*, be not coloured in their *Concavity* too black, For though *Contraria juxta se posita magis illucescunt* (by an old Rule); yet it hath been subtilly, and indeed truly noted, that our *Sight* is not well contented with those sudden department

from

from one extream to another: Therefore let them have rather a *Dusky* Tincture, then an absolute *black*.

That *fine* and delicate *Sculptures* be helped with *Neerness*, and *Gross* with *distance*; which was well seen in the old controversie between *Phidias* and *Alcmenes* about the *Statue* of *Venus*: wherein the First did shew discretion, and save labour, because the *Worke* was to be veiwed at good *Height*, which did drown the sweet and diligent strokes of his *Adversary*: A famous emulation of two principall *Artizans*, celebrated even by the *Greek* Poets.

That in the placing of standing *Figures* aloft, we must set them in a *Posture* somewhat bowing forward; because (saith our Master, *lib.3.cap.3.* out of a better *Art* then his own) the *visuall beam* of our eye, extended to the *Head* of the said *Figures*, being longer then to the *Foot*, must necessarily, make that *part* appear *farther*; so as to reduce it to an erect or upright *position*, there must be allowed a due advantage of *stooping* towards us; which

Albert Durer hath exactly taught in his fore-mentioned *Geometry*. Our *Vitruvius* calleth this affection in the *Eye*, a *resupination* of the *Figure*: For which word (being in truth his own, for ought I know) we are almost as much beholding to him, as for the *Observation* it self: And let thus much summarily suffice touching the choice and use of these adorning Arts. For to speak of garnishing the *Fabrick* with a *Row* of erected *Statues* about the *Cornice* of every *Contignation* or *Story*, were discourse more proper for *Athens* or *Rome*, in the time of their true greatnesse, when (as *Plinie* recordeth of his own Age) there were near as many carved *Images*, as living *Men*; like a noble contention, even in point of *Fertility*, between *Art* and *Nature*; which passage doth not only argue an infinite abundance, both of *Artizans* and *Materials*; but likewise of *Magnificent* and *Majesticall* Desires in every common person of those times, more or lesse, according to their *Fortunes*. And true it is indeed, that the *Marble Monuments* & *Memories* of wel
de-

deserving Men, wherewith the very high ways were *strewed* on each side, was not a bare and transitory Entertainment of the *Eye*, or only a gentle deception of *Time* to the *Traveller*: But had also a secret and strong *Influence*, even into the advancement of the *Monarchy*, by continuall representation of vertuous Examples; so as in that point, *ART* became a piece of *State*.

Now, as I have before subordinated *Picture* and *Sculpture* to *Architecture*, as their *Mistresse*; so there are certain inferiour *ARTS* likewise subordinate to them; As under *Picture*, *Mosaique*; under *Sculpture*, *Plastique*; which two I only nominate, as the fittest to garnish *Fabricks*.

Mosaique is a kind of *Painting* in small *Pebbles*, *Cockles* and *Shels* of sundry colours; and of late days likewise with pieces of *Glasse* figured at pleasure; an *Ornament*, in truth, of much beauty, and long life; but of most use in *pavements* and *floorings*.

Plastique is not only under *Sculpture*, but indeed very *Sculpture* it self:

but with this difference; that the *Plasterer* doth make his Figures by *Addition*, and the *Carver* by *Substraction*; wherupon *Michael Angelo* was wont to say somewhat pleasantly, That *Sculpture* was nothing but a *purgation* of *superfluities*. For take away from a piece of wood or stone all that is *superfluous*, and the remainder is the intended *Figure*. Of this *plastick Art*, the chief use with us is in the gracefull *fretting* of *Roofs*: But the *Italians* apply it to the *mantling* of *Chimneys* with great Figures. A cheap piece of *Magnificence*, and as durable almost within doors, as harder *Forms* in the weather. And here, though it be a little excursion, I cannot passe unremembred again, their manner of disguising the shafts of *Chimneys* in various fashions, whereof the noblest is the *Pyramidall*: being in truth a piece of polite and civill discretion, to convert even the *conduits* of foot and smoak into *Ornaments*; whereof I have hitherto spoken as far as may concern the Body of the Building.

Now there are *Ornaments* also without,

out, as *Gardens, Fountains, Groves, Conservatories* of rare *Beasts, Birds, and Fishes*. Of which ignobler kind of *Creatures*, We ought not (saith our greatest * Master among the Sons of Nature) childishly to de-

* *Arist. lib. 1. cap. 5. de part. Anim. Ἰαί μὴ συχραίνεῖν παιδικῶς τῷ ἀεὶ καὶ ἀτιμωτέρον ζῶον ὄμισεσθαι. Ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐνεί τι θαυμαστόν.*

spise the *Contem- plation*; for in all things that are naturall, there is ever something that is admirable. Of

these external delights a word or two. First, I must note a certain contrariety between *building & gardening*: For as *Fabricks* should be *regular*, so *Gardens* should be *irregular*, or at least cast into a very wild *Regularity*. To exemplifie my conceit; I have seen a *Garden* (for the manner perchance incomparable) into which the first Accessse was a high walk like a *Tarrace*, from whence might be taken a generall view of the whole *Plot* below, but rather in a delightfull confusion, then with any plain distinction of the pieces. From this the *Beholder* descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed again, by severall *mountings*

and *valings*, to various entertainments of his *sent* and *sight*: which I shall not need to describe (for that were poetical). let me only note this, that every one of these diversities, was as if he had bin *Magically* transported into a new *Garden*.

But though other *Countrys* have more benefit of Sun then we, and thereby more properly tied to contemplate this delight; yet have I seen in our *own*, a delicate and diligent *curiosity*, surely without *parallel* among forraign *Nations*: Namely, in the *Garden* of Sir *Henry Fanshaw*, at his Seat in *Ware Park*; where I wel remember, he did so precisely examine the *tinctures* and *seasons* of his *flowrs*, that in their *settings*, the *inwardest* of those which were to come up at the same time, should be always a little *darker* then the *utmost*, and so servethem for a kind of gentle *shadow*, like a piece, not of *Nature*, but of *Art*: which mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his *Name*, for the dear *friendship* that was long between us: though I must confesse, with much wrong to his other *vertues*; which deserve a more solid

Memoriall, then among these vacant Observations. So much of *Gardens*.

Fountains are figured, or only plain *Water'd-works*: Of either of which, I will describe a matchlesse pattern.

The first, done by the famous hand of *Micael Angelo da Buonaroti*, in the figure of a sturdy woman, washing and winding of linnen clothes; in which Act, she wrings out the water that made the *Fountain*; which was a gracefull and natural conceit in the Artificer, implying this rule; That all *designs* of this kind, should be proper.

The other doth merit some larger expression; There went a long, straight, mossie walk of competent breadth, green, and soft under foot, listd on both sides with an *Aqueduct* of white stone, brest-high, which had a hollow *channell* on the top, where ran a pretty trickling stream; on the *edge* whereof, were couched very thick all along, certain small *pipes* of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a cock, they did sprout over interchangeably from side to side, above mans height,

in form of *Arches*, without any intersection or meeting aloft, because the pipes were not exactly opposite; so as the *Beholder*, besides that which was fluent in the *Aqueducts* on both hands in his view, did walk, as it were, under a continuall *Bower* and *Hemisphere* of water, without any drop falling on him. An *invention* for refreshment, surely far excelling all the *Alexandrian Delicacies*, and *Pneumaticks* of *Hero*.

Groves, and artificiall Devices under ground, are of great expence, and little dignity; which for my part, I could wish converted here into those *Crypteria*, wherof mention is made among the curious provisions of *Ticho Braghe* the *Danish Ptolomie*, as I may well call him: which were deep *concaves* in Gardens, where the *Stars* might be observed even at *noon*. For (by the way) to think that the brightness of the *Suns* body above, doth drown our discerning of the lesser lights, is a popular error; the sole impediment being that lustre, which by *reflection*, doth spread about us from the face of the *Earth*; so as the *caves* before touched, may well conduce, not
to

to a delicious, but to a learned pleasure.

In *Aviaries* of wire, to keep Birds of all sorts, the *Italians* (though no wastfull Nation) do in some places bestow vast expence; including great scope of ground, variety of *bushes*, *trees* of good height, running *waters*, and somtime a *Stove* annexed, to contemper the *Air* in Winter. So as those *Chanteresses*, unlesse they be such as perhaps delight as much in their wing, as in their voice, may live long among so good provisions, and room, before they know that they are *prisoners*; reducing often to my memory that conceit of the *Roman Stoick*, who in comparison of his own free *contemplations*, did think divers great and splendent fortunes of his time, little more then *commodious captivities*.

Concerning *Ponds* of pleasure near the habitation; I will referre my self to a grave *Author* of our own (though more illustrious by his other
* work) namely, *Sarisburiensis de Piscinâ.* * *De nugis Curial. &c.*

And here I will end the second part touching *Ornaments*, both *within*, and *without* the *Fabrick*.

Now

Now, as almost all those which have delivered the *Elements* of *Logick*, do usually conclude with a Chapter touching *Method*; so I am here seized with a kind of criticall spirit, and desirous to shut up these building *Elements* with some *Methodicall* direction how to *censure* *Fabricks* already raised: for indeed, without some way to contract our *Judgement*, which among so many particulars would be lost by diffusion, I should think it almost harder to be a good *Censurer*, then a good *Architect*: Because the *working* part may be helped with *Deliberation*, but the *Judging* must flow from an *extemporall habit*. Therefore (not to leave this last *Piece* without some *Light*) I could wish him that cometh to examine any nobler *Work*, first of all to examine himselfe, whether perchance the *sight* of many brave things before (which remain like impressed forms) have not made him apt to think nothing good but that which is the *best*; for this *humour* were too sowre. Next, before he come to settle any imaginable opinion, let him by all means seek to inform himself

self precisely, of the Age of the *Worke* upon which he must passe his *Doom*. And if he shall finde the apparant *Decays* to exceed the proportion of *Time*; then let him conclude without farther inquisition, as an absolute *Decree*, that either the *Materials* were too *sight*, or the *Seate* is nought. Now, after these premisses, if the *House* be found to bear his *yeares* well, (which is always a token of sound *constitution*) Then let him suddenly runne backwards, (for the *Method* of *censuring* is contrary to the *Method* of *composing*) from the *Ornaments* (which first allure the *Eye*) to the more essential *Members*, till at last he be able to forme this *Conclusion*, that the *Worke* is *Commodious*, *Firme*, and *Delightfull*; which (as I said in the beginning) are the three capitall *Conditions* required in good *Buildings*, by all *Authors*, both *Ancient* and *Moderne*. And this is, as I may term it, the most *Scientificall* way of *Censuring*. There are two other which I must not forget: The first in *Georgio Vassari*, before his laborious *Work* of the lives of *Architects*, which is to passe a run-
ning

ning examination over the whole *E-difice*, according to the properties of a *well shapen Man*. As whether the *Wals* stand upright upon clean footing and *Foundation*; whether the *Fabrick* be of a beautifull *Stature*; whether for the *breadth* it appear well *burnished*; whether the principall *Entrance* be on the middle Line of the *Front* or *Face*, like our *Monthes*; whether the *Windowes*, as our *Eyes*, be set in equall number and distance on both sides; whether the *Offices*, like the *Veins* in our Bodies, be usefully distributed, and so forth. For this *Allegoricall* review may be driven as farre as any *Wit* will, that is at leasure.

The second way is in *Vitruvius* himself, *lib. 1. cap. 2.* where he summarily determineth six *Considerations*, which accomplish this whole Art.

Ordinatio.

Dispositio.

Eurythmia.

Symmetria.

Decor, and

Distributio.

Whereof (in my conceit.) we may spare:

spare him the first two; for as farre as I can perceive, either by his *Interpreters*, or by his own *Text* (which in that very place, where perchance he should be *clearest*, is of all other the *cloudiest*) he meaneth nothing by *Ordination*, but a well setting of the *Modell* or *Scale* of the whole *Worke*. Nor by *Disposition*, more then a neat and full expression of the first *Idea* or *Designement* thereof; which perchance do more belong to the *Artificer*, then to the *Censurer*. The other four are enough to condemne, or absolve any *Fabrick* whatsoever! Whereof *Eurythmia* is that agreeable *Harmony* between the breadth, length, and height of all the *Roomes* of the *Fabrick*, which suddenly, where it is, taketh every *Beholder* by the secret power of *Proportion*: wherein let me only note this, That though the least error or offence that can be committed against *sight*, is excesse of height; yet that fault is no where of small importance, because it is the greatest offence against the *Purse*.

Symmetria is the convenience that runneth between the *Parts* and the *Whole*.

Whole, whereof I have formerly spoken.

Decor is the keeping of a due *Respect* between the *Inhabitant* and the *Habitation*. Whence *Palladius* did conclude, that the principall *Entrance* was never to be regulated by any certaine *Dimensions*, but by the dignity of the *Master*; yet to exceed rather in the more, then in the lesse, is a mark of *Generosity*, and may always be excused with some noble *Emblem*, or *Inscription*, as that of the *Conte di Bevilacqua*, over his large *Gate* at *Verona*, where perchance had been committed a little *Disproportion*.

Patet Janua: Cor magis.

And here likewise I must remember our ever memorable Sir *Philip Sidney*, (whose *Wit* was in truth the very rule of *Congruity*) who well knowing that *Basilius* (as he had painted the *State* of his *Minde*) did rather want some extraordinary *Formes* to entertaine his *Fancy*, then roome for *Courtiers*; was contented to place him in a *Star-like Lodge*; which otherwise in severe *Judgment* of *Art*, had been an in-

incommodious Figure.

Distributio is that usefull *Casting* of all *Roomes* for *Office*, *Entertainment*, or *Pleasure*; which I have handled before at more length then any other Piece.

These are the *Foure Heads* which every man should runne over, before he passe any determinate *Censure* upon the Works that he shall view, where-with I will close this last part, touching *Ornaments*. Against which (me thinks) I hear an *Objection*, even from some well-meaning man; That these delightfull *Crafts*, may be divers wayes ill applied in a *Land*. I must confesse indeed, there may be a *Lascivious*, and there may be likewise a *superstitious* use, both of *Picture* and of *Sculpture*: To which possibility of misapplication, not only these *Semi-liberall Arts* are subject; but even the highest perfections and *endowments* of *Nature*. As *Beauty* in a light woman; *Eloquence* in a mutinous man; *Resolution* in an *Affasinate*; *Prudent Observation* of houres and humours, in a corrupt *Courtier*; *Sharpnesse* of wit and argument
in

in a seducing Scholer, and the like. Nay, finally let me aske, What ART can be more pernicious, then even RELIGION it self, if it self be converted into an *Instrument* of ART: Therefore, *Ab abuti ad non uti, negatur consequentia.*

Thus having stitched in some sort together these *Animadversions* touching *Architecture*, and the *Ornaments* thereof; I now feel that *contemplative* spirits are as restlesse as *active*; for doubting with my self, (as all weaknesse is jealous) that I may be thought to have spent my poor observation abroad about nothing but *Stone* and *Timber*, and such Rubbage; I am thereby led into an immodesty of proclaiming another *Worke*, which I have long devoted to the service of my *Countrey*: Namely, A *Philosophicall Survey* of *Education*, which is indeed a second *Building*, or repairing of Nature, and as I may term it, a kind of *Morall Architecture*; whereof such Notes as I have taken in my forraigne
trans-

transcursions or abodes, I hope to utter without publick offence, though still with the freedom of a plain *Kentish*-man. In the mean while I have let these other *Gleanings* flie abroad, like the Bird out of the *Arke*, to discover what footing may be for that which shall follow.



F I N I S.



The first part of the book is devoted to a general
 history of the subject, and to a description of the
 various methods which have been employed for its
 treatment. In the second part, the author discusses
 the principles of the treatment, and the manner in
 which they should be applied. The third part is
 devoted to a description of the various forms of
 the disease, and the manner in which they should
 be treated. The fourth part is devoted to a
 description of the various forms of the disease, and
 the manner in which they should be treated.

The author has endeavored to present the subject in a
 clear and concise manner, and to give the reader a
 full and complete knowledge of the subject.

FINIS

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A Philosophicall
SURVEIGH
OF
EDUCATION,
OR
Moral Architecture.

BY
HENRY WOTTON K^t,
PROVOST
OF ETON COLLEDG.

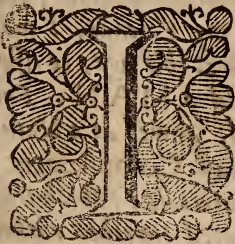
THE
SCHOOL
OF
EDUCATION
OR
TEACHERS

FRANCIS W. WOOD
REPORT
OF THE



The Epistle Dedicatory
TO THE
KING.

May it please your Matie,



*Need no other
Motive to de-
dicat this Dis-
course, which
followeth, unto
Your Majesty,
then the very
Subject it self,*

*so properly pertaining to Your Sove-
raign*

raign Goodness : For thereby You are Pater Patriæ. And it is none of the least Attributes wherewith God hath blessed both Your Royal Person, and Your People, that You are so. On the other side : for mine own undertaking thereof, I had need say more. I am old and childlesse ; and though I were a Father of many, I could leave them nothing, either in Fortune, or in Example. But having long since put forth a slight Pamphlet about the Elements of ARCHITECTURE, which yet hath been entertained with some pardon among my Friends, I was encouraged even at this age, to essay how I could Build a MAN : For there is a Moral, as well as a Naturall or Artificiall Compilement, and of better Materials : Which truly I have cemented together rather in the plain Tuscan (as our VITRUVIUS termeth it) then in the Corinthian

rinthian form. Howsoever, if Your Majesty be graciously pleased to approve any part of it, who are so excellent a Judge in all kinde of Structure, I shall much glory in mine own Endeavour. If otherwise, I will be one of the first my self, that shall pull it in pieces, and condemn it to Rubbage and Ruine. And so wishing Your Majesty (as to the Best of Kings) a longer Life then any of the soundest Works of Nature or Art, I ever rest

Your Majesties

Most devoted poor Subject,

and Servant,

H. WOTTON.




STURVEILEGH

EDUCATION

The Author, well known
to the public, having
long since published
on this subject, been
travelling with great
thought, yet and sometimes
asked, I have of late returned
all of hope (the common
and at least some indulgent
retention of my pains, especially
in honest Endeavour of such publick
consequence as this is above all other
kind any shall think Endeavour (be
cause it is consistent with Children
the first private and domestick duty
of the parent, in more



A
SURVEIGH
 OF
EDUCATION.


 His Treatise (well may it now proceed) having since the first Conception thereof been often traversed with other thoughts, yea and sometimes utterly forsaken, I have of late resumed again, out of hope (the common flatterer) to find at least some indulgent interpretation of my pains; especially in an honest Endeavour of such publick consequence as this is above all other. For if any shall think *Education* (because it is conversant about Children) to be but a private and domestick duty; He will runne some danger, in my opi-

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nion

nion to have been ignorantly bred himself. Certain it is, that anciently the best composed Estates did commit this care more to the Magistrate then to the Parent. And certain likewise, That the best Authors have chosen rather to handle it in their Politicks, then in their Oeconomicks: As both Writers and Rulers well knowing what a stream and influence it hath into Governement, So great indeed, and so diffusive, That albeit good Laws have been reputed always the Nerves or Ligaments of humane Society; Yet are they (be it spoken with the peace of those grave Professors) no way comparable in their effects to the rules of good Nurture: For it is in civil, as it is in naturall Plantations, where young tender trees (though subject to the injuries of Aire, and in danger even of their own Flexibility) would yet little want any after-underproppings and shoarings, if they were at first well fastned in the roote.

Now my present labour will (as I foresee) consist of these pieces.

First, there must precede a way how

to discern the Naturall Capacities and Inclinations of children.

Secondly, Next must ensue the culture and furnishment of the Mind.

Thirdly, the moulding of behaviour and decent formes.

Fourthly, the tempering of affections.

Fifthly, the quickning and exciting of Observations and practicall Judgement.

Sixthly, And the last in Order, but the principall in Value (being that which must knit & consolidate all the rest) is the timely instilling of conscientious Principles and seeds of Religion.

These six branches will (as I conceive) embrace the whole businesse: through which I shal runne in as many severall Chapters or Sections: But before I launch from the shoars, let me resolve a main question which may be cast in my way; Whether there be indeed such an infallible efficacy (as I suppose) in the care of Nurture and first Production; For if that supposall should faile us, all our Anchorage were loose, and we

should but wander in a wild Sea.

Plutarch (I remember to the same purpose) in the first of his Tractates (which place this subject well deserved) endeavoureth by sundry similitudes (wherein that man had a prompt and luxurious fancy) to shew us the force of Education; All which, in sooth, might have been well forborne, had he but known what our own Countrymen have of late time disclosed among their Magneticall Experiments. There they tell us that a rod or barre of iron having stood long in a window, or elsewhere, being thence taken, and by the help of a corke or the like thing being ballanced in water, or in any other liquid substance where it may have a free mobility, will bewray a kind of unquietude and discontentment till it attain the former position. Now it is pretty to note, how in this naturall *Theoreme* is involved a morall conclusion of direct moment to the point we have in hand.





For if such an unpliant and stubborn minerall as Iron is above any other, wil acquire by meere continuance a secret appetite

appetite, and (as I may term it) an habituall inclination to the site it held before. Then how much more may we hope, through the very same means, (*Education* being nothing else but a constant plight and *Inurement*) to induce by custome good habits into a reasonable creature? And so having a little smooth'd my passage, I may now go on to the *Chapters*.



THE
FIRST CHAPTER
OR
SECTION;

Touching the Search of Natural Capacities and Inclinations.





 F the two things propounded
 O in this *Chapter*, I must begin
 with *Capacities*; For the
 manurement of Wits is like
 that of Soyles, where before either the
 O 7 pains

pains of *Tilling*, or the charge of *Sowing*; Men use to consider what the mould will bear, Heath or Grain. Now this peradventure at the first view, may seem in Children a very slight and obvious inquiry; That age being so open and so free, and yet void of all Art to disguise or dissemble either their appetites or their defects: Notwithstanding, we see it every day, and every where subject to much error; Partly by a very pardonable facility in the Parents themselves to overprize their own Children, while they behold them through the vapors of affection which alter the appearance; as all things seem bigger in misty mornings. Nay, even strangers, and the most dis-interested persons are yet, I know not how, commonly inclined to a favourable conceit of little ones: So cheap a thing it is to bestow nothing but Hope. There is likewise, on the other side, as often failing by an Undervaluation; For in divers Children their ingenerate and seminall powers (as I may terme them) lie deep, and are of slow disclosure; no other-wise then in certain Vegetables, which
are

are long before they shoot up and appear; and yet afterwards both of good and great increase; which may serve to excite care, and to prevent despair in Parents: For if their Child be not such a speedy spreader, and brancher like the Vine; yet perchance he may prove *proles tarde crescentis Oliva*; And yeeld, though with a little longer expectation, as usefull, and a more sober fruit then the other. And I must confesse, I take some delight in these kind of comparifons; remembring well what I have often heard my truly Noble and most dear Nephew, Sir *Edmund Bacon*, say, out of his exquisite Contemplations and Philosophical practice; That Nature surely (if she be well studied) is the best *Moralist*; and hath much good Counsell hidden in her bosome.

Now here then will lie the whole businessse, to set down before hand certain Signatures of Hopefulnesse, or *Characters* (as I will rather call them, because that Word hath gotten already some entertainment among us) whereby may be timely descried what the

Child will prove in probability. These *Characters* must necessarily be either impressed in the outward person like stampes of Nature, or must otherwise be taken from some emergent act of his minde, wherein, of the former sort,

The first is that which first incurreth into sight, namely, the Childs colour or complexion (as we vulgarly terme it) and thence perchance some judgment of the predominant humour.

The next is the structure and conformation of the limbes. And the third is a certain spiritous resultance from the other two which makes the Countenance.

The second kind of these *Characters* (which are rather mentall then personall) be of such variety (because mindes are more active then bodies) That I purpose for the plainest delivery to resolve all my gatherings touching both kinds, into a *Rapsodie* of severall Observations: For I dare not give them the Authoritative Title of *Aphorismes*, which yet, when I shall have mustered them, if their own strength be considered

red rather in troop, then singly, as they say, by Pole, may perchance make a reasonable Morall *Prognostick*.

The Observations.

TH E R E are in the course of humane life from our Cradles upward, certain Periods or Degrees of change, commonly (as the Ancients have noted) every seven years, whereof the two first *Septynaries*, and half of the third or thereabouts. I will call the Obsequious age, apt to imbibe all manner of impressions: which time of the suppleness of Obedience is to be plyed by Parents, before the stiffness of will come on too fast.

There is no Complexion, or Composition in Children either priviledged from bad proof, or prejudiced from good. Always I except Prodigious Forms, and meer natural Impotencies, which are unmanagable *In toto Genere*, and no more

to be cultivated then the sands of *Arabia*.

More ordinary Imperfections and Distortions of the body in Figure, are so far from excluding all hope, that we usually see them attended with some notable Compensation one way or other, whereof our own time hath produced with us no slight Example in a great Minister of State, and many other.

I am yet willing to grant, that generally in Nature, the best outward *shapes* are also the likeliest to be consociated with good inward *faculties*: For this Conclusion hath somewhat from the *Divine Light*: Since God himselfe made this great *World* (whereof *Man* is the little *Model*) of such Harmonious Beauty in all the parts, to be the Receptacle of his perfectest *Creature*.

Touching such Conjectures as depend on the Complexions of Children; Albeit I make no question but all kind of wits and capacities may be found under all *Tinctures* and *Integuments*: yet I will particularly describe one or

two with some preference, though without prejudice of the rest.

The first shall be a *palish Clearnesse*, evenly and smoothly spread, not overthin and washie, but of a pretty solid consistence; from which equall distribution of the *Phlegmatick Humour*, which is the proper Allay of fervent Bloud, I am wont to hope (where I see it) will flow a future Quietude and Serenity in the Affections, And a discreet sweetnesse and moderation in the Manners; Not so quick perchance of conceit, as slow to passion; And commonly lesse inventive, then judicious; Howsoever, for the most part, proving very plausible, insinuant, and fortunate men.

The other is, the pure sanguine *Melancholick Tincture*, wherein I would wish at least five parts of the first to three of the second; That so there may be the greater portion of that which must illuminate and enrich the Fancie, and yet no scant of the other, to fix and determine the Judgement; for surely, the right naturall definition of a wise Habit, is nothing else but a
 OWJ
 plenti-

plentifulnesse and promptnesse in the Store-house of the Mind of clear Imaginations well fixed.

Marcilius Ficinus (the deep *Florentine Platonick*) increaseth these proportions: requiring eight to two in the foresaid Humours; and withall adding two more of pure Choler; But of that I shall speak more among the inward Motions; Purposely here forbearing it, where I only contemplate the superficial Appearance.

In the outward Frame and Fabrick of the Body, which is the next object after Complexion, An erect and forward Stature, a large Brest, neat and pliants joynts, and the like, may be good Significant of health, of strength, or agility, but are very forraign Arguments of wit: I will therefore only say somewhat of the *Head* and *Eye*, as far as may conduce to my present Scope.

The Head in a Child I wish great and round, which is the capablest Figure, and the freest from all Restraint or Compression of the Parts: For since in the Section of Bodies, we find Man of all sensible Creatures to have the
fullest

fullest brain to his proportion, and that so it was provided by the Supream Wisdom, for the lodging of the intellectual Faculties; It must needs be a silent Character of Hope, when in the *Oeconomical* Providence of Nature (as I may term it) there is good store of roomage and receipt where those powers are stowed: As commonly we may think husbanding men to fore-see their own plenty, who prepare beforehand large Barns and Granaries. Yet *Thucydides* (anciently one of the excellentest Wits in the learnedst part of the World) seems (if *Marcellinus* in his life have well described him) to have been somewhat Taper-headed, as many of the *Genovesers* are at this day in common Observation; who yet be a people of singular sagacity; yea, I call here not impertinently to mind, that one of my time in *Venice* had wit enough to become the Civill Head of that grave *Republick*, who yet for the littlenesse of his own naturall head, was surnamed *Il Donato Testolina*. But the Obtrusion of such particular Instances as these, are un-sufficient to dis-

authorize

authorize a Note grounded upon the finall intention of Nature.

The *Eye* in Children (which commonly let them rowle at pleasure) is of curious observation, especially in point of discovery; For it loveth or hateth before we can discern the heart: It consenteth or denyeth before the tongue: It resolveth or runneth away before the feet: Nay, we shall often mark in it a dulnesse or apprehensivenesse, even before the understanding. In short, It betrayeth in a manner the whole state of the mind, and letteth out all our Fancies and Passions as it were by a window. I shall therefore require in that Organ, without Poeticall Conceits (as far as may concern my purpose, be the colour what it will) only a settled vivacity, not wandring nor stupid: Yet I must confesse, I have known a number of dul-sighted, very sharp-witted men.

The truth is, that if in these external markes or signatures, there be any certainty, It must be taken from that which I have formerly called the *Totall Resultance*. By which, what

I mean, I shall more properly explain in the third *Section*, when I come to handle the generall Ayre of the person and carriage: I will now hasten to those more solid and conclusive *Characters*, which, as I have said, are emergent from the Minde; and which oftentimes do start out of Children when themselves least think of it: For let me tell you, Nature is *Proditorious*.

And first I must begin with a strange Note: That a Child will have *Tantum ingenii quantum iræ*, That is, in my construction, as much wit as he hath waywardness: This Rule we have cited by a very * learned man some- * *Capnio*. where out of *Seneca*, and exemplified by *Angelus Politianus* (none of the meanest Criticks) who writing the life of *Pietro de Medici*, concludeth, That he was likely to prove a wise man, because he was a froward boy. Truly, I have been many times tempted to wonder, notwithstanding the value of these Authors, How so disordinate a Passion seated in the Heart, and boyling in the Blood, could betoken a good constitution of the Brain, which above any other

other, is, or should be the coldest part; But because all sudden Motions must necessarily imply a quick apprehension of the first stirring Cause; And that the dullest of other Creatures are the latest offended, I am content for the present to yeild it some Credit.

We have another somewhat of the same mould from *Quintilian* (whom I have ever thought, since any use of my poor judgement, both the elegantest and soundest of all the *Roman Pens*,) That a Child will have *Tantum ingenii, quantum memoria*: This, I must confesse, will bear a stronger Consequence of Hope: For Memory is not only considerable as it is in it self a good retention, but likewise as it is an infallible Argument of good attention; A Point of no small value in that Age, which a fair Orange or a red Apple will divert.

There is yet another in the same Writer, and in the same Place, where he handleth this very *Theam*, How to descry Capacities: That Parents should mark whether their Children be naturally apt to imitate: wherewith

with certainly all fine fancies are caught, and some little lesse then ravished: And we have a Tradition of *Quintilian* himself, that when he saw any wel-expressed Image of grief, either in *Picture*, or *Sculpture*, he would usually weep: For being a Teacher of Oratory in School, he was perhaps affected with a passionate Piece of *Art*, as with a kind of *mute Eloquence*: True it is indeed, which a great Master hath long before taught us, *Aristotle in Rhetoricis.* That Man is of all Creatures the most Mimicall, as a kind of near Adjunct to Reason: Arguing necessarily in those that can do it well, whether it be in *Gestures*, in *Stiles*, in *Speech*, in *Fashion*, in *Accents*, or howsoever, no shallow Impression of Similitudes and Differences; About which in effect is Conversant the whole Wisdom of the World.

Besides these, I would wish Parents to mark heedfully the witty excuses of their Children, especially at Suddains and Surprizals; but rather to mark, then pamper them, for that were otherwise to cherish untruth: whereof

I shall speak more in the *Finall Section*.

Again, are to be observed not only his own crafty and pertinent Evasions, but likewise with what kind of Jest, or pleasant Accidents he is most taken in others; which will discover the very degree of his apprehension, and even reach as far as to the censuring of whole Nations, whether they be flat and dull, or of quick capacity: For surely, we have argument enough at this day to conclude the Ancient *Grecians* an ingenious people: Of whom the very vulgar sort, such as were Haunters of *Theaters*, took pleasure in the Conceits of *Aristophanes*; Reserving my judgement to other place, upon the filthy Obscenities of that and other Authours, well arguing among Christians, when all is said, that the Divell is one of the wittiest.

Again, It shall be fit to note how prettily the Child himself doth manage his pretty pastimes: This may well become an Ordinary Parent, to which so great an Emperour as *Augustus* descended in the highest of his State, and gravest
of

of his Age: who collected (as *Suetonius* tells us) out of all the known World; especially from the *Syrians* and *Moors* (where by the way, we may note who were then reputed the sharpest Nations) little boyes of the rarest Festivity, to play before him at their Ordinary Sports; And indeed, there is much to be noted, worthy of a sadder Judgment in the Wilinesse of that Age.

Again, I would have noted in Children, not only their Articulate Answers, but likewise certain smiles and frowns upon incident Occasions; which though they be dumb and light passions, will discover much of that inward power which moveth them: especially, when withall they lighten or cloud the whole face in a moment.

Lastly, let not his very Dreams be neglected: For without question, there is a great *Analogie* between those apprehensions which he hath taken by day into his Fancie, and his nocturnal Impressions: Particularly, in that Age, which is not yet troubled with the fumes and cares of the World: So

as the Soul hath a freer and more de-
fecated Operation : And this is enough
for the disclosing of a good Capacity
in the popular way; which I have fol-
lowed, because the Subject is gene-
rall.

Now for the second Part of this
Chapter, touching Inclinations ; For
after we know how far a Child is ca-
pable, the next will be to know unto
what course he is naturally most in-
clined. There must go before a main
Research, whether the Child that I
am to manage, be of a good nature or
no ; as the same term is vulgarly ta-
ken for an ingenuous and tractable di-
position : which being a fundamentall
Point, and the first root of all vertuous
Actions, and though round about
in every Mothers mouth, yet a thing
which will need very nice and narrow
Observation, I have spent some dili-
gence in collecting certain private
Notes, which may direct this In-
quiry.

First, therefore, when I mark in
Children much solitude and silence,
I like it not, nor anything born before

his time, as this must needs be, in that sociable and exposed Age, as they are for the most part. When either alone, or in company, they sit still without doing of any thing, I like it worse: For surely all dispositions to Idleness and Vacancie, even before they grow Habits, are dangerous;

And there is commonly but

a little distance in time

between doing of

nothing, and do-

ing of ill.

THE

MEMORANDUM
FOR THE RECORD

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FOR THE RECORD

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THE
 GREAT ACTION
 BETWEEN
 POMPEY
 AND
 CÆSAR,

Extracted out of the *Roman* and
Græcian Writers, By *H. W. K.*
 for an *Historicall Exercise.*

The *DEDICATION*
 To *Sr. EDMUND BACON*
Knight and Baronet.

WHEN Rome in the revo-
 lution of 702. years was
 grown Pregnant of an
 universall *Monarchie* :
 After hard labour with
 forraigne Hostilities, and worse with
 P in ward

inward Rents and Divisions which mangled her own bowels; The *State* yet free (or *Looseness* mistaken (as it is often) for *Liberty*) seemed now to stand most in danger of two eminent Gentlemen, *Caius Julius Caesar* and *Cneus Pompeius*: The one of all men living, the likeliest to stir up again the Sinders of the *Marian*, the other of the *Syllan* Partie: These Gallants of the time had some years before, besides their near Alliance by Marriage of *Pompey* to *Julius Caesars* Daughter (a Lady of imperious allurements) been likewise united together in a *Triumvirall Knot* with *Marcus Crassus*, the wealthiest of the whole Nobility; which *Consortship* was in effect a kind of *Segregate* or *Cabinet-Senate*; importing secretly no lesse, then that no *Act* of *Moment* should passe without consent of All *Three*: So as upon this foundation, by their own personall Pursuits, by the mutuall Strength and Coherence of their severall Dependents; and by all other insinulative and ambient Arts (in a long corrupted *Common-wealth*, still forbidden, and still encreasing) after they

they had runne through the principall Dignities at Home: *Crassus* on the Eastern side with a puissant Army (as Money wants no followers) went Governour of *Syria*: *Pompey* Southward, got *Libya* of new, and retained both *Spaines* under former *Lieutenants*: As for *Cæsar*, who by an insolent Consulship had awaked much jealousy; they gave him at first only *Illyricum* and the neerer *Gallia*, Provinces then of little doings, (as it were to impound his spirits:) yet least the People (whose good will had cost him deep) should bluster in his behalf, the *Senate* was afterwards (between Favour and Fear) content to extend his Commission to *Gallia Narbonensis*, beyond the *Alps*. Thus were the Three distributed at distance enough, as perchance was thought meet, upon more doubt hitherto of their too much agreement, and conference of counsels and plots together, then of any rupture, or disunion at hand: So short-sighted is that which we call humane Providence, and so easily can the Supreme Mover delude our Imaginations. For *Crassus* not long after, ei-

ther greedy of fame or spoyle, and too confident (as it should seem) in the weakest of Advantages, *Number*, being miserably overthrown and slain by the *Parthians*: And *Julia* a little before dying of an *Abort* in Childbed, together with the *Infant* she bare; it lay thence-forth open and clear in every Mans eye, that the *Triumvirate* dissolved, and She gone, without any Slip remaining, who had been the fastest Cement to hold her Father and Husband together; there would soon ensue but a dry and sandy Friendship between them, being now left at large to the *Scope* and *Sway* of their voluntary *Appetites*.

Wherefore, Having undertaken for some entertainment of my private time, to compile out of the best of Ancient Memories, that Mighty *Action* which anon under these two *Chiefs* involved almost the whole World, then known, I repute it not impertinent, to take first a short view how they stood beforehand in *Parallel* together.

They were both, in general, esteemed of Affections too strong for their own,

or

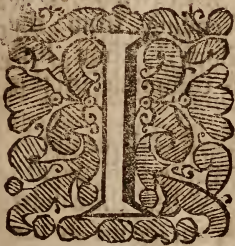
or the common Quiet. That the one could not endure a Superior; nor the other, an Equall; we are told both in Prose and in Verse by ingenious Authors. But whether they agreed to leave us a draught of the greatnesse, or of the weaknesse of their Minds, I dare not affirm: Some seeming Magnanimities being indeed (if you sound them well) at the bottom, very Impotencies. Certainly, in sober conceit, howsoever they stood towards Other; they were impatient of all comparison, or approach between Themselves, and of their former neernesse, no fruit remaining but this; That the more inwardly they had then studied and understood each other, they now loved the lesse. For point of invading the Sovereignty, such narrow Humorists as could look through them, thought *Pompey*, of the two, rather the Closer then the Better: For *Cæsars* was not a smothered, but a flagrant Ambition, kindling first by Nature, and blowne by Necessity; In the course whereof one might observe a kind of Circular Motion: for as his vast Desires had exhausted him with un-

measurable gifts above private Condition; So again, when he was grown (as he would often sport with himself in earnest) a great deal worth lesse then nothing: He fell next to resolve (by an usuall Coincidence of extremes) that he could not subsist unlesse he were Master of all. In their practicall ways, *Pompey* had one very ignoble custome, to insert, or (as I may term it) to inoculate himself into other mens merits and praises: So he undermined *Lucullus* in *Asia*, and *Metellus* in *Spain*: The first a wise and magnificent; the other, a good plain Souldier-like Gentleman. But on the other side, all that went for good or bad in *Cesar* was clearly his own; having so little need to borrow from any other vertues or vices, that he left it a Doubt among the best wits of his time, whether of which himself had most, in the two proper Dowries of that age, *Eloquence* and *Armes*.



A
 MEDITATION
 UPON THE XXIIth
 Chapter of GENESIS.

By. H. W.



*I*n this wonder-
 full Piece of Sa-
 cred Story, Be-
 hold the Father
 of the Beleevers,
 at extream Age
 surprized (as it
 should seem by the
 Circumstances of the Text) in his Bed
 by a Commandement from GOD, to
 sacrifice his only Sonne; In which case

all the powers of his minde being suddenly shaken with an infinite combat between Faith and Nature; we may upon the whole matter conceive Him to have broken forth into some such discourse with Himself, as followeth.

❀❀❀❀❀❀❀❀ HAT? Could this possibly be the voice of
 ❀❀❀❀❀❀❀❀ W ❀❀❀❀❀❀❀❀ GOD which I heard?
 ❀❀❀❀❀❀❀❀ Or have not rather some strange impressions of the Night deluded my Fancy?
 Yea, Thy voyce it was (my GOD) it was thy voyce. How can Thy humble Servant deny it? with whom seven times before descending from the Throne of Thy Glory, Thou hast vouchsafed even to commune in this Vale of Teares.

When thou didst first call me out of the darknesse of my Fathers House into Thy saving Light, When thou didst often cherish and encourage me in the steps of my Pilgrimage; When Thou didst furnish me with Plenty, and Crown me with Victory in a strange Land;

Land ; When, lastly, Thou didst even overlade my feeble Age with joy in a rightfull Heir of mine own Body ; was I forward at all these times to acknowledge Thee the GOD of my Support and Comfort ? And shall I now question Thy voice , when Thou demandest but a part of thine own Benefits ? No, (My dear *Isaac*) although the Heavens know how much I love Thee : yet, if Thou wert, or couldest be Millions of times more precious in the eyes of Thy trembling Father, I would summon together all the strength of mine aged Limbes to render Thee unto that gracious GOD from whom I had Thee. Alas (poor Boy) how sweetly thou slumbrest , and in Thy harmlesse Bed dost little think what change is towards Thee. But I must disturb Thy Rest. *Isaac* arise, and call up my Servants ; Bid them prepare for a journey which we are to make unto the Mount *Meriah* ; And let some Wood be carried for the burning of a Sacrifice. Mean while I will walk out a little by my self to contemplate the declining Starres, and the approach of the Morning.

O ye Ornaments of the Sky, who when all the World is silent, obey your Maker in the determinate Order of your Motions. Can Man behold his own duty in a fairer Volume? why then stand I gazing here, and do not rather go my Self to hasten my Servants that I may execute His Will? But stay: His Will? Why? Is His Will contrary to the example of his own Justice? Did He not heavily punish *Cain* even at the beginning of the first World for killing but a Brother? And can I slay my Child and imbrue my hands in mine own Bowels without offence of His Immortall Majesty? Yes, Why not? The Act of *Cain* was the Act of his own sinfull malice: But I have received an immediate Command from God himself. A Command? Why? Is His Command against his Law? Shall the Fountain of all Truth be served with Contradictions? Did not the same GOD streight after the universall Deluge (as our Fathers have told us) denounce this Judgment; That *Who-so sheddeth mans blond, his blond shall be shed?* How then can I herein obey
my

my GOD, But I must withall disobey Him?

O my weak Soul, what poor Arguments doest thou search to cover thine own rebellious Affections! Is there any Warrant higher then His Will? Or any better Interpreter of His Will then Himself? If the Princes of the Earth (who are but mortall Types of His invisible Glory) can alter their Edicts at pleasure; Shall not the Lord of the Whole (whom Angels and Men adore) have leave to dispence with His own Prohibitions? Yes surely: But then how shall the Blessing that my good God hath determined upon my Seed, and even upon this very Child be accomplished, if I destroy the Root? O Lord, was not Thy Divine goodness pleased in the depth of Thy Mercy to accept my Beleeve for Righteousnesse? And shall I now frustrate Thy Promises with my Obedience? But what? Am I fallen again into a new Reluctation? Have I before contested with Thy Justice? And shall I now dispute Thy Power? Didst Thou not create the
Light.

Light before the Sunne? and the Effect before the Cause? And shall I binde Thee to the Passions of a natural Agent? Didst Thou not make this All of Nothing, even by Thy Word. (which was Thy Wisdom,) And foment All that Thou hast made by Thy Spirit (which is Thy Love?) And shall I doubt but Thou canst raise innumerable Nations out of the very Ashes of my poor *Isaac*? Nay, did I not even at first receive Him in a manner from a dead Womb? And art not Thou still the same Almighty and everliving GOD, Mercifull Father, full of all tenderness and compassion, that seest from Heaven whereof we are made? Pardon my Discourses, and forget my Delays. I am now going to performe Thy good Pleasure. And yet there is remaining one humble Suite: which refuse not (O my GOD) though it proceed from the weaknesse of Thine unworthy Creature. Take my Child, and all that is Mine. I have resigned Him with my whole Heart unto Thy Will. He is already Thine, and Mine no longer; And I glory that He shall Die upon Thy
Holy

Holy Altar. But yet I fear withall,
 That these my shaking Hands and faint-
 ing Limbes will be seized with Horror.
 Be not therefore (Dear LORD) dis-
 pleased, if I use my Servants in the Exe-
 cution. How now (my Soul !)
 Doest Thou shrink in the last Act of
 Thy Loyalty? Can I yet walk up and
 down about vile and ordinary Func-
 tions? And when my God is to be ser-
 ved, do my Joynts and Members faile
 me? Have I humbled my desires to
 His Will? And shall I deny Him the
 choice of his own Instrument? Or if
 His indulgent Mercy would permit it,
 shall I suffer another to anticipate the
 cheerfulness of my Obedience? O
 Thou great GOD of Life and Death!
 Who mightest have made me an insen-
 sible Plant, a dead Stone, or a poy-
 sonous Serpent? And yet even in that
 likewise I should have conduced to the
 variety of Thy glorious Wisdom: But
 hast vouchsafed to endue us with the
 form of Man, and to breath into our
 first Parent that spark of Thy Divine
 Light which we call Reason, to com-
 prehend and acknowledge therewith
 Thy

Thy High and indisputable Sovereignty
over all Nature ; Thou then (Eternall
Maker and Mover, whose Will is the
first of Causes, and whose Glory is the
last of Ends) direct my Feet to the
Place which Thou hast appointed,
Strengthen there these poor
Hands to accomplish Thy
Pleasure, And let Hea-
ven and Earth
obey Thee.



A




A

MEDITATION

UPON

CHRISTMAS-DAY.

Of the Birth and Pilgrimage of our Saviour
CHRIST on Earth.


 Glorious Morning, wherein was born the Expectation of Nations; and, wherein the long Suffered Redeemer of the World, did (as his Prophets had cried) rent the *Heavens*, and come down in the *Vesture* of *Humanity*! *Thou*, that by the Vertue of the *Highest*, wert conceived in the *Womb* of an inviolate *Virgin*, of all *Women* the most blessed;

and

and yet more blessed by being thy *Daughter*, and thy *Servant*, then thy *Mother*. *Thou*, at whose *Birth* the *Quire of Heaven* did sing *Hallelujahs*, and *Angels* made haste to acquaint even *Shepherds* with the *News*! Stay my *Soul*, before I go further, and crave leave of thy *Lord*, to ask some *Questions*. Why would'st thou be first made known to the meanest Condition of *Men*? Why were they sent to see their *Saviour*, not in some gorgeous *Palace*, but in the vilest Room of a *Common Inne*, and (in stead of a *Cradle* decked with rich *Imbroderies*,) lying in a *Despicable Manger*? Why didst *Thou* not choose for the *Place* of thy blessed *Mothers* Delivery, either *Athens* the *Learned*, or *Rome* the *Imperiall*, or *Jerusalem* the *holy City*? Or since poor *Bethlehem*, by thy *Prophets* prediction, must receive that honour: Why didst *Thou* not send *Millions* of *Cherubims* and *Seraphims* before *Thee* for thy *Harbingers*? No, my *God*, It was *Thy Will*, It was *Thy Will* (which is the highest of *Reasons*) by thy low beginning in the *flesh*, to
Confound.

Confound all *Pride*, and to teach the Glories of the Earth to blush. Yet, thus born, and thus homely received, Behold a new *Star* descending to illustrate thy obscurity, and to conduct the *Wise-Men* of the *East* (now wise indeed) with their Choicest *Presents* to adore *Thee*. O Strange *Phanomenon*! Did ever *Hipparchus*, or the great *Trismegist*, or the greater *Moses*, or all the *Egyptian Gazers* contemplate before such a *Planet*? So irregular, So excentricall? As if the *Celestiall Lights* had forsaken their proper *Motions* and *Position*, to welcome the Lord of all Nature into the World.

And now, In the Course of *Thy* precious *Life*; What shall I first, what shall I most admire? All is depth, All is wonder and amazement. Shall I first Celebrate *Thy* ever blessed *Name* for convincing the great *Doctors* of the Law, at twelve years of *Thine* Age, when *Thy* *Divine Essence* began to blaze, which had lien before, as it were, slumbring in the Vaile of *Thy* *Manhood*? Or, shall I passe from this *Miracle* of Knowledge, to *Thy* *Miracles* of

of *Charity*, in healing the Blind, the Lame, the Deafe, the Dumb? Or shall I more insist upon the Acts of *Thy Power*, in checking the *Winds*, in walking on the *Waves*, in raising the *Dead*, in ejecting the impure *Spirits*? Or shall I remain stupified (as all the Learnedest Part of the World was, which lay groveling in the Contemplation of Inferiour Causes) that at *Thy* Coming, all their false *Oracles* and *Delusions* were stricken mute, and nothing to be heard at *Delphos* or *Hammon*? Or shall I contemplate, that at *Thy Passion* all *Nature* did suffer; The *Earth* did shake, and the *Heavens* were darkened? Or lastly, After *Thou* hadst triumphed over *Death* and *Hell* (whose Keys are in thine hand,) Shall I glorifie *Thy Assumption* into the Highest *Heavens*?

Yes *Lord*, all this, and much more there is then the whole World can contain, if it were written. Yet one thing remains, even after *Thy Glorious Departure*, for the Comfort of our *Souls*, to adore all the *Miracles* of *Thy Goodnesse*, and of *Thy Power*; That *Thou*

hast

hast dispensed *Thy Saving Doctrine* unto Curious Men, not only by eloquent *Sophists*, and Subtill *School-men*, (such as have since distracted and torn thy *Church* in pieces;) but by the simplest and silliest *Instruments*: So as it must needs be *Thy Divine Truth*, since it was impressed by no *humane Means*; For, give me leave again, my *Dear Lord*, to demand in the Extasie and Admiration of one of *Thy Blessed Vessels*; Where is the *Wise*? Where is the *Scribe*? Where is the *Disputer* of this *World*? How should we have known? How should we have apprehended *Thy* *Eternall Generation*? if *Thou* hadst not been pleased to vouchsafe a silly *Fisher-man* to lean on *Thy Breast*, and to inspire him to tell us from his Boat, That, *In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God?*

Therefore to *Thee*, *Thou Incarnate Word* and *Wisdom* of the *Father*; *Thou* only true *Messias*, in whom all *Prophecies* are accomplished, and in whom the *Will* of *God*, and the *Desires* of *Men* are fulfilled, Look down upon
us

us thy unworthy *Creatures*, from where thou sittest in *Thy Glory*: Teach us *Thy Love*; but such a *Love* as doth fear to offend *Thee*: Teach us *Thy Fear*, but such a *Fear* as first doth love *Thee*: And endue us with *Thy Grace*, whil'st by *Thy Permission* we walk on this *Globe*, which *Thy* blessed Feet have troden, to solemnize this *Day* of *Thy Nativity*, not with wanton Jollities, but, with *Hymns* of Joy, and *Meditations* of like Comfort.



F I N I S.



LETTERS, &c.
AND
CHARACTERS
OF
Sundry Personages,
FOUND AMONG
THE
PAPERS
OF
S^r, HENRY WOTTON
KNIGHT.

CHARACTER

OF

THE

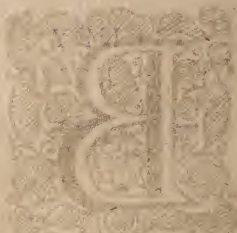
REIGN

OF

THE

KING

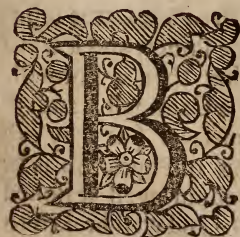
By the Author of the
 History of the
 Reign of King
 Charles the First
 in which is
 contained a
 full and
 impartial
 Account of
 the Affairs
 of that
 unhappy
 Kingdom
 from the
 Accession
 of that
 Majesty
 to the
 Death
 of
 King
 Charles
 the
 First
 in
 the
 Year
 1649
 by
 John
 Waller
 Esq;
 in
 two
 Volumes
 the
 second
 Volume
 corrected
 and
 enlarged
 by
 the
 Author
 in
 the
 Year
 1704





A
 CHARACTER
 OF
 FERDINANDO *di MEDICI*,
 Gran Duke of *Tuscany*.

DEDICATED
 TO THE
 KING.



Being desirous, al-
 beit I dare pro-
 mise little fruit
 or pleasure to
 others by any
 use of my-Pen;
 yet at least to re-
 cord unto my
 self some such Observations as I picked
 up

up abroad in the time of my former travels and imployments.

I stand obliged in grateful memory to say somewhat of a Prince long since at rest ; Namely, *Ferdinando* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, which was the ancient *Hetruria*, whose Palace of *Piti* at *Florence*, when I came often to review, and still me thought with fresh admiration; being incomparably (as far as I can yet speak by experience or report) for solid *Architecture*, the most magnificent and regular Pile within the Christian World: It pleased him by means of the Cavalier *Vieta*, his principal Secretary of Estate, to take some notice of my Person though no intruder by Nature, and (God knows) of little Ability.

The said Duke *Ferdinando* was reputed a wise and warie Prince, and it was a solid wisdom rather than a Formall. He had been long a Cardinall, and at two or three Conclaves (as they call them) or Elections of Popes. So as he came to the Dukedom well seasoned before with practice, and well broken to Affairs: And with such an impression of
of

of his first Tincture (as falleth out naturally in all things else) that he always maintained a great interest in the *Roman* Court; as indeed was necessary for a neer and jealous Confiner. He was in his civil Regiment of a fine composition, between Frugalitie and Magnificence; A great cherisher of manuell Arts, especially such as tended to splendour and ornament: As *Picture, Sculpture*, cutting of Christals, Ambers, and all of the softer Gemmes, inlaying of Marbles, limning of Birds, Beasts, and Vegetables, Imbossing, and the like: In all which he drew to him from all parts the most exquisite Artificers with a settled pension, and placed them in severall compartments of his Palace, where he would come oftentimes to see them work for his own delight; and so he did furnish his Cabinets with Rarities at an easie rate; being in truth, one of the greatest *Oeconomists* of his Age. And as he had much at first of the Deacon, & more of the Prince; so he did now and then not disdain to have a little of the Merchant; 'twas as well as fighting with his *Gallies*. After the death of the Duke *Francesco*

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his

his Brother, it was a while somewhat an Ambiguous Deliberative, whether he should devest the Cardinalship, or rule with a double Greatnesse, Ecclesiasticall and Civill: But the hope of Posterity overbalanced the scale; and so he took to wife the daughter of *Lorraine*, as it were to interest himself now in the Borders of *France*: whereas his Name before had spread it self in the Body. He was by nature more reserved then popular, and had vertues fitter to beget estimation then love; yet he would duely in his Coach take almost every day a review of the City, and receive Petitions willingly. Besides, I have been shewed a strange device of State, namely an outward hole like a Tronck in a wall of one of his Galleries, the bottome whereof was under lock and key, into which any one might let forth any secret Intelligence, & convey it closely to the ears of the Prince: enough to disquiet all the dayes of his life. He was served by able instruments of State, and diligently attended in Court; but rather by choice then number, and with more neatnesse then

then noise. He had a close and Intrinsecall Favourite, by birth a stranger: being born in *Piedmont*, but by his favour made Archbishop of *Pisa*, a notable Screen between him and his Subjects: upon whom the Duke would handsomely bestow all-manner of complaint; and He as willingly bear it. He was unquestionably the powerfullest of all the *Italian* Dukes. And being centred in the very Navel of *Italy*, thereby the furthest from Invasion on all sides, and the most participant of the common Interest; which I believe, among other causes, hath much preserved that State in busie times: yet surely, a little over-awed, or overlooked by the King of *Spain*, who holdeth in actuall possession *Pont Hercule*, *Telemene*, and *Piombino*, which we may perchance not improperly call the Fetters of *Hetruria*. Of stature he was somewhat above the Mean, a gross body, not apt to motion, and as quiet a Countenance. His Monies were the purest and least corrupted within the *Italian* Bounds; and his Markets the best ordered for prices of comestible Ware;

where, in all his Towns, a man might have sent out a child for any flesh or fish, at a rated price every Morning. To which temper more septentrionall unlimber Nations have not yet bent themselves. On the other side, there was nothing brought into *Florence* from the Field, to the least Sale, but by a long insensible servitude payed somewhat. This was the Civill and Naturall Habit of that Prince: And more might be said, if I were not pounded within an *Epistle*. This Duke, while I was a private Traveller in *Florence*, and went sometime by chance (sure I am, without any designe) to his Court, was pleased, out of some gracious Conceit which he took of my fidelity, (for nothing else could move it) to imploy me into *Scotland*, with a Casket of *Antidotes* or *Preservatives*, (wherein he did excell all the Princes of the World) and with a Dispatch of high and secret Importance, which he had intercepted touching some practice upon the Succession to this Crown; so as I am much obliged to his Memory, (though it was a painfull journey)

of *Wirtemberg*, and the town of *Ulme*, in the same order as I have set them down: among whom I spent in all twelve dayes, and the rest of the time in uncessant journeyes, whereof I shall now render your Majesty a full account in the substance, retrenching imper- tinencies.

Unto the Duke of *Lorraine* I had no credentiall addressse from your Roy- all hand; and yet to passe silently (like a stream through his land) by a Prince of so near conjunction in blood with you, & so interressed in the scope of my errand, as a member of the Empire, had been some incongruity. Therefore excusing (as I might justly) the want of Letters, with my purpose to have taken another way, till I heard that the *French* King had cleared the confines of *Lorraine*, by drawing such forces as lay hovering there, with some hazard of pas- sengers over the River of *Marne* to- wards *Normandie*: I say after this excuse, I told him, I knew your Majesty would be singularly pleased to under- stand by me of his health, and that I had, *in transitu*, conferred with him your
Chri-

Christian ends, wherein you could not but expect at his hands a concurrence, both of Counsell and Affection. This I said, to draw civilly from him as much as I could, being a Prince cumbred (as I found him) with the *German* troubles on the one side, and the *French* on the other; and therefore bound to study the passages of both: especially having a State which perhaps is harder for him to keep neutrall, then himself. In the rest of my discourse, I possessed him with two main heads of mine Instructions; First with your Majesties innocency in the *Bohemian* businesse at the beginning; next, with your impartiality therein, even to this houre; both which did render you in this cause the fittest Mediator of the World. And so I shut up all with this, that God had given your Majesty two Eminent blessings; The one, Peace at home, the other (which was surely the greater, and the rarer) a Soul desirous of the like abroad, which you found your self tyed in the conscience of a Christian King to prosecute by all possible means; and therefore,

though you had before in the beginning of the *Bohemian* Motions, spent your good meaning by a solemne Ambassage to the Emperour, in the person of a dear and zealous Servant of great qualitie, even before any other King had entred into it, which, through the crudity of the matter, as then, took not the wished effect; yet now hoping that time it self, and the experience of vexation had mollified the affections, and better digested the difficulties, you had not refused by severall Ambassages to both sides, and to all the intervenient Princes and States, to attempt again this high and Christian Work. Thus much, though in effect extracted from your Majesties own directions, I have here once rehearsed to save the repetition thereof in my following Audiences at other places.

The Dukes answer was more tender, then free, lamenting much the present condition of things, commending as much your Majesties good mind, proclaiming his own, remitting the whole to those great and wise Kings that had it in hand, and concluding (with a
voice,

voice, me thought, lower then before, as if he had doubted to be over-heard, though in his private Chamber) that the Princes of the Union would tell me what his affections were in the Cause: for which I gave him thanks, commending in all event to his continual memory, that Your Majesties Daughter, my gracious Lady, and her Descendents were of the blood of *Lorraine*; Yea, said he, and the *Electors* likewise. This was all that passed from him of any moment: After which, he brought me to *Monsieur de Vandemont*, whose principall businesse (as I hear) at the present, is to work the Dukes assent, and the Popes dispensation for a Marriage between his own sonne and his brothers daughter; a thing much affected by that people, and no doubt fomented by *France*, to keep so important a Province from strangers. In the meanwhile, *de Vandemont's* son, for improvement of his merit and fame, is bestowed in the command of those Troops which were suffered to passe the *Rheine* at *Bryfack* on *Whitson-Munday* last: Before I leave *Lorraine*, I cannot but

vertise your Majesty that at *Faltsbourg*, a town in the confines of that Province towards *Elsatia* (inhabited and built by many good men of the Religion) the Ministers came unto me bewailing the case of the Inhabitants, who for some thirty years had possessed that place quietly, till of late by instigation of the Jesuites at *Nancie*, the Duke had given them warning to be gone within the term of two years, whereof some good part was expired. Their request unto me was, that by your Majesties gracious Mediation, they might be received into a place within the *Palatine* Jurisdiction, near their present seat, which they offered to enlarge, and fortifie at their own charge, upon the grant of reasonable immunities; which I have assumed to treat by letter with your Majesties son-in-law, needing no other commission from your Majesty in things of this nature, then your own goodnesse.

The Arch-Duke *Leopald* I was forced to seek three dayes journey from his ordinary seat; where being at his private sports of the field, and no fit things about

about him, he desired me to turn back half a days journey to *Mulzham*, the notorious nest of *Jesuits*: commanding the Governours of his Towns in the mean time to use me with all due respects; among whom he made choice of an *Italian*, by name *Ascanio Albertine* (a man of singular confidence with him, and surely of very fair conditions) to sound me, though in a merry fashion, and half laughing (as there was good cause) how I would taste it, if he should receive me in the *Jesuits* Colledge; for at *Mulzham*, those were his hosts, being destitute of other habitation; I answered him, as merrily as it was propounded, that I knew the *Jesuits* had every where the best rooms, more splendent then true, fitter to lodge Princes then Monks; and that their habitations were always better then themselves. Moreover, that for mine own part, though I was not much afraid of their infection, and that *Saint Paul* did not refuse to be carried in a Ship, which was consecrated to false Gods; yet because on our side they were generally, and (no doubt) justly reputed
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the true cause of all the troubles of the Christian World, I doubted it would be a scandalous Reception; and that besides, those Artificers would go near to make appear on my part a kind of silent approbation of their Order and course: This was my Answer, which being faithfully transported by the *Italian*, the Archduke made choice of another mean house in the Town, where he received me truly in a noble sweet fashion; to whom having presented your Majesties Letters, and Love, he disposed himself with sharp attention to hear me. To him, besides that which I had said to the Duke of *Lorraine*, I added two things.

The first, that not only your Majesty was clear of all fore-knowledge, or counsell, in the businesse of *Bohemia*; but likewise your Son in-law himselfe of any precedent practice therein, till it was laid upon him, as you knew by his own high affirmations, and most infallible testimonies.

The second, that though your Majesty to this hour did continue as equall betwixt both parties, as the *Equinoctiall*

noctiall between the *Poles*, yet about the time of my departure you were much moved, and the whole Land likewise, with a voice, I know not how, spread abroad, that there were great preparations to invade the *Nether Palatinate*; which if it did fall out, your Majesty should have just reason to think your Moderation unthankfully requited; the said *Palatinate* being the Patrimoniall Lands of your own Descendents, and no way connexed with the *Bohemian* Businesse. Whereupon I perswaded him fairly, in your Majesties Name, being a Personage of such authority in the present actions, to keep them from any such precipitious and impertinent rupture as might preclude all Mediation of Accord: and because your Majesty had now, which was a second Argument of your equity, sent severall Ambassadors to the *Fountains* for your better information in the merit of the Cause, by your own Instruments, I besought him to illuminate me, who was the weakest of your Creatures, as far as he should think fit, and to assist me with his best
advice

advice towards this good end, whereunto besides the dear Commandment of the King my Master, I would conferre mine own plain and honest zeal.

His answer to all the points, which he had very orderly laid up, was this: Of your Majesties own clearnesse he professed much assurance; of your Son in-law as much doubt, charging him both with close practice with the *Bohemians* at the time of the Emperours Election at *Francfort*, and more foulely with a new practice, either by himselfe or by others, to introduce the *Turk* into *Hungary*. Of any designe upon the lower *Palatinate*, he utterly disavowed all knowledge on his part; yet would not deny, but the Marquesse *Spinola* might perchance have some such aim, and if things went on, as they do, men would no doubt assaile their enemies, wheresoever they should find them. In such ambiguous clouds as these, he wrapped this point. Of the Emperours inclination to an agreement he had me be very assured; but never without restitution of the usurped

ped Kingdom, which was not a losse of easie concoction, especially being taken from him by the Count *Palatine* his subject, as he often called him, and once added, that he thought he would not deny it himselfe. Of the merit of the cause, he said he had sent divers records and papers to the Emperour, where I should find them.

Lastly, he acknowledged himselfe much bound unto your Majesty for the honour you had done him, to take such knowledge of his person, and was contented to bestow some thanks upon me for mine honest inclination, which he would present, before my arrivall, at *Vienna*. I had almost omitted a point touched by him, that he had knowledge of some *English* Levies coming toward the *Palatinate*: About which I cleared him, with confessing that your Majesties people, and some of your principall Nobility, had taken Alarm upon a voice of an Invasion there, and meant voluntarily to sacrifice themselves in that action, but without any concurrence of your Majesty thereunto, either by money or command. To which he

he replied, that in truth so he had heard, and made no question of your royal Integrity. In the afternoon of this day, he took me abroad with him in his Coach, to shew me some of his nearer Towns and Fortifications, and there descended into many familiarities, and amongst other, to shew us how to make frogs leap at their own skins : a strange purchase, me thought, at a time when Kingdoms are in question. But it may be, it was an art to cover his weightier Meditations.

Amongst other discourse, there was some mention of your Majesties Treaty with *Spain*, in point of Alliance; which I told him, was a concluded businessse; for that warrant I had from your own royall mouth in your Gallery at *Theobalds*, having let fall none of your syllables : whereupon he said, That he did not despair upon so good an occasion, to salute your Majesty in your own Court. The morning following, he sent unto me *Seignior Ascanio* with expresse desire, that since your Majesties intentions were so clear, I would as frankly acquaint him,

him, whether in mine Instructions I had any particular form of accord to project unto the Emperour; which himself likewise at my second Audience did somewhat importunately presse, excusing his curiosity with a good meaning, to prepare the Emperour, in as good manner as he could, to accept it. My answer was, that your Majesty thought it first necessary on both sides to dispose the affections, and then by reciprocall intelligence between your servants, from *Vienna*, and *Prague*, to collect some measure of Agreement; for otherwise, if we should find both Parties fixed in extream resolutions, it were a folly to spend any further the honour of our Master. Here again he told me, that I should find the Emperour perswasible enough, if his Reputation may be saved: and for his own part, he thought that the Count *Palatine*, being the Inferiour, might yeild without prejudice of his. To terms of this height he revolved, and of the same complexion are his Letters to your Majesty, that I send herewith, of which I must needs say, that in some
part,

part, *Olent Patrem Henricum*, so they call a *Jesuite* of inward credit with him. Always true it is, that they were couched in the Colledge, for his Secretaries were absent, as the *Italian* told me at his ordinary place of residence. At my leave-taking, he spake with much reverence of your Majesty, with much praise of your Christian Mind, and with much thankfulness of the honour you had done him. He is a Prince of good stature, of fair complexion, inclining to fullness: His face, the very best, as they tell me, of the House of *Austria*; and better indeed then his fashion. No curiosity in his clothing, no affectation in his discourse; Extream affable, both to strangers, and among his own. Patient of labour, and delighting in motion. In sum, little of a Bishop, save the Bishoprick and a long Coat; with which short Character of his Person, I have taken the boldness to end, being (as I conceive it) the duty of servants to represent unto their Masters the Images of those (with whom they treat) and as well their naturall as artificial Impressions. Of

Of *Strasburg* and *Ulm*, I may speak conjunctively, being of one nature; Both free, and both jealous of their freedom, which makes them fortifie apace. Towards me likewise they joynd in one point of good respect, namely, in not suffering me to come to their Senate-house, but in treating with me where I was lodged by deputed persons, out of the reverence (as they professed) due to your Majesty, who had done them so much honour with your Letters, and with communication of our ends by your humble Servant. They both commended your Majesties Christian Intentions, and professed themselves hitherto in the same Neutrality; but because it were uncivill for them to contribute their Counsels, where such Kings did employ their Wisdome and Authority, they would only contribute their prayers, with the like temperate conceits as these appearing likewise in their Letters, which I send by this Bearer.

Into the Duke of *Wirtemberg* his Court I was received very nobly, and kindly feasted at his Table, with the
Prin-

Princesse, and other great Ladies, and most part of the day lead by himself, to view his Gardens, Buildings, and other delights.

The materiall points collected here, I must devide partly into my discourse with himselfe, and partly into such knowledge as he commanded *Monsieur Bwvinckhousen* to give me, which cometh in a Paper apart, being very materiall.

In his own Speech, he made great profession towards your Majesty, wherein no Prince of the Empire should exceed him; and as much toward the King of *Bohemia*, as he ever called, your Son in-law; of whose clearnesse from all precedent practice, when I fell to speak, he told me, that in that point he would ease me; for himselfe visiting the Electour, a little after he was chosen, he found him extreamly perplexed, even to effusion of tears, between these two considerations, That if hee accepted the offer, the World would fallily conceive it to have sprung from his Ambition; if he refused it, that People was likely to fall
into

into desperate counsels, with danger of calling more then Christian help; In the rest of his discourse, I was glad to hear him often vow, that he would defend the *Palatinate* with all his power, being tied thereunto, not only by the bond of Confederacy, but likewise by reason of State, not to suffer a stranger to neighbour him.

I have now ended for the present your Majesties trouble. There remain of my Commission, the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Emperour. The Duke of *Bavaria* I shall find actually in arms about *Lintz* in the upper *Austria*, and the Emperour at *Vienna*; from both places I will make severall Dispatches unto your Majesty, and afterwards weekly, or more frequently, as the occasion shall rise; Let this in the meantime end in my humble thanks to Almighty God for the repose of your own Estates; and in my hearty prayers for the preservation of Your dear and sacred Person.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Gracious Aspects, which I have ever observed in your Majesty towards me, doth teach me (though there were no other reason under God) to approve all my actions by your Judgement. Let me therefore most humbly make known unto your Majesty, that it hath pleased the Fountain of all Goodnesse to dispose my mind by his secret Providence, to enter into the sacred Orders of his Church: having confirmed in me (for which his high Name be ever blessed) the reverence and love of his truth, by the large experience of the abuses thereof in the very seat and sink of all corruption, *Rome* it selfe: To which my wandering curiosity carried mee no lesse then four times in my younger years; where I fixed my Studies most upon the historicall part, in the politick man of Religion, which I found plainly converted from a Rule of Conscience,

to

to an Instrument of State; and from the Mistresse of all Sciences, into a very hand-maid of Ambition. Neither do I repent me of bending my observation that way. For although the Truth perhaps may more compendiously appear *in ordine doctrinae*; yet never more fully, then when we search the originall veins thereof: the increase, the depravations and decaies *in ordine temporum*.

This is the Point wherein I have travelled most, and wherein I will spend the remainder of my dayes, hoping that the All-sufficient God, will in the strength of his mercy inable my weaknesse, either by my voice or pen, to celebrate his Glory. Now; though I was thus far confident in my self (with all humility be it spoken) that neither my self, nor my pure erudition, would yield much scandall to others: and likewise might well have presumed that this resolution would no ways offend your Majesties religious heart; but might rather be secure in your former encouragement; yet having imployed so many years abroad in civil use, I thought
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it undutifull to change my calling, without the fore-knowledge and approbation of my Sovereign. The Almighty, who hath indued your Majesty with excellent vertues, and so early taught the rare Consent between Greatnesse and Goodnesse, long protect your Royall Person, and Estates, under his singular Love.

Your Majesties

Most faithfull and devoted Vassal,

H. W O T T O N.



*My Most Dear and
Dread Sovereign,*

AS I gave Your Majesty fore-knowledge of my intention to enter into the Church, and had your Gracious Approvement therein, so I hold it a second dutie to Your Majesty, and satisfaction to my self, to inform you likewise

wise by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded, and upon what motives; that it may appear unto your Majesty (as I hope it will) an act of conscience, and of reason; and not of greedinesse and ambition. Your Majesty will be therefore pleased to know, that I have lately taken the degree of Deacon; and so far am I from aiming at any high sight, out of my former Sphear, that there I intend to rest. Perhaps I want not some perswaders, that measuring me by their affections, or by your Majesties goodnesse, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think, that yet before I dye, I might become a great Prelat. And I need no perswasion to tell me, that if I would undertake the Pastorall Function, I could peradventure by casualty, out of the Patronages belonging to your Royall Colledge, without further troubling of your Majesty, cast some good Benefice upon my self, whereof we have one, if it were vacant, that is worth more then my Provostship. But as they were stricken with horroure, who beheld the majesty of

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the Lord descending upon the Mount *Sinai*: so. God knowes, the nearer I approach to contemplate his greatnesse, the more I tremble to assume any cure of souls even in the lowest degree, that were bought at so high a price: *pre-mant torcular qui vindemiarunt*: Let them presse the grapes, & fill the vessels, and tast the wine, that have gathered the Vintage. But shal I sit and do nothing in the Porch of Gods House, whereinto I am entred? God himself forbid, who was the Supream Mover. What Service then do I propound to the Church? or what contentment to mine own mind? First, for the point of Conscience, I can now hold my place Canonically, which I held before but dispensatively, & withal I can exercise an Archidiaconal Authoritie annexed thereunto, though of small extent, and no benefit, yet sometimes of pious & necessary use. I comfort my self also with this Christian hope, That Gentlemen and Knights Sons, who are trained up with us in a Seminary of Church-men, (which was the will of the holy Founder) will by my example. (without vanity be it spoken) not be

ashamed, after the sight of Courtly Weeds, to put on a Surplice. Lastly, I consider, that this resolution which I have taken, is not unsutable even to my civill employments abroad, of which for the most part Religion was the subject; nor to my observations which have been spent that way in discovery of the *Roman Arts* and Practices, wherof I hope to yeild the World some account, though rather by my pen, then by my voice. For though I must humbly confesse, that both my Conceptions and Expressions be weak, yet I do more trust my deliberation then my memory: or if your Majesty will give me leave to paint my self in higher terms, I think, I shall be bolder against the judgements, then against the faces of men. This I conceive to be a piece of mine own Character; so as my private Study must be my Theater rather then a Pulpit; and my Books my Auditours, as they are all my Treasure. Howsoever, if I can produce nothing else for the use of Church and State, yet it shall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life

to compose some Hymnes unto his
endlesse Glory, who hath called me
(for which his Name be ever blessed)
though late to his Service, yet early
to the knowledge of his truth, and
sense of his mercy. To which ever
commending your Majesty, and your
Royall Actions, with most hearty and
humble prayers, I rest

*Your Majesties most de-
voted poor Servant.*



To the Lord Treasurer Weston.

My most honoured good Lord.

I Most humbly present (though by
some infirmities a little too late) a
strange *Newyears Gift* unto your Lord-
ship, which I will presume to terme the
cheapest of all that you have recei-
ved, and yet of the richest materials.
In short, it is only an Image of your
Self, drawn by memory from such dis-
course as I have taken up here and there
of your Lordship, among the most in-
telligent and unmalignant men; which

to pourtrait before you I thought no servile office, but ingenuous and reall; and I could wish that it had come at the Day, that so your Lordship might have begun the *New-year* somewhat like *Plato's* definition of *Felicity*, with the contemplation of your own *Idea*.

They say, That in your forraine *Employments* under *K. James*, your Lordship won the Opinion of a very able and searching Judgment, having been the first discoverer of the Intentions against the *Palatinate*, which were then in brewing, and masked with much Art. And that *Sir Edward Conway* got the start of you both in Title and Employment at home, because the late Duke of *Buckingham* wanted then for his own Ends a Martiall Secretary. They say, That under our present Sovereigne, you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity and provident moderation; which *Attributes* I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your Actions since, that though great *Ex-*
R 3 *haustions*

haustions cannot be cured with suddain Remedies, no more in a Kingdom then in a Naturall Body; yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith at your beginnings your House was in a manner daily besieged. They note, That there have been many *changes*, but that none hath brought to the *Place* a judgment so cultivated and illuminated with various *Erudition* as your Lordship, since the Lord *Burghley* under Queen *Elizabeth*, whom they make your Paralell in the ornament of Knowledge.

They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of *Vertues* and *Abilities* rarely sociable. In the *Character* of your *Aspect*, a *Mixture* of *Authority* and *Modesty*. In the *Faculties* of your *Minde*; quick *Apprehension* and *Solidity* together. In the style of your *Port*, and *Train*, as much *Dignity* and as great *Dependency* as was ever in any of your *Place*, and with little noise or outward fume. That your *Table* is very abundant, free, and noble without *Luxury*. That you are by nature no *Flatterer*, and yet of
greatest

greatest power in *Court*. That you love *Magnificence* and *Frugality* both together. That you entertain your *Guests* and *Visitors* with noble courtesie, but void of complement. Lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your *Person* and *Place*; and yet are an *Enemy* to frothy *Formalities*.

Now, In the discharge of your *Function*, they speak of two things that have done you much honour: namely, That you have had always a speciall care to the supply of the *Navy*; And likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the *Kings* only *Sister*, for her continuall support from hence, then she hath found before. They observe your greatnesse as firmly established as ever was any in the *Love* (and which is more) in the estimation of a *King* who hath so signalized his own *Constancy*. Besides your addition of *Strength* (or at least of *Lustre*) by the Noblest *Alliances* of the Land.

Among these *Notes*, it is no wonder if some observe; That between a good willingnesse in your affections to satisfie All, and an impossibility in the matter,

and yet an importunity in the Persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall upon your Lordship, unlesse you had been cut out of a Rock of *Diamonds*, especially having been before so conversant with liberall Studies, and with the freedom of your own Minde.

Now after this short *Collection* touching your most honoured Person, I beseech you give me leave to add likewise a little what Men say of the *Writer*. They say, I want not your gracious good will towards me according to the degree of my poor Talent and Travels, but that I am wanting to my self: And in good faith (my Lord) in saying so, they say truly: for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulnesse in mine own businesse, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordships proper work; and not only your Noble, but even your Charitable goodnesse that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthfull
and

and joyfull years, and the blessing of that Text; *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum.* And so I remain with an humble and willing Heart. &c.



To the Queen of Bohemia.

Most resplendent Queen, even in the darknesse of Fortune.

THat was wont to be my stile unto your Majesty, which you see, I have not forgotten. For though I have a great while forborn to trouble you with any of my poor Lines: yet the Memory of your Sweet and Royall Vertues, is the last thing that will die in me. In these months of my silence I have been busie (if any work of my brains may be termed a businesse) about certain compositions of mine own; partly imposed, and partly voluntary: whereof some would fain be struggling into the

R. 5 light.

light. But I do check their forwardness, because I am affraid they will be born before their time; In the mean while, I have gotten a subject worthy to exercise my pen unto your Majesty: which is the *choice* of the New Lord Treasurer: Upon which place, your Majesty hath always some dependance in your Domestick Affairs. I believe your Majesty hath never personally seen him, therefore I will take the boldnesse to paint him before you; though I must speak as yet, more out of the Universall Opinion, then from mine own Experience; for your Majesty knows my nature, I am always one of the last intruders. Now the best and the shortest draught that I can make of him, will be this; There is in him no tumour, no sowrenesse, no distraction of thoughts, but a quiet mind, a patient care, free accesse, mild and moderate Answers.

To this I must add a solid judgement, a sober plainnesse, and a most indubitable Character of Fidelity in his very face. So as there needs not much study to think him both a good
man,

man, and a wise man: And accordingly is his family composed; More order then noise, and his nearest Instruments carefully chosen, for he wanted no offers. But above all, there is a blessed note upon him, that his Majesty hath committed his Monies, where he may trust his Conscience. Upon the whole matter, it is no marvel that the Charge lay a full year under Commission.

For the King himself (as we hear) did openly profess, that he had spent the most of that time, not in deliberating whom he might choose, but in wooing of him whom He had chosen, to undertake it: For it is a hard matter indeed (if so good a King had not been the Orator) to draw a man out of the settled repose of a learned Life, into such an ocean of publick Solitude, able to swallow an ordinary Spirit. But God, who hath raised him to it, hath made him fit for it.

This is all that I was in travel to advertise Your Majestie upon the present occasion; my next wil be touching the two sweet Princes, your Sons, whose Fame I have only hitherto enjoyed in
the

the common Voice ; having by some weakness in my legs, and other symptoms of Age, and by mine own retired studies, been confined to privacie: But I hope to make known unto Them, how much I reverence my Royal Mistress, their Mother, and the Images of her Goodness, at the solemn Meeting the next month in *Oxford*: For an Academie will be the best Court for my humour. And so I humbly rest,

*Your Majesties ever faithful,
ever devoted poor Servant,*

H. WOTTON.



May it please your sacred Majesty,

I Beseech your Majesty to pardon me a little short repetition how I have spent my time since my departure from your Royall sight, because I glory in your goodnesse.

I have been imployed by your favour in four severall Treaties differing in the
Matter,

Matter, in the Instruments, and in the Affections.

The first was for the sequestration of *Juliers*, wherein I was joyned with the *French*.

The second for the provisionall possession of the two Pretendents: wherein contrary to the complaint of the Gospel, the Labourers were more then the Harvest.

The third was for a defensive League between the united Provinces and the united Princes: Who though they be separate Bodies of State, do now by your only Mediation, make one body of Strength.

The fourth was for the composing of some differences between your own and this People, in matter of Commerce, which hath exceeded the other Three, both in length and in difficulty, for two reasons, as I conceive it.

First, Through the sensibleness of the Subject, which is private Utility: next because it had a secret commixture of publick respects, and those of no light consequence: For surely, it importeth more to let the King of *Spaine* dispence alone

alone the commodities of the East, then for either of us to want them.

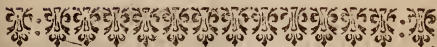
Now of the three former Treaties I have given your Majesty an accompt in divers Dispatches, according to my poor apprehensions. As for this last, they that have eased my weaknesse in the conduct thereof (I mean my good Associates, by whose light and leadings I have walked) will ease me likewise, by your gracious leave, in the relation. By them it may please your Majesty to understand in what fair tearms we have left it; somewhat resembling to my fancie those women of *Nombre de Dios*, who (they say) are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive, but bring forth their children in a better Aire: And so I hope that our travels and unformed conceptions will take life in Your own Kingdom, which will be more honour to their Birth. For our parts, I dare affirm of these Your Commissioners, that now return unto the comfort of Your gracious Aspect, That they have discharged their Duties and their Consciences with all faithfull care of Your Majesties Command-

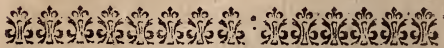
mandments. I am confident likewise, that they will give me their honest Testimonie : And wee are bound jointly to professe unto Your Majestie (from whom we receive our Estimation) the respects and kindnesses that have been here done us, as Your Vassals.

And so with my continual prayers to God for Your blessed Being, I here remain, till Your Majestie shall vouchsafe me again the grace of Your Eyes.

*Your Majesties long devoted
poor Servant.*

H WOTTON





MARCO VELSERO

Duumviro Augustæ

Vindeliciæ

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS

S. O.

P *Rivatim antehàc ad te aliquoties scripsit: Nunc causa est ut publicè quoque id faciàm: Hæc, qualis sit, queso audias. Prostabat Francofurti superioribus Nundinis opus quoddam si molem spectes (quod ferè fit) non sanè de infimis, cum hac inscriptione:*

*Gasparis Scioppii Ecclesiasticus
authoritati Serenissimi Domini
Jacobi Regis oppositus.*

*In quo cum argumento magnam
partem novo, tum exemplo
nemini adhuc usitato, & cætera
quæ eandem modestiam sapi-
unt.*

Hujus operis confutor cùm farraginem rerum indecunq̄ue emendicaret, videtur nescio quo modo incidere in jocosam Legati definitionem, quam jam ante octennium istàc transiens apud amicum virum Christophorum Fleckamerum fortè posueram in Albo Amicorum more Teutonico, his ipsis verbis: Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ. Definitio adeò fortasse catholica, ut complecti possit etiam Legatos à latere: Quid hîc obsecro facit Scioppius? Reserat familiaritatis scrinia, resuscitat post tot annos obsoletos sales, jam ipsâ vetustate ab inquietudine redemptos, ornat me pro humanitate suâ clementissimâ interpretatione, tanquam id non solùm seriò, sed & jaçtanter scripsissem; Neque hoc contentus, conatur quoque intemeratum Optimi Regis nomen per jocos meos in invidiam trahere, quasi Domini præstare tenerentur etiam servorum lusus: Postremò ad honestandam petulantiam suam locum unum atq; alterum ex Esaia & Solomone lepide intermiscet, ut nihil est tutum à profanis ingenis. Hac in me fateor cecidisse miro seculo. Quis enim putarat nasciturum
homi-

hominem impatientem brevis joci super Legatorum licentiâ qui tantum politica agitant, ubi indies videmus ipsam Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ severitatem à quibusdam Equivocationum, mentalium reservationum, & piarum fraudum Magistris tam foedè constupratam? neque hoc obiter, aut jocosè, aut in Albis Amicorum, ubi vana verâque pari securitate tam scribi quàm depingi solent: sed ex professo, & de suggestu, & cum privilegio & authoritate Superiorum: Verum Scioppius est qui surrexit. Et quid expectet me responsurum? Sanè memini familiam meam cum Venetiis essem Anathemate percussam in Paranesi Baronianâ. Memini tum etiam à Gomitulo Jesuitâ Perusino, & ab Antonio Possentino ejusdem farinae quadam in me jacta: Quæ quanquam ab exulceratis animis effluerent utcunque tacitus ferebam: Quippe hi erant viri non indignæ existimationis saltem apud suos: & ipsorum authorum qualiscunque claritudo leniebat injuriam: Sed cum famelicus transfuga & Romane curiæ lutulentus circulator scriptitat solum ut prandere possit; Cum semicoctus Grammaticaster

& nullâ ante hâc solidiore disciplinâ
tinctus Ecclesiastica tractat ; Cùm ves-
pillonis, & castrensis Scorti

* spuma irreverenter in Re-
gem debacchatur, cujus ex-
imia in divinis humanisque
sapientia & constans justi

* Lege vulga-
ta de vitâ &
parentibus
Scioppii p. 127

tenor cuicumque vel privato veneratio-
nem conciliaret ; Cùm homo Germanus
exutâ patriâ probitate & modestiâ, nihil
aliud per totum opus quàm everfionem
Regum Regnorumque spirat ; Cùm

denique idem os quod Iesuiticam societa-
tem * Parricidalem Cohor-
tem vocaverat, nunc post-
quam culinas Romæ olere

* Ibidem
pag. 132.

cœpit, eandem Prætoriam * Ecclesiasti-
* Castrorum Dei cohortem cus Scioppii
vocat, Quis iniquæ Tam pag. 371.

patiens urbis (quæ istud animal pabu-
latur) tam ferreus ut teneat se?

Igitur, semotâ omni festivitate, te seriò,
te ex animo (Ornatissime Velsere) in
hac Epistolâ convenio : orans, obtestâns-
que per commune humanitatis vinculum,
per ejusdem Baptismi, ejusdem symboli
conscientiam, ipse velis (pro authorita-
te quâ te scio valere apud tuos) istos Sci-
oppios

oppios compescere; ut ejectionis è cœtu Chri-
 stiano similibus hominum propudiis,
 Caussarúmque sanè vel optimarum de-
 honestamentis, sua bonis viris existima-
 tio, sua Principibus dignitas maneat;
 Non vexentur Nundinae prostitutis Pa-
 rasitorum calamis; Non typi (nobile
 Germanorum inventum) adeò miserè
 torqueantur, sequatur denique quantum
 infirmitas nostra ferat illa Regnorum
 Ecclesiarúmque requies quam nobis com-
 mendavit supremus pacis præceptor simul
 & exemplum. Quòd si impudentem il-
 lam dicacitatem (quam ab infami ortu
 μάλα ἀναλόγως traxit) non deponere po-
 terit sine magno ventriculi incommodo;
 saltem dignus est certè cui curtetur esca
 ob execrandam argutiam quâ sibi vide-
 tur vel ipsis Tridentinis Patribus ocula-
 tior. Illi *Traditiones &
 *8 April. Sess. 4. Scripturam Sacram pari-
 tantùm pietatis affectu & reverentiâ
 suscipiendas, primi omnium (quod ego
 sciam) decrevere. At iste novus Eccle-
 siasticus non in Albo Amicorum, sed pul-
 cherrimi syntagmatis sui, p. 485. majore
 rem traditi quàm scripti verbi Divini
 auctoritatem blasphemò & pudendo ore
 pronun-

formed in my education, fitter to be an instrument of Truth then of Art. In the mean while till his Majestie shall resolve me again into mine own plaine and simple elements, I have abroad done my poor endeavour according to these occasions which God hath opened.

This Gentleman leaveth *Italie* in present tranquillity, though not without a little fear of some alteration on the side of *Savoy*: Which Prince seemeth to have great and unquiet thoughts, and I think they will lack no fomentation from abroad. Therefore after the remembrance of my most affectionate poor service to your self, and to my honourable Ladies your Wife and Daughters, and your whole House (with which we are now so particularly conjoynd) I commit You and Them to our mercifull GOD.

Your willing Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.



To the Earl of *Holderness*.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

IN a late Letter from Your Lordship by my Servant, I have, besides your own Favours, the Honour of Employment from the King, in a piece of his Delight: which doth so consort with the opportunitie of my Charge here, that it hath given me acquaintance with some excellent *Florists* (as they are stiled); and likewise with mine own disposition, who have ever thought the greatest pleasure to consist in the simplest Ornaments and Elegancies of Nature; as nothing could fall upon me more happily. Therefore Your Lordship shall see how I will endeavour to satisfie this Command. I had before Order by Master Secretarie *Calvert*, to send his Majestie some of the best *Melon* Seeds of all kinds; which I have done some weeks since, by other occasion of an expresse Messenger; and sent with all

a very particular Instruction in the Culture of that Plant. By the present Bearer I do direct unto Your Lordship, through the hands either of my Nephew, or Master *Nicholas Pey* (as either of them shall be readiest at *London*) for some beginning in this kind of Service, the Stem of a double Yellow Rose, of no ordinary nature: For it flowereth every month (unlesse change of the Clime do change the propertie) from *May*, till almost *Christmas*. There hath gone such care in the manner of the Conveyance, as, if at the receiving it be presently put into the earth, I hope it will prosper. By the next commodity I shall send His Majestie some of the rarest Seeds.

Now for mine own Obligations unto Your Lordship, (whereof I have from some friends at home very abundant knowledge) What shall I say? It was in truth (my Lord) an argument of Your Noble Nature, to take my fortune into Your Care, who never yet made it any great part of mine own businesse. I am a poor Student in *Philosophy*, which hath redeemed me
not

not only from the envying of others, but even from much solicitude about my self. It is true, that my most Gracious Master hath put me into civill practice, and now after long Service, I grow into a little danger of wishing I were worth somwhat: But in this likewise I do quiet my thoughts: For I see by Your Lordships so free, and so undeserved estimation of me, that like the Cripple, who had lien long in the Pool of *Bethesda*, I shall find some body that will throw me into the water when it moveth. I will end with my humble and hearty thanks for Your Favour, and Love.



To the Marquesse of
Buckingham.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Know Your Lordship cannot want Presents of the best kind from all Countries, if you would be but pleased to bewray Your Desire: For Your Favour is worthy to be studied, both be-
S cause

cause You are powerfull, and because in the common judgement (of which we hear the sound, that are far off) You imploy your power nobly.

For my part, though I am not able to reach unto any thing proportionable to Your Dignity, nor even to mine own mind; yet I must not suffer *Venice* (where I have served the King so long) to be wholly disgraced. And therefore I have taken the boldnesse, in a Ship newly departed from this Harbour, to send Your Lordship two boxes of poor things: which because they need a little explication, not so much for their value, as their use, I have desired Master *Nicolas Pey*, one of the Clerks of His Majesties Kitchin, who is my friend of trust at home in all my occasions, to acquaint Your Lordship with a note of them. Wherein my end is plain, only to excite Your Lordship with this little task, to command me further in whatsoever may better please You. And so I most humbly commit You to Gods blessed Love.

Venice, this
16. of *May*.

Your Lordships with all devotion
to serve You,

H. Wotton.

To



To the Lord *Bacon*, Vicount *St. Albans*.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Have your Lordships Letters dated the 20th. of *October*, and I have with- all by the care of my Cousin *Mr. Thomas Meawtis*, and by your own speci- all favour, three Copies of that Work wherewith your Lordship hath done a great and everliving benefit to all the Children of Nature; and to Nature herself in her uttermost extent and lati- tude: who never before had so noble, nor so true an Interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your Lordship) never so inward a Secretary of her Cab- inet: But of your said Work (which came but this week to my hands) I shall finde occasion to speak more hereafter; having yet read only the first Book thereof, and a few Aphorismes of the second. For it is not a banquet, that men may superficially taste, and put up the rest in their pockets; but in truth, a solid feast, which requireth due ma- stication. Therefore when I have once my self perused the whole, I deter-

mine to have it read peice by peice at certain houres in my domestick Colledge, as an ancient Author: For I have learn'd thus much by it already, that we are extreamply mistaken in the computation of Antiquity, by searching it backwards, because indeed the first times were the youngest; especially in points of naturall discoverie and experience. For though I grant that *Adam* knew the natures of all Beasts, and *Solomon* of all Plants, not only more then any, but more then all since their time; Yet that was by divine infusion, and therefore they did not need any such *Organũ* as your Lordship hath now delivered to the world; nor we neither, if they had left us the memories of their wisdom.

But I am gone further then I meant in speaking of this excellent Labour, while the delight yet I feel, and even the pride that I take in a certain Congeniality (as I may term it) with your Lordships studies, wil scant let me cease: And indeed, I ow your Lordship even by promise (which you are pleased to remember, thereby doubly binding me) some trouble this way: I mean by the

com-

commerce of *Philosophical* experiments, which surely, of all other, is the most ingenuous Traffick: Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordship a pretty thing which I saw coming down the *Danuby*, though more remarkable for the Application, then for the Theory. I lay a night at *Lintz*, the Metropolis of the higher *Austria*; but then in a very low estate, having been newly taken by the Duke of *Bavaria*: who, *plaudiente fortunâ*, was gone on to the late effects: There I found *Keplar*, a man famous in the Sciences, as your Lordship knowes, to whom I purpose to convey from hence one of your Books, that he may see we have some of our own that can honour our King, as well as he hath done with his *Harmanica*. In this mans study I was much taken with the draught of a Landskip on a piece of paper, me thoughts masterly done: Whereof enquiring the Author, he bewrayed with a smile it was himself, adding he had done it, *non tanquã Pictor, sed tanquam Mathematicus*. This set me on fire: at last he told me how. He hath a little black tent (of what stufte is not

much importing) which he can suddenly set up where he will in a field, and it is convertible (like a Wind-mill) to all quarters at pleasure, capable of not much more then one man, as I conceive. & perhaps at no great ease; exactly close and dark, save at one hole, about an inch and an half in the *Diameter*, to which he applies a long perspective-trunke, with the convexe glasse fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected Tent, through which the visible radiations of all the objects without are intromitted, falling upon a paper, which is accommodated to receive them, and so he traceth them with his Pen in their natural appearance, turning his little Tent round by degrees till he hath designed the whole aspect of the field: this I have described to your Lordship, because I think there might be good use made of it, for Chorography: For otherwise, to make Landskips by it were illiberall; though surely no Painter can do them so precisely. Now from these artificial and naturall curiosities, let me a little

little direct your Lordship to the contemplation of *Fortune*.

Here, by a sleight Battel full of miserable errors (if I had leisure to set them down) all is reduced, or neer the point. In the Provinces there is nothing but of fluctuation and submission, the ordinary consequences of Victory; wherein the triumphs of the field do not so much vex my soul, as the triumphs of the Pulpit: For what noise will now the Jesuite disseminate more in every corner, then *victrix causa Deo placuit*; which yet was but the Gospel of a Poet: No, my Lord, when I revolve what great things *Zisca* did in the first troubles of his Countrie, that were grounded upon conscience, I am tempted to believe the All-distinguishing-eye hath been more displeas'd with some humane affections in this business, than with the businesse it self.

I am now preparing my departing toward my other employment, if in my first instructions I had a power to go hence when this controversie should be decided, either by Treaty, or by Fortune; whereof now the worser

meanes have perverted the better.

here I leave the *French* Ambassadors upon the Stage, as I found them; being willing (*quod solum superest*) to deale between the Emperour and *Bethlehem Gabor*, with whom I have nothing to doe as he is now singled.

Betwixt this and *Italy* I purpose to collect the memorablest observations that I have taken of this great Affaire, and to present a copy thereof unto your Lordships indulgent, not to your severe Judgment.

The present I cannot end (though I have too much usurped upon your precious time) without the return of my humble thanks unto your Lordship for the kind remembrance of my Cousin Mr. *John Meawtis* in your letter to mee, and of your recommendation of him before; being a Gentleman, in truth of sweet conditions and strong abilities: I shal now transport him over the Alps, where we will both serve your Lordship, and love one another. And so beseeching God to blesse your Lordship with long life and honour, I humbly rest,

Your Lordships, &c.

To



To Sir *Arthur Throgmorton*.

Sir,

I Am sorry, that having so good oportunitie to write unto you, joyned with so much obligation, I have withall so little matter at the present: yet I will intertaine you with a few Rapsodies.

My Lord, my brother is returned a day sooner then he thought out of *Kent*, for that the King (who is now at *Hampton-Court*) hath appointed all his Counsellors and all the Judges to meet him here to morrow about matters of the Mint, as it is voiced, perhaps to cover some greater subject, and yet Monie is a great one.

On Saturday the King goeth to *Windsor*, there to honour with his presence both his Sons and his Favourits at their Instalments.

On Sunday last the new *Venetian* Ambassadour had his first Audience at *Greenwich*: at which time the old took his leave, and received from the

King three honors, An addition of the English Lion to his Coat - Armour, Knight-hood, and the Sword with the furniture from the Kings side, wherwith he had knighted him : which last, being more then was done to any of his predecessors, and done to him who had deserved less then any, is enough to prove, that wise Knigs know how to do graces, and hide affections: so mystical things are Courts.

Now, to lead you a little abroad; for I have no more to say within our own visible Horizon : We have advice out of *Germanie*, that they have extorted from the Emperor his consent to make *Matthias* King of the *Romans* : so as having first spoyled him of obedience and reverence ; next, of his estates and titles, they have now reduced him to so low a case, that he is no longer Patron of his own Voice. Howsoever, this violent Cure is likely to settle the Motions of *Germany* ; out of which Countrie, when they are quiet at home, they may perhaps send us some suters hither. This is all (Sir) that I can write at the present ; which is your Advantage ;

tage; for if there had been more, you had been further troubled: And so with many hearty thanks for your kind letters, and with many hearty wishes for the prosperitie of your whole House, I humbly rest

9. of May. *Your most affectionate poore*
1611. *Friend to serve you,*

H. WOTTON.



To the P R I N C E.

May it please Your Highnesse,

BEside that which I have now represented unto Your Highnesse, by my Letter to Your worthy Secretarie, I must humbly crave leave herein to be delivered of a boldnesse wherewith my Pen is in travell.

I have observed in Your Highnesse, among other noble Endowments of Your Mind, a quick and delightfull apprehension of the fundamentall Causes

ses of all Secrets, both naturall and artificiall, that have been brought to Your View; which surely is the highest pleasure of a discursive Soul. Now of this part of Your Highnesse his delectation, I am desirous to take hold. For having been a long Lover of *Philosophy*, and from the contemplative Part, being slid into the practicall; I shall hope for pardon, if I take so much freedom from the ingenuity of mine own nature, and Studies, as to entertain Your Highness, now and then, with some experiments, especially such as do not end in wonder, but reach to publick Use: For meer Speculations have ever seemed to my conceit, as if Reason were given us like an half Moon in a Coat of Armes, only for a Logicall Difference from inferiour Creatures, and not for any active power in it self. To begin therefore, by Your Gracious Leave, this kind of Intelligence with Your Highnesse; I have charged this Gentleman with the humble Presentation of a Secret unto You, not long since imparted to this State, and rewarded with a Pension to the Inventer.

ter, and to his Posteritie; the scope being indeed of singular use, and at the first hearing of as much admiration: namely a way how to save Gunpowder from all mischance of fire in their Magazines, to which they have been very obnoxious by a kind of fatalitie. The thing it selfe in a small Bulk, with the description thereof according to mine own triall and observations, will be consigned to Your Highnesse apart from this Letter.

And so having laid a beginning to these poor Philosophical Services, with hope of Incouragement therein, by Your Favourable Acceptation, I will conclude with my humblest prayers to the Sovereign Lord of all Nature, and Fountain of all Knowledge, to continue his Sweet and Dear Blessings upon Your Highnesse. To whom I remain, &c.



May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

HAVING been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Arch-Bishop of *Armach*, been directed hither with a most humble Petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make *Mr. Wil. Bedel* (now Resident upon a smal Benefice in *Suffolk*) Governour of your Colledg at *Dublin*, for the good of that Societie; And my self being required to render unto your Majestie some testimonie of the said *William Bedel* (who was long my Chaplain at *Venice* in the time of my first Imployment) I am bound in all Conscience and Truth, (as far as Your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgement) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter Man for that Charge could have been propounded unto your Majesty in your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformitie to the Rites of your Church, and zeal to advance the Cause
of

of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the Excommunication of the *Venetians*. For it may please your Majesty to know, that this is the Man whom *Padre Paulo* took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholasticall and Positive, then from any that he had ever practised in his dayes; of which all the passages were well known unto the King Your Father of most blessed Memorie. And so, with your Majesties good Favour, I will end this needlesse office: For the generall fame both of his Learning, and Life, and Christian Temper, and those religious Labours which Himself hath dedicated unto Your Majesty do better describe him.

Your Majesties

Most humble and faithfull Vassal,

H. WOTTON.

To



To the Lord Treasurer
J U X O N.

*Right Reverend, and Right Honourable,
my very Good Lord,*

HAVING not yet passed with Your good Lordship so much as the common duty of Congratulation (to whom I am so obliged, both for your love to my dearest Nephew; and for your gracious remembrances of mine own poor Name) I thought it even a particular duty to my selfe, to acquaint your Lordships Secretarie, my ancient and worthy Friend, with the Story of mine own evils, that your Lordship may know my silence to have been, as I may well term it, a Symptom of my infirmity.

I am now strong again to serve your Lordship, and I know that I have a Friend of trust at home (it is honest *Nicholas Pey* that I mean) who hath often leave, by your Favour, to wait up-
on.

on you. Therefore I could wish, if this place (where I am grown almost a free Denison) may yield any thing for your use or delight, that you would be pleased either to acquaint me by my said friend plainly (which shall be a new obligation) with your Commands, or at least to let him mark your Desires. Now in the mean time, because I know that I can do your Lordship no greater Service, then to give you occasion of exercising your own goodnesse, I will take the freedom most humbly and heartily to recommend unto your charitable and honourable affections, a very worthy Person, whose fortune is no better at the present, then to be my Chaplain; though we are, or at least ought all to be the better by his vertuous example, and our time the better spent by his learned conversation. I shall, I think, not need to name him to your Lordship, and as little to insist either upon his morall or intellectuall merit. Therefore I will so leave it, and commit him to your gracious Memorie, upon some good occasion that God may lay before

fore you. And now I would end, but that I conceive it a duty to tell your Lordship first, how we stand here at this date. For *Ambassadors* (in our old *Kentish* Language) are but Spies of the time.

We are studying how we may safely and cheaply countenance the new Motions of the *Grifons*, with an Army on our own Borders pointing that way; which even Reason of State requireth, when our Neighbours are stirring. And therefore yet the King of *Spain* can take no scandall at a common wisdom. If the Successes shall go forward according to the beginnings, Prosperity, peradventure, may invite us further to the Feast. For my part, if they would have tasted my Counsels, they had been long since ingaged, both within and without *Italy*. But I dig in a Rock of *Diamonds*. And so concluding with my hearty Congratulation for your Lordships Promotions, both Spirituall and Civill, and with my prayers for your long enjoyment of them, I will unfainedly subscribe my self

Your Good Lordships devoted to serve you.

To



To the Lord Treasurer
JUXON.

May it please your good Lordship,

I Was in hope long since to have waited on your Lordship with an account, I dare not say of any fruit, yet at least of some use of my private time: But through certain fastidious fumes from my Splene (though of late I thanke God well allayed) I have been kept in such Jealousie of mine owne conceptions, that some things under my pen have been born very slowly. In the mean while, remembering an old Pamphlet of mine, of the *Elements of Architecture*, which I cannot in any modesty suppose that your Lordship had ever seen, though it hath found some vulgar favour among those whom they cal gentle Readers, I have gotten such a copy as did remaine to present unto your Lordship : And because my fortunes were never able to erect

erect any thing answerable to my Speculations in that Art, I have newly made at least an essay of my Invention, at least in the Structure of a little poor Standish, of so contemptible value, as I dare offer it to your Lordship without offence of your integritie. If I could have built some Rural Retreat worthie of your Reception, according to the six Precepts of my Master *Vitruvius*, I would have invited and intertained your Lordship therein, how homely soever, yet as heartily as you were ever welcomed to any place in this world; and I would then have gloried to have under my Roofe as worthie a Counsellor and Treasurer as ever served the best of Kings: But as I am, I can say no more for your Lordships gracious respects and goodness towards me, then that I live in a tormenting desire, some way to celebrate the honour of your Name, and to be known

Your most humble, professed
and obliged servant,

H. WOTTON.

To

studie will not be displeas'd. I have further considered with my selfe, that the said place is not incompatible with that which I now hold by your Majesties intercession with your ever blessed Father, as it may please you to remember, though you forget nothing so easily as your own bounties: which place here never before subsisting in the Memorie of man, without some Addition. I have now near fourteen years sustained in that integrity as I found it, and with as good Scholars sent annually to your Royall Colledge at *Cambridge*, of my particular Choice, as have gon thither since the Foundation; whereof I could shew your Majestie a published Testimony out of that University, in Doctour *Wintertons* Dedication of *Dionysius de situ orbis*, unto me; if it were not a miserable thing for me to make up so slight a merit even with a vanitie. Besides this, I most humbly confesse, that though my fortunes are poor, & my Studies private, yet I cannot deny certain Sparkles of honest ambition, remaining in me, wherby I desire the world should know, that my most Vertuous, and most
Dread

Dear and Royall Master hath not utterly forgotten me. And so I most humbly rest,

Your Majesties most humble, faithfull,
bearty Subject and Servant, H. W.



To the Arch-bishop.

May it please your Grace.

EMboldened by your favour, I humbly present herewith to your Grace, and through your only hands (which in our lower Sphere, is *via Latæa*) my Letter to his Majesty, and the Copie thereof. If it shall passe the file of your Judgment, my poor Lines will have honour enough; but if they take effect by the vertue of your Mediation, I shall be sorrie that I cannot be more

*Your Grace his then I am,
and will ever be,*

H. WOTTON.



To Master _____

Sir,

IT was a speciall favour, when you lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer then to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly; and in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterward by Mr. H. I would have been bold, in our vulgar Phrase, to mend my draught (for you left me with an extream thirst,) and to have begged your conversation again, joyntly with your said Learned Friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good Authors of the ancient time: Among which, I observed you to have been familiar.

Since your going, you have charged me with new Obligations, both for a very kinde Letter from you, dated the 6th. of this Moneth, and for a dainty peice of entertainment that came therewith. Wherein I should much commend

commend the Tragicall part, if the Lyricall did not ravish me with a certaine *De-rique* delicacy in your Songs and Odes; whereunto I must plainly confesse to have seen yet nothing Paralell in our Language: *Ipsa mollities*. But I must not omit to tell you, that I now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true Artificer. For the Work it self I had viewed some good while before with singular delight, having received it from our common Friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late *R's Poems*, printed at *Oxford*; whereunto is added (as I now suppose) that the Accessory might help out the Principall, according to the Art of *Stationers*, and to leave the Reader *Con la bocca dolce*.

Now Sir, concerning your Travels, wherein I may challenge a little more priviledge of discourse with you. I suppose you will not blanch *Paris* in your way; therefore I have been bold to trouble you with a few Lines to Master *M. B.* whom you shall easily finde attending the young Lord *S.* as his Governor, and you may surely receive

T from

from him - good directions for the shaping of your farther journey into *Italy*, where he did reside by my choice some time for the King, after mine own recess from *Venice*.

I should think that your best Line will be thorow the whole length of *France* to *Marseilles*, and thence by Sea to *Genoa*, whence the passage into *Tuscany* is as diurnall as a *Gravesend-Barge*. I hasten, as you do to *Florence*, or *Siena*; the rather, to tell you a short story from the interest you have given me in your safety.

At *Siena* I was tabled in the house of one *Alberto Scipioni*, an old Roman Courtier in dangerous times, having been Steward to the *Duca di Pagliano*, who with all his family were strangled, save this only man that escap'd by foresight of the Tempest; with him I had often much chat of those affaires; into which he took pleasure to look back from his native harbour, and at my departure toward *Rome* (which had been the Center of his experience) I had won confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carrie my self securly there,

there, without offence of others, or of mine own conscience. *Signor Arrigo mio* (sayes he) *I Pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto*: That is, *Your thoughts close, and your countenance loose*, will go safely over the whole World. Of which *Delphian Oracle* (for so I have found it) your judgment doth need no Commentarie; and therefore (Sir) I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, Gods dear love, remaining

Your friend as much at command, as any of longer date,

H. WOTTON.

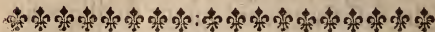
Postscript.

SIR, I have expressly sent this my foot-boy to prevent your departure without some acknowledgment from me of the receipt of your obligeing Letter, having my self through some businesse, I know not how, neglected the ordinarie conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad, and diligent to entertain

T₂

you

you with Home-Novelties ; even for some fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the Cradle.



Right honorable,

MAfter *Nicholas Pey* (through whose hands all my busineses did pass both in my former imployments here, and now) hath betray'd your Honour unto me in some things that you would desire out of this Country, which if he had not done, he had betray'd me : For I have long wished nothing more then some occasion to serve you ; And though this be a kind of intrusion, to insert my selfe in this manner into your desires ; yet I hope it wil please you to excuse it, because I doe it not only with willingness, but in truth with pleasure : For it falleth out, that I have a little skill, or at least an interest of Affection in the things that you wish from hence, and therefore even mine own nature doth lead me to serve you, besides my dutie. I have begun with a very poor Present
of

of strings for your Musick, wherof I will provide hereafter better store, and if it be possible of better qualitie: by the first ship your honour shall receive some Lutes of *Sconvelt* and *Mango*, and with all a chest of glasses of mine owne chusing at *Murano*, wherin I doe somewhat pretend; and those artificers are well acquainted with me. Thus much in private: For the Publike, I have made by this bearer a dispatch unto the whole body of his Majesties most honorable Counsell, wherein your worthe Person is comprehended: and therefore, I hope, that writing twice to your Honor now at once, it may serve (by your favour) for some redemption of my former silence. The subject of my Dispatch is as high as ever befell any forrain Minister; wherin, though mine owne conscience (I thank God) doth set me at rest, yet I shal be glad of your honorable approbation, if it wil please you to afford it me. And so I humbly commit your Honor to Gods blessed love, remaining

at your commandments.



Much Honour'd Sir,

Since I had the Favour & the Delight of any Letters from you, you have had the trouble of two or three from me, besides the present, which I hope will find you according to my continuall wishes, in perfect health, though you live in a *Theater* of Tragicall Actions this year. I am here newly delivered of one of the most fastidious pieces of my life, as I account, for my part, the week of our Annuall Election of Scholers, both into this Seminarie, and out of it for *Kings-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, whereunto hath been a marvellous Concourse, and much distraction in our Votes through Letters from Court. Pardon me (Sir) a Question by the way, Have you no Child of your own, or at least of some of your Friends, whom you could wish trained in this course? I would fain beg some imployment from you, which makes me offer you this, or any other of those poor Services, which lie
within

within my Circumference, as this Bearer hath particular charge from me. This is that *Nicholas Oudart*, for whom you did a great favour in procuring the *Cardinall Infanta's* Letters to *Meehelen* in his behalfe: which took so good effect, as he is now personally flown over to consummate that Businesse; having information from his Correspondents there, that it is ripened for him. He hath served me from a little Page, and of late years hath managed the chief part of my Domestick Affairs; so as if it were not for his own urgent occasion, I could hardly misse him that short time within which I expect his return. You will find him, I hope, worthy of your love, I am sure of your trust. His Profession is *Physick*, towards which he is very well grounded in the learned Languages: but his Scope now is Businesse, not Knowledge. If there shall by chance remain any thing to be added unto your former honourable Courtesie, for the expedition of his Cause and Return, you have given us both good cause to be confident both in your

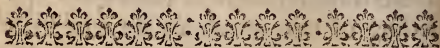
with any prosecution, on our parts, of your good Intents towards this Collegiat Bodie, about the yet unperfected, though wel imprimed Business of New-*Windsor*. But now, after due Remembrance of our humble Devotions, I am bold to signifie unto your Grace in mine own, and in the name of the rest, that having (according to the fair Libertie which you were pleased to yeild us) consulted with our Council at law about some convenient forme, for the setting of that which his Majestie hath already granted by your Grace his Intercession, we find, the King can no way be bound but by his owne Goodness, neither can we wish his Majestie in better or in safer Bonds: Therefore we hope to propound an Expedient, which to my understanding, wil (as *Astronomers* use to say) save all Appearances; Namely, Master *Cleavers* Election shall be the more honored, by being a single Example; In whose Person we are sorrie for nothing, but that he needs not thanke us for his Choice. And so doubting as little of your Grace his Favour, as we

doe of your Power , in the consumma-
 ting of our humble, and as we hope
 they will appear , of our moderate de-
 sires, I ever with most heartie zeale
 remain

From the Colledg
 this 30. of July
 1637.

*At all your Grace his
 Commands,*

H. WOTTON.



*Right Honourable and our very good
 Lord, The Lord Keeper.*

IT is so open and so generall for any
 that flye unto your Lordships Tri-
 bunall to receive there a faire and
 equitable measure : as it hath (we
 know not how) wrought in us a kinde
 of unnaturall effect : For, thereby we
 have been made the slower to render
 your Lordship our most humble thanks
 in our own proper Case , because we
 knew not how to single it from the
 common benefit which All finde in your
 Good-

Goodnesse. But we can now forbear no longer to joyn among our Selves, and with the univerrall voice, in a blessing upon your Name.

And as we bring a true and humble acknowledgment in our particular, that this *Colledge* is bound to celebrate your Honour for that charitable Injunction wherewith you have sustained a great and important portion of the livelihood of so many Young Plants of good Literature, till a farther discussion of our Right: So we likewise most humbly beseech your good Lordship in the sincerity of our own desires of quietnesse, and in the confidence of our Cause, that you will be pleased to entertain with favour a Petition which our Council will present unto your Lordship, for some Day of hearing that shall best sort with Your great Affaires. And so with all our joynt and heartie prayers, both of Young and Old, for Your long preservation, We rest

*Your most humble and
devoted Servants.*

My



My most Honoured Lady,

YOUR young kinsman shall be welcome hithet at your pleasure, and there shall want no respects on my part to make the place both fruitfull and cheerefull unto him.

Touching the other part of your last; wherein I am so much obliged by your confidence, which, in truth, is the greatest of Obligations; Let me assure your Ladiship by all the protestations of a Christian man, that I never heard before the least whispering of that whereof you write concerning my Neece: Neither, in good faith, did I know so much as that there was a Lord T. Your Ladiship sees in what darknesse, or with what incuriositie I live.

I shall, ere it be long, be my self in *Kent* among my Friends; but I will write more speedily, according to your command.

In the mean while (if I may be
par-

poor judgment, to communicate with me your Divine Meditations on the Lords Prayer, in some severall sheets, which have given me a true tast of the whole; wherein I must needs observe, and much admire the very Character of your Stile, which seemeth unto me to have not a little of the *African Idea* of *St. Augustines* age, full of sweet Raptures and of researched conceipts; nothing borrowed, nothing vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not how) with a certain equall facilitie. So as I see your worldly troubles have been but Pressing-Irons to your heavenly cogitations.

Good Sir, Let not any Modestie of your Nature, let not any obscuritie of your Fortune smother such an excellent employment of your Erudition and Zeal: For, it is a work of Light and not of Darknesse. And thus wishing you long health, that can use it so well, I remaine

*Your poor Friend to love
and serve You,*

H. WOTTON.
To



To his Sacred Majesty.

I Do humbly resume the ancient manner, which was *adire Casarem per libellum*: with confidence in the Cause, and in Your Majesties Gracious Equitie, though not in mine own Merit.

During my late Imployment, Sir *E. P.* then Master of the Rolles died. By his death Sir *Julius Caesar* claimed not only the Succession of that place, but the gift of all the Clerkships of the Chancerie, that should fall void in his own time.

Of these Clerkships Your Majestie had formerly granted two Reversions: The one to the late Lord *Bruce*; for which Master *Bond*, Secretarie to my Lord Chancellour, had contracted with him. The second to me. The said *Bond* got his Grant through the favour of his Master, to be confirmed by Sir *Julius Caesar* before his entrance into the Rolles: but through my absence in Your Majesties Service, and

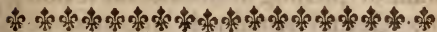
want

want of pressing it in the due season; my Grant remained unconfirmed, though Your Majestie was pleased to write Your Gracious Letter in my behalf. Which maketh me much bewaile mine own case, that my deserts were so poor, as Your Royall Mediation was of lesse value for me, then my Lord Chancellours for his Servant. The premisses considered, my humble Suit unto Your Majestie is this: That Sir *Julius Cesar* may be drawn by Your Supream Authoritie, to confirme unto me my Reversion of the second Clerkship, whereof I have a Patent under Your Great Seal. Wherein I have just confidence in Your Majesties Grace, since Your very Laws do restore them that have been any waies prejudiced *in Servitio Regis*.

Your Majesties long devoted
poor Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir,



Sir,

BESIDES the Adresse of my publick Duties unto your hands, I have long owed you these private lines, full of thanks from my heart for your favour and affection in all my occasions at home, and particularly in the Point of my Privie Seal, about my *German* Accounts: wherein (as I am abundantly informed both by my Nephew, and by Master *Nicolas Pey*, whom I repute my best Oracles in the information of mine own Obligations) it pleased you to stand by me, not only *Da vero Amico*, but indeed, *Da vero Cavagliere*: From which, though the benefit which did remain in my purse, after the casting up of what was lost, was (as God knows) so little, that I may justly build some hope of your further charitie in the authorizing of such Demands as I now send: yet on the other side, I must confesse, that without your former so friendly, and so noble compassion, I had received a
most

most irrecoverable ruine and shame, beyond all example, and my case would have been very strange; for I should have been undone by the Kings goodnesse, upon assurance whereof (though almost forgotten) I had increased my Train. Now Sir, this acknowledgment of your singular Love, I was never more fit to pay you then at the present, being intenerated in all my inward feelings and affections by new sicknesse, which with losse of much bloud, even no lesse then twenty ounces within these fourteen days, hath brought me low. In which time (if God had called me from the Travels of this earth) I had left you, out of my narrow fortune, some poor remembrance of my thankfulnesse: which I have now (finding my selfe by Gods pleasure in a good way of recoverie) transmitted to my above-said Friend Master *Pey*. Before I end, I must not forget to ease your Honour of such thanks as in your Letters you have been pleased to bestow on me, in respect of your kinsman Master *B*. because his being with me I do very
right-

rightly reckon among my bands to your selfe: for in good faith, his integritie and discretion doth sustaine my house; besides his fellowship in certain Studies, wherein we aime at no small things, even perchance at a new *System* of the World; at least, since we cannot in the Practicall and Moral, I would we could mend it in the Speculative Part. But lest these private Contemplations (on which I am fallen) transport me too far, I will conclude as I began, with humble thanks for all your Favours; and with commending your honoured Person to the Authour of all Blessing; remaining ever, &c.



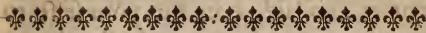
Most Dear Lord,

WHILE I had your Lordship (as I am alwaies bound) in my Meditation, and somewhat under my Pen wherewith I hope in due time to expresse how much I honour your Noble Vertues) I am (as if I had not been overladen before) surprized with

a new Favour (For that is the true Title of your Commands) touching a fine boy of this Colledge, whom I perceive by your Letters of the 30th. of the last Month to pertain to your care. *Quid multa?* It shall be done: Only in one thing I must crave pardon, to passe a little gentle Expostulation with your Lordship. You are pleased in your Letter to except my inconveniences, as if in the Nobleness of your Nature (notwithstanding your desire) you would yet allow me here a libertie of mine own Judgment, or Affection. No, my Good Lord, That priviledge comes too late, even for your selfe to give me, when I once understand your mind. For let me assure your Lordship, that I have such a conscience, and reall feeling of my deep Obligations towards your Noble Person, as no value nor respect under Heaven can purchase my voice from him on whom you have bestowed it. It is true, that the King himselfe, and no longer then three or four daies before the Date of your Letters (so nimble are the times) did write for another; but we shall
satisfie

fatisfie His Majestie with a pre-Election, and yours shall have my first nomination; which, howsoever, will fall timely enough for him within the year. For there belongs (after they are chosen) a little soaking, as well as a baking before, into our Boyes. And so not to insist any longer upon such a poor obedience: I humbly lay my self, and whatsoever is, or shall be within my power, at your Lordships feet, remaining,

*Your Lordships in the truest,
and heartiest devotions,*



Worthy Sir,

ALL health to your selfe, and to yours both at home and abroad. Sorrie I was not to be at *Eton* when Master *B.* your Nephew and my Freind came thither to visit me, being then in procinct of his travels: But I had some good while before, at an other kind visitation, together with your sons and Master *S.* given him a *Catho-*

tholick Rule which was given me long since by an old *Roman* Coutier with whom I tabled in *Siena*, and whose Counsels I begged for the government of my selfe at my departure from him towards the foresaid Court, where he had been so well versed. *Signor Arrigo* (saies he) There is one short remembrance will carrie you safe through the whole world. I was glad to heare such a preservative contracted into so little roome, and so besought him to honor me with it. Nothing but this (saith he) *Gli Pensiere stretti, & il visofciolto*: That is, as I use to translate it, *Your Thoughts close, and your Countenance loose*. This was that moral Antidote which I imparted to Mr *B.* and his fellow-travellers when they were last with me, having a particular interest in their wel-dings, both as they are Yours, and as they have had some training under my poore Regiment: To which ties of freindship you have added a third, that they are now of the Colledge of Travellers, wherein if the fruit of the time I have spent were answerable to the

the

the length, I might run for a Deacon at least.

If I had not been absent when Mr. B. came last, I would have said much more in private between us; which shall be supplied by letter, if I may receive a safe forme of address from you. I continue mainly in the same opinion which I touched unto them, That after their impriming in *France* I could wish them to mount the *Pirenies* into *Spaine*. In that Court (as I heare) you have an assured Friend; And there they may consolidate the *French* vivacitie with a certain *Sosiego* (as they call it) till they shall afterwards pass from *Barcelona* over to *Italy*, where lies the true meane between the other two humors. You see (Sir) by this discourse, that I am in mine owne Countrie at leisure; I pray pardon it, whatsoever it be: because it proceedeth from heartie good will: And so I rest

At your Commands,
H.W.

Sir, My servant the bearer hath somewhat to say unto you about a piece of
Paint-

Painting, which I would fain send to your house in the Country, covered till it come thither, because it is soberly naked, and ready to be set up, being in a gilded Frame already.



Right Honourable.

I Received such a Letter from you touching my poor Pamphlet of *Architecture*, which I yet preserve among my pretiouser Papers, as I have made it a resolution to put nothing forth under my Name, without sending one of the first Copies unto your indulgent hands.

There is borne a small welcome to the King from *Scotland* (whom I have not yet seen since his Return) I know not how, out of a little indignation. They have sent us over from *Leiden*, from *France*, from *Polonia*, &c. a tempest of *Panegyrics*, and *Laudatives* of their

their Princes, whereupon I debated with my self; What? Have we not as good a *Theam* and *Theater* as they? Or do we want Sense, or Zeal to expresse our Happinesse? This stirred my verie Bowels, and within a while my Pen, such as it is. I confesse the Subject is so high, as I fear may condemne my Obscuritie to have undertaken it; but withall so true, as I hope will not misbecome mine Ingenuitie. Howsoever, I submit it to your judgment: and if in charitie you shall be pleased to like any thing in it, I humbly beseech you that you would be pleased to take some occasion of speaking favourably of it to the King himself; for though I aime at nothing by it, save the very doing of it, yet I should be glad to have it impressed by better judgments then my own; And so I most humbly rest

At &c.

U

To



To Doctor Castle.

Worthy Sir,

Till the receipt of your last, and the like from others of both Universities; and one from *Bruxels, Ejusdem Argumenti*; I thought, in good faith, that as I have lived (I thank God) with little Ambition; so I could have died with as much silence as any man in *England*. But I now see that the most unvaluabable things may serve to make a noise.

And I have now no more to say, but that while the foresaid report shall be false; The underwriter

Is

Truly Yours,

H. WOTTON.

Sir,



Sir,

HAVING not long written unto you, whose friendship towards me hath given you a great interest in me; I send you a report of a late Transaction, even for a little entertainment, lest you should think me to live without observation.

For that the case of the late *Cavalier, Anthonio Foscarini* hath been diversly misreported, and perhaps not the least, even by those that were his Judges, to cover their own disgrace; I have thought a little curiositie not ill spent in research of the whole proceeding that his Majestie (to whom he was so well known) may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example. There is among the partitions of this Government a very awfull Magistracie under Title of *Inquisitori di Stato*; to which are commonly deputed three Gentlemen of the gravest and severest natures, who receive all

secret delations in matter of practise against the Republick, and then referre the same, as they shall judge the consequence thereof, to the Decemviral Councell, being the supreamest Tribunal in criminall Inquiries; of which Bodie they are usuall themselves.

To these Inquisitors, about the beginning of *April* last, came two fellows of mean condition, borne about the *Lago di Garda*, but inhabitants in *Venice*, by name *Girolamo* and *Domenico Vani*; as some say, Uncle and Nephew: certainly, neer of kindred, which in this report is a weightie circumstance: for thereby they were the likelier to conspire, and consequently their united testimonies of the lesse validitie. These persons capitulate with the Inquisitors of that time (whose names may be civilly spared) about a reward (which is usuall) for the discoverie of some Gentlemen, which at undue times and in disguised formes did, haunt the houses of forraine Ministers, and in particular of the *Spanish* Agent: who being the most obnoxious to publick jealousy, these Accusers were likeliest upon that

that Subject to gaine a favourable hearing. In the head of their secret List they nominate *Anthonio Foscarini*, then an actuall Senatour, and thereby upon paine of death restrained from all conference in this ombragious State with publick Instruments, unlesse by speciall permission. To verifie their discoverie, besides their own testimonies, they alledge one *Giovan Battista*, who served the foresaid *Spanish* Agent, & had, as they said, acquainted them with the accessses of such and such Gentlemen unto him: But first they wished, or so the Inquisitours thought fit, to proceed against *Foscarini* upon this double attestation, without examining the foresaid *Giovan Battista*; because that would stir some noise, and then perhaps those other whom they meant to delate, might take fear and escape: Hereupon *Foscarini* coming from the next Senate at night down the Palace, was by order of the Inquisitours suddenly muffled, and so put in close Prison, and after usuall examinations, his own single denyall being not receiveable against two agreeing Informers, he was by sentence

at the Councell of *Ten*, some fifteen days after his retention, strangled in Prison, and on the 21th. of the foresaid *April*, was hanged by one legge on a Gollows in the publick *Piazza*, from break of day till Sun set, with all imaginable circumstances of infamie: His verie face having been bruised by dragging on the ground, though some did conster that for a kinde of favour, that he might be the lesse known.

After this the same Artificers pursue their occupation, now animated with successe; and next they name *Marco Miani*: But one of the Inquisitours, either by nature more advised then the rest, or intenerated with that which was alreadie done, would by no means proceed any farther without a pre-examination of the foresaid *Giovan Battista*: which now might the more conveniently, and the more silently be taken, because he had left the house of the *Spanish* Agent, and was married in the Town to a Gold-smiths Daughter. To make short, they draw this man to a secret accompt: where he doth not only disavow the having ever
seen

seen any Gentleman in the *Spanish* Agents house ; but likewise all such interest as the Accusers did pretend to have in his acquaintance , having never spoken with any of them, but only three words by chance with the elder, namely, *Girolamo*, upon the *Piazza di S. Stephano*. Hereupon the Inquisitours confronting him with the Accusers , they confesse without any torture their malicious plot ; and had sentence to be hanged, as was afterwards done. But now the voice running of this detection , the Nephews of the executed *Cavalier*, namely, *Nicolo* and *Girolamo Foscarini*, make haste to present a Petition (in all opinion most equitable) to the Decemviral Tribunall , That the false Accusers of the abovesaid *Marco Miani* might be re-examined likewise about their Uncle. The Councill of *Ten*, upon this Petition did assemble early in the morning, which had not been done in long time before , and there they put to voices whether the Nephews should be satisfied.

In the first *Ballotation* the *Balls* were equal: In the second, there was

one *Ball* more (as they say) in the negative *Box*: either because the false *Witnesses*, being now condemned men, were disabled by course of Law to give any farther testimonie, or for that the Councell of *Ten* thought it wisdom to smother an irrevocable error. The *Petition* being denied, no possible way remained for the *Nephews* to clear the defamation of their *Uncle* (which in the rigour of this Government, had been likewise a stop to their own Fortunes) but by means of the *Confessor*, to whom the *Delinquents* should disburden their souls before their death; and by him, at importunity of the said *Nephews*, the matter was revealed: whereupon did ensue a solemn Declaration of the Councell of *Ten*, touching the innocencie of the foresaid *Anthony Foscarini*, eight months and 25. days after his death. Whether in this case there were any mixture of private passion, or that perhaps some light humors, to which the Party was subject, together with the taint of his former imprisonment, might precipitate the credulity of the Judges, I dare

dare not dispute : But surely, in 312. years, that the Decemvirall Tribunal hath stood, there was never cast upon it a greater blemish; which being so high a Piece, and on the reputation of whose grave and indubitable proceedings the Regiment of Maners hath most depended, is likely to breed no good consequence upon the whole. Since the foresaid Declaration, the Nephews have removed the Bodie of their Uncle from a place where condemned persons are of custome interred, to the Monument of their *Ancesters* in another Temple, and would have given it a solemn Burial. But having been kept (though rather by disswasion then prohibition) from increasing thereby the publick Scandall, they now determine to repaire his fame with an Epitaph, the last of miserable remedies. It is said, that at the removing of his Body, his heart was found whole; which kinde of conceits are easily intertained in this Country, and scant any notable case without some superstitions adjunct : It is said likewise, that by Testament he did appoint a great

summe for him that should discover his innocencie: which receiving from credible Authors, I was willing not to omit; because it argueth. that notwithstanding some outward lightnesse, he was composed of generous Elements. Certain it is, that he left divers Legacies to the best Patriots, as now appeareth not Artificially. But here I may breed a question, with which I will end this report: How a man in his case could dispose of his Fortune? I must answer, that in the composition of this State Confiscations are rare, be the crime never so high, unlesse in case of interverting the publick mony; which the Delinquent is commonly condemned to repair, not so much in the qualitie of a Taitor, as of a Debtor: Whereof searching the reason, I finde this to be the most immediate; That if in a Dominion meerly managed by their own Gentry, they should punish them as much in their means as in their persons, It would in conclusion prove a punishment, not of particulars, but of the generall. For it is a rule here, that the poorest families are the loofest.

Right



Right Honourable,

OF my purpose to depart from *Vienna*, and to leave the Emperour to the Counsels of his own Fortune; I gave his Majestie knowledge by my servant *James Vary*.

I will now make you a Summary account of what has hapned here, which is to be done both out of duty to your place, and out of obligation to your Friendship.

The *Count Tampier* had some twelve days since taken from the *Hungarians* by surprisall in the field, thirteen Cornets of horse, and one Ensigne of Foot; which here with much ostentation were carried up and down, and layed on Sunday was seven-night under the Emperours feet, as he came from the Chappell.

Some note, that the vanitie of this triumph was greater then the merit; For the *Hungarians* by their ordinarie discipline abound in Cornets, bearing
one

one almost for every twentie horse, so as *Flags* are good cheap amongst them, and but sleightly guarded: Howsoever the matter be made more or lesse, according to the wits on both sides, this was *breve gaudium*, and it self indeed some cause of the following disaster; For the *Count Tampier*, being by nature an enterprising man, was now also inflamed by accident, which made him immediatly conceive the surprisall of *Presburg*, while the Prince of *Transilvania* was retired to the seige of *Guns*, some six or seven Leagues distant. A project in trueth, if it had prospered, of notorious utility.

First by the very reputation of the Place, being the Capitall town of *Hungaria*.

Next, the accessse to *Comar* and *Rab*, (which places only the Emperour retaineth in that Kingdom of any considerable value) had been freed by water, which now in a manner are blocked up.

Thirdly, the incursions into these Provinces, and ignominious depre-dations had been cut off.

And

And lastly, The Crown of *Hungaria* had been recovered, which the Emperour *Matthias* did transport to the Castle of *Presburg* after the desposition of *Rodolph* his Brother, who alwayes kept it in the Castle of *Prague*; which men account one of the subtile things of that retired Emperour, as I hear by discourse. So as upon these considerations, the enterprise was more commendable in the designe, then it will appear in the execution; being thus carried.

From hence to *Presburg* is in this moneth of *October* an easie nights journey by water. Thither on Thursday night of the last week, *Tampier* himself, accompanied with some four or five Colonels, and other remarkable men of this Court, resolves to bring down in 25 Boats, about 3000 Foot, or such a matter; having given order, and space enough before for certain Horse, partly *Dutch*, and partly *Polonians*, to be there and to attend his coming about two houres before Friday morning. And to shadow this purpose, himself on Thursday in the after-noon
with

which affected noise goes up the River the contrary way, though no reasonable imaginations could conceive whither; for the lower *Austria* was then all reduced. By which Artificiall delay, and by some naturall stops in the shadowes of the water, when they fell silently down again, it was three or four houres of clear day before he arrived at *Presburg* the next morning: Where his meaning was, first to destroy the Bridge built upon Boates, and thereby to keep *Bethlem Gabor*, (as then on the *Austrian* side) not onely from succouring the Town; but from all possibilitie of re-passing the *Danubie* nearer then *Buda*. Next, to apply the *Petard* to one of the gates of the *Cittadell*. Some say, he had likewise inward intelligence, that at his approach, the wicket of the Castle should be opened unto him by one *Palfy* an *Hungarian* Gentleman; which conceit, though perchance raised at first to animate the Souldier, yet hath gotten much credit by seeing the enterprise against all discourse continued by day-light. Be that point how it will.

will, his fatall hour was come: for approaching a skonce that lies by the Castle-gate, and turning about to crie for his men to come on, he was shot in the lowest part of his skull nearest his neck, after which he spake no sylable, as *Don Carolod' Austria* (second base son to *Rodolph* the Emperor, and himself at that time saved by the goodnesse of his armour) doth testifie. After which, some two or three Souldiers attempting to bring away his bodie, and those being shot, the rest gave it over, and the whole Troupes transported themselves to the other side, leaving the Boates behinde them, as if they had meant to contribute new provision for the mending of the Bridge, whereof they had only broken one little piece.

This was the end of the *Count Tampier*; By his fathers side a *Norman*, by his mothers a *Champaigne*, a servant twentie two years to the house of *Austria*. Himself Captain of a thousand Horse: but Commander divers times in chief, especially before the coming of the *Count-Bucquoy*, from whom he

was

was sever'd to these nearer Services, being incompatible natures: A valiant, and plotting Souldier: In Encounters more fortunate then Sieges: Gracious to his own, and terrible to the *Hungarians*. To the present Emperour most dear, though perchance, as much for Civill, as Militarie Merit: for this was the very man that first seized upon the Cardinall *Clesel*, when he was put into a Coach, and transported hence to *Tirol*; so as now we may expect some Pamphlet the next Mart from *Ingolstat*, or *Collen*; That no man can end well, who hath laid violent hands upon any of those *Roman Purpurati*.

To this Point, I must add two remarkable Circumstances; The first, that *Tampier*, amongst other Papers found in his pockets, is said to have had a Memoriall of certain Conditions, whereon it should be fit to insist in his Parley with the Town, as having already swallowed the Castle. The other, that his head having been cut off by a Souldier, and sold for five Dollars to another, who meant to have the merit of presenting it to the Prince,

the

the Presenter was rewarded with a stroak of a Sable, for insulting over the dead Carcasse of a Gentleman of honour.



Sir,

ONe Reason of my writing now unto you, is because it seemeth a great while unto me since I did so. Another, to give you many thanks (which upon the casting up of my reckonings I find I have not yet don) for that Gelding wherewith you so much honoured me: which, in truth, either for goodnesse or beauty runneth for one of the very best about this place; And I have had a great deal of love made unto me for him by no small ones. After this, I must plainly tell you, that I mean to perswade you, I am sorry I cannot say, to invite you, (for my Mind would bear that word better then my Fortune) to bestow your selfe, and your whole Family upon us this *Shrove-tide*

tide, if it be not for three daies at the conjunction of the *Thames* and the *Rhene*, as our ravished Spirits begin to call it. The occasion is rare; the expence of time, but little; of money, inconsiderable; you shall see divers Princes, a great confluence of Strangers, sundry entertainments to shorten your patience, and to reward your travell: Finally, nothing spared, even in a necessitous time. I will add unto these Arguments, that out of your own Store at home, you may much encrease the beautie of this Assemblie; and your daughters shall not need to provide any great Splendour of clothing, because they can supply that with a better contribution, as hath been well authenticated even by the Kings own testimonie of them. For though I am no longer an Ambassadour, yet am I not so bank-rupt of Intelligence, but that I have heard of those rurall passages.

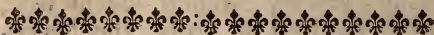
Now let me therefore, with this hobling pen; again and again pray you to resolve upon your coming: if not with all the fair Train, yet your self and my
Lady,

Lady, and my Nephew and his wife, or at the least of leasts, the Masculine.

We begin to lay off our mourning habits, and the Court will shortly, I think, be as merry as if it were not sick. The King will be here to morrow: The *Friday* following he goeth to *Windsor*, with the *Count Palatine*, about the Ceremony of his Instalment. In the mean time, there is expected the Count *Henry of Nassaw* to be at the said Solemnity, as the Representant of his Brother. Yester-night, the *Count Palatine* invited all the Councell to a solemn Supper, which was well ordered: He is a Gentleman of very sweet hope, and hath rather gained upon us, then lost any thing after the first Impression. And so, *Sir*, having ended my Paper, I will end my Letter with my hearty prayers for the prosperitie of your selfe, and yours, ever resting

Your faithfull poor
Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.
To



To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I Cannot (according to the *Italian* Phrase, at which I have been often ready to laugh, among a Nation otherwise of so civill Language) *accuse the receipt* of any Letter from you, since your remove from these parts, save of two by this Bearer, my Servant and yours, as all mine shall be. Neither can I satisfy my imagination (so far I am from quieting my desire) where a third (which you intimate in your last) may yet lie smothered in some pocket, for which I should have made a great Research, if that were not the diligentest way to misse it. The truth is (as I do highly estimate every line from your Pen; so on the other side, I am as jealous that any of them should stray: For when a Friend of mine, that was lately going towards your City, fell casually into some discourse with me, how he should cloath himself there,

I made some sport to tell him, (for a little beguiling of my Melancholy Fumes) that in my opinion the cheapest stufte in *London* was Silence. But this concerneth neither of us both, for we know how to speak and write safely, that is, honestly: Alwayes, if we touch any tender Matter, let us remember his *Motto*, that wrote upon the Mantle of his Chimney, where he used to keep a good fire, *Optimus Secretariorum*.

I owe you abundant thanks for the Advertisements in your last, so clearly and judiciously delivered: you cannot do me a greater Favour: for though I am a Cloystered Man in the Condition of my present Life, besides my Confinement by Infirmitie, yet having spent so much of mine Age among Noise abroad, and seven years thereof in the Court at home; there doth still hang upon me, I know not how, a certain Concupiscence of Novelties.

I am sorry I have nothing in that kind at the present to interchange with you.

In mine own sicknesse, I had of late,
for

for one half Night, and a whole Day following, a perfect Intermission like a Truce from all Symptoms: but some of them are returned again, and I am affraid it will be hard to throw out altogether this same Saturnine Enemie, being now lodged in me almost a full year.

In your way of applying the Leeches, I have found sensible benefit.

If I could get a Lodging near *Pauls* Church, I would fain passe a Week there yet before the great Festivall.

Pardon me (Good Sir) this Communication with you of my Domestick Purposes. And pardon me likewise the use of another mans hand in this Letter, for a little ease of mine own Head and Eyes. And so I rest

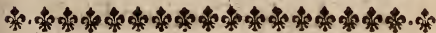
*Your hearty Friend and
Servant in all occasions,*

H. WOTTON.

SIR, Your subscription of *Aldrovandus* putteth me in minde of a mishap which befell me in the time of my private Travels: I had been in a long pursuit of a much commended Author; Namely, *Joannes Britannicus de re*

Met-

Metallica, and could never see him but in the Library of the brave *Monks* of *Mont 'Oliveto* in the *Contado di Siena*; Where while I had taken order to have him transcribed, *Aldrovando* passing that way, borrowed him from the *Monasterie*; And I sending not long after unto him in *Bologna*, my friend found him newly dead: And this was the period of my fruitlesse curiosity.



To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I See by your Letters, by your discourses, and by your whole conversation, that you are a Friend of great Learning, & (which are commonly con-sociated) of as great humanitie: which shall make me studie by any means, within the narrownessse of my Fortune and judgment, to deserve your love.

The rest I leave to this bearer, my Setvant.

As I am Yours,


H. WOTTON.

HEN-



H E N R I C I ^{VI}
 Angliæ & Galliarum Regis, Hi-
 berniæ Domini, *Etonensis* ad
 Tamesin Collegii Conditoris,
Vita & Excessus.

Scriptore HENRICO WOTTO-
 NIO Anglo-Cantiano Ejus-
 dem Collegii Præfecto.


 Nter honestam requiem
 quam Etonense Collegi-
 um Vergentibus jam An-
 nis nostris indulget, Sub-
 inde me invasit hæc Cogi-
 tatio : Haud multum distare silentes à
 Defunctis. Quippe, quid interest nos
 terminet fatalis Dies, an præstinguat
 Inertia? Unde reputanti mecum quid ag-
 grederer, non ingratum omnino videbatur
 præsentis Otii pretium fore, si Regis
 H E N R I C I VI. Vitam (cujus be-
 neficâ Pietate fovemur) è sanctioribus
 Memo-

memoriis expromerem à primo fere vagitu ad extremum usque Diem; quo innocentius quidem quam felicius Imperium clausit. Quod si obscuriora jampridem amplexus Studia Magnorum Nominum Glorie quæ sub Calamum cadent minus satisfecerim, At interea quodcumque futurum sit, pro diverticulo saltem valeat ad fallendam Canitiem quæ indies obrepit.

Age ergo, Revolvamus varios humanorum Casuum Fluctus & Procellas. En mirum sub Rege, maxime omnium, quietis avido, turbulentissima Scenæ Spectaculum: Eoque tristiori exitu, quo blandioribus initiis, ut nulla Optimo Principi defuisse videatur, aut ludentis Fortune aut sevientis Calamitas. Sed in ipso limine parcendum publico Mœrori. Paulisper indefleti jaceant tot fortium virorum, tot illustrium Familiarum Cineres. Ne, ut plerique Scribentium, pomposo nimis genitu, conceptum opus prægavarem. Téque potius (Serenissime CAROLE Rex & Domine) justitenax, verique patiens, & cujus mores non minus quam leges cuncta temperant; Te, inquam, veterum

rum Ritu ante Exorsum compellare liceat, ut his conatibus benigna fronte adesse velis, Dum priorum jam longè temporum Arumnas (quas divinum Numen sopivit) liberiùs quàm facundè peragam.

Lancastrii Stemmatìs MAJESTAS (quoquo modo parta) per duorum Dominantium virtutes pariter & successus occæperat paulatim valescere. De Henrici Quarti primordiis jam circumquaque Silentium: Aut ob tecta murmura comprimente (ut solet) Vulgi voces lato hætenus domi forisque Fortune afflatu. At neque Nobilium videbantur inquieta Consilia, quorum ferocior Pars aperto Marte aut conjurationibus exhausti, Molliores Tempori serviebant. Quin & quedam subfulsit futura securitatis Fiducia. Quippe viginti jam trium Annorum dilapsu (tot enim à primi Lancastrii Imperio ad insequentis Obitum interfluxerant) Wallia post Oweni Glendori miserrimos Impetus, sub Henrico IV^{to} composita, Scotiaque Confinio per Henrici V^{ti} Solertiam contra subitos incursus satis providè munito; Si quid hîc forsan adhuc

Tur-

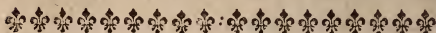
Turbidi, si quid Infidi detegeretur, promptum erat alio sum transfundere, & interna Suspicionum in Galliam velut exantlare, Quo tum Tempestas incubuit.

In hoc statu Rerum Henricus V. post Victoriã in Gallos ad Agennicuriã (omnis Ævi Memoriã illustrem) ingravescente Morbo, quem fortè inter bellandi Sudores contraxerat, Sit Sæculi Fulmen, & brevi (proh nimium!) Ætate, Gloriæ Satur, concessit Fatis, relicto vix quadrimestri Filiolo.

Hic est ille HENRICUS Sextus, cujus Tempora in presens meditamus, tot sortis Humana Documentis inclytata, quot ulla usquam Ætas in unum congeffit.

Sed antequam ulterius processerim, non incongruum reor paucis aperire, Qualis tum esset Christiani Orbis Facies, Quanam apud nos Externorum Motuum, Que Civilium Origo, Quantum Anglorum Arma tum foras obtinnerint, Quid intro sperandum, Quidve timendum fuerit.

Desunt cætera.



To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

Henceforward no Complementall formes between us. Let others repute them according to the Latine denomination, Fine civill fillings of speech and Letters. For my part, in good faith, *ex Diametro*, I ever thought they were meer emptinesses: Yet they may chance serve between some natures to kindle good will; but I account our Friendship no longer *in fieri*.

You have so represented—— unto me, as me thinks I see him walking, not like a *Funambulus* upon a Cord, but upon the edge of a Razor. What shall I retribute to you from hence? Nothing but a pretty Accident in a sad Subject. There was, you know, inhabitant in ——, a young Widow of value: Who lately dying at *London*, wihther she went to solace with some of her friends, left order by Will that her body should be buried in her dwelling Parish, as it was
this

this week, where—— made the funeral Sermon, who had been one of her professed Suitors: And so she did not want a passionate Elogist, as well as an excellent Preacher.

For the estate of mine own Bodie; it is not so well as my servant seemes by your Letter to have layed it before you. It is true, that the *Symtomes* are well allayed, or otherwise peradventure Custom hath taught me to bear them better, being now familiarized and domesticated evils, *Jam mansuetamala*: Yet still the hot fumes continue in the night, and the salivation by day, but in somewhat a lesser measure; besides a streightnesse of breathing, which I should be glad to know whether you observe in other Hypochondriacall Patients. And if you can advise me of a good *Errinum*, I have a strong Fancie, *ex Fernelio*, that it will discharge my head: but such juices and expressions as he appointeth, are not now to be had. Sir, Pardon me this trouble. And God have you in his love,

Your affectionate Friend to serve
you unceremoniously, H. W.
X 3 To



To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I Now return unto you your secret Papers again; whereof, least I should violate the Communications of such a Freind, I have not so much as reserved a Copie (though I might have done it by your leave) but I have perused them so often, as I thinke, I can say them without Book. The Scene seemeth since then much changed to the worse; yet I hope all will resolve into nothing: And that when things appear most tempestuous, they will be neereſt a Calme; According to your great *Aphorisme* in Phyſick: *Nox ante Criſin eſt moleſtiſſima.*

I beſeech you (Sir) not to conceive by the tarditie of my Answer unto you, any faintneſſe in the acknowledgment of your favors: but to proſecute your friendly intelligence upon occaſion, even when I ſhal be on the other ſide of you, as perchance I ſhal be ſhortly in my Genial ſoile. For I wil teach
the

the Foot-Posts of that place to find your Lodging. And so leaving you in Gods dear love, I rest,

*Your professed poor Friend,
and Servant,*

H. WOTTON



To Doctor C.

Sir,

LET me pray you, that the subject of these lines may be only to recommend unto your Counsel and good Affection, the bearer of them, Master *John Gainsford*, the neereſt Kinsman on my mothers ſide that I have living; and yet my neerer Friend; ſo as I have more then a ſingle intereſt in his health: He is much travelled with an exorbitant effuſion of —, which, though it be a natural preventive to ſome evils; yet ſurely, without either ſtop or moderation, muſt needs exhaust his ſpirits. He hath had hereto-

fore some taste of your acquaintance at large, and you have left in him *illos aculeos* which you doe in all that (after the *Scottish* phrase) get but a gripe of you: For you are indeed a wounding Man, as my servant *Nicolas* saith, to whom I shewed your last Letter. This my dear Cousin, in one thing especially, is capable of good hope from your advice, that he beleeves in it by my discourse with him, who truly must confesse that I have received much benefit by yours, touching my splenetick Infirmity; which differeth from his no more then the stopping or running of the same spout. Besides this, he is the fitter for you to work upon, because he hath yet tryed no remedie, not so much as the ordinary diversion of opening another veine. Sir, I commend him most heartily into your hands; And because you have two Capacities (as our Lawyers speak) a *Politicall* and *Philosophicall*, from both which I draw much good; Give me leave to intertain you with a Letter of some few novelties from *Oxford*, received as I was thinking to shut up the present,

change, the Copie of an Elegant Letter which came unto me by the last Boate from a friend: both of Studies and Affaires touching forraine troubles; which it is not amisse to contemplate, if it be but for some diversion from our own; Christendom was never, within our age, so inflamed. I hope the ends of the World are come upon us.

I shall shortly remove into *Kent*; But while I am absent, there is one shall wait on you weekly in *London*, to receive and to convey any of your Commands to me; for that is the true name of all your Requests.

To your professed plaine Friend,

H. WOTTON.

Postscript

MY Lords Grace of *Canterbury* hath this week sent hither to Mr. *Hales* very nobly a Prebendaryship of *Windsor* unexpected, undesired, like one of the favours (as they write) of *Henry* the Seventh's time.

To Doctor C.*Worthy Sir,*

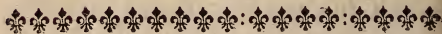
I Have received your last of the 24th of *May*, through the hands of Mr. *Jones* of *Windsor*, immediatly upon my returne to mine ordinary Cell; whence I made a short retirement during the late Solemnities, with intention, in truth, to have visited the Citie of *Bath*, and to see whether among all kinde of affected persons confluent thither, I could pick out any counsell to allay that sputative Symptome which yet remaineth upon me from my obstructions of the Splene. But that journe y is laid asleep.

Now, Sir, in answer to your said Letter. It grieves me to tell you a truth, which this my servant well knoweth; That I am for the future Election of this year so ingaged already to four Privie Counsellors (and three of them of the highest) and moreover to a Friend of great interest in all the breath that I have to bestow; that in good faith,

I know not how to struggle for a voice for a child of rare & almost prodigious hopes, who is one of my poor Scholers; and much lesse for any other propounded so late as your Friends Son. For it is now more then a month since the day of our Election was proclaimed on our Colledge and Church gates: The World is nimble in the anticipating of Voices; And for my particular, according to my improvidence in all things else, I am in this likewise no reserver of my good will till the last. I must therefore heartily beseech you, as I have delivered my self at your disposall, so to dispose of me when I am my self, which I am not now. And so I rest,

*Unquiet till I shall some
way serve you,*

H E N R Y W O T T O N .



To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir.

IT is one of the wonders of the World unto me, how your Letters come so slowly; which if either themselves or their

their Beares knew how welcom they are, would flie. I speak this both by some other before, and by your last of the 19th. of *December*, which was almost nine dayes on the way: And I hope the Scene of *Scotland* much changed in the mean while to the better.

But to let go exotick matter, if that may be so termed; I must congratulate with you your actual possession of the Place in the——. For although your own Merit was (before you had it) in their judgments that understand you, a kind of present Investiture; yet I learn'd long since of our old Master at *Oxford*, That *Actus* is better then *Potentia*: which yet I hope will not divert you from your Philosophicall Profession, wherein I know no man of sweeter or sounder ability. And so Sir, I rest

*Very truly and affectionately
at your Command,*

H. WOTTON.

To



To the Queen of Bohemia.

*Most Resplendent Queen, even in
the Darknesse of Fortune.*

I Most humbly salute Your Majesty again, after the longest silence that I have ever held with you, since I first took into mine heart an Image of your excellent Vertues.

My thoughts indeed, from the exercise of outward duties, have been confined within my selfe, and deeply wounded with mine own private griefs and losses: which I was affraid, if I had written sooner unto your Majesty, before time had dried them up, would have freshly bled again. And now, with what shall I entertain your sweet Spirits? It becomes not my weaknesse to speak of deep and weighty Counsels; nor my privatenesse, of great Personages. Yet, because I know your Majesty cannot but expect that I should say somewhat of the Duke of *Buckingham*,

ham, whom all contemplate; I will begin there, and end in such comforts as I can suggest to your present Estate: which shall be ever the Subject both of my Letters, and of my Prayers. But before I deliver my conceit of the said Duke, I must use a little Preface.

I am two ways tied unto Him: First, for his singular love towards my never forgotten *Albertus*: therein likewise concurring with your Majesties inestimable affection. Next, for mine own particular, I hold by his Mediation, this poor place, as indeed I may well call it for the benefit, though not for the contentment: But if it were worth Millions or Worlds, I protest unto your Majestie (to whom I owe the bottom of mine heart) I would not speak otherwise of Him then I conceive. I will therefore spend my opinion (which is all my free-hold) without fear of Parliaments, or hopes of Court. And truly (my most Gracious and Royall Mistresse) I cannot weigh his case without much wonder (being one of the strangest (all considered) that I ever yet took into my fancie.

Not

Not that the—now should lift, and win the actions, even of the highest of the Nobilitie: Not, that an obscure Physician then among them (where that Profession is very rarely) should give the first on-set on so eminent a Personage: Not that such a popular Pursuit being once begun by one, and seconded by a few other, should quickly kindle a great Partie.

These are in their nature no Marvels, nor Novelties: Neither, can I greatly muse, that in a young Gentleman, during the space of 13. years of such prosperitie and power, the height of his place exposing him to much observation, and curiositie, the—likewise opening the way to all kind of complaints (as they did,) and examining nothing upon oath (as they never do,) there should be matter enough gleaned to make up 13. Objections, and none of heinous degree. Therefore, I can passe all this over with easie believe: For where there are such bouldings to the quick, there must needs be some bran every where. But there is a consideration which doth much confound
my

my judgement. First, for the matter it selfe, That this very Nobleman, who in the Parliament of 1623. was so universally applauded, and celebrated in every corner, as a great Instrument of the publick Good, (In so much as for my part, I conceived him then to be that which few or none had been in all Ages before; no lesse Favourite, I mean to the People, then to the King) should be now pursued with these dislikes, when for the most part, the very same Objectors were in the foresaid Parliament, and the very same Objections (except one or two) might as well then have been alledged. This is——

The rest is lost.



Honourable Sir,

FOR this time, I pray you, accept in good part from me a Bottle made of a Serpentine Stone, which hath the quality to give any wine or water that shall be infused therein, for four and twenty hours, the taste and operation of the *Spaw-water*, and is very medicinal

nable

nable for the Cure of the Spleen and the Gravell, as I am informed: But sure I am, that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* put a value upon it, he having obtained it amongst the Spoiles of the Governour of *St. Omy*, in his last fatall Expedition, and by his Page understood the vertues thereof, and that his Captain highly esteemed it. And surely, some good Cures it hath wrought, since it came into my hands, for those two Infirmities, &c.

Extracted from a Letter of the Earl of GORKE, written to Sir HENRY WOTTON. Decemb. 22th. 1636.



Sir,

First I must thank you for the fruition of your L. at life here though it was too short. Next, for your Pictures: whereof I returne one by this first Boat, and retaine the other longer by your courtesie.

Thirdly, and most of all, for a promise which I receive from you by my ser-

servant, or at least a hope that you will send me some of your own rurall Poesie. That will be a neerer image of your inward self, especially when you were retired into your self. I do therefore expect it greedily by this; For I well remember to have seen some Lines that flowed from you with much strength and grace. When you have any great piece of newes, I pray now and then *Candidus Imperti* to

Your professed servant,

H. WOTTON.



Sir,

Although I am now a retired and cloystered man, yet there do still hang upon me, I know not how, some relicks of an harkening humour.

The easiest way for you to quench this appetite in your poor Friend, is, to emptie your self into my Servant, whom I send to salute you, and to know two things:

First,

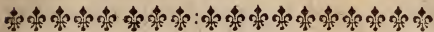
First, whether you be of the Parliament your self. Next, whether I should be sorrie that I am not of it. You can by this time resolve me of both. We are here only fed with certain Aires of good Hope, *Cameleons* food.

More I will not say now, and you see by this little how tender I am to usurpe upon your time. Yet before I end, Let me ask a third question; Have you no playing and breathing days? If you be of the House, might you not start hither for a night or two? The interposing of a little Philosophical diet may perchance lighten a mans spirits furcharged with publick thoughts, and prevent a surfet of State. Howsoever, hold me fast in your love; And Gods mercy be where you are.

Your poor friend and servant,
Alla suiscerata,

H. WOTTON.

To



To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I Find in the bowels of your last (which I received yesternight, shall I say by your or by my *Nicolas*) much harsh and stiffe matter from *Scotland*, and I beleeve insusceptible of any farther Concoction, unlesse it be with much time, *quod concoquit omnia*. But let me lay all publick thoughts aside for the present: having now with you a bosom-businesse, which may perhaps fall out to concerne us more here. Our *Nicolas* (for I account him at least halfed between us) tells me that you have good means to know when — will be in Town. About whom you may perhaps have heard of certain (as I think for my part) well conceived wishes (though but yet in the Air) touching a vertuous conjunction between him and —; so dear unto me, both in my affection and judgment, and in all respects, that if our neernes in blood did not make me more tender

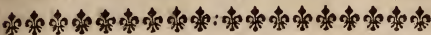
tender to violate mine own modestie, then I need to be with such a Friend as you are; I would boldly say, that there are few better Matches in this Kingdom, for the indowments of her person and fortune; nor in the whole World, for the sweetnesse and goodnesse of her minde. And on the other side, albeit I have no acquaintance with the Gentleman; yet I hear likewise so much good of him, as makes me wish I had more interest in his familiaritie. I write this from whence I wrote my last unto you: being on my wings towards *Canterbury*; whence I shall (σὺν Θεῷ ἐπιπέιῃ) returne hither again within sixe or seven dayes. And this bearer, my domestick Friend (a *German Gentleman* of value) will from *London* meet me at *Canterbury*, by whom I shal be glad to hear from you, about what time the foresaid

is expected of return to the City, and any thing else that you shall think fit to be told me: But I pray let this privacie which I have passed with you sleep between us.

As I rest in your love,

H. WOTTON.

To



To Sir C. C.

Sir,

Let me first thank you much for that Rurall Communication with your own Thoughts, the best of all Companions. I was first taken with the Virginitie (as I may say) of the Inscription in our Vulgar. Next, with a natural Suavity in the Elocution; which, though it be Lyricall, yet it shews you can put on the Buskin when you list: And when you are tempted again to solicit your own Spirits, I would fain have you venture upon some Tragicall Subject, though you borrow it out of *Arabia*; For I am glad our *England* cannot yeild it. I hear, for matter of Novelty, That Sir *Thomas Roe* (a well chosen Instrument) is to take his leave on *Sunday* next at Court: being designed to be one of the great Synod of Protestant Ambassadors, that are to meet at *Hamborough*; which to me sounds like an *Antiphone* to the other malign

maligne Conjunction at *Colen*. And so
(Sir) committing you to Gods dear love,
I rest

At your Commands,
H. W.

Sir, I retain your *Poeme* for a Pawn
that I shall have the rest.

And I send you a few poor Lines,
which my paines did beget: I pray
keep them under your own favourable
judgement, and impart them tenderly
to others; for I fear that even the best
of our thoughts may be vainly clothed.



Sir,

I Had sooner given you an account of
your two last kind Letters, even for
mine own sake, upon whom otherwise
you should have had just cause to be-
stow no more of your excellent intelli-
gence; But that I have had this my
servant (and I can assure you as much
yours) every day upon his wings to-
wards you a pretty while.

To abbreviate Complement, which
never

never agreed with my Nature. In a few plain words, both my selfe, and all about me are yours.

Sir, I was glad by your last, to see in the *Scottish* Ruptures a Thread of Hope yet left. It is like an Instrument wholly out of tune, but yet not all the strings broken or cut; especially if it be true, which is here voiced with us, that my Lord—a popular Oratour, is sent thither to smooth the way towards a pacificall Treatie, between certain of the Kings Deputation, and others of the Covenant.

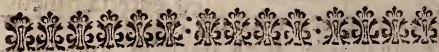
This Bearer will tell you what we hear of certain rumorous Surmises at *N.* and the Neighbouring Townes, (God (who is himselfe the true Center of Rest) make us all quiet, and have you in his Love.

*By your affectionate, pro-
fessed poor Friend,*

H. WOTTON.

Y

M



My deare N I C. P E Y.

This is the account of me since you saw me last.

My going to *Oxford* was not meerly for shift of Aire, otherwise I should approve your Counsell to prefer *Boughton* before any other part whatsoever. That Aire best agreeing with me, and being a kind of Resolving me into my own beginnings; for there was I borne.

But I have a little ambitious vanity stirring in me, to print a thing of my Composition there: which would else in *London* run through too much noise before hand, by reason of the Licences that must be gotten, and an eternall trick in those *City-Stationers* to rumour what they have under press.

From *Oxford* I was Rapt by my Nephew Sr. *Edm. Bacon*, to *Redgrave*, and by himselfe, and by my sweet Neece detained ever since (so I say); for beleieve me, there is in their conversations and

in the freedome of their entertainment a kind of delightful violence.)

In our way hither we blanch'd *Pauls Perry*, though with in three miles of it, which we are not tender to confess (being indeed our manifest excuse;) for therby it appears the pains of the way did not keep us thence.

In truth, we thought it (coming immediately from an infected place) an hazardous incivilitie, to put our selves upon them; for if any sinister accident had fallen out about the same time (for Coincidents are not alwaies Causes) we should have rued it for ever.

Here, when I had been almost a fortnight in the midst of much contentment, I received knowledge of Sir *Albertus Morton* his departure out of this world, who was dearer unto me then mine owne being in it. What a wound it is to my heart you wil easily beleeve. But his undisputable will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh now one, and then another,

till the expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and to wrap up even the Heaven it selfe, as a Scrole of Parchment.

This is the last Philosophie that we must studie upon the earth: let us now, that yet remain, while our glasses shall run by the dropping away of friends, re-inforce our love to one another; which of all vertues both spirituall and morall, hath the highest priviledge, because death it selfe shall not end it. And Good *Nic.* exercise that love towards me in letting me know, &c.

Your ever poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.



Right Honourable,

OF my Appearing to this State, and of my Reception here, I gave your Lordship notice by my former Letters.

The Counsels of this State I find to be calm; for the new Pope hath assured

red them, He will keep Stormes out of *Italy*.

True it is, that he hath bravely denied already passage to the *Neopolitan Cavalry* and *Infantry* through the Ecclesiasticall State, though instantly pressed by the *Spanish* Embassadour; in which Humour, if he shall persevere without warping, we shall think him here a well season'd piece of Timber.

We hear of an Embassadour from *Savoy* on his way to you, C.C. a plain Instrument from a subtile Prince, and therefore the more proper to deceive us, and to be first deceived himselfe. The businesse I shall not need to tell you, nor indeed can I say much of the hope of it.

How we stand here, will appear by the two enclosed Copies.

—But for those things I shall give his Majestie continuall advertisement, as time shall change the prospect of this Theater, whereon I am placed.

So with all my duties remembred, as well those of Thankfulnessse, as those of Affection, I will subscribe my selfe, as truly I am,

Your Lordships, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T.

This very Morning, which is the *Nuncio's* ordinary day of Audience, He hath surprized the Duke and Senators with presentation of a Jubilie unto them from his Master. Some discourse, that it is to gain Fame and Favour by an indulgent Beginning.



My dear *Nic.*

MORE then a voluntarie motion doth now carrie me towards *Suffolk*, especially that I may confer by the way with an excellent Physician at *B.* whom I brought my self from *Venice*; where (as either I suppose or surmise) I first contracted my infirmitie of the Spleen; to which the very seat is generally inclined, and therefore their Physicians (who commonly studie the inclinations of places) are the likeliest to understand the best remedies.

I hope to be back by ———

It wrinckles my face to tell you, that
my

my _____ will cost me 500. l.
that done, my thoughts are at rest,
and over my studie door you shall finde
written, INVIDIÆ REMEDI-
UM. Let me end in that word, and ever
rest

Your heartiest poor Friend

H. WOTTON.

Postscript.

I forbear to write further, having
a World of Discourse to unload unto
you ; Like those that weed not a Gar-
den till it be grown a wood.



To IZ. Wa.

*In answer of a Letter, requesting him
to performe his promise of Writing
the Life of D^r DUNNE.*

My worthy Friend,

I Am not able to yeeld any reason,
no, not so much as may satisfie my
self, why a most ingenuous Letter of
Y 4 yours

yours hath lyen so long by me (as it were in lavender) without an answer, save this only, The pleasure I have taken in your Stile and Conceptions, together with a Meditation of the Subject you propound, may seem to have cast me into a gentle slumber. But, being now awaked, I do herein returne you most heartie thanks for the kinde prosecution of your first motion, touching a just office, due to the memory of our ever memorable Friend: To whose good fame, though it be needlesse to add any thing, (and my age considered, almost hopelesse from my Pen); yet I wil endeavour to perform my promise, if it were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the Life of so deserving a man, I may perchance overlive mine own.

That which you add of Dr King, (now made Dean of *Rocheſter*, and by that translated into my native soile,) is a great spur unto me. With whom I hope shortly to conferre about it in my passage towards *Boughton Malherb*, (which was my geniall Aire) and invite him to a friendship with that Family
where

where his predeceffor was familiarly acquainted. I fhall write at large to you by the next Messenger (being at pre-
 fent a little in bufineffe); and then I fhall fet down certaine generall heads, wherein I defire information by your loving diligence; hoping fhortly to enjoy your own ever welcome company in this approaching time of the *Flye* and the *Corke*. And fo I reft,

*Your very heartie poor Friend
 to ferve You,*

H. WOTTON.



To the Same.

My worthy Friend.

Since I laft faw you, I have been confin'd to my Chamber by a *quotidian* Feaver, I thank God, of more contumacie then malignitie. It had once left me, as I thought; but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a furrew of thofe splenetick vapors that are call'd *Hypocondriacal*: of
 Y 5 which

which most say, the cure is good company; and I desire no better Physician then your self. I have in one of those fits indeavour'd to make it more easie by composing a short *Hymn*'s; and since I have apparelled my best thoughts so lightly as in Verse, I hope I shall be pardond a second vanitie, if I communicate it with such a friend as your self; to whom I wish a chearfull spirit and a thankfull heart to value it as one of the greatest blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I leave you, remaining

Your poor Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

A

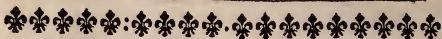
*A Hymn to my God in a night
of my late Sicknesse.*

OH thou great Power, in whom I move,
For whom I live, to whom I die,
Behold me through thy beams of love,
Whilest on this Couch of tears I lye;
And Cleanse my sordid soul within,
By thy Christs Bloud, the bath of sin.

No hallowed oyls, no grains I need,
No rags of Saints, no purging fire,
One rosie drop from Davids Seed
Was worlds of seas, to quench thine Ire.
O pretious Ransome! which once paid,
That *Consummatum est* was said:

And said by him, that said no more,
But seal'd it with his sacred breath.
Thou then, that hast dispung'd my score,
And dying, wast the death of death;
Be to me now, on thee I call,
My Life, my Strength, my Joy, my All.

HEN. WOTTON.



POEMS.

*A Poem written by Sir HENRY
WOTTON, in his youth.*

O Faithless World, and thy more faithless Part,
a womans heart!
The true shop of variety, where fits
nothing but fits
And feavers of desire, and pangs of love,
which toyes remove.
Why was she born to please, or I to trust
words writ in dust?
Suffering her Eys to govern my despair,
my pain for air;
And fruit of time rewarded with untruth,
the food of youth.
Untrue she was: yet, I beleev'd her eys.
(instructed spies)
Till I was taught, that Love was but a scool
to breed a fool.
Or sought she more by triumphs of deniall,
to make a triall
How far her smiles commanded my weakness?
yeild and Confess:
Excuse no more thy folly; but for Cure,
blush and indure
As well thy shame, as passions that were vain:
and think, 'tis gain
To know, that Love lodg'd in a womans brest,
Is but a guest.

H. W.

Sir,

*Sir Henry Wotton, and Serjeant
Hoskins, riding on the way.*

Ho. **N**Oble, lovely, vertuous Creature,
Purposely so fram'd by nature
To enthrall your servants wits.

VVo. Time must now unite our hearts :
Not for any my deserts,
But because (me thinks) it fits.

Ho. Dearest treasure of my thought,
And yet wert thou to be bought
With my life, thou wert not dear.

VVo. Secret comfort of my mind,
Doubt no longer to be kind,
But be so, and so appear.

Ho. Give me love for love again,
Let our loves be clear and plain,
Heaven is fairest, when 'tis clearest.

VVo. Left in clouds, and in differring,
We resemble Seamen erring,
Farthest off, when we are nearest.

Ho. Thus with Numbers interchanged,
Wotton's Muse and mine have ranged,
Verse and Journey both are spent.

VVo. And if *Hoskins* chance to say,
That we well have spent the day,
I, for my part, am content.

H. W.

On

*On his Mistris, the Queen
of Bohemia.*

You meaner *Beauties* of the *Night*,
That poorly satisfie our *Eies*
More by your *number*, then your *light*,
You *Common-people* of the *Skies*;
What are you when the *Sun* shall rise ?

You *Curious Chanters* of the *Wood*,
That warble forth *Dame Natures* layes,
Thinking your *Voyces* understood
By your weake *accents* ; whats your praise
When *Philomell* her voyce shal raise ?

You *Violets*, that first apeare,
By your *pure purpel mantels* knowne,
Like the proud *Virgins* of the *yeare*,
As if the *Spring* were all your own ;
What are you when the *Rose* is blowne ?

So, when *my Mistris* shal be scene
In *form* and *Beauty* of her *mind*,
By *Vertue* first, then *Choyce* a *Queen*,
Tell me, if *she* were not design'd
Th' *Eclipse* and *Glory* of her kind.

H.W.

To a Noble friend in his Sickness.

U Ntimely Feaver, rude insulting guest,
 How didst thou with such unharmonious heat
 Dare to distune his well composed rest ;
 Whose Heart so just and noble stroaks did beat ?

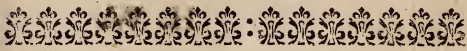
What if his Youth and Spirits wel may beare
 More thick assaults, & stronger siege then this ?
 We measure not his courage, but our fear: (miss.
 Nor what our selves, but what the Times may

(yeild,

Had not that bloud, which thrice his veines did
 Been better treasur'd for some glorious day :
 At farthest West to paint the liquid Field,
 And with new Worlds his Masters love to pay ?

But let those thoughts (Sweet Lord) repose a while,
 Tend only now thy vigour to regain ;
 And pardon these poor Rimes, that would beguile
 With mine own grief, some portion of thy pain.

H. W.



*A short Hymn upon the Birth of
 Prince CHARLES.*

Y Ou that on *Starres* do looke,
 Arrest not there your sight,

Though

Though *Nature's* fairest *Book*
 And signed with propitious light,
 Our Blessing now is more divine
 Then *Planets* that at Noone did shine.

To thee alone be praise,
 From whom our *Joy* descends,
 Thou *Cheerer* of our *Days*,
 Of Causes first, and last of Ends.
 To thee this *May* we sing, by whom
 Our *Roses* from the *Lilies* bloom.

Upon this Royal flower,
 Sprung from the *Chastesse* Bed,
 Thy glorious sweetness shower,
 And first let *Myrtles* crowne his head,
 Then *Palms* and *Lawrels* wreath'd betweene;
 But let the *Cypresse* late be seen.

And so succeeding men,
 When they the fulness see
 Of this our *Joy*, shall then
 In consort joyn as well as wee,
 To Celebrate his *Praise* above,
 That spreads our Land with *fruits* of *Love*.

H. W.

An

AN ODE to the KING,

*At his Returning from Scotland to
the Queen: after his Co-
ronation there.*

Rouse up thy selfe, my gentle *Muse*,
Though now our green *Conceips* be gray,
And yet once more doe not refuse
To take thy *Phrygian Harpe*, and play,
In honour of this cheereful *Day*.

Make first a *Song* of *Foy* and *Love*,
Which chastely flame in *Royal Eies*,
Then, tune it to the *Spheres* above
When the benignest *Stares* doe rise,
And sweet *Conjunctions* grace the *Skies*.

To This, let all good *Hearts* resound,
While *Diadems* invest his *Head*:
Long may He live, whose *Life* doth bound
More then his *Lawes*, and better *Lead*
By High Example, then by *Dread*.

Long may He round about him see
His *Roses* and his *Lilies* bloom:
Long may His Only Dear, and Hee
Joy in *Ideas* of their own,
And *Kingdomes Hopes* so timely sown.
Long may They Both contend to prove,
That Best of *Crownes* is such a *Love*.

H. W.

Upon

*Upon the sudden Restraint of the
Earle of Somerset, then
falling from favor.*

DAzel'd thus, with height of place,
Whilst our hopes our wits beguile,
No man markes the narrow space
'Twixt a prison, and a smile.

Then, since fortunes favours fade,
You, that in her armes doe sleep,
Learne to swim, and not to wade;
For, the Hearts of Kings are deepe.

But, if Greatness be so blind,
As to trust in towers of Aire,
Let it be with Goodness lin'd,
That at least, the Fall be faire.

Then though darkned, you shall say,
When Friends faile, and Princes frowne,
Vertue is the roughest way,
But proves at night a *Bed of Downe*.

H. W.



The Character of a Happy Life.

HOw happy is he born and taught,
That serveth not an others will?
Whose *Armour* is his honest thought:
And simple *Truth* his utmost Skill?

Whose

Whose *Passions* not his masters are,
Whose *soul* is still prepar'd for *Deare*;
Untide unto the world, by care
Of *Publick* fame, or *private* breath.

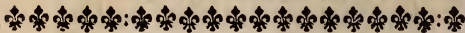
Who *envies* none that *Chance* doth raise,
Nor *Vice* hath ever understood;
How deepest wounds are given by *praise*,
Nor rules of *State*, but rules of *good*.

Who hath his *life* from *rumors* freed,
Whose *Conscience* is his strong *retreat* :
Whose *state* can neither *flatterers* feed,
Nor *ruine* make *oppressors* great.

Who *God* doth late and early pray,
More of his *grace*, then *gifts* to lend :
And entertaines the harmless day
With a *Religious* Book, or *Friend*.

This man is freed from servile bands
Of hope to rise, or feare to fall :
Lord of himselfe, though not of *Lands*,
And having *nothing* : yet hath *all*.

H. W.



*On a Banck as I sate a Fishing,
A Description of the Spring.*

ANd now all *Nature* seem'd in *Love*,
 The lusty *Sap* began to move;
New *Juice* did stirre th'embracing *Vines*;
 And *Birds* had drawne their *Valentines*:
 The *jealous Trout*, that low did lie,
 Rose at a wel-dissembled *Flie*:
 There stood my friend, with patient *Skill*
 Attending of his trembling *quill*.
 Already were the *Eaves* possest
 VVith the swift *Pilgrims* daubed nest.
 The *Groves* already did rejoyce
 In *Philomels* triumphing voyce.

The *showers* were short; the *weather* mild;
 The *Morning* fresh; the *Evening* smil'd.

Fone takes her neat-rub'd paille, and now
 She trips to milk the Sand-red *Cow*;
 VVhere, for some sturdy foot-ball *Swaine*,
Fone strokes a *fillibub*, or twaine.

The *Fields* and *Gardens* were beset
 VVith *Tulip*, *Crocus*, *Violet*.

And now, though late, the *Modest Rose*
 Did more then halfe a blush disclose.

Thus all look't gay, all full of *Chear*,
 To welcome the *New-liveri'd* yeare.

H. W.

*A Translation of the CIV. Psalm
to the Originall Sense.*

M*Y Soul Exalt the Lord with Hymns of Praise:
O Lord my God, How boundless is thy Might?
Whose Throne of State is cloth'd with glorious Raies,
And round about hast Roab'd thy self with Light,
Who like a Curtain hast the Heavens displaid,
And in the watery Roofs thy Chambers laid.*

*Whose Chariots are the thickned Clouds above,
Who walk' st upon the the winged Winds below,
At whose Command the Airie Spirits move:
And fiery Meteors their obedience show.
Who on his Base the Earth didst firmly found,
And madst the Deep to circumvest it round.*

*The Waves that rise would drown the highest Hill,
But at Thy Check they flie, and when they hear
Thy thundring Voice, they post to do Thy VVill,
And bound their furies in their proper Sphere:
Where surging Flouds, and valing Ebs can tel,
That none beyond Thy Marks, must sink or
(swel.*

*Who hath dispos'd but thou, the winding way (beat,
Where Springs down from the steepy Craggs do*

*At which both foster'd Beasts their thirsts alay,
And the wild Asses come to quench their heat;
Where birds resort, & in their kind, thy Praise
Among the branches chant in warbling Laies.*

The

The *Mounts* are watered from thy dwelling *Place*,
 The *Barns* and *Meads* are fill'd for *Man & Beast*,
Wine glads the heart, and *oyl* adorns the *face*, (reit:
 And *Bread* the *Staffe* whereon our strength doth
 Nor *Shrubs* alone feel Thy suffizing hand,
 But even the *Cedars* that so proudly stand.

So have the *Fowls* their sundry *Seats* to breed,
 The ranging *Stork* in stately *Beeches* dwels,
 The climbing *Goats* on *Hills* securely feed,
 The mining *Conies* shroud in rockie *Cels*: (get,
 Nor can the heavenly *Lights* their course for-
 The *Moon* her *Turns*, or *Sun* his times to set.

Thou mak'st the *Night* to over-vail the *Day*;
 Then savage *Beasts* creep from the silent *Wood*,
 Then *Lions* whelps lie *Roaring* for their *Prey*,
 And at Thy powerfull *Hand* demand their *food*.
 Who when at *Morn* they *All* recouch again,
 Then toiling *Man* till *Eve* pursues his pain.

O *Lord*, when on Thy various *Works* we look,
 How richly furnish'd is the *Earth* we tread !
 Where, in the fair *Contents* of *Nature's* *Book*
 We may the *Wonders* of Thy *Wisdom* read ;
 Nor *Earth* alone, But *Lo*, the *Sea* so wide,
 Where great and small, a world of *Creatures*
 (glide

There go the *Ships* that furrow out their way,
 Yea, there of *Whales* enormous sights we see,
 Which yet have *Scope* among the *Rest* to play,
 And *All* do wait for their *Support* on *Thee* ;

Wh

V Who hast assign'd each *Thing* his proper food,
And in due season do'st dispence *Thy Good*,

They gather when *Thy Gifts* Thou dost divide,
Their Stores abound if *Thou* Thy Hand enlarge;
Confus'd they are, when *thou* thy Beams dost hide:
In Dust resolv'd, if *Thou* their Breath discharge.
Again, when *Thou* of *Life* renew'st the Seeds,
The wither'd *Fields* reveſt their chearfull
(weeds.

Be ever gloried here *Thy Sovereign Name*, (made,
That *Thou* maist smile on *All* which *Thou* hast
V *Whose Frown* alone can ſhake this Earthly Frame,
And at whose *Touch* the *Hills* in ſmoak ſhal vade.
For *Me*, may (while I breathe) both *Harp* and
(Voice
In ſweet Inditement of *Thy Hymns* rejoice.

Let *Sinners* faile, Let all Profanneſſe ceaſe,
His Praise (My Soul) *His Praise* ſhal be *Thy*
(Peace.

H. VVOTTON.

Tears

Tears at the Grave of Sr. Albertus Morton (who was buried at Southampton) wept by Sir H. WOTTON.

Silence (in truth) would speak my Sorrow best,
 For, deepest wounds can least their feelings tel:
 Yet, let me borrow from mine own unrest,
 But time to bid Him, whom I lov'd, Farwel.

O my unhappy Lines! you that before
 Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton Cries,
 And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
 Strength to accent! Here my *Albertus* lies.

This is the Sable Stone, this is the Cave
 And womb of Earth that doth his Corp's imbrace,
 While others sing his praise, let me engrave
 These bleeding Numbers, to adorn the Place.

Here will I paint the Characters of woe,
 Here will I pay my Tribute to the Dead,
 And here my faithfull Tears in shows shal flow
 To humanize the Flints whereon I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchlesse losse alone,
 And none between my weaknesse judge and me,
 Yet even these gentle walles allow my Mone,
 Whose doleful Echoes to my Plaints agree.

But, is He gon? and live I Ryming here,
 As if some Muse would listen to my Lay?
 When all distun'd sit waiting for their Dear,
 And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play?

Dwell thou in endlessse Light, discharged soul:
 Freed now from Natures, & from Fortunes trust:
 While

Thou then, our Strength, Father of Life and Death,
 To whom our Thanks, our Vows, our Selves we ow,
 From Me thy Tenant, of this fading Breath,
 Accept those Lines, which from thy Goodnes flow.
 And Thou that wert thy *Regal Prophets Muse*,
 Do not thy Praise in weaker Strains refuse.

Let these poor Notes ascend unto thy Throne,
 VVhere *Majesty* doth sit with *Mercy* crown'd,
 VVhere my *Redeemer* lives, in whom alone
 The Errours of my wandring Life are drown'd :
 Where all the Quire of Heav'n resound the same,
 That only *Thine*, *Thine* is the *Saving Name*.

VVell then, my *Soul*, joy in the midst of Pain ;
 Thy *Christ* that Conquer'd *Hell*, shall from above
 VVith greater Triumph yet return again,
 And conquer his own *Justice* with his Love ;
 Commanding *Earth* and *Seas* to render those
 Unto His Blisse, for whom He paid his *Woes*.

Now have I done : now are my *Thoughts* at peace,
 And now my Joyes are stronger then my Griefe :
 I feel those Comforts that shall never cease,
 Future in Hope, but present in Believe.

Thy words are true, thy promises are just,
 And, thou wilt find thy dearly bought in Dust.

H E N. W O T T O N.

F I N I S.



POEMS

Found among the Papers
of S. H. WOTTON.

A Description of the Countrey's
RECREATIONS.

❀❀❀❀ Uivering feares, Heart-tearing cares,
 ❀ Q ❀ Anxious sighes, Untimely tears,
 ❀❀❀❀ Fly, fly to Courts;
 ❀❀❀❀ Fly to fond wordlings sports,
 V Where strain'd *Sardonick* smiles are glosing still,
 And greife is forc'd to laugh against her wil;
 V Where mirth's but mummery;
 And sorrows only real be.

Fly from our Country pastimes ! fly,
 Sad troop of humane misery;
 Come serene lookes,
 Cleare as the Christal brookes,
 Or the pure azur'd heaven, that smiles to see
 The rich attendance of our poverty,

Peace and a secure mind,
(V Which al men seeke) we only find.

Abused Mortalls † did you know
V Where Joy, Hearts ease, and comforts grow:
You'd scorne proud towers ,
And seek them in these bowers, (shake
Where winds sometimes, our woods perhaps may
But blustering care could never tempest make,
Nor murmurs e're come nigh us,
Saving of fountaines that glide by us.

Here's no fantastick Mask, nor dance,
But of our Kids, that frisk and prance :
Nor warres are seen,
Unless upon the greene
Two harmeles Lambs are butting one the other ;
Which done, both bleating run, each to his Mother.
And wounds are never found,
Save what the *Plow share* gives the ground.

Here are no false entrapping baites,
To hasten too too hasty fates ;
Unless it be
The fond Credulity
Of silly Fish, which worldling-like, still look
Upon the bait, but never on the hook :
Nor envy, unless among
The Birds for prize of their sweet song.

Go ! let the diving *Negro* seek
For Gemmes hid in some forlorne creek :
We all Pearles scorne,
Save what the dewy morne

Congeals

Congeals upon each little spire of grass ;
 Which careless shepards beat down as they pass ;
 And gold ne're here appears,
 Save what the yellow Ceres beares.

Blest silent Groves ! Ô may ye be
 For ever Mirths best Nursery !
 May pure contents
 For ever pitch their tents (Mountains,
 Upon these Downs, these Meads, these Rocks, these
 And Peace stil flüber, by these purling Fountains !
 Which we may every yeare
 Find when we come a fishing here.

Ignoto.



*Imitatio Horatiana Odes. 9. Donec
 gratus eram tibi, Lib. 3.*

*A DIALOGUE betwixt
 GOD and the SOUL.*

Soul.

WHilst my Souls eye beheld no light
 But what stream'd from thy gracious sight ;
 To me the worlds greatest King
 Seem'd but some little vulgar thing.

God. Whilst thou prov'dst pure ; and that in thee
 I could glasse al my Deity :
 How glad did I from Heaven depart,
 To find a Lodging in thy heart !

Z 3.

S. Now

S. Now Fame and Greatness bear the sway,
 ('Tis they that hold my prisons Key:)
 For whom my Soul would dy, might shee
 Leave them her Immortality.

G. I, and some few pure Souls conspire,
 And burne both in a mutuall fire,
 For whom I'd dy once more, ere they
 Should miss of Heavens eternal day.

S. But Lord ! what if I turn againe,
 And with an adamantine chain,
 Lock me to thee ? VVhat if I chase
 The world away to give thee place ?

G. Then though those souls in whom I joy
 Are *Seraphins*, Thou but a Toy,
 A foolish Toy, yet once more I
 Would with Thee live, and for thee die.

Ignoro.



Doctour B. of T E A R S.

WHo would have thought, there could have bin
 Such joy in tears, wept for our sin ?

Mine eyes have seen, my heart hath prov'd

The most and best of earthly Joyes :

The sweets of love, and being lov'd,

Masks, Feasts, and Plaies, and such like toys.

Ye

Yet, this one tear, which now doth fall,
In true delight exceeds them all.

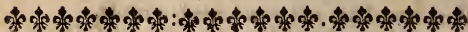
2. Indeed, mine eyes at first let in
Those guests that did these woes begin,
Therefore mine eyes in tears, and grief,
Are justly drown'd : but, that those tears
Should Comfort bring, is past belief :
Oh God! in this thy grace appears,
Thou that mak'st light from darknesse spring,
Mak'st joyes to weep, and sorrows sing.
3. Oh where am I ? what may I think ?
Help, help, alas my heart doth sink ;
Thus lost in seas of woe,
Thus laden with my sin,
V Vaves of despair dash in,
And threat my overthrow.
What heart opprest with such a weight
Can chuse but break, and perish quite ?
4. Yet, as at Sea in storms, men use
The ship to save, the goods to loose ;
So, in this fearfull storm,
This danger to prevent,
Before all hope be spent,
Ile choose the lesser harm :
My tears to seas I will convert,
And drown my eies to save my heart.
5. Oh God my God what shal I give
To thee in thanks ? I am and live
In thee, and thou didst safe preserve
My health, my fame, my goods, my rent,
Thou makest me eat while others starve :
Such unto me thy Blessings are,
As if I were thy only Care.

I trod the earth, and knew it was my tomb.
 And now I die and now I am but made.
 The glasse is full, and now my glasse is run,
 And now I live, and now my life is done.



1. **R**ise, oh my soul, with thy desires to Heaven,
 And with Divinest contemplation, use
 Thy time, where times eternity is given, (buse,
 And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts a-
 But downe in darknes let them lie,
 So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die:
2. And thou (my soul) inspir'd with holy flame,
 View and review, with most regardful eie,
 That holy Crosse whence thy Salvation came,
 On which thy Saviour, and thy sin did die:
 For in that sacred object is much pleasure,
 And in that Saviour, is my life, my treasure.
3. To thee (ô Jesu) I direct my eie,
 To thee my hands, to thee my humble knees,
 To thee my heart shal offer sacrifice, (sees;
 To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only
 To thee my selfe, my selfe and all I give:
 To thee I die, to thee I onely live.

Ignoto.



Sir Walter Raleigh *the night before his Death.*

Even such is *time* that takes on trust
 Our *youth*, our *Foyes*, our all we have,
 And payes us but with *Age* and *dust*,
 Who in the *darke* and silent *Grave*
 (When we have wandred all our waies)
 Shuts up the story of our days.
 But from this earth, this *grave*, this *dust*,
 My God shal raise me up, I trust.

W. R.



The World.

THE *World's* a bubble : and, the life of man
 less then a span.
 In his conception wretched : from the womb,
 so to the tomb.
 Nurst from his cradle, and brought up to years,
 with cares and feares.
 Who then to fraile Mortality shal trust,
 But lymns on water, or but writes in dust.
 Yet, whilest with sorrow here we live opprest,
 what life is best ?
 Courts are but only superficial schools
 to dandle fools:

The

The rural part is turn'd into a den
of savage men:
And where's a city from foul vice so free,
But may be term'd the worst of all the three ?

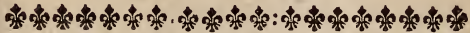
Domestick cares afflicts the Husbands bed,
or pains his head,
Those that live single, take it for a curse,
or doe things worse, (none,
These would have Children ; those that have them,
or with them gone :
What is it then to have, or have no Wife,
But single thraldom, or a double strife ?

Our own affections stil at home to please,
is a disease.

To cross the seas to any forrain soile,
peril and toyle.

Wars with their noise afright us, when they cease
w' are worse in peace. (cry
What then remains but that we still should
For being born, and being born to die ?

Ignoto.



De Morte.

MAns life's a Tragedie. His mothers womb
(From which he enters) is the tyring room.
This spaicous earth the theater. And the stage
That country which he lives in : Passions, Rage,
Folly, and Vice are actors. The first cry
The Prologue to th' ensewing Tragedy.

The

The former act consisteth of dumb shoves :
 The second, he to more perfection growes :
 I'th' third he is a man, and doth begin
 To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin.
 I'th' fourth declines. I'th' fifth diseases clog
 And trouble him : then Death's his Epilogue.
Ignoto.

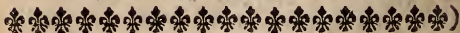
EPIGRAM.

IF breath were made for every man to buy,
 The poor man could not live: rich would not die.

F I N I S.

*Imprimantur.*

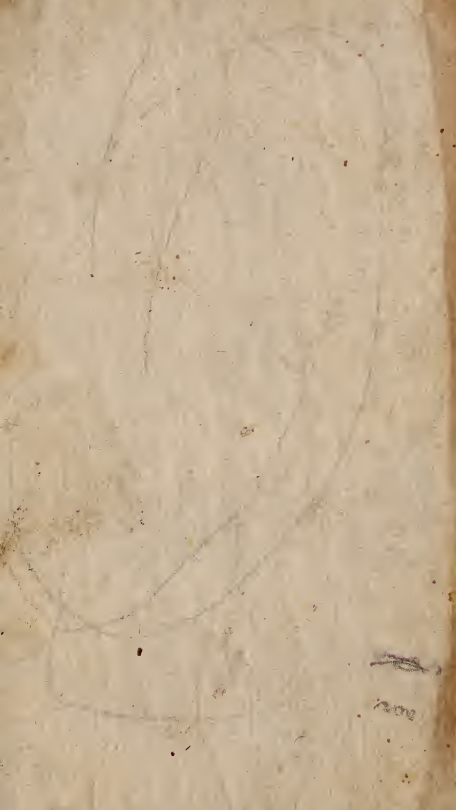
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