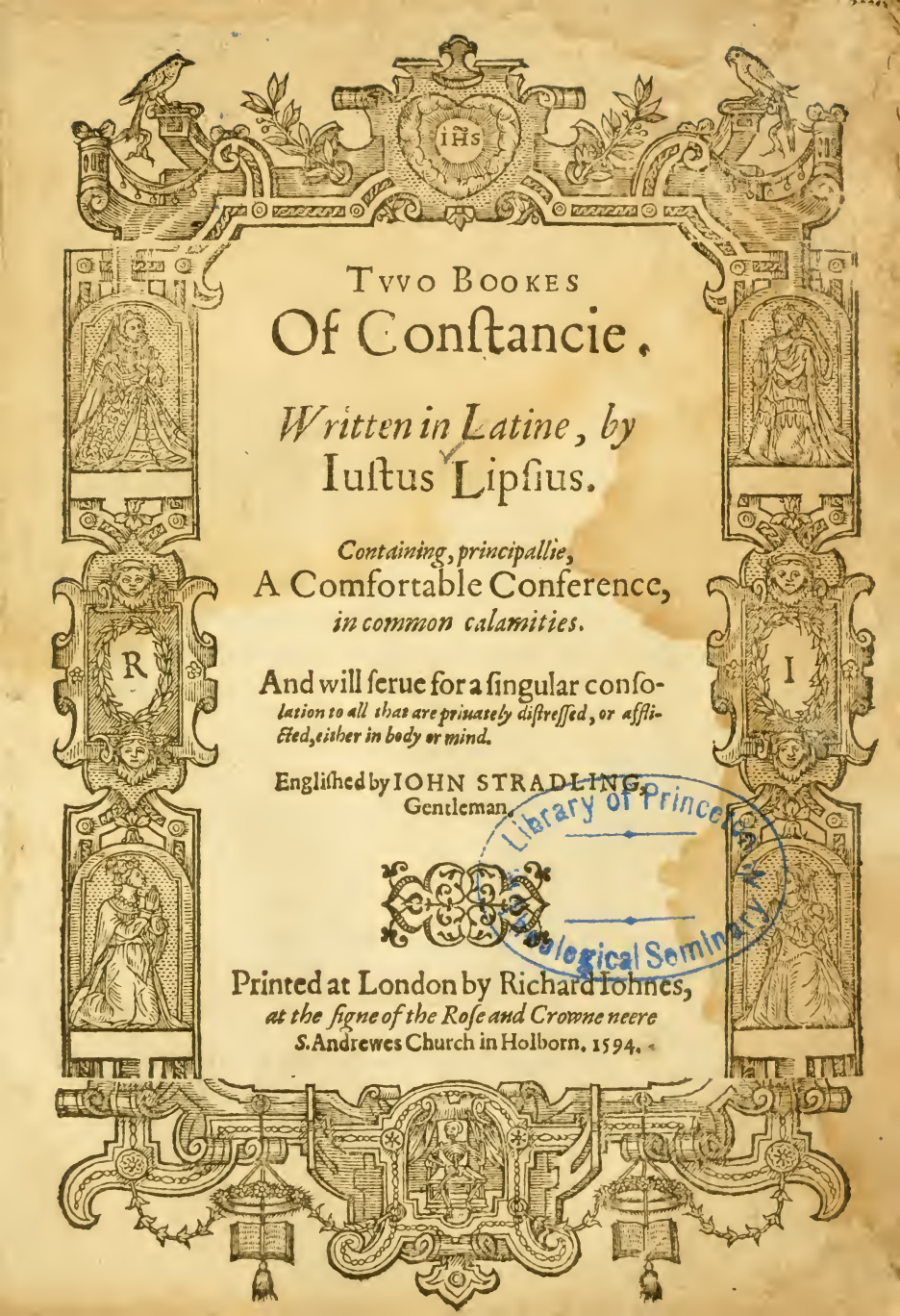


TVVO BOOKES

Of Conſtancie.

Written in Latine, by
Iuſtus Lipſius.

Containing, principallie,
A Comfortable Conference,
in common calamities.

And will ſerue for a ſingular conſo-
lation to all that are priuately diſtreſſed, or afflicted, either in body or mind.

Engliſhed by IOHN STRADLING,
Gentleman.

Printed at London by Richard Iohnes,
at the ſigne of the Roſe and Crowne neere
S. Andrewes Church in Holborn. 1594.

To the right worſhipfull Sir *Edward Stradling* Knight.

HAuing lately vndertaken (right Worſhipfull) the tranſlating of this treatiſe into the engliſh tongue, intending to gratifie you therewith, I thinke it not amiſſe to ſhewe the reaſons that firſt moued mee therevnto: Now after it had bene extant in the latine ſo many yeares, and of them not a fewe hath lien neglected in my ſtudie without attempting any ſuch matter. It may therfore pleaſe you to call to remembraunce, how about Chriſtmas laſt, m aiſter Iames Thomas a ſtudious gentleman, your kinſem an and my good friend, comming to your houſe to viſit you, wee happened to fall in talke of ſome bookes wherin I had done mine eudeuour by tranſlating to pleaſure you: Among which I chiefly approued that *(a)* wherin I laſt laboured, being by the Author therof very learnedly handled, & hauing a notable Subiette, to wit, matter of pollicie and gouernmente in peace and warre. Wherevpon the gentleman recommended vnto me an other excellent booke of that argument, vpon which he wiſhed me to beſtowe ſome paines for your pleaſure, whom hee perceaued to bee greatly delighted with ſuch exerciſes. I promiſed him ſo to doe. But at his returne to London ſoone after, he aduertiſed me that the

ſame booke was engliſhed, which in deed is very wel and ſufficiently perfourmed by a learned gentleman, with no ſmall labour to him, and ſome eaſe to me. Afterwardes ſeing the method of this writer ſo much pleaſed mee, (as I think it can diſpleaſe no man that taketh pleaſure in reading) I called to minde this treatiſe of CONSTANCIE, which came to my hands about ten yeares paſt, being a ſtudent in Oxford. And conſidering of it with better aduiſement then euer I did before, it ſeemed vnto me a work not vnworthy your good conſideration. And therfore albeit I know wel your iudgemēt to be very ſufficient in vnderſtanding latine writers far more profounde then this: yet aſwell to make the ſame ſomwhat more familiar & plaine vnto you, as alſo that you may impart it to ſuch of your frends as pleaſeth you, and finally to ſhew my ready diſpoſition in gratifying you to my power, I haue reduced it into engliſh, I feare me, with more haſt then good ſpeede, not hauing ſpent full fiue weekes there abouts, as you very well know. Wherein I trauelled with the more paines for bringing foorth this vntimely birth, to the end it might receaue his perfecte conſummation againſt this day of your birth, whereunto I had reſpecte when I firſte took the work in hand. And thus I earneſtly recommend the preſeruation of it to your fauorable protection, praying you to accepte in good part my little labour, proceeding from no little good will. And ſo I wiſh to your ſelfe & to my good lady your ſpouſe all happines, beſeeching God longe to preſerue you both. From my chamber in your caſtle of Saint Donatts. The xiij of Iune. 1594.

Your poore kinſman to command:

Iohn Stradling.

The Epistle to the Reader.

AFter I had translated this treatise (frendly reader) and presented it to him for whose priuate vse I intended it, being moued thereanto vpon occasion in the former epistle declared: it seemed not amisse to the patron to haue the same published for the benefit of many. Whose iudgement I could not but very wel approue in respect of the matter, being both comfortable and pleasant to be red, and withall very orderly laid down, and handled after an vnaccustomed (yet most familiar) manner.

Vnderstand, that I haue for breuities sake purposely omitted the epistles before the booke, which are three: (being loath to pesterre thee with a packet of letters at the first) Onely I do here alleadge out of them a few things written by my Author in his owne defence. And first whereas some men pretend he hath not handled this argument deuoutly enough in that hee applieth not places of holy scripture to his purpose: As he accepteth well of their admonition, so his answere is that seeing he profeßeth himselfe herein no diuine, but a philosopher, (yet a Christian philosopher) they ought to beare with him. Hee acknowledgeth the only direct path-way to saluation to be comprised in those sacred bookes: but that good letters withal, and the writings of philosophers are both an ease and help for vs to attain vnto the vnderstanding of them, and do further vs in the way of vertue and godlines, howsoeuer som new Domitians maintaine the contrary, seeking to abolish all good arts & knowledge in humanity. That he writeth so highly in commendation of RIGHT REASON, although som times with the words of the Aũcients: yet he accõpteth no reason pure or right except it be directed by God & illuminated by faith. If in writing of destiny & other lik profoũd matters his tongue (through an ardente and earnest intente of a good meaning mind) hapned any wher to trip or his pen to slide; Be not thou

A defence for the Author.

too

too rigorus towards him for it, he yealdeth to amend whatsoeuer shalbe proued amisse. He profesßeth himselfe of the nomber of those that haue godlineße rather in hearte, then in their mouth; And liketh not the time that is fruitefull of religious, and fruiteleße impietie. Finally he is none of those subtle sophisticall ianglers, that place philosohie in the quirks and quiddities of crabbed questions. But he directeth his studie to the forming of good manners, and moderating of affections, (especially feare, and sorrow in aduersitie) whereby hee may at length be safely harbored in the hauen of a contented mind. A notable testimonie whereof hee hath left vs in these two bookes, to the singular comforte of all that list to reade them.

A reason of the translators doings herein.

In englishing whereof I haue endeuored the best I could to performe the duetie of an interpreter, keeping alwaies the sense and meaning of my author; yea the very words precisely in al definitions, distributions, distinctions & such like principal heads of matter, decyphering them in a greater letter; As the places quoted out of other writers, in aleßer. The marginall notes appeare to be of two sortes; Some answering to the places in the text directly against them, seruing for quotations or expositions: (with these letters a. b. c. & c) Others containing a briefe summe of the whole matter of each chapter by a perpetuall continuation, as if all of them were but one intire note. And euen so the contents before euery chapter haue not alwaies in them a perfect and full sense, but depende many times vpon the contents nexte following. In all these I swerue not from my printed copie, sauing that I haue added a few marginall notes for expositions sake where neede required. Lastly I haue with some more care and diligence of mine owne, reduced the summe of both bookes into a large and plaine table containing the argument of the whole conference vnder one viewe, the better to helpe thy memorie, if it please thee to consider of the matter with more mature deliberation.

If thou reape any pleasure or profit by this discourse, giue

thankes

thanks (next vnto God) to my Author; then to the patron, for whom onely and by whome the same was both englished and published. For mine owne part I desire no more but curteous acceptation of my trauaill, I hope I deserue no lesse. A little good-will and a few good wordes for many daies work, is no vnreasonable reward: And he that grudgeth to giue such bare wages, as I would be loth to be his man, so if himselfe were bound to serue a bad master seuen yeeres after the same rate, I wot well he would mislike his penny-worths before that prentiship were expired, and euer after looke on other mens labours with a more fauorable eie. But for thee (curteous reader) at whose hands I doubt not to receaue better entertainement, I beg hartely of him which giueth euery good gift, that by reading & meditating vpon this little treatise, it will please him to worke in thy mind such a firme impression of CONSTANCIE, *as neither the violent flouds of common calamities may be able to wash away, nor the firie flame of priuate afflictions to consume the same: But that as a plant set in good ground, watred with the fruitfull streames flowing in* (a) *goulden and siluer cesterns from the sweete fountaine of* Lipsius, *and conueighed to thee through these clayie conduite-pipes of my tempering, thou maist take deepe roote, and stand immoueable against all the blastes of fortune, neither terrified with feare of future mishappe, nor dismaied for any perilles present or past. Which victory though it seeme full of difficulty, yet if thou take vnto thee the armour and wepons here offered, hauing an indifferent courage of thine owne, thou shalt assuredly remaine a conquerour of those selfe affections, which do tirannize ouer the greatest tyrants, holding their minds in more seruile subiection, then they do the bodies of their vilest captiues. Farewell. From the castle of Saint Donatts the xxiiii day of August. 1594.*

(a) *I meane the Greeke and latin phrases.*

Thine to do thee good:

Io. Stradling.

The Printer to the curteous Reader.

IN perusing this book, if thou find any faults which haue escaped in the printing, I pray thee to correct them with thy Pen. Afterwards reade the book thoroughly, and belieue me no more, if thou find not therein sufficient cause to thinke thy labour well bestowed.

Iustus Lipsius his first Booke of CONSTANCIE.

Chapter. I.

A Preface and introduction: Also a complaint of the troubles of the Lowe-cuntreyes.

A Fewe yeares past, as I trauelled towardes *Vienna* in *Austrich*, I turned aside (not without Gods direction) to the towne of *Liege*, being not far out of my way, and where I had some friendes, whome both for custome, and good will I was perswaded to salute. Among whom was *Charles Langius*, a man (simplie and without boasting be it spoken) for vertue and learning the chiefe of the Flemings. Who hauing receiued me into his house, tempered mine entertainment, not only with curtesie and good wil, but also with such communication as was profitable vnto me, and will be whiles I liue. For he was the man that opened mine eyes by driuing away the clouds of some vulgare opinions: he shewed me the path-way whereby I might directly come (as *Lucretius* saith)

The praise of Charles Langius.

To the loftie temples of Sages right,
By the cleare beames of Learnings light.

For, as we walked in the portch of his house after noone, the hot sunne towards the end of Iune, being in his full force, he asked me friendlie of my iourney, and the causes

thereof. To whom when I had ſpoken much of the troubles of the Low-countries, of the inſolencie of the gouernours and ſouldiers, I added laſtly that I pretended other excuſes, but this in trueth was the cauſe of my departure. For (ſaid I) who is of ſo hard and flinty a heart that he can anie longer endure theſe euils? wee are toſſed, as you ſee, theſe manie yeares with the tempeſt of ciuill warres: and like Sea-faring men are wee beaten with ſundrie blaſtes of troubles and ſedition. If I loue quietneſſe and reſt, the Trumpets and ratling of armour interrupt mee. If I take ſolace in my countrey gardens and farmes, the ſouldiers and murtherers force mee into the Towne. Therefore (*Langius*) I am reſolued, leauing this infortunate and vnhappie *Belgica* (pardon mee my deare Countrie) to chaunge *Land for land*, and to flie into ſome other part of the world, *where I may neither heare of the name, nor facles of* (a) *Pelops broode*.

The mischiefs of ciuil wars.

Flaunders. ἐν τῷ γῆς.

(a) Betwixt whome horrible inceſt and murther were committed.

Hereat *Langius* much maruelling and mooued: yea (friend *Lipſius*) and will you thus leaue vs? Yes trulie (ſaide I) I will either leaue you, or this life. How can I flie from theſe euils but onely by flight? For, to ſee and ſuffer theſe thinges daylie as heretofore, I cannot, *Langius*, neither haue I anie plate of ſteele about my heart. *Langius* ſighed at theſe wordes, and therewithall ſaide vnto me, O fonde youngling, what childiſhneſſe is this? Or what mindeſt thou to ſeeke ſafetie by flying away? Thy countrey (I confeſſe) is toſſed and turmoyled grieuouſlie: What part of *Europe* is at this day free? So as thou maiſt coniecture that ſaying of *Ariſtophanes* to proue true.

The troubles of Europe, which doe threaten a ſubuerſion, or conuerſion.

**Thundering Iupiter will turne all things vp ſide downe.*

Wherefore (*Lipſius*) thou muſt not forſake thy countrey, but thy affections. Our mindes muſt be ſo confirmed and conformed, that we may bee at reſt in troubles, and

* —τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, i. e.
Supera infra ponet Iupiter altitonans.

and haue peace euen in the midst of warre. Hereto I, rashly ynough, replied: Nay surely, I wil forsake my countrey, knowing that it is lesse griefe to heare report of euils, than to bee an eye-witnesse vnto them: Besides that, thereby we our selues shall bee without daunger of the lystes: Marke you not what *Homer* wisely warneth? *Bee out of the weapons reach; least that happily some man adde one wound vnto another.* Εκ βελέων· μὴ πού τις ἐφ' ἕλκεϊ ἄλγεα, i.e. Extra tela, ne quis vulneri vulnus addat.

A common remedie of auoiding troubles, to flee from them.

CHAPT. II.

That traueilling into forreine countreyes is not available against the inwarde malladies of the minde: That it is a testimonie of them, but not a remedie against them, except onlie in sleight and first motions of the affection.

LAngius beckening somewhat with his head: I heare thee (Lipsius) but I had rather thou wouldst hearken to the voyce of wisedome and reason. For these mystes and cloudes that thus compasse thee, doe proceede from the smoake of OPINIONS. Wherefore, I say with *Diogenes*, Thou hast more neede of reason, than of a †rope. That bright beame of reason (I meane) which may illuminate the obscuritie of thy braine. Behold, thou forsakest thy countrey: Tell me in good sooth, in forsaking it, canst thou forsake thy selfe also? See that the contrarie fall not out: And that whither soeuer thou goe, thou carie not in thy breast the fountaine and food of thine owne griefe. As they that be holden with a feuer, doe tosse and turne themselues vnquietlie, and often change their beds through a vaine hope of remedie: In like case are wee, who being sicke in our mindes doe without any fruite, wander from one countrey to another. This is indeede to bewray our griefe, but not to allay it. To discouer this in-

The former opinion confuted.

† λόγου † βρόχου

The original of trouble is in our selues.

Therefore change of places cannot take them away:

But only bewray them.

inward flame, but not to quench it: very fitly said that wise (a) Romaine: *It is proper to a sicke person not to suffer anie thing long, but to vse mutations in steed of medicines: Hereof proceede wandring peregrinations, and walkings on sundry shores: And our* INCONSTANCIE, *alwaies loathing thinges present, one whiles will be vpon the sea, and incontinent desires the land.* Therfore you flie from troubles alwayes, but neuer escape them, not vnlike the Hinde that (b) *Virgil* speaketh of,

(a) Seneca.

(b) 4. of his Aeneidos.

Whō ranging through the chace, some hunter shooting far by chāce
All vnaware hath smit, and in her side hath left his lance,
She fast to wildernes and woods doth draw, and there complaines,

But all in vaine: because as the Poet addeth,

---That vnderneath her ribbes the deadly dart remaines.

So you that are wounded with this dart of affections, doe not shake it out, but in traueilling carie it with you to an other place. Hee that hath broken his thigh or his arme, lysteth not, I trowe, to goe on horsebacke, or into his chariot, but to a Surgeon: And what madnesse is this in thee, to seeke remedie of this inward wounde by motion, and trudging from place to place?

For it is a disease of the mind.

It is the mind that is wounded, and all this external imbecilitie, dispaire & languishing, springeth from this fountaine, that the mind is thus postrated and cast downe. The principall and soueraigne part hath let fal the Scepter, and is become so vile and abiect, that it willinglie seruetb his owne seruantes. Tell me, what good can any place or peregrination worke in this case? Except happily there bee some region in the world which can temperate feare, bridle hope, and draw out these euill dregges of vice, which we haue sucked from our infancie. But none such is there, no not in the fortunate Ilands: Or if there be, shew it vnto vs, and we will all hasten thither in troupes.

Which no place hath power to cure

But you will say, that the selfe mutation and change, hath

hath that force in it: And that the daylie beholding of strange fashions, men, and places doth refresh and lighten the mind loaden with oppressions. No (*Lipsius*) you are deceiued. For, to tell you the trueth plainlie, I doe not so much derogate from peregrination and traueilling, as though it bare no sway ouer men and their affections: yes verely, it auayleth, but yet thus farre, to the expelling of some small tediousnes and wearinesse of our mindes, not to the curing of maladies rooted so deeply, as that these externall medicines cannot plucke them vp. Musicke, wine, and sleepe haue oftentimes quenched the first enkindled (*a*) sparkes of anger, sorrow, and loue: But neuer weeded out any setled or deepe rooted griefe. Likewise I say, that trauelling might perhaps cure superficiall skarres, but not substanciall sores. For, these first motions hauing their originall from the bodie, doe sticke in the bodie, or at the most doe but cleaue to the vtter velme of the minde (as a man may say) And therefore no maruell is it, though with a spoonge they be lightly washed away: Otherwise it is of olde festered affections, which hold their seat, yea & sceptter in the castle of the mind. When thou hast gone far, and wandred euerie sea and shore, thou shalt neither drowne them in the deep sea, nor burie them in the bowels of the earth. They will follow thee at an inch: And (as the Poet saith) foule care will sit close in the skirtes of footman and horsman.

No nor the selfe change or alteration.

Although the same do lighten and lessen some kind of tediousnes.

(a) The Stoicks cal these first motions against Reason, Affections. But being reiterated and continued long, they name them discases.

Yet old festered affections are not dimished by such outward meanes.

One demaunding of *Socrates* how it came to passe that his trauelling did him no good, Because (said hee) thou forsookest not thy selfe. So say I, that whither soeuer thou flee, thou carieſt with thee a corrupt minde, no good companion. And I would to God he wer but as thy companion, I fear lest he be thy captain, in that thine affections follow not thee, but thou them.

CHAPT. III.

But deepe ſetled diſeaſes of the mind are not taken away therby, no nor any whit mitigated: But rather reuiued. That it is the mind which is ſicke in vs, which muſt ſeek remedie from Wiſedome *and* Conſtancie.

An obiection preuented.

YOu will ſay then, what? Doth trauelling detract nothing at all from theſe great euils? Doth not the ſight of faire fieldes, riuers and mountaines put a man out of his paines? it may be they withdraw vs from them, but yet for a very ſhort time, and to no good end. Euen as a picture be it neuer ſo exquiſite, delighteth the eyes a litle while: So all this varietie of perſons and places pleaſeth vs with the noueltie, yet but onely for a ſhort ſeaſon. This is a certaine declining from euils, but no auoiding of them: And peregrination may well be ſaide to ſlacke the bands of ſorrow, but not to looſe them. What doth it boot me to beholde the Sunne for a ſeaſon, and immediatlie to bee ſhut vp in a cloſe priſon? So it commeth to paſſe that theſe externall pleaſures do beguile the mind, & vnder pretence of helping, doe greatly hurt vs.

And in chãge of places ther ſeemeth to be ſome ſolace, which in truth is not.

But the miſchiefs are aggrauated thereby.

Like as medicines that be weake in operation doe not purge ill humours, but prouoke them: So theſe vaine delightes doe kindle and enflame in vs the fewell of affections. The mind ſtrayeth not long from it ſelfe, but whether it will or not, is ſoone driuen home to his olde harbour of aduerſities. Thoſe very townes and hilles which thou ſhalt behold for thy comfort, will reduce thee in conceit into thine owne countrie: And euen in the midſt of thy ioyes thou ſhalt either ſee or heare ſomething that wil rub-rawe the olde gall of thy griefes: Or els if it be ſo that thou take thy eaſe a whiles, it wil be but ſhort as a ſlumber, and when thou awakeſt thy feuer will be as it was, or

more

more feruent. For we see that some lustes doe encrease by intermitting them, & by delayes gather deeper root. Therefore (*Lipsius*) let passe these vaine, yea noysome, not remedies, but poysons: and bee content to endure the true curing corrasiues. Would you faine change countries? nay rather change your owne mind wrongfully subiected to affections, and withdrawne from the naturall obedience of his lawful Ladie, I mean REASON. The corruption and defiling whereof causeth in thee this dispaire & languishing. The mind must be changed, not the place: And thou shouldest transforme thy selfe into an other manner of man, not into another place. Thou hast an earnest desire to see the fruitful country of *Austria*, the good strōg town of *Vienna*, *Dunawe* the chief riuers, with many other rare noueltiues which may worke admiration in the hearers. How much better is it that thine affection were as firmly setled to the obtaining of wisedome? That thou shouldest walke through her fertle fieldes? That thou wouldest search out the very fountaine of all humaine perturbations? That thou wouldest erect fortes and bulwarks wherwith thou mightest be able to withstand and repulse the furious assaules of lustes? These bee the true remedies of thy disease, all the residue doe but feed and foster the same. This thy wandering into other countries shall not auaile thee, it shall nothing boot thee.

The true remedie consisteth in the change and alteration of the mind.

The curious carke of tranellers about external matters.

Which were better to be referred to internal: And to seeke things profiting, more than pleasing

To passe so manie townes of Greekish land,
Or scape by flight through mids of hostile band.

Troubles are alwaies companions ready at hand with vs.

For thou shalt still finde an enemie about thee, yea euen in that closet of thine. (And therewithall hee stroke me on the breast) what good will it do thee to be setled in a peaceable place? Thou carieſt warre with thee. What can a quiet habitation benefit thee? Troubles are euer about thee

yea in thee. For this distracted mind of thine warreth, and euer will be at warre with it selfe, in coueting, in flying, in hoping, in despairing. And as they that for fear turne their backes to their enemies, are in the greater danger, hauing their face from their foe, and their backes vnarmed. So fareth it with these ignorant nouices, who neuer haue made any resistance against their affections: but by flight yeelded vnto them. But thou young man, if thou be aduised by me, shalt stand to it, and set sure footing against this thy aduersarie SORROW. Aboue all things it behooueth thee to be CONSTANT: For by fighting many man hath gotten the victory, but none by flying.

Therfore we must resist & fight against sorrow, with the weapõs of *Constancie.*

CHAPT. IIII.

The definitions of Constancie, Patience, Right Reason, Opinion: *also how* Obstinacie *differeth from* Constancie, *and* Basenesse *of* mind *from* Patience.

IBeing somewhat emboldened with these speaches of *Langius*, said vnto him, that trulie these admonitions of his were notable and worthy to bee esteemed, and that I began now to lift vp my selfe a little, but yet in vaine, as it were a man in a slumber. For surely (*Langius*) to tell you the trueth, my cogitations doe slide backe againe to my countrey, and the cares of the same both priuate and publike fast in my minde. But, if you bee able, (*a*) chase away these euill birdes that thus feed vpon me, and loose those bands of cares wherewith I am tyed fast to this Caucasus.

Hereto *Langius* with a smyling countenance replyed: I will driue them away, and like a new borne *Hercules* wil set at libertie this chayned *Prometheus*: onely giue attentiue eare to that which I shall say vnto thee. I haue exhorted thee to CONSTANCIE, and placed therin all hope of

(a) He alludeth to the fable of Prometheus, whose heart is continually fed on by Eagles, and yet consumeth not.

of thy ſafetie. Firſt therefore wee muſt knowe what it is. CONSTANCIE *is a right and immoueable ſtrength of the minde, neither lifted vp, nor preſſed downe with externall or caſuall accidentes.*] By STRENGTH, I vnderſtande a ſtedfaſtneſſe not from opinion, but from iudgement and ſound reaſon. For I would in any caſe exclude OBSTINACIE (or as I may more fitly tearme it, FROWARDNES) *Which is a certaine hardneſſe of a ſtubberne mind, proceeding from pride or vaine glorie.*] And this HARDNES is onely in one reſpect incident to the foward and obſtinate. For they can hardlie be preſſed downe, but are verie eaſily lifted vp, not vnlike to a blown bladder, which you cannot without much adoe thruſt vnder water, but is readie to leape vpwards of it ſelfe without helpe. Euen ſuch is the light hardines of thoſe men, ſpringing of pride and too much eſtimation of themſelues, and therfore from OPINION. But the true mother of Conſtancie is PATIENCE, and lowlineſſe of mind, which is, *A voluntarie ſufferance without grudging of all things whatſoeuer can happen to, or in a man.*] This being regulated by the rule of *Right Reaſon*, is the verie roote whereuppon is ſetled the high and mighty bodie of that fair oake CONSTANCIE. Beware here, leaſt OPINION beguile thee, preſenting vnto thee in ſteed of Patience, *A certaine abiection and baſeneſſe of a daſtardlie minde.*] Being a foule vice, proceeding from the vile vnworthineſſe of a mans owne perſon. But verue keepeth the meane, not ſuffering any exceſſe or defect in her actions, becauſe it weigheth all things in the ballance of REASON, making it the rule and ſquire of all her trials. Therefore we define RIGHT REASON to be, *A true ſenſe and iudgement of thinges humane and diuine.* (So farre as the ſame appertaineth to vs.) But OPINION (being the contrarie to it) is defined to be, *A falſe*

What conſtancie is.

What Obſtinacie or frowardnes is.

Conſtancie ſpringeth of Patience.

Which is defined.

And diſtinguiſhed from baſeneſſe of mind.

Conſtancie is a meane between hautines and baſenes of mind.

What Reaſon is, & what Opinion.

and friuolous coniecture of those things.]

CHAPT. V.

From whence Reason *and* Opinion *doe spring. The force and effectes of them both. That one leadeth vnto* Constancie: *This other to* Inconstancy.

NOw for asmuch as out of this twofolde fountaine of OPINION and REASON, floweth not only *Hardinesse* and *Weaknesse* of mind, but all things that deserue either praise or dispraise in this life: It seemeth to me that it wil be labour wel bestowed, to discourse somewhat at large of the originall and nature of them both. For as woolle before it bee endued with the perfect collours of dying is first prepared thereunto with some other kind of liquors: Euen so am I to deale with thy mind *(Lipsius)* before I aduenture to die it with this perfect purple in graine of Constancy.

A more curious and copious tractation of them both.

First you are not ignorant that man consisteth of two parts, Soule and Body. That being the nobler part, resembleth the nature of a spirit and fire: This more base is compared to the earth. These two are ioyned together, but yet with a iarring concord, as I may say, neither doe they easily agree, especially when cóntrouersie ariseth about souerainty & subiection. For either of them would bear sway, and chiefly that part which ought not. The earth aduanceth it selfe aboue the fire, and the dirty nature aboue that which is diuine. Herehence arise in man dissentions, stirs, & a cōtinual conflict of these parts warring together. The captains are, REASON and OPINION. That fighteth for the soule, being in the soule: This for, and in the body. Reason hath her offspring from heauen, yea from God: and *Seneca* gaue it a singular commendation, saying, (a) *That there*

Man consisteth of two parts.

The minde lofty and fiery: the bodie base & earthy

Strife betweene them.

Reason striueth for the soule: Opiniō for the body.

(a) If you take

Patom in homine divini Spiritus inspiran.

there was hidden in man parte of the diuine spirit. This reason is an excellent power or faculty of vnderstanding and iudgment, which is the perfection of the soule, euen as the soule is of man. The Grecians cal it (a) *Noun*, the Latines *mentem*, and as we may say ioyntly, *The mind of the soule.* For, you are deceiued if you think al the soul to be *Right reason*, but that only which is vniforme, simple, without mixture, seperate from al filth or corruption: and in one word, as much as is pure & heauenlie. For albeit the soul be infected and a lisle corrupted with the filth of the bodie and contagion of the senses: yet it retayneth some reliks of his first offspring, and is not without certaine cleare sparks of that pure fiery nature from whence it proceeded.

the words precisely, this is not true: yet is ther remaining in man the image of God.

(a) Νοῦς.

Mens is properlie that part of the soule which is partaker of reason.

What right reason is.

Which yet in some sort is remayning in man.

Here hence come those stings of Conscience in wicked men: Herehence those inward gnawings & scourges: herehence also commeth it that the wicked euen against their wils approoue vertuous liuing and commend it. For this good part in man may somtimes be pressed down, but neuer oppressed: & these fiery sparks may be couered, but not wholly extinguished. Those little coales doe alwayes shine and shew forth themselues, lightening our darknesse, purging our vncleannes, directing our doubtfulnes, guiding vs at the last to Constancy and vertue. As the Marigold and other flowers are by nature alwayes enclined towards the sunne: so hath Reason a respect vnto God, and to the fountaine from whence it sprang. It is resolute and immoueable in a good purpose, not variable in iudgment, euer shunning or seeking one and the selfe same thing: the fountaine & liuely spring of wholsome counsell & sound iudgement. To obey it is to beare rule, and to bee subiect thereunto is to haue the soueraintie in al humane affaires. Whoso obeyeth her is lord of al lusts & rebellious affections: whoso hath this thred of *Theseus* may passe without

Right reason is alwaies constant, and a ready pathway to Constancie.

The praise & worthines of it.

ſtraying through all the laborinths of this life. God by this image of his commeth vnto vs, yea (which more is) euen into vs. And well ſaid one who ſoeuer he were, *That there is no good mind without God.*

The original of OPINION is of the earth and the body.

But the other part (I meane OPINION) hath his offspring of the bodie, that is of the earth: And therefore, ſauoreth nothing but of it. For though the bodie be ſenceleſſe and immooueable of it ſelfe, yet it taketh life and motion from the ſoule: And on the other ſide, it repreſenteth to the ſoule the ſhapes and formes of thinges thorough the windowes of the ſenſes. Thus there groweth a communion and ſocietie betwixt the ſoule and the bodie, but a ſocietie (if you reſpect the ende) not good for the ſoule. For ſhe is therby by litle and little depriued of her dignity, addicted and coupled vnto the ſenſes, and of this impure commixtion OPINION *is* ingendred in vs, *Which is nought els but a vaine image and ſhadow of reaſon*: whoſe ſeat is the Sences: whoſe birth is the earth. Therefore being vile and baſe it tendeth downwards, and ſauoreth nothing of high and heauenly matters. It is vaine, vncertaine, deceitfull, euill in counſell, euill in iudgement. It depriueth the mind of Conſtancie and veritie. To day it deſireth a thing, to morrowe it defieth the ſame. It commendeth this, it condemneth that. It hath no reſpect to ſound iudgment, but to pleaſe the bodie, and content the ſenſes. And as the eye that beholdeth a thing thorough water, or thorough a myſt, miſtaketh it: So doth the minde which diſcerneth by the cloudes of opinions. This is vnto men the mother of miſchieues, the authour of a confuſed and troubleſome life. By the meanes of it wee are troubled with cares, diſtracted with perturbations, ouer-ruled by vices. Therefore, as they which would banniſh tyranny out of a cittie do aboue all thinges ouerthrowe caſtles and fortes therein:

How it ſpringeth of them

The definition of it.

OPINION is fraile, and a path-way to Inconſtancie

The diſpraiſe thereof.

therein: So if we beare an earnest desire to haue a good mind, we must cast downe euen by the foundation this castle of opinions. For they will cause vs to be continuallie floting on the waues of doubtfulnes, without any certain resolution, murmuring, troublesome, iniurious to God & men. As an emptie ship without balasse is tossed and tumbled on the sea with the least blast of winde: Euen so is it with a light wandring minde, not kept steddie and poised with the balasse of reason.

CHAPT. VI.

The praise of Constancie: *And an earnest exhortation thereunto.*

THou seest then (*Lipsius*) that INCONSTANCY is the companion of OPINION, & that the propertie of it is to bee soone chaunged, and to wish that vndone, which a litle before it caused to be done. But CONSTANCIE is a mate alwayes matched with reason. Vnto this therefore I do earnestlie exhort thee. Why flyest thou to these vaine outward things? This is onelie that faire beautifull *Helena* which will present vnto thee a wholesome cup of counterpoyson, wherewith thou shalt expell the memorie of all cares and sorrowes, and whereof when thou hast once taken a taste, being firmelie setled against all casualties, bearing thy selfe vpright in all misfortunes, neither puffed vp nor pressed downe with either fortune, thou maist challenge to thy selfe that great title, the neerest that man can haue to God, *To be immooueable.*

An exhortation to Constancie.

The fruit and force thereof.

Hast thou not seene in the armes and targets of some men of our time, that lofty poesie? (a) *Neither with hope, nor with feare*, It shal agree to thee: Thou shalt be a king indeed

(a) *Nec spe, nec metu.*

free indeed, only ſubiect vnto God, enfranchized from the ſeruile yoke of Fortune and affections. As ſome riuers are ſaid to runne through the ſea and yet keepe their ſtreame freſh: So ſhalt thou paſſe thorough the confuſed tumultes of this world, and not be infected with any bryniſh ſaltnes of this Sea of ſorrowes. Art thou like to bee caſt downe? CONSTANCY wil lift thee vp. Doeſt thou ſtagger in doubtfulneſſe? She holdeth thee faſt. Art thou in daunger of fire or water? She will comfort thee, and bring thee backe from the pits brinke: onely take vnto thee a good courage, ſteere thy ſhip into this porte, where is ſecuritie and quietneſſe, a refuge and ſanctuarie againſt all turmoyles and troubles: where if thou haſt once mored thy ſhip, let thy country not onely be troubled, but euen ſhaken at the foundation, thou ſhalt remaine vnmooued: let ſhowres, thunders, lighteninges, and tempeſtes fall round about thee, thou ſhalt crie boldlie with a loude voyce, (a) *I lie at reſt amid the waues.*

Eſpeciallie againſt ſorrow & trouble.

(a) *Mediis tranquillus in undis.*

CHAPT. VII.

What, and howe manie thinges doe diſturbe Conſtancie. That outward good and euill thinges doe it. Euils are of two ſortes, Publike *and* Priuate *: Of theſe two, Publike euils ſeeme moſt greeuous and dangerous.*

LAngius hauing vttered theſe wordes with a more earneſt voyce and countenance than accuſtomed, I was ſomewhat enflamed with a ſparke of this good fire. And then, my Father, ſaid I, (let me rightly without diſsimulation call you ſo) leade me and learne me as you lift: Direct and correct me: I am your patient prepared to admit any kinde of curing, be it by razor or fire, to cut or ſeare. I muſt vſe both thoſe meanes, (ſaid L*angius*) for

that

that one while the ſtubble of falſe opinions is to be burned away, and another while the tender ſlippes of affections to be cut of by the root. But tel me, whether had you rather walke or ſit? Sitting would pleaſe mee beſt, (quoth I) for I beginne to be hote. So then *Langius* commaunded ſtooles to bee brought into the portch, and I ſitting cloſe by him, hee turned himſelfe towardes mee, and began his talke in this maner.

Hitherto (*Lipſius*) haue I laide the foundation wherupon I might erect the building of my future communication. Now, if it pleaſe you, I will come neerer the matter, and enquire the cauſes of your ſorrowe, for I muſt touch the ſore with my hande. There bee two thinges that doe aſſault this caſtle of Conſtancie in vs, FALSE GOODS, and FALSE EVILS: I define them both to bee, *Such thinges as are not in vs, but about vs: And which properlie doe not helpe nor hurte the inner man, that is, the minde.*] Wherefore, I may not call thoſe thinges good or euill ſimplie in ſubiect and in definition: But I confeſſe they are ſuch in opinion, and by the iudgement of the common people. In the firſte ranke I place Riches, Honour, Authoritie, Health, long life. In the ſecond, Pouertie, Infamie, lacke of promotion, Sickneſſe, death. And to comprehende all in one word, whatſoeuer els is accidentall and happeneth outwardlie.

Two enemies of Conſtãcie.

Fals goods

Falſe euills.

From theſe two rootes doe ſpring foure principall affections which doe greatly diſquiet the life of man. DESIRE and IOY: FEARE and SORROW. The two firſt haue reſpect to ſome ſuppoſed or imagined good: The two latter vnto euill. Al of them do hurt and diſtemper the mind, and without timely preuention doe bring it out of al order: yet not each of them in like ſort. For wheras the quietneſſe and conſtancie of the minde reſteth, as it

Foure chiefe affections oppoſite among themſelues, to which al the reſt are referred.

How they trouble Constancie. False goods by desire and ioy. False euils with fear and sorrow. Two sorts of euils, publike and priuate.

were, in an euen ballance, these affections do hinder this vpright poise and euennesse: Some of them by puffing vp the minde, others by pressing it downe too much: But here I will let passe to speake of false goods, which lift vp the minde aboue measure (because thy disease proceedeth from another humour) and will come to false euils, which are of two sortes, *Publike* and *Priuate*. Publike are those, *The sense and feeling whereof toucheth manie persons at one time.* *Priuate doe touch some priuate men.* Of the first kinde are warre, pestilence, famine, tyrannie, slaughters, and such like. Of the second be Sorrowe, pouertie, infamie, death, and whatsoeuer els of like nature that may befall any one man,

The distinction prooued, and applyed to the matter

I take it there is good cause for me thus to distinguish them, because we sorrow after an other sort at the miserie of our countrie, the banishment and destruction of a multitude, than of one person alone. Besides that, the griefes that growe of publike and priuate aduersities are different, but yet the first sort are more heauie and take deeper roote in vs. For wee are all subiect to those common calamities, either for that they come together in heapes, and so with the multitude oppresse such as oppose themselues against them: or rather because they beguile vs by subtiltie, in that we perceiue not how our mind is diseased by the apprehension of them. Behold if a man bee ouercome with any priuate grief, he must confesse therin his frailtie and infirmitie: especiallie if he reclaim not himselfe, then is he without excuse. Contrarily, we aree so far from confessing a fault in being disquieted at publike calamities, that some will boast thereof, and account it for a praise: for they ter me it pietie and compassion. So that this common contagion is now reckoned among the catalogue of vertues, yea and almost honored as a God.

The griefe that groweth of publike miserie, is most heauy and happeneth often.

Because it assaulteth with violence.

Because it beguileth vs with a shew of honestie.

Poets and Orators do euerie wher extol to the skies a feruent affection to our countrey: neither doe I disallowe it, but hold and maintaine that it ought to be tempered with moderation: otherwise it is a vice, a note of intemperancie, a deposing of the mind from his right seat. On the other side I confesse it to bee a grieuous maladie, and of great force to mooue a man, because the sorrow that proceedeth therehence is manifold, in respect of thy selfe and of others. And to make the matter more plaine by example: See how thy country of (a) *Belgica* is afflicted with sundrie calamities, and swinged on euery side with the scortching flame of ciuill warres: The fieldes are wasted and spoyled, townes are ouerthrowne and burned, men taken captiue and murthered, women defiled, virgins defloured, with such other like miseries as follow after warres. Art thou not griued herewith? Yes I am sure, and grieued diuerslie, for thy self, for thy countrymen, and for thy countrey. Thy owne losses trouble thee: the miserie and slaughter of thy neighbours: the calamitie and ouerthrow of thy countrie. One while thou maist crie out with the Poet, O *vnhappie wretch, that I am*. Another while, *Alasse that so manie of my countrimen should suffer such affliction by the enemies hand*. Another while, O *my father*, O *my countrey*: And who so is not mooued with these matters, nor oppessed with the multitude of so manie and manifold miseries, must eyther be very stayed and wise, or els very hard hearted.

Because also it is manifold.

Which is proued by example.

(a) Or *Flanders*.

Mo miserum

O Pater! O Patria

CHAPT. VIII.

A preuention against publike euils: But first of all, three affections are restrained. And of those three, particularly in this chapter is repressed a kind of vaine glorious dissimulation, wherby men that lament their owne priuate misfortunes, would seeme that they bewaile the common calamities.

WHat thinke you (*Lipsius*) haue I not betrayed CONSTANCIE into your hands in pleading the cause of your sorrow? Not so. But herein I haue plaide the part of a good Captaine, in trayning out al your troups into the field to the end I may fight it out manfully with them. But first I wil begin with light skirmishes, and afterwards ioyne with you in plaine battel. In skirmishing I am to assault *foot by foot* (as the Ancients speake) three affections vtter enemies to this our CONSTANCIE. DISSIMVLATION, PIETY, COMMISERATION or PITTY. I wil begin with the first of them. Thou sayest thou canst not endure to see these publik miseries, that it is a grief, yea euen a death vnto thee. Speak you that from your heart, or onelie from the teeth outward? herewithal I being somwhat angry, asked whether he iested or gybed with mee. Nay (quoth *Langius*) I speake in good earnest for that many of your crue doe beguile the physitians, making them beleeue that the publike euilles doe grieue them, when their priuate losses are the true cause. I demaund therefore againe, whether the care (a) *which now doth boile and bubble in thy breast*, be for thy countries sake, or for thy own? what (said I) do you make a question of that? Surely (*Langius*) for my countries sake alone am I thus disquieted. See it be so (quoth he) for I maruel that ther should be in thee such an excellent sincere dutie which few attain vnto. I deny not but that most men do cōplaine of common calamities, neither is there any kind of sorrow so vsuall as this in the tongues of people. But examine the matter to the quick, & you shall find many times great difference betwixt the tongue and the heart. Those wordes, *My countries calamitie afflicts me*, carrie with thē more vainglory than veritie. And as it is recorded in histories of *Polus* a notable stage-player, that playing his part on the stage where-

Three affections enemies to Constancie.

First faining, or dissimulation.

Which holdeth manie men for vain glorie.

(a) *Quæ te nunc coquit, & versat sub pectore fixa.* Euring.

Because they bewaile their owne priuate miseries, and not publike

wherein it behooued him to expresse some great sorrow, he brought with him priuily the bones of his dead son, & so the remẽbrance therof caused him to fil the theater with true teares indeed. Euen so may I say by the most part of you. You play a Comedy, & vnder the person of your country, you bewail with tears your priuate miseries One saith *The whol world is a stage-play*. Trulie in this case it is so. Some crie out, These ciuil warres torment vs, the blood of innocents spilt, the losse of lawes and libertie. Is it so? I see your sorrow indeed, but the cause I must search out more narrowly. Is it for the common-wealths sake? O player, put off thy vizard: thy selfe art the cause therof. We see oftentimes the country Boores trembling and running together with earnest prayers when any sudden misfortune or insurrection approcheth, but as soone as the daunger is past, examine thẽ wel and you shal perceiue that euerie one was affraid of his own field & corn. If fire should happen to be kindled in this cittie we should haue a generall out-cry: the lame & almost the blind would hasten to help quench it. What think you? For their countries sake? Aske them and you shall see, it was, because the losse would haue redounded to al, or at the least, the feare thereof. So falleth it out in this case. Publike euils doe mooue & disquiet many men, not for that the harme toucheth a great number, but because themselues are of that number.

Therfore we must search the inward causes of these sorrowes.

CHAPT. IX.

The visarde of Dissimulation is more plainlie discouered, by examples. By the way mention is made of our true countrie. Also the malice of men reioycing at other mens harmes, when they themselues be without danger thereof.

WHerefore your selfe shall sit as iudge in this cause, but yet with the vaile remooued frõ your face. You feare

We bewaile publike euils not as they are publike. But becauſe our priuate loſſes are ioined thereto, or at leaſt the feare thereof.

the warre. I know it. Why? Becauſe warre draweth with it puniſhment and deſtruction. To whome? To others at this preſent, but it may be ſhortly to you. Behold the head, behold the fountaine of thy griefe: For as a thunder-bolt hauing ſtricken one man, maketh all that ſtood neere him to tremble: So in theſe vniuerſall and pulike calamities, the loſſe toucheth few, the feare redoundeth to all, which feare if it were away, there would be no place for ſorrowe. Behold, if warre be among the Ethiopians or Indians, it moueth thee not: (thou art out of danger) if it bee in (*Belgica*) thou weepeſt, cryeſt out, rubbeſt thy forehead, and ſmiteſt thy thigh. But now if it were ſo that thou diddeſt bewayle the publike euils as publike, and for themſelues, there ſhould be no difference had of thee betweene thoſe countries and this.

(*Flaunders*)

An obiection preuented, touching our country.

Thou wilt ſay, it is none of my countrie. O foole: Are not they men, ſprung firſt out of the ſame ſtock with thee? liuing vnder the ſame globe of heauen? vppon the ſame molde of the earth? Thinkeſt thou that this little plot of ground enuironed by ſuch and ſuch mountaines, compaſſed with this or that riuer, is thy countrey? thou art deceiued. The whole world is our countrey, wherefoeuer is the race of mankind ſprong of that celeſtiall ſeed. *Socrates* being asked of what countrey he was, anſwered: *Of the world.* For a high and loftie mind will not ſuffer it ſelfe to be penned by OPINION within ſuch narrow bounds but conceiueth and knoweth the whole worlde to bee his owne. We ſcorn and laugh at fooles, who ſuffer their maſters to tie them with a ſtrawe or ſmall threed to a poſte, where they ſtand as if they were fettered faſt with iron. Our follie is not inferiour to theirs, who with the weake linke of Opinion are wedded to one corner of the world.

Which ſtretcheth farther than the common people do take it. And it is Opinion only that cloſeth it in ſuch a ſtraight.

But to let paſſe theſe deepe arguments (which I doubt how

how thou wilt conceiue of them) I demand, if God would assure thee in the mids of these broyles, that thy fields shuld be vnspoyled, thy house and substance in safetie, and thy selfe on some high mountaine placed out of all daunger: wouldest thou lament for all this? I am loth to affirme it of thee, but certaine I am there be many that would bee glad thereof, and feed their eies greedilie with the spectacle of such bloudy butcheries. Why turnest thou aside? Why maruellest thou hereat? Such is the naturall corruption of man, that (as the Poet saith) it *reioyceth at other mens harmes*. And as some apples there be though bitter in the bellie, yet rellishing sweet in taste: So are other mens miseries, we our selues being free from them. Suppose a man be on the shore beholding a shipwrecke, it will mooue him somewhat, yet truelie not without an inwarde tickling of his mind, because he seeth other mens danger, himselfe being in security. But if he in person were in that distressed ship, he would be touched with an other maner of griefe. Euen so verelie is it in this case, let vs say, or make what shew we list to the contrarie. (a) For we bewaile our own misfortunes earnestlie and from the heart, but publike calamities in wordes onlie and for fashions sake. Wherefore (*Lipsius*) take away these stage-hanginges, draw backe the curtain that is afore thee, and without al counterfeiting or dissimulation, acquaint vs with the true cause of thy sorrow.

But it is shewed that we sorrow not for the loue of this narrow countrie of ours.

Our malice at the harme of others, proueth it to bee true.

(a) *Pindarus hath this saying Our ovvne priuat misfortune is alvvaies a like grieuous vnto vs: but an innocent and harmelesse hart tovvard others is a cleane or pure vessell.*

CHAPT. X.

A complaint against the former sharpe reprehension of Langius: *But he addeth that it is the part of a Philosopher so to speake freelie. Hee endeuoureth to confute the former disputation speaking of dutie and loue to our countrey.*

THis first skirmish seemed to mee verie hot, wherefore interrupting him I replyed, what libertie of speech is this that you vse? Yea what bitter taunting? Do you in this wise pinch and pricke me? I may well answere you with *Euripides* wordes,

Adde not more griefe vnto my strong disease,
I suffer more (God wot) than is mine ease. — μὴ νοσουντί μοι νόσον προσθῆς· ἅλις γὰρ συμφορᾷ βαρύνομαι.

Langius smiling at this, I perceiue then (said he) you expect Wafer cakes or sweete wine at my handes: but ere whiles you desired either fire or razor: and therein you did well. For I am a Philosopher (*Lipsius*) not a Fidler: my purpose is to teach, not to entice thee: To profite, not to please thee: To make thee blush, rather than smile: And to make thee penitent, not insolent. X *The schoole of a Philosopher is as a Phisitians shoppe* (So said *Rufus* once) whether we must repaire for health, not for pleasure. That Physitian dallyeth not, neyther flattereth: but pearceth, pricketh, razeth, and with the sauorie salt of good talke sucketh out the filthie corruptions of the minde. Wherefore looke not hereafter of me for Roses, Oyles, or Pepper: but for thornes, Launcing tooles, wormwood, and sharp vineger.

The sharpe speech of a wise man tendeth to wholsomnes, not delightfulnes

Here I tooke him vp, saying: Truly (*Langius*) if I may be so bold as to be plaine with you, you deale scarce wel or charitablie with me: Neither do you like a stout champion ouercome me in lawfull striuing, but vnderminie mee by sleightes and subtilties, Saying that I bewayle my countries calamities faynedly, and not for good will to it: wherein you doe mee wrong. For let me confesse freely that I haue some maner of regard to my selfe, yet not wholly. I lament the case of my countrey principallie, and so will doe, although the daunger she is in extend not in any sort vnto me. Good reason is there why I should doe so. For she it is that first receiued mee into this

By occasion he passeth to treat of the second affection.

X Ἰατρεῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου χολεῖον, i.e. Officina Medici, O Viri, Philosophi Schola est.

this world, and after that nourished and bred me, being (by common consent of all nations) our most auncient and holiest mother. But you assigne me the whole world for my countrey. Who denies that? Yet withall you may not gainesay, that besides this large and vniuersall countree, there is an other more neere and deare vnto mee, to the which I am tyed by a secrete bond of nature, except you thinke there bee no vertue perswasiue nor attractiue in that native soyl which wee first touched with our bodies, and pressed with our feete: where we first drew our breath: where we cryed in our infancie, played in our childhood, and exercised our selues in manhood. Where our eies are are aquainted with the firmament, flouds, and fieldes: where haue bene by a long continuance of discents our kinsfolke, friends and companions, and so manie occasions of ioy besides, which I may expect in vaine in another part of the world. Neither is all this the slender pack-thred of OPINION (as you would haue it seeme) but the strong fetters of nature her selfe. Look vpon all other liuing creatures. The wilde beasts doe both knowe and loue their dennes: and birdes their neastes. Fishes in the great and endlesse Ocean sea, desire to enioy some certaine part thereof. What neede I speake of men? Who whether they bee ciuill or barbarous, are so addicted to this their native soyle, that whosoeuer beareth the face of a man, will neuer refuse to die for it, and in it. Therefore (*Langius*) this new found curious phylosophie of yours, I neither perceiue as yet the depth of it, nor mind to make profession thereof. I will listen rather to that true saying of *Euripides*,

The praise of our countrie in particular: And our conjunction with it by nature.

Likewise in other Creatures as well as men.

—ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
Πατρίδ' ἐρᾶν ἁπάντας, i. e. Imperat
Necessitie forceth euerie wight,
To loue his countrie with all his might.

Necessitas amare patriam cunctos.

CHAPT. XI.

Here is confuted the second affection of too much loue to our countrey: which loue is falslie tearmed Pietie. *Whence this affection springeth, and what is our countrie properlie and trulie.*

The former allegations disprooued *(a) Antonius surnamed Pius is meant.*

THen *Langius* smiling replyed: Certes you are a meruellous pietous young man: and I feare me that the (*a*) brother of *Mancus Antonius* is nowe in danger to be deprived of his surname. But it falleth out fitlie that this affection offereth it selfe in sallying before his Ensigne: I will assault him therefore, and onerthrowe him lightlie. And first will I take from him the spoyle of that precious garment wherewith he is vnworthilie attyred. This affection to our Countrey is commonlie called *Pietas*, that is PIETY: why it should bee so named I neither see, nor can suffer it. For, wherefore should wee call it by the name of PIETY, which is an excellent vertue, and properly nothing els but *A lawfull and due honour and loue towards God and our parents.*] Why should our country bee placed in the (*b*) mids between these? Because (say they) it is our most ancient and holiest mother. O fooles, iniurious to reason and nature her selfe: is she our mother? How? or wherfore? Truly I see no such reason: And if thou (*Lipsius*) if thou be sharper sighted than I, lighten my darke senses. Is it because she first receiued vs into this worlde? (for so thou seemedst to affirm before) So might anie Tauerner or Inne-keeper. Is it because she cherisheth vs? much better doth some sillie maide or nurse. Is it because she nourisheth vs? So do cattell, trees, and corne daylie: And (among greater substances which doe borrow nothing of the earth) the firmament, aire, and water, Finallie, change thou thy habitation, and euerie other part

This affection is verie vnfitly tearmed by the name of *Pietie.*

What Pietie is.

(b) *For there are reckoned 3 kinds of pietie. Towards God our country & parents.*

Our country deserueth not the title of mother.

part of the world will doe thus much for thee. These are floting, and fleeting wordes, sauoring of nothing, but an vnpleasant iuice of POPVLAR OPINION. They alone are our parents that begat, shaped and bore vs: wee be seed of their seede, bloud of their blood, and flesh of their flesh. If any of these thinges agree any wayes to our countrey, then I confesse that I goe about wrongfully to bereaue it of this dutie of PIETY.

You will say that great learned clearks haue so spoken of it. They haue indeed so spoken, following the common opinion, but not that they were so perswaded themselues. But if thou wilt follow the trueth, thou shalt attribute that sacred and high title to God, and also, if thou thinke good, to our parentes: But as for this affection to our countrie (being first bridled and restrayned to a mean) let it be contented in Gods name with the title of LOVE or CHARITY.

We ow piety to God, and to our parents. But loue to our country.

Yet is this onely a contention about the name; let vs come neerer to the thing it selfe. Which I do not wholly take away, but temperate, and as it were, scarrifie it with the launcelot of RIGHT REASON. For as a vine if it be not pruned, spreadeth it selfe too farre abroad: So do affections flie about with full sayle being blowne with the plausible puffes of popularitie.

Which also must be tempered.

And notwithstanding here by the way I confesse (for I am not degenerated from a man, nor from a citizen) I confesse, I say, that euerie one of vs hath an inclinarion and good-will to his lesser country. The causes wherof I perceiue are to you vnknowne. You would haue it to be from nature: But the truth is, it groweth of custome, or of some decree & ordinance. For after that men forsook their wild and sauadge maner of liuing, and began to build houses and walled townes, to ioyne in societie, and to vse meanes of-

From whence that loue springeth. From custom not from nature.

Yea the cause why we loue our countrie is, for that we haue in it somewhat of our owne.

And so the original thereof is, loue of our selues.

Strengthened and increased by custome and law: And that for the better societie of men.

Euident arguments that it is of custō, not of nature first in that all men are not equallie touched therwith.

fensiue & defensiue: Behold then a certaine communion necessarily began among them, and a social participation of diuers things. They parted the earth between them with certaine limits & bounds: They had Temples in common: also market places, treasuries, seates of iudgement: And principallie ceremonies, rites, lawes. All which thinges our greedinesse began in time so to esteeme & make account of, as if they were our owne in particular: and so be they in some sort, for that euery priuate citizen had some interest in them, neither did they differ from priuate possessions, sauing that they were not wholly in one mans power. This consociation and fellowship gaue the forme and fashion to a new erected state, which now we cal properly the COMMONWEALTH, or *our Countrey*. Wherein when men sawe the chiefest stay of each persons safetie to consist, lawes were enacted for the succour and defence thereof: Or at the least such customes were receiued by tradition from the predecessors to their posteritie, that grewe to be of like force as lawes. Herehence it commeth to passe that we reioyce at the good of the common-wealth, and be sorie for her harm: Because our owne priuate goods are secure by her safetie, and are lost by her ouerthrowe. From this fountaine doe spring the streames of our good-will and loue towards her: which affection in respect of the common good (the secrete prouidence of God leading thereunto) our ancestors encreased, by all possible meanes establishing and maintaining the maiesty of their country.

It appeareth therfore in my iudgment, that this affection had his beginning from custome, and not from nature, as you pretend. Els why should not the same measure of that affection be indifferently in all men? why should the Nobility & rich men haue more care of their country, than the poore people, who commonly take care for their priuate matters,

but

but none at al for the publike affaires? which thing falleth out otherwise in all passions that be gouerned by the instinct of nature. Finally what reason can you alleadge that so small and light an occasion should oftentimes asswage, yea wholly extinguish it? See howe euerie day some for anger, some for loue, some for ambition forsake their countrie? And what a multitude are drawn away by that Idol *Lucre*? How many Italians forsaking *Italie* the Queen of countries only for greedinesse of gaine haue remooued their dwellings into *France Germanie*, yea euen into *Sarmatia*? Howe many thousande Spaniards doth ambition draw daylie into another worlde from vs; These arguments prooue inuincible that the band wherebyw e are linked thus to our countrie is but external and accidentall, in that it is so easilie broken by one inordinate lust.

Secondlie in that it is easilie diminished, yea wholly extinguished.

Moreouer (*Lipsius*) you are greatlie deceiued in describing this countrie of ours: For you tyeat verie narrowlie to that natiue soyle where we were borne and had our education, with other like friuolous allegations, from whence you labour in vaine to picke out naturall causes of our affection towards her. And if it be the natiue soyle where wee were borne, that deserueth this title of our countrie, then were *Brusselles* only my countrey, and *Isseanum* yours: and to some other man, a poore cottage or cell: yea vnto many, not so much as a cottage, but a wood, or els the open field; what thē? Shal my good wil, & affection bee shut vp within those narrow wals? Shal I settle my disposition & loue vpō one town or house as my country? what folly were that? You see also that by your description none are happier than those that are borne in the woods and open fields, which are alwaies flourishing, & seldome or neuer be subiect to desolation or wasting. No, no, our country is not as you take it, But it is, *Some one state, or as it were one common Ship, vnder the regiment of one prince*

The opinion touching our particular country is confuted.

It is not our natiue soyle.

What our country properly & truly is.

prince, or one lawe: which I confesse we ought to loue, to defend, and to die for it: yet must it not driue vs to lament, waile and dispaire. Well said the Poet.

It must be defended manfullie.

A happie quarrell is it and a good,
For Countries cause to spend our dearest blood.

And not effeminately bewailed.

He saith not that we should weep and lament, but die for our countrie. For we must so far foorth bee good common-wealths-men, that we also retaine the person of good and honest men, which we loose if we betake vs to childish and womanlike lamentations.

The decree of all wise men touching our country.

Last of all (*Lipsius*) I woulde haue thee learne this one hidden and deep mysterie, that if we respect the whole nature of man, all these earthlie countries are vaine and falsly so tearmed, except only in respect of the body, and not of the minde or soule, which descending downe from that highest habitation, deemeth all the whole earth as a gaole or prison: but heauen is our true and rightfull countrey, whether let vs aduance all our cogitations, that wee may freelie say with *Anaxagoras* to such as foolishlie aske vs, whether we haue no regarde to our countrie? yes verelie but yonder is our countrie, lifting our finger and mind vp towards heauen.

CHAPT. XII.

The third affection bridled, which is Commiseration or pittying, being a vice. It is distinguished from Mercie. *Howe, and how far forth we ought to vse it.*

L*Angius* with this conference hauing scattered abroade some darke mystes from my mind: I bespake him thus. My Father, what by admonitions, and what by instructions you haue done mee great good; so that it seemeth I am now able to moderate my affection towardes the natiue

tiue soyle, or common-wealth wherein I was borne: But not towards the persons of my fellow-citizens and countrymen. For how should I not bee touched and tormented with the calamities of my countrey for my countreymens sake, who are tossed in this sea of aduersities, and doe perish by sundry misfortunes? *Langius* taking my tale by the end: This is not (quoth he) properlie sorrowe, but rather commiseration or pittying, which must be despised of him that is wise and constant; whom nothing so much beseemeth as steddinesse and stedfastnes of courage, which he cannot retaine, if he be cast downe not only with his owne mishaps, but also at other mens. What Stoyical subtilties are these? (said I.) Wil you not haue me to pittie an other mans case? Surelie it is a vertue among good men, and such as haue a-me religion in them.

A passage to the affection of commiseration or pittying.

Which is not incident to a wise man.

I denie that (said *Langius*) and I trust no good man will be offended with me, if I purge the mind of this maladie? for it is a verie daungerous contagion, and I iudge him not far from a pitiful state, that is subiect to pittying of others. As it is a token of naughtie eyes to waxe watry when they behold other blear eyes: so is it of the mind that mourneth at euerie other mans mourning. It is defined to be, *The fault of an abiect and base mind, cast downe at the shew of anothers mishap.* What then? are we so vnkind and voyd of humanitie, that we would haue no man to be moued at anothers miserie? Yes, I allowe that we be mooued to help them, not to bewaile or waile with them. I permit MERCY, but not pittying I call MERCY, *An inclination of the minde to succour the necessitie or miserie of another.* This is that vertue (*Lipsius*) which thou seest through a cloud, and in steed whereof PITTY intrudeth her selfe vnto thee.

Neither is it agreeable to a Christian if it be rightlie considered

What pitty is

Mercy must be shewed, what it is.

But thou wilt say, it is incident to mans nature to bee mooued with affection and pittie. Be it so: yet certainlie it is

The differēce betwene both.

The effectes of them both

not decent and right. Thinkeſt thou that anie vertue conſiſteth in ſoftneſſe and abiection of the minde? In ſorrowing? In ſighing? in ſobbing, together, wish ſuch as weep? It cannot be ſo. For I wil ſhew thee ſome greedy old wiues and couetous miſers, from whoſe eyes thou maiſt ſooner wring a thouſand teares, than one ſmall pennie out of their purſes. But he that is trulie mercifull in deed, wil not bemone or pittie the condition of diſtreſſed perſons, but yet wil do more to helpe and ſuccour them, than the other. He vvil beholde mens miſeries with the eye of compaſsion, yet ruled and guided by reaſon. He will ſpeake vnto them with a ſad countenance, but not mourning or proſtrate. He will comfort hartelie, and help liberally. He vvill performe more in vvorkes than in words: and will ſtretch out vnto the poore and needy his hand, rather than his tongue. All this will he doe with diſcretion and care, that he infect not himſelfe with other mens contagion: and that (as Fencers vſe to ſay) hee beare not others blowes vppon his owne ribbes. What is here ſauouring of inhumanitie or churliſhneſſe? Euen ſo all vvidſome ſeemeth auſtere and rigorous at the firſt view. But if you conſider thoroughlie of it, you ſhall finde the ſame to be meeke, gentle: yea more milde and amiable than *Venus* her ſelfe. Let this ſuffice touching the three ſore reheatſed affections: vvhome if I haue in part expelled from thee, it will greatly auaile me to get the victorie in the battell that ſhall enſue.

Manie of the Stoicks paradoxes, are no impoſsibilities.

CHAPT. XIII.

The former impedimentes or lettes being remooued, wee come in good earneſt to the extennating or taking away of publike euils: which is aſſayed by foure principall arguments. Firſte here is ſpoken of Prouidence, *which is prooued to be in, and ouer all humane affaires.*

I Come nowe from skirmishes to handie-gripes, and from light bickerings, to the maine battell. I vvill leade foorth all my souldiers in order vnder their Ensignes, diuiding them into fower troupes. First, I vvill prooue that these publike euilles are imposed vppon vs by God himselfe. Secondlie, that they be necessarie and by destinie. Thirdly, that they are profitable for vs. Finallie, that they be neither grieuous, nor straunge. These troupes if they discharge their partes each one in his place, can the whole armie of your SORROW make anie resistance, or once open the mouth against me? No trulie: I must haue the victorie. In token whereof sound the Trumpets, and strike vp the drummes.

The maine battel in the behalfe of *Constancie.*

The diuision and order of the fower principal reasons.

Whereas (*Lipsius*) all affections that doe disturbe mans life, proceede from a minde distempered and voyde of reason: yet none of them more (in my conceit) than that sorrowe vvhich is conceiued for the Common-vvealthes sake. For all others haue some finall cause and scope vvherato they tende. (as the Louer to enioy his desire: The angry man, to bee reuenged: The couetous churle to get, and so foorth) Onelie this hath no ende proposed vnto it. And to restraine my talke vnto some certaintie, thou (*Lipsius*) bevvayleſt the state of thy countrey decaying: Tell me to vvhat effect? Or vvhat hopest thou to obtaine thereby? To amend that vvhich is amisse? To preserue that vvhich is about to perish? Or by vveeping to take avvay the plague or punishment that hangeth ouer thy countrey? None of all these but onely that thou maist say with the common sort, I AM SORIE: In all other respects thy mourninning is in vaine and to no purpose. For that thing which is past, God himselfe vvould not haue to bee vndone againe.

Of all griefs, that is the fondest, which is take for publike calamities.

Because it is done to no end, and is without hope

It is also wicked because it contendeth against God.

Neither is this weeping of thine, vaine onely, but also wicked and vngodlie, if it be rightly considered. For you knowe well that there is an eternall Spirite, whome wee call GOD, which ruleth, guideth and gouerneth the rolling Spheares of heauen, the manifolde courses of the Stars and Planets, the successiu alterations of the Elements, finally, al things whatsoeuer in heauen and earth. Thinkest thou that CHAVNCE or FORTVNE beareth any sway in this excellent frame of the world? Or that the affaires of mortall men are caried headlong by chance-medley? I wot well thou thinkest not so, nor any man els that hath either wisdome or wit in his head. It is the voyce of nature it selfe, and which way so euer we turne our eyes or mindes, all things both mortall and immortall, heauenlie and earthly, sensible and insensible do with open mouth crie out and affirme, that there is somewhat far aboue vs that created and formed these so many wonderull workes, which also continuallie gouerneth & preserueth the same. This is GOD, to whose absolute perfection nothing is more agreeable than to bee both able and willing to take the care and charge of his owne workmanship. And why should not he be willing, seeing he is the best of all? Why should he not be able, seeing he is the mightiest of all? In so much ꝑ there is no strength aboue him, no nor any but that proceedeth from him, neither is he letted or troubled with the greatnes or variety of all these things. For this eternall light casteth foorth his bright beames euery where, and in a moment pearceth euen into the bosome and bottome of the heauens, earth and sea: It is not only president ouer all things, but present in them. And no maruel. What a great part of the world doth the Sun lighten at once? What a masse of matter can our minde comprehend at once? O fooles: Can not he that made this Sun & this mind perceiue and

Fortune banished out of all humane affaires.

Gods prouidence confirmed.

Whose greatnes, quicknes and power are infinite.

and conceiue far more things than they: Well and diuinely ſpake(*a*) one that had ſmal skil in Diuinitie: *As is the Pilot in a ſhip, the Car-man to his waine, the Chaunter in a quire, the law in a Common-wealth, and the Generall in an Armie: ſo is God in the world. Herein onelie is the difference, that their charge is to them labourſome, grieuous, and painfull: But God ruleth without all paine, and labour, or bodilie ſtriuing.* Wherefore (*Lipſius*) there is in God, *A watchfull and continuall care* (yet without cark) *whereby he beholdeth, ſearcheth, and knoweth all thinges: And knowing them, diſpoſeth and ordereth the ſame by an immutable courſe to vs vnknowne.* And this is it which here I cal PROVIDENCE, whereof ſome man through infirmitie may grudge or complaine: but not doubt, except he be benummed of his ſenſes, and beſotted againſt nature.

(a) *Ariſtotle in his [illegible] book of the world;* which [illegible] quote.

A deſcription of Gods prouidence.

CHAPT. XIIII.

That nothing is here done but by the becke of this Prouidence. *That by it deſolations come vpon men and citties: therefore we doe not the partes of good and godly men to murmure or mourne for them. Finally, an exhortation to obey God, againſt whome we ſtriue vnaduiſedly, and in vaine.*

IF you conceiue this rightlie, and doe beleeue hartilie that this gouerning facultie inſinuateth it ſelfe, and (as the Poet ſpeaketh) *paſſeth through euery path of ſea and eke of ſhore*, I ſee not what further place can bee left for your griefe and grudging. For euen the ſelf ſame fore-ſeeing intelligence which turneth about the heauen dayly, which cauſeth the ſunne to riſe and ſet; which bringeth foorth and ſhutteth vp the fruites of the earth, produceth all theſe calamities and changes which thou ſo much maruelleſt and mutterest at. Think you that God giueth vs onely pleaſing and profitable things? No: he ſendeth likewiſe noiſome and

An argument to the preſent matter, from Gods prouidence.

For from it, deſtructions and calamities are ſent.

hurtfull: Neither is any thing contriued, tossed or turned (sinne onely excepted) in this huge Theater of the worlde, the cause and fountaine whereof proceedeth not from that

Pindarus. firste cause of causes: for as *Pindarus* saith well, *The dispensers and doers of all thinges are in heauen.* And there is let downe from thence a golden chaine (as *Homer* expresseth

Homer. by a figment) wherto all these inferior things are fast linked. That the earth hath opened her mouth and swallowed vp some townes, came of Gods prouidence. That otherwhere the plague hath consumed many thousandes of people, proceedeth of the same cause. That slaughters, war and tyranny rage in the *Low countries*, therhence also commeth it to passe. From heauen (*Lipsius*) from heauen are all these

Euripides. miseries sent. Therefore *Euripides* sayd wel and wisely, *that all calamities came from God.* The ebbing and flowing of all humaine affaires dependeth vpon that Moone. The rising and fall of kingdomes, commeth from this Sunne. Thou therefore in loosing the raynes thus to thy sorrowe, and grudging that thy countrey is so turned and ouer-turned, considerest not what thou art, and against whome thou

Man is vnworthy to lift vp himself against it. complainest. What art thou? A man, a shadowe, dust: Against whom doest thou fret? I feare to speak it, euen against GOD.

The Auncientes haue fayned that Gyantes aduanced themselues against God, to pull him out of his throne. Let vs omitte these fables: In very trueth you querulous and murmuring men be these Gyantes. For if it bee so that God doe not only suffer, but send all these things: then ye which thus striue and struggle, what doe you els but (as much as in you lyeth) take the scepter and sway of gouernment from

For all other creatures besides, are obedient. him? O blind mortality: The Sun, the Moon, Stars, Elemẽts, and all creatures els in the world, doe willingly obey that supreame lawe: Onely M A N, the most excellent of all

Gods

Gods workes lifteth vp his heele, and ſpurneth againſt his maker. If thou hoiſe thy ſayles to the windes, thou muſt follow whether they will force thee, not whithet thy will leadeth thee. And in this greate Ocean ſea of our life wilt thou refuſe to follow that breathing ſpirite which gouerneth the whole worlde? Yet thou ſtriueſt in vaine. For if thou follow not freelie, thou ſhalt be drawne after forcibly. We may laugh at him who hauing tyed his boat to a rock: afterwards halleth the rope as though the rocke ſhoulde come to him, when himſelfe goeth neerer to it: But our fooliſhneſſe is farre greater, who being faſt bounde to the rocke of Gods eternall prouidence, by our hallsing and pulling would haue the ſame to obey vs, and not we it. Let vs forſake this fondnes, and if we be wiſe let vs follow that power which from aboue draweth vs, and let vs think it good reaſon that man ſhould be pleaſed with that which pleaſeth God. The ſouldier in campe, hauing a ſigne of martching forwardes giuen him, taketh vp all his trinkets: But hearing the note of battell layeth them downe, preparing and making himſelfe readie with heart, eyes and eares, to execute whatſoeuer ſhall be commanded. So let vs in this our vvar-fare followe chearfully and with courage whitherſouer our generall calleth vs. *Wee are hereunto adiured by oath* (ſaith Seneca) *euen to endure mortalitie, nor to be troubled with thoſe things which it is not in our power to auoide. Wee are borne in a kingdome, and to obey God is libertie.*

Likewiſe it is folly to ſtriue for all is in vaine.

Becauſe the heauenly mind draweth and directeth all thinges, wil they, nil they therefore we muſt willingly obey.

A golden ſentence of Seneca.

CHAPT. XV.

A paſſage to the ſecond argument for Conſtancie, which is taken from neceſsitie. The force and violence thereof, This neceſſitie is conſidered two waies, And firſt in the thinges themſelues.

THis is a ſure brazen Target againſt all outward accidents. This is that golden armour wherewith being fenced, *Plato* willed vs to fight againſt Chance and Fortune, to be ſubiect to God, to think on God, and in all euents to caſt our mind vpon that great MIND of the world, I meane PROVIDENCE; whoſe (a) *holie and happie* troupes hauing orderly trained foorth. I will now bring out another band vnder the banner of NECESSITY. A band valiant, ſtrong, and hard as Iron, which I may fitly terme, *The thundering Legion.* The power of this is ſterne and inuincible, which tameth and ſubdueth all things: Wherefore (*Lipſius*) I maruell if thou withſtand it. *Thales* being asked what was ſtrongeſt of al things, anſwered, NECESSITY: for it ouercommeth al things. And to that purpoſe there is an old ſaying (though not ſo warily ſpoken) (b) *That the Goddes cannot conſtrain Neceſſitie.* This neceſsitie I ioyne next vnto Prouidence, becauſe it is neere kinne to it, or rather borne of it. For from God and his decrees Neceſsitie ſpringeth: And it is nothing els (as the Greek Philoſopher defineth it,) but (c) *A firme ordinance and immutable power of prouidence.* That it hath a ſtroke in all publike euilles that befall, I will prooue two wayes: from the nature of things themſelues, and from deſtinie. And firſt from the things, in that it is a naturall propertie to all things created, to fall into mutabilitie and alteration: As vnto Iron cleaueth naturally a conſuming ruſt: to wood a gnawing worme, and ſo a waſting rottennes. Euen ſo to liuing creatures, cities and kingdomes, there bee certaine inward cauſes of their own decay. Looke vpon all things high and lowe, great and ſmall, made with hand, or compoſed by the minde, they alwayes haue decayed, and euer ſhal. And as the riuers with a contiual ſwift courſe runne into the ſea: So all humaine thinges thorough this con-

(a) *He alludeth to the ancient legion that was cognominated* Pia Fœlix.

Another argument take from neceſsitie, whoſe force is generallie ſhewed

(b) *In this place it fitteth beſt to tranſlate the word pluralie as in the latin: which in other places I do purpoſely auoid.*

(c) *Plato 5 & 7. lib. de legib.*

What neceſſitie is.

It is twofold, as concerning our preſent purpoſe Firſt natural to the things themſelues.

In that al things are created to alteration and decay.

conduit of wastings and calamities slyde to the marke of their desolation. Death & destructiō is this mark: And the means to come thither are plague, war and slaughters. So that if death be necessarie, then the means in that respect are as necessarie. Which to the end thou maist the better perceiue by examples, I will not refuse in conceit and imagination to wander a whiles with thee through the great vniuersitie of the world.

CHAPT. XVI.

Examples of necessarie alteration, or death in the whole worlde. That heauen and the elements are changed, and shall perish: the like is to be seene in townes, prouinces and kingdomes, Finallie, that al things here do turne about the wheele: And that nothing is stable or constant.

IT is an eternall decree, pronounced of the worlde from the beginning, and of all things therein, to be borne & to die; to begin and end. That supreame Iudge of all things, would haue nothing firme and stable but himself alone, as saith the tragicke Poet.

Which is declared by examples of thinges aboue and beneath.

From age and death God *onlie standeth free,*
But all things els by time consumed be.

Sophocles.

All these things which thou beholdest and admirest, either shall perish in their due time, or at least bee altered and changed: Seest thou the Sun? He fainteth. The Moone? She laboureth and languisheth. The Sarres? They faile and fall. And howsoeuer the wit of man cloaketh and excuseth these matters, yet there haue happened and daily do in that celestiall bodie such thirgs as confound both the rules and wittes of the Mathematicians. I omit Cometes strange in forme, scituation and motion, which al the vniuersities shal neuer perswade me to be in the aire, or of the aire. But be-

Beginning with the examples of the firmamēt and the aire.

holde our Astrologers were sore troubled of late with strange motions, and new starres. (a) This very yeare there arose a star whose encreasing and decreasing was plainly marked, and we saw (a matter hardly to be credited) euen in the heauen it self, a thing to haue beginning and end againe. And Varro (in *Augustine*) cryeth out and affirmeth, that *the Euening starre called of Plautus* Vesperûgo, *and of Homer Hesperus, had changed his collour, his bignesse, his fashion, & his course* Next vnto the heauen, behold the Aire, it is altered daylie and passeth into windes, cloudes, and showers. Goe to the waters. Those flouds and fountaines which we affirme to be perpetuall, doe sometimes faile altogether, and otherwhiles change their channel and ordinarie course. The huge Ocean (a great and secrete part of nature) is euer tossed and tumbled with tẽpests: and if they be wanting, yet hath it his flowing and ebbing of waters, & that we may perceiue it to be subiect to decay, it swelleth & swageth daily in his parts.

(a) *Anno Dom. 1572. all the best Mathematicians agreed that it vvas aboue the elementarie regions.*

From the waters and sea.

Behold also the earth which is taken to be immooueable, and to (b) stand steddy of her owne force: it fainteth and is stricken with an inward secrete blast that maketh it to tremble: Some where it is corrupted by the water, other where by fire. For these same things doe striue among themselues: Neither grudge thou to see warre among men, there is likewise betweene the Elements. What great lands haue bene wasted, yea wholly swallowed vp by suddaine deluges, and violent ouerflowings of the sea? In olde time the sea ouerwhelmed whollie a great Iland called *Atlantis* (I thinke not the storie fabulous) and after that the mightie cities (c) *Helice* and *Bura*. But to leaue auncient examples, in our owne fathers age, here in *Belgica* (d) two Ilandes with the townes and men in them. And euen nowe in our time this Lorde of the sea *Neptune* openeth to himselfe newe gappes, and swippeth vp daylie the weake bankes of *Frizeland* and other

From the earth.

(b) *Therefore vvas the earth called in Latine* Vesta, id est, vi sua stans.

To this ende and purpose is there such strife and discord between the elements.

(c) *The first in Achaia: the other by the gulf of Corinth.*

(d) *In the partes of Zeland.*

ther countries. Yet doeth not the earth sit still like a slothfull huswife, but sometimes reuengeth her selfe, and maketh new Ilandes in the middes of the sea, though *Neptune* maruell and bee mooued thereat. And if these great bodies which to vs seeme euerlasting, bee subiect to mutabilitie and alteration, why much more shoulde not townes, common-wealthes, and kingdoms; which must needes be mortall, as they that doe compose them? As ech particular man hath his youth, his strength, olde age, and death. So fareth it with those other bodies. They begin, they increase, they stand and flourish, and all to this ende, that they may decay. One earthquake vnder the raigne of *Tiberius* ouerthrew twelue famous townes of *Asia*. And as many in *Campania* in *Constantines* time. One warre of *Attila* a Scythian prince destroyed aboue an hundred citties. The ancient *Thebes* of *Egypt* is scarce held in remembrance at this day: And a hundred townes of *Crete* not beleeued euer to haue bene. To come to more certaintie, our Elders sawe the ruines of *Carthage*, *Numantia*, *Corinth*, and wondered thereat. And our selues haue beheld the vnworthy relickes of *Athens*, *Sparta*, and many renowned cities, yea euen that (*a*) Lady of all things and countries (falsly tearmed euerlasting) where is she? Ouerwhelmed, pulled downe, burned, ouer-flowed: Shee is perished with more than one kinde of destruction, and at this day shee is ambitiouslie soughte for, but not founde in her (*b*) proper soyle. Seest thou that noble (*c*) *Byzantium* being proude with the seate of two Empires? *Venice* lifted vp with the stablenesse of a thousande yeares continuance? Their day shall come at length. And thou also our *Antwerpe*, the beautie of citties, in time shalt come to nothing. For this greate Master-builder pulleth downe, setteth vp, and (if I may so lawfully speake) maketh a sporte of humaine affaires:

If the elements perish, how much more thinges compounded of them.

The decay & subuersion of great citties.

a) Rome is meant.

b) For it is now in Campo Martio, and not amid the 7. hilles where it was first founded.

c) Now called Constantinople, having bene the seat of two Empires, the Romane and Turkish.

affaires: And like an Image-maker, formeth and frameth to himselfe sundrie sortes of portratures in his clay.

I haue spoken yet of townes and cities: Countries likewise and kingdomes runne the verie same race. Once the East flourished: *Assyria*, *Egypt* and *Iewrie* excelled in warre and peace. That glorie was transferred into *Europe*, which now (like a diseased bodie) seemeth vnto me to be shaken, and to haue a feeling of her great confusion nigh at hande. Yea, and that which is more (and neuer ynough) to bee maruelled at, this world hauing now bene inhabited these fiue thousand and fiue hundred yeares, is at length come to his dotage: And that we may now approoue againe the fables of *Anaxarchus* in old time hissed at, behold how there ariseth els wher new people, & a (*a*) new world: O the law of NECESSITY, woonderfull, and not to be comprehended: All things run into this fatall whirle poole of ebbing and flowing: And some things in this world are long lasting, but not euerlasting.

Lift vp thine eyes and looke about with mee (for it grieueth me not to stand long vpon this poynt) and beholde the alterations of all humaine affaires: and the swelling and swaging of them as of the sea. Arise thou: fal thou: rule thou: obey thou: hide thou thy head: lift thou vp thine and let this wheel of changeable things run round, so long as this round world remayneth. Haue you Germanes in time past bene fierce? ? Be ye now milder than most people of *Europe*. Haue you Brittaines bene vnciuill heretofore? Now exceed you the Egyptians and people of (*b*) *Sybaris* in delights & riches. Hath *Greece* one flourished? Now let her be afflicted. Hath *Italy* swayed the scepter? Now let her be in subiection. You Gothes, you Vandales, you vilest of the Barbarians, peep you out of your lurking holes, and come rule the nations in your turne: Drawe neere yee rude Scythians,

Of Assyria Historians write. Of Iewrie, the holie scriptures And of the magnificent power of the Egyptians, besides others: Tacitus, who maketh it equal with the Parthians and Romans 11. Annal.

(*a*) *The vvest Indies and all those newe found countries commonly called the* new world

The conclusion by heaping together examples of alterations & mutability

(*b*) *vvho vvere the daintiest in the vvorld.*

(a) Scythians, and with a mightie hand hold you a whiles the raynes of *Asia* and *Europe*: yet you againe soone after giue place, and yeeld vp the scepter to another nation bordering on the Ocean. Am I deceiued? or els do I see the sunne of another new Empire arising in the West?

(a) I respect the Turkes, vvho came of them.

CHAPT. XVII.

We come to that necessitie which is of destinie. First Destinie *it selfe auouched. That there hath bene a generall consent therin of the common people, and wise men: But different in part. Howe manie waies Destinie hath bene taken among the Auncientes.*

THus spake *Langius*, and with his talke caused the teares to trickle downe my cheekes: so clearelie seemed hee to beholde the vanitie of humaine affaires.

With that lifting vp my voyce, Alasse (quoth I) what are we, or all these matters for which we thus toyle? *What is it to be some bodie? vvhat is it to be no bodie? Man is a shadowe and a dreame.* As saith the Poet. Then spake *Langius* to mee, But thou young man doe not onely contemplate on these things; but contemne them. Imprint CONSTANCIE in thy mind amid this casuall and inconstant variablenesse of all things. I call it inconstant in respect of our vnderstanding and iudgment: for that if thou looke vnto God and his prouidence, all things succeed in a steddy and immoueable order. Now I cast aside my sworde and come to my engines: neither will I any longer assault thy SORROW with handie weapons, but with great ordinance: running against it with the strong and terrible (*b*) Ramme, which no power of man is able to put backe, nor pollicie to preuent. This place is somewhat slipperie, yet I will enter into it, but warily, slowly, and (as the Grecians speake) with

A passage to the other kind of necessitie, in respect of destinie.

(b) It is here taken for an engine of vvar. Whereof the disputation is doubtful, for

crabbed curiosity of mens wits.

a quiet foote.

And first that there is a kinde of FATAL DESTINIE in thinges, I thinke neither thy selfe (*Lipsius*) nor any people or age hath euer doubted of. Here I interrupting him saide, I pray you pardon mee if I hinder you a little in this course. What? Doe you oppose Destinie vnto me? Alas, this is but a weake engine pushed on by the feeble Stoickes. I tell you plainlie I care not a rush for the DESTINIES, nor for the (*a*) Ladies of them. And I say with the souldier in *Plautus*. I will scatter this troupe of old wiues with one blast of breath, euen as the winde doth the leaues. *Langius* looking sternely on me, wilt thou so rashlie and vnaduisedly (said hee) delude or denie vtterlie DESTINIE? Thou art not able, except thou can at once take away the diuine Godhead and the power thereof, For, if there bee a GOD, there is also PROVIDENCE: if it, a decree and order of thinges, and of that followeth a firme and sure necessitie of euentes. Howe auoyde you this blowe? Or with what axe will you cut off this chaine? For GOD and that eternall spirite may not otherwise be considered of vs, then that wee attibute vnto it an eternall knowledge and fore sight. We must acknowledge him to be stayed, resolute and immutable, alwaies one, and like himselfe, not wauering or varying in those thinges which once he willed and foresawe. For, *The eternall God neuer chaungeth his minde*, saith *Homer*. Which if thou confesse to bee true (as needes thou must, if there be in thee any reason or sense) this also must be allowed that all Gods decrees are firme and immooueable euen from euerlasting vnto all eternitie: of this groweth necessitie, and that same DESTINIE which thou deridest. The trueth whereof is so cleare and commonly receaued, that there was neuer any opinion more currant among all nations: And who-

(*a*) They are called Parcæ, and Poets haue fained three of them.

First a certain fatal necessity is prooued. By an indissoluble knitting together of causes.

whosoeuer had anie light of God himselfe and his prouidence, had the like of Destinie. The most auncient and wisest Poet *Homer* (beleeue me) traced his diuine muse in none other path than this of Destinie. Neither did the other Poets his progenie strayе from the steppes of their father. See *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Pindarus*, and among the Latines *Virgill*. Shall I speake of Historiographers? This is the voice of them all: That such and such a thing came to passe by Destiny, and that by destinie kingdomes are either established, or subuerted. Would you heare the Philosophers, whose chiefe care was to finde out and defend the trueth against the common people? As they iarred in manie things thorough an ambitious desire of disputing: so it is a wonder to see how they agreed vniuersallie vpon the entrance into this way which leadeth to Destinie. I say in the entrãce of that way, because I deny not, but that they followed some by-path-waies, which may be reduced into these four kindes of DESTINIE, namely, MATHEMATICAL, NATVRAL, VIOLENT and TRVE. All which I will expound brieflye, onelie touching them a little, because that herehence commonly groweth confusion and errour.

Some knowledge of destiny imprinted naturally in al men.

Homer a right wise poet accounted of all the wise.

He is a ringleader to destiny.

Whom other writers followed.

Almost al the philosophers agree vpon destinie.

But yet there be 4 seuerall opinions touching the nature thereof.

CHAPT. XVIII.

The three first kindes of destinie brieflie expounded. The definition or description of them all. The Stoickes sleightly and brieflie excused.

I Call MATHEMATICAL *destinie, that vvhich tyeth and knitteth firmelie all actions and euentes to the power of the Planettes, and dispositions of the Starres*: Of vvhich the Chaldeans & Astrologians were the first authors. And among the Philosophers that lofty *Mercurius* is principall

What Mathematical destinie is.

and Abbettor, who ſubtlelie and wiſelie diſtinguiſhing PROVIDENCE, NECESSITIE, and DESTINIE, ſaith: *Prouidence is an abſolute and perfect knowledge of the celeſtiall God: which hath two faculties neerelie allied vnto it,* Neceſsitie *and* Deſtinie. *Deſtinie truelie ſerueth and aſsiſteth prouidence, and alſo Neceſsitie: But vnto Deſtinie it ſelfe the ſtarres doe miniſter. For neither may anie man auoide the force of* Fate, *neither beware of the power and influence of the ſtarres. For theſe be the weapons and armour of Deſtinie, at whoſe pleaſure they doe and performe all things to nature and men.* In this fooliſh opinion are not onely the common crue of Aſtrologers, but (I ſhame to ſpeake it) ſome Diuines.

Plato likewiſe in Timæo, inclineth hereto.

I call *Naturall fate the order of naturall cauſes, which* (not being hindered) *by their force and nature doe produce a certaine and the ſelfe ſame effect.* *Ariſtotle* is of this ſect, if wee giue credite to *Alexander Aphrodiſeus* his interpreter. Likewiſe *Theophraſtus*, who writeth plainlie, *That deſtinie is the nature of each thing.* By their opinion it is Deſtinie that a man begetteth a man; and ſo that he dyeth of inward naturall cauſes & not by violence or force, it is deſtinie. Contrarilie, that a man ſhould ingender a ſerpent or a monſter, it is (a) *beſides* Deſtinie: Alſo to be killed with a ſword, or by fire. This opinion is not verie offenſiue, for that indeed it aſcendeth not ſo high as the force of Fate or Deſtinie. And doeth not euery one eſcape falling that keepeth himſelfe from climing aloft? Such a one is (b) *Ariſtotle* almoſt euerie where writing ought of celeſtial matters, except it be in his booke of the world, which is a golden treatiſe, ſauoring of a more celeſtiall ayre. I reade moreouer in a Greeke writer that *Ariſtotle* thought Fate *was no cauſe, but that chance was in ſome ſort an alteration or change of the cauſe of ſuch things as were diſpoſed by neceſsitie.* O the heart of a Philoſopher: that durſt account Fortune and Chaunce among the number of cauſes,

What phyſical or natural deſtinie is.

(a) *So do Virgil and Cicero write, that a thing may die by deſtinie, or beſides deſtinie.*

(b) *For he doth not fully and plainly allowe prouidence, but only hath a glance at it in his Ethicks.*

ses, but not Destiny. But let him passe: I come to the Stoickes my friendes (for I professe to hold that sect in estimation and account) who were the authours of VIOLENT FATE, which with *Seneca* I define to be, *A necessitie of all thinges and actions, which no force can withstand or breake.*] And with *Crisippus*, *A spirituall power, gouerning orderly the whole world*] These definitions swarue not farre from the trueth, if they be soundly and modestlie expounded. Neither (happilie) their opinion generally, if the common people had not condemned the same alreadie by a preiudicate conceite. They are charged with two impieties, that they make God subiect to the wheele of Destiny, and also the actions of our will. I cannot boldlie acquit them of both these faults: for out of some of their writings (fewe being at this day extant) wee may gather those sayinges, and out of some other wee collect more wholsome sentences.

The Stoickes wisest of all the ancient Sages.

What Stoical fate is.

Wherein the Stoicks do erre.

Seneca a principall pillar of that sect stumbleth at the first blocke in his book of prouidence, where he saith, *The verie same necessitie bindeth God: an irreuocable course carrieth away both humaine and diuine thinges. The maker and ruler of all thinges decreed destinies, but now followeth them: He commaunded once, but he obeyeth for euer.* And that same indissoluble chaine and linking together of causes which bindeth all thinges and persons, seemeth plainlie to inferre force or constraint. But the true Stoickes neuer professed such doctrine, and if by chance any like sentence passed from them in the vehemencie of their writing or disputing, it was more in words than in substance and sense. *Chrysippus* (who first corrupted that graue sect of Philosophers with crabbed subtilties of questions) cleareth it from depriuing man of free libertie. (*a*) And our *Seneca* doth not make God subiect to fate (he was wiser than so) but God to God, afterwards

they seem to make God subiect to destinie:

And to depriue man of his libertie.

But in truth they be not wholly of that opinion.

(*a*) *In Agellius.*

certaine kinde of ſpeach. For thoſe Stoickes that came neereſt the trueth do call Deſtinie ſometimes Prouidence, and ſometimes God. Therefore *Zeno* when he had called *Deſtinie a Power moouing about the ſame matter, after one and the ſame manner*, he addeth, *which it booteth not whether you call it Prouidence or nature.* Likewiſe Chryſippus other where calleth *Deſtinie the eternall purpoſe or decree of pouidence.* Panætius the Stoick ſaid, *That God himſelfe was Fate,* (a) Seneca being of the ſame minde ſaith, *When you liſt you may call the authour of nature and all thinges, by this or that name: You may iuſtly tearme him the beſt and great Iupiter and thundering, and* Stator, *that is, Stable or ſtanding, not ſo called (as Hiſtorians deliuer) becauſe that after a vowe vndertaken, he ſtayed the Roman Armie flying away: But becauſe all thinges ſtand by his free benefite, therefore was he named* (b) ſtander *or* ſtabliſher. *If you call him alſo* Fate *or deſtinie, you ſhall not belie him. For ſith that deſtinie is nothing but a folded order of cauſes, hee is the principall & firſt cauſe of al, wheron the reſidue do depend.* Whichlaſt words are ſo godlie ſpoken, that ſlaunder it ſelfe cannot ſlaunder them. In this point diſſented not from the Stoickes that greate Writer to a greate King: *I thinke that Neceſſitie ought not to be called any thing els but God, as a ſtedfaſt and ſtable nature. And deſtinie that which knitteth together all thinges and holdeth his courſe freely, without let or impediment.* Which ſayinges, if they haue any taſt of temeritie in them, yet not of impietie: and beeing rightlie interpreted differ not much from our true fate or deſtinie. I doe in good earneſt giue this commendation to the Stoickes, that no other ſect of Philoſophers auowed more the maieſty and prouidence of God, nor drewe men neerer to heauenlie and eternall thinges. And if in treading this trace of Deſtinie they went ſomewhat aſtray, it was thorough a laudable and good deſire they haue to withdrawe blind men from that

For they vſe the name of deſtiny other wiſe, meaning thereby ſometimes prouidence, and ſometimes God.

(a) li. 4 de ben. ca. 7. vvhere thu is read ſomevvhat othervviſe and corruptible.

(b) Stator & ſtabilitor

Ariſtotle to Alexander in his book *de mundo.*

the ſect of the Stoickes noble and renowned.

that blind Goddesse, I meane FORTVNE: (a) The nature whereof they did not onelie mightilie hisse out of their companie, but euen the verie name.

(a) As also did Augustine lib. 2 retract. ca. 5.

CHAPT. XIX.

The fourth and true kind of Destinie expounded. The name brieflie spoken of, it is lightly defined, and prooued to differ from Prouidence.

THis much may suffice touching the opinions and dissentions of the Auncients. For why shoulde I ouer curiouslie search the secretes of hell? (as the prouerbe is) I shall haue ynough to doe with true Destinie, which now I propound and illustrate, calling it, AN ETERNAL DECREE OF GODS PROVIDENCE, which cannot bee taken away no more than prouidence it selfe. And let not any man cauill with mee about the name, because I say there is not in Latine an other proper word to expresse that thing, but FATVM. What? haue old writers abused it? Let vs vse it: and so inlarging this word out of the prison of the Stoickes, let vs bring it to a better light. It is called in Latine FATVM *a fando* of speaking, neither is it any thing els properlie, but *The saying and commaundement of God*: And this is it which novve I seeke for: I define it eyther vvith that famous PICVS, *A ranke and order of causes depending vpon Gods counsell*, or vvith mine owne vvordes more obscurely and subtillie, *An immooueble decree of Prouidence inherent in things mooueable, whioh firmlie effecteth euerie thing in his order, place, and time*. I call it *A decree of Prouidence*, because I agree not vvhollie vvith the Diuines of our dayes (let them giue me leaue in the free studie of the trueth) who in name and nature con-

(a) Which I English Fate or destinie.

wher we may vse the name of Fate or Destinie, and how far forth

Two definions of true fate, the first plaine, the other obscurer but more to the nature of the thing.

It seemeth not to be all one with prouidence.

The diuersitie of them both.

Prouidence is considered vniuersally. Destiny particularly. That is in God. This in the things themselues.

(a) *Milium terebrare, a proverbe.*

confound it with prouidence. I know it to be a hard matter, and full of temeritie to conceiue or restraine vnto certaine wordes that *Super-naturall and super-celestiall essence* (I meane God) or ought that belongeth to him: yet vnto mans capacitie, I defend and maintaine that prouidence is one thing properlie, and the same which wee call fate or destinie, another: For I consider prouidence no otherwise then that it be, A *Power and facultie in God of seeing, knowing & gouerning all things.*] A POWER, I say, vniuersal, vndiuided, guarded, and as *Lucretius* speaketh, vnited together. But Destinie seemeth to descend into the things themselues and to be seene in the particulars of them, being as it were a disposing and bestowing abroad of that vniuersall prouidence, by particulars. Therefore Prouidence is in God, and attributed to him alone: Destinie in the things, and to them is ascribed. You thinke I trifle, and (as it is saide) (a) bore holes in Millet seede: No (*Lipsius*) I take this out of the talk of the common people, among whome nothing is more vsuall than to say, This was my good or euill destinie: and likewise, this was the fatall decree of this kingdome, or that town. But no man so speaketh of prouidence, no man applyeth it to the thinges themselues, without impietie and dirision. Therefore I said well, that the one of them was in God, thother trulie from God, and perceiued in the selfe thinges.

Prouidence better than Destinie.

I say moreouer, that though Prouidence be not really diuided from Destiny, yet it is more excellent and more ancient: Euen as we are taught in the schooles of the wise to say that the Sunne is more worthy than the light: Eternity than time: Vnderstanding, then reason. But to drawe into a short summe these curious not common matters. Thou seest I haue iust cause both to vse this distinction, and also to retaine the name of Destinie against the new Consistory of

of Diuines. For why? Those auncient famosed (a) Fathers prohibite mee not but that I may vse in his right and true sense the word DESTINY. But now that I may return to make plaine my former definition, I sayd it was, *An inherent decree*,] to shew that Destinie should be marked in the thinges to the which it commeth, and not from whence it proceedeth. I added, *In moouea̅ble thinges*, signifying that although Destinie it selfe bee immooueable, yet it taketh not away motion, nor any naturall facultie from thinges, but worketh easilie and without force, euen as the markes and signes imprinted by God in each thing, do require. In causes (secundarie I meane) that be necessarie, it worketh necessarilie: In natural causes, naturallie: In voluntarie causes, voluntarilie: In contingent, contingentlie. Wherefore in respect of the things it doth neither force, nor constrain: But as euerie thing is made to doe, or suffer, so it directeth and turneth all thinges. But if you recall it to his first originall, I meane God and his prouidence, I affirme constantly and boldly that all thinges are done necessarily, which are done by destiny.

(a) *August. lib. 5. de ciuit. dei ca. 1. & 9. Item Isiodorus. Orig. 8. ca. vl. Quin. & Tho. Aquinus vvho vvrot a booke of destinie.*

The definition of Destiny explaned and made manifest,

Destiny doth not force things

Lastlie, I ioyned of the *Order*, *place* and *time*, establishing that which I saide before, that prouidence was of things in vniuersality, Destiny by distribution in particularities. By ORDER, I vnderstande the course and vniting together of causes which destiny limitteth. By PLACE and TIME, I meane that woonderful and incomprehenble power whereby all euentes or actions are tyed to their certaine places and moments of time. It was destinitie that *Tarquinius* should be banished his kingdome. Be it so: but first let the adulterie bee committed. You see the order of the causes. It was destiny that *Cæsar* should bee killed. So: But in the Senate by the image of *Pompei*. You see the place. That *Domitian* should bee murthered of his owne people.

the last parte of the definition explaned.

Let him be murthered; but yet at the very houre, euen the fift, which in vaine he sought to preuent. Thus you see the time.

CHAPT. XX.

It is distinguished by foure Notes from Stoicall Destinie. Here is shewed more exactlie how it doth not enforce our wil: And also, that God is neither coadiutor, nor authour of euil.

HOw sayest thou (yong man) perceauest thou this? Or must I light a clearer torch to thee? I striking my head, Yea, (*Langius*) I must haue more light, or I shall neuer come out of this darknesse. What slender kind of distinctions be these? What captious ginnes of questions are here? I feare treason (beleeue me) and suspect those mysticall and doubtfull words of yours as my very enemies. *Langius* laughing a little, be of good courage (quoth he) here is no *Hanniball*. Thou art come into a sure castle, not fallen into any ambushment: I will giue thee light ynough. Tell mee where and in what point thou art so ignorant yet? In that *Langius* which concerneth force and necessitie. For trulie I cannot conceiue how this destiny that you describe, differeth from that of the Stoickes, which when you had in wordes shut out at the broad gate (as I may say) in effect you let in afterwards at a posterne or backdore. No (*Lipsius*) God forbid: for my part I doe not so much as dreame of any such Stoicall Destinie, nor studie to reuiue againe those (*a*) olde wiues long agone dead and buried. I propose vnto thee such a destinie as may stande with modestie and godlines, distinguished from that violent Fate by foure markes. They make God himselfe subiect to Destinie, And *Iupiter* (in *Homer*) though hee were most willing, coulde not enlarge *Sarpedon* from his bandes.

True destiny seemeth to be mixed with Stoicall.

(*a*) *The Ladies of destiny, called generally* Parcę.

But they differ in 4. pointes.

But

But wee doe ſubiect Deſtinie vnto God, making him a moſt free authour and actor of thinges, able at his will, and pleaſure far to ſurmount and cut in ſunder thoſe linked troupes and bandes of Deſtinie. They appoynt a ſucceſsiue order of naturall cauſes from all eternitie: Wee doe not make the cauſes alwayes naturall (for God is often the cauſe of woonders and miracles, beſides or contrarie to nature) nor eternall. For theſe ſecond cauſes had their beginning with the world. Thirdlie, they take away all contingencie from thinges; wee admit it, affirming that as often as the ſecondarie cauſes are ſuch, chaunce or hap may bee admitted in the euentes and actions. Laſtlie, they ſeemed to intrude a violent force vpon our vvill. This bee farre from vs, who doe both allowe fate or deſtiny, and alſo ioyne handes with libertie or (a) freedome of will. Wee doe ſo ſhunne the deceitfull blaſtes of Fortune, and chaunce, that wee daſh not our ſhippe againſt the rockes of neceſsitie. Is there FATE? Yea. But it is the firſte and principall cauſe, which is ſo farre from taking avvay the middle and ſecondary cauſes, that (ordinarilie and for the moſt part) it worketh not but by them: and thy will is among the number of thoſe ſecondarie cauſes, thinke not that God (b) forceth it, or wholly taketh it away: herein is all the errour and ignorance in this matter, no man conſidereth how he ought to will that which Deſtinie willeth: And I ſay freely to will it. For God that created all things vſeth the ſame without any corruption of them. As the higheſt ſpheare with his motion ſwayeth about the reſt, yet ſo as it neyther barreth nor breaketh them of their proper motions: So God by the power of deſtiny draweth al things, but taketh not away the peculiar facultie or motion of any thing. He would that trees & corn ſhould grow.

1. We accoũt God to be aboue Fate.

2 We make not the order of ſecond cauſes eternal.

3. We take not away contingẽt things

4. We graunt to man a certain libertie or freedome.

(a) Whatſoeuer I ſpeak here, let the vviſe be iudges of it, I vvill amend any thing vpon admonition. And albeit happily I may be conuinced of folly, yet vvil I not of frovvardnes.

(b) Auguſtine ſaith sharply and ſubtilly: The vvill cannot be conſtrained to vvil that vvhich it vvold not. For vve should not vvil it, if vve vvere not vvillingofit

So do they, without any force of their owne nature. Hee would that men should vse deliberation and choyse. So do they, without force, of their free-will. And yet, whatsoeuer they were in mind to make choyse of, God forsaw from all eternitie: He fore-sawe it (I say) not forced it: hee knewe it, but constrayned not: he fore-tolde it, but not prescribed it. Why do our curious *Curioes* stagger or stumble hereat? O simple creatures! I see nothing more cleare than this, except it be so that some busie wanton mind listeth to rub and exasperate it selfe, being infected with a contagious itching of disputation and contention.

Præcognouit omnia sed non præfiniuit. Damascenus.

How can it bee (say they) if God foresawe that I shoulde sinne, and his fore-sight cannot be deceiued, but that I doe sinne necessarilie? Foole! Who denieth it? Thou sinnest necessarilie, and yet of thine owne free-will. Forsooth thus much did God foresee, that thou shouldest sinne in such sort as he foresawe, but he saw that thou shouldest sinne freelie, therefore thou sinnest freely and necessarilie. Is this plaine ynough? They vrge further, and say, Is not God in vs the authour of euery motion? He is the authour generally, I confesse, yet the fauorer of good onely. Art thou inclined to vertue? Hee knoweth it, and helpeth thee. Vnto vice? Hee knoweth that also, and (*a*) suffereth thee. Neyther is there any fault in him. I ride a weake and lame horse, the ryding is of mee, but the weakneſse and lamenes of himselfe. I play vpon a harp ill sounding and out of tune: In that it is out of tune is the fault of the Instrument, not of me. The earth with one vniuersall and the same iuyce nourisheth all trees and fruites whereof some growe to be profitable, and some poysonable. What then? shall we say that this proceedeth of the earth, and not rather frõ the nature of the trees that do conuert so good nutriment into poyson? So in this case it commeth of God that thou art moued: But it is of and in thy selfe that thou art

We sin necessarily, yet of our own free-will.

(*a*) *In some sense willeth it, for that nothing is done against his will.* Plutarch wittily denieth that sins are wrought by destiny, & yet be contained vnder destiny. As al things are not done by law, that be comprehended in the law

art mooued to euill. Finallie, to conclude of this libertie: Destinie is as the first man that leadeth the round in this daunce of the world: but so as we daunce our partes to, in willing, or nilling; and no further, not in doing, for there is left to man onely a free-wil to striue and struggle against God, and not power to perfourme the same. As it is lawfull for me to walke vp and downe in a shippe and to runne about the hatches or seates, but this stirring of mine cannot hinder the sailing of the ship: So in this fatall vessell wherein we all sayle, let our willes wrangle and wrest as they list, they shal not turne her out of her course, nor anie thing hinder the same. That highest will of all willes must holde and rule the raynes, and with the turne of a hande direct this chariot whither soeuer it pleaseth.

A fit similitude.

CHAPT. XXI.

A Conclusion of the treatise of Destinie. An admonition that it is doubtfull and full of daunger: And must not curiouslie be searched. Lastlie, an earnest exhortation to imprint courage in our mindes thorough necessitie.

BVt why doe I sayle on so long in this course? I will nowe cast about and auoyd this (a) *Charybdis*, which hath swallowed vp so manie mens wittes. Here I behold how (b) *Cicero* suffered shipwracke, who chose rather to denie prouidence, than to abate one ace of mans libertie: So whiles that he made men free (as it is finely saide by one Prelate) he made them sacrilegious. *Damascene* also sayleth in this gulfe, and extendeth prouidence vnto other things, but excludeth it from those that are in vs. By whose harmes (*Lipsius*) I being warned will keepe the shore, and not launch out too farre into this deepe sea. *Euclides* being demanded many thinges touching God, answered fitly;

(a) *A gulfe by Sicilie.*

(b) *In his books of diuination.*

Coles do lie hid vnder embers: So is it of destiny. we must not stir

them to much, nor thrust this fire with the sword of our sharp wit.

Other things I know not, but of this I am assured, ꝑ he hateth curious persons. Euen so I thinke of destiny, which must be looked vnto; not into: and be credited, nor perfectly known. I suppose that saying of Bias, *Touching God, beleeue that he is*, may better be applyed to destiny, whereof I admonish thee this much, that it suffiseth to know that it is. If thou bee ignorant in other things thereto belonging, it is no offence. This is sufficient to our purpose (for I now return from wandring, into the right way againe) that thou beleeue necessitie to be naturallie borne together with publicke euils, and therehence seeke some sollace of thy sorrowe. What appertaineth it vnto thee to enquire curiouslie of the libertie or thraldome of our will? Whether it be enforced or perswaded? Alasse poore soule! *(a)* Thy towne is sacked by the enemie, and thou sittest drawing circles in the dust. Warre, tyrannie, slaughter, and death hang ouer thy head, which things truly are sent from aboue, and doe not in any wise appertaine to thy will or pleasure. Thou maist feare, but not preuent: flie, but not auoyde them. Arme thy selfe against them, and take this fatal weapon in thy hand, which will not only pricke, but panch all these sorrowes: not lighten thee, but wholly vnlode thee of them. As a nettle if you touch it softlie, stingeth; but looseth his force if you handle it roughlie: So this griefe groweth greater by applying soft mollifying plaisters, but is soone cured with sharp corrasiues. Nowe there is nothing more forcible than NECESSITIE, which vvith one assault ouerthroweth and putteth to flight all these vveake troupes. What meanest thou Sorrowe? It is no boote to vse thee, when a thing of necessitie must, or reason ought to come to passe. VVhat wilt thou querulous complaint doe? Thou maist shake this celestiall yoake, but not shake it of.

But apply it to our profit.

(a) This is spoken in respect of Archimides that famous Geometrician of Syracusis, vvho in the sacke of the cittie vvas slaine dravving of geometrical figures in the ground.

The same is a most strong armour of proof against sorrow.

Leaue off to thinke that Gods fatall decree,
By thy repining may altered bee.

There is no other refuge from necessity, but to wish that, that she willeth. Wel was it said by an excellent wise man, *Thou art sure to be conquerour if thou enter into no conflict, but such as is in thy power to ouercome.* The combate with necessitie is not such, wherewith whosoeuer contendeth shall bee ouercome: yea, which more may be maruelled at, he is already vanquished before he begin to enter the lists with it. Epictetus in his Enchiridion.

CHAPT. XXII.

Some doe seeke a cloake for their laizinesse in destiny: But that is taken away. Fate *worketh by secondarie causes, therefore they must be applyed. How farre it behooueth vs to aide our countrie, and how not. The end of this first conference & book.*

HEre *Langius* pausing a little, I became the readier to speake my mind, and told him that if this wind blew a sterne thus a whiles, I should thinke my selfe verie neer the hauen. For I haue now a bold resolution to follow God and obey necessity. Me thinkes I can say with *Euripides. I had rather do sacrifice vnto him, then incensed vvith ire to kicke against the prickes, or that I being a mortal man should contend with God immortall.* Yet there is one tempestuous waue of a troubled imagination that tosseth mee: Asswage it (*Langius*) if you may. For if all publike euills come by Destinie, vvhich cannot bee constrayned nor controlled, why then shall wee take anie care at all for our countrie? Why doo vvee not leaue all to that greate masterlesse Lorde, and sit still our selues vvith our handes in our bosomes? For you say that all aduise and ayde is of no force, if DESTINIE bee against it. LANGIVS replying, Alasse young man (saide hee) by Euripides. An obiection for the slothfull against Destinie.

wilfull frowardnesse thou errest from the trueth. Is this the way to obey Destinie; and not rather to resist and contemn it? Thou wilt sit still with thy handes in thy bosome. Wel, I would thy tongue had bene tyed now. Who tolde thee that Destiny worketh alone without coadiuuant and meane causes? It is Destiny thou shouldest haue children: yet first thou must sowe the seede in thy wiues garden. To be cured of thy disease: but so as thou vse the Physitian and good nourishment. So likewise if it bee Destiny that this weather-beaten shippe of thy countrey shall bee saued from drowning, it is destinie withall that she be ayded and defended. If thou wilt attain to the hauen thou must ply the oares, and hoyse thy sayles, and not idly expect winde at will from heauen.

It is answered and shewed that meane causes do proceed and go before fatal euents.

Contrarily, if it be destiny that thy countrie shall bee brought to confusion, such things shall come to passe by destiny, as will bring her to desolation by humaine meanes. The princes and people shall bee at variance among themselues; none shal be willing to obey; none able to command: All shall speake proudly, and doe cowardly. Finally, the Chieftaines themselues shall haue neither counsell, nor fidelitie. (a) *Velleius* saide trulie, *The force of Fates is ineuitable, whose estate they determine to confound, his counsels they corrupt,* And againe, *The matter is so, that God when hee will change a mans good estate, taketh away his vnderstanding: And (which is most wretched of all) he causeth that the miserie which befalleth is reputed to happen most deseruedlie.* Yet thou must not bee so driuen into dispaire, as though at the first assault thy countrey were in hazard of vtter destruction. Howe knowest thou that? What canst thou tell whether this be onelie a light fit of a feuer, or a deeper disease vnto death? Therefore put to thy helping hand, and (as the prouerbe is,) hope still whiles breath is in the sicke bodie. But if thou see by certain and

Good and euill destinie commeth without miracle, by ordinary & accustomed meanes.

Consider the state of Belgica.

(a) *Velleius paterculus lib. 11. de Cæsare & Varo.*

We must not despaire at the first, as if Fate frowned vnappeasably vpon vs.

and infallible tokens that the fatall alteration of the State is come, with mee this saying shall preuaile, *Not to fight against God.* And in such a case I would alleadge the example of *Solon*: for when *Pisistratus* had brought the citie of *Athens* vnder his obedience, *Solon* seeing that all his labour for defence of the common libertie was in vaine, came and laide downe his sword and Target before the Senate doores, crying out, *O my countrie, I haue by word and deede defended thee whiles I could.* And so going home he was quiet afterwards. So do thou: yeeld to God, and giue place to the time. And if thou be a good citizen or common-wealths-man preserue thy selfe to a better and happier end. The liberty which now is lost, may be recouered againe hereafter; and thy decayed country may flourish in another age: why doest thou loose al courage & fal into dispair? Of those two Consuls at the battel of *Cannes*, I account *Varro* a more excellent citizen, who escaped, than *Paulus* that was slain; & so did the Senate & people of *Rome* iudge, giuing him thanks publikely for that he had not lost all hope, nor despaired wholly of the common-wealth. Howbeit whether shee shake, or fall: whether shee impaire or wholly perish, be thou not afflicted, but take vnto thee the noble courage of *Crator*; who when *Alexander* asked whether he would haue his country restored again to libertie; why should I? said hee, for it may be that another *Alexander* will oppresse her. This is the propertie of wise and valiant hearted men, as *Achilles* was warned in *Homer*.

All thinges are first to be assayed, but with that mean, which wisdom only prescribeth.

The conclusion, with a general exhortatiõ vnto *Constancie.*

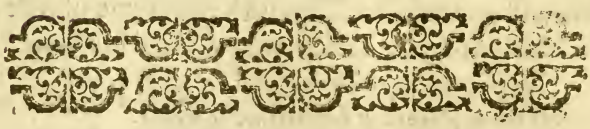
Though cause of griefe be great, yet let vs keepe
All to our selues: it booteth not to weepe.

Els as *Creon* (mentioned in fables) embracing his daughter being a burning, did not help her, but cast himselfe away: So (*Lipsius*) thou shalt sooner with thy teares quench the light of thine owne life, than this generall flame of thy countrey.

The cause of breaking of the conferēce and putting it ouer til an other time.

Whiles that *Langius* was thus speaking, the doores racked with a great noise, and behold there came a lad directly towards vs, sent from that worthie personage *Torrentius*, to put vs in mind of the hour of supper: Thē *Langius* as it were one awaking (suddēly) out of a sound sleep, oh (said he) how hath this talking beguiled me: How is this day stollen away? And therewithall he arose, taking me by the hand, and said, come (*Lipsius*) let vs goe to our supper long wished for. Nay (quoth I) let vs sit still a while longer. I account this the best supper of all others, which I may call as the Grecians doe, *The meat of the goddes*. Whiles we are at this banquet, I do alwayes hunger, and am neuer satisfied. But *Langius* drewe me along with him, saying, Let vs now haue regard to our promise made, and that which is behinde of our dutie to CONSTANCIE, we will, if it please you, performe to morrowe.

THE ENDE OF THE
first Booke.



Iustus Lipsius, his second BOOKE, OF CONSTANCY.

CHAPT. I.

The occasion of renewing their talke. The going vnto Langius *his pleasant garden, and the commendation thereof.*

THE next day it seemed good to *Langius* to bring me vnto his gardēs, being two, which he kept with verie great care: one in the hil ouer against his house, the other further off in a valley by the riuer of *Moze*.

Langius his care of gardens.

Which riuer holdeth his course gentlie,
By a towne seated most pleasantlie.

A Verse of *Ennius*.

Therefore comming somewhat timely into my chamber, what (*Lipsius*) said he, shall we walke abroade, or had you rather take your ease and sitte still? Nay (*Langius*) I had rather walke with you. But whether shall we goe? If it please you, (quoth *Langius*) to my garden by the riuers side; the way is not farre, you shall exercise your bodie, and see the towne: Finallie, the aire is there pleasant and fresh in this haot weather. It pleaseth mee well (said I) neither shall any way be tedious for me to follow if you goe before; though it were to the furthest Indies. And therewith calling for our clokes, we put them on: we went, and went into the garden. In the very entrance as I cast my eyes about with a wandering curiositie, woondring with my selfe at the elegancie and beautie of the place: My Sire (saide I) what pleasantnesse and brauetie is this? You haue heauen here (*Langius*) and no garden: Neither doe the glittering starres shine clearer in a faire night, than your fine flowers glistering and shewing their collours vvith varietie. Poets speake much

Our going to the garden.

The beauty & brauerie of it

of the gardens of *Adonis* and *Alcinous*: They are trifles and in comparison of this no better than pictures of Flies: when I drew neerer and applyed some of the flowers to my nose & eyes, what shal I wish first (quoth I) to be all eye, with *Argus*: or nose with *Catullus*? This delight so tickleth and feedeth both my sences at once. Away, away, al ye odours of *Arabia*, you are lothsome vnto mee in comparison of this pure and celestiall aire that I sauour. Then spake *Langius* wringing me softly by the hand, and not without laughter: It is well commended of you (*Lipsius*) but trulie neither I nor my countrey dame *Flora*, here present, doe deserue these lofte and friendlie prayses. Yea, but they are truly deserued (*Langius*.) Think ye that I flatter you? I speak in good earnest and from my heart. The *Elisian* fieldes are not *Elisian* in respect of this your ferme. For behold, what exquisite neatnesse is here on euery side? what order? how proportionablie are all thinges disposed in their borders and places, that euen checker-worke in tables is not more curious? Againe, what plenty is here of flowers and hearbes? What strangenes and nouelltie? In so much that nature seemeth to haue compacted within this little plot, whatsoeuer thing of price is comprised in this, or that new world.

CHAPT. II.

The praise of Gardens in generall. That the care of them is ancient, and from nature it selfe. That it was vsed by kinges and great personages. Finallie, the pleasure of them laid open before our eies; and my wish not vngodlie.

The praise of gardens: and that the study of that faculte, seemeth

AND surely (*Langius*) this your industrious care of gardens, is a labour well-beseeming and praise worthy. A labour, whereto (if I guesse not amisse) euerie good man as he is most temperately giuen, so is he drawn by

by nature, and addicted thereunto. An argument thereof is this, that you cannot name anie kind of delight, which the chiefe men of all ages haue more affected, then this. Looke into the holie Scripture, and you shall see that gardens had their beginnings with the world, God himself appoiinting the first man his habitation therein, as the seate of a blessed and happie life. In prophane writers the gardens of *Adonis*, of *Alcinous*, *Tantalus* & the *Hesperides* are grown into fables and common prouerbes: Also in very good approoued histories you shall find, that king *Cyrus* had gardens and Orchardes planted with his owne handes: That *Semiramis* had goodly flowers hanging in the aire: *Marsinissa* strange and famous garnished gardens, to the wonder of *Afrike*. Moreouer among the ancient Grecians and Romans, how many could I alleadge that haue cast aside all other cares and betaken themselues whollie to this studie? And they all (in a word) Philosophers and wise men, who eschewing the cities and troublesom assembliees of people, contayned themselues within the bounds and limits of their gardens. And among these, me thinks I see king *Tarquinius* in the time of that first olde *Rome*, walking pleasantlie in his garden, and cropping the toppes of Poppie. I remember *Cato Censorius* giuen to the pleasure of gardens and writing seriouslie of that argument: *Lucullus* after his victories obtained in *Asia*, taking his recreation in his gardens. *Silla*, who forsaking the (*a*) Dictatorship spent his olde age ioyously here: Lastly I may not forget *Diocleſian* the Emperour, that preferred his pot-hearbes and Lettice of a poore farme at *Salona*, before the imperiall scepter and robes of purple. Neither haue the common people dissented from the iudgement of the better sort, in this point, in that I knowe all honest mindes and free from ambition, haue euer bene delighted in this exercise. For there is in vs a secrete and naturall force (the

to be naturally bred in many.

For the best sort of men are and euer haue bene giuen therto.

their antiquitie.

Famous and worthy men addicted to that delight.

(*a*) *An office of highest authority among the Romanes.*

An inward & secret kind of delight in gardens.

causes whereof I cannot easily comprehend) which draweth vnto this harmlesse and liberall recreation, not onelie those that be prone by nature that way: but also such austere and graue personages, as woulde seeme to despise and deride it.

And as it is not possible for any man to contemplate heauen and those immortal spirits there, without feare & reuerence: so can we not behold the earth & her sacred treasures, nor the excellent beautie of this inferior world, without an inward tickling and delight of the senses. Aske thy mind and vnderstanding, it wil confesse it selfe to be led, yea & fed with this aspect and sight. Aske thy senses of seeing and smelling, they wil acknowledge that they take not greater delight in any thing, than in the decent borders and beddes of gardens. Pause I pray thee a litle while and behold the multitude of flowers with their daylie increasings, one in the stalke, one in the bud, another in the blossome. Marke how one fadeth suddenly, and another springeth. Finallie, obserue in one kind of flower the beautie, the forme, the shape or fashion either agreeing or disagreeing among themselues a thousand wayes. What minde is so sterne that amid all these will not bend it selfe with some mild cogitation, and be mollified thereby? Now come hither a whiles thou curious eie, and be fixed a litle vpon these gay and neat collours; mark wel this natural purple, that sanguine, this iuory, that snowy collour; This fiery, that golden hue: and so many other collours besides, as the best painter may æmulate, but neuer bee able to imitate with his pensill. Lastly, what a sweet odour is there? What percing sauour? And I wot not what part of the heauēly aire infused from aboue, that it is not without cause why the Poets fayned, that flowers for the most part sprang vp first from the iuice and bloud of their gods. O the true fountaine of ioy and sweete delight! O the seate of *Venus*

Which beguileth the mind and senses.

The pleasure in the diuersitie of the increase and growth of flowers.

Also in so great varietie of Collours.

And fragrant smelles.

and

and the Graces. I wish to rest me and lead my whole lyfe in your bowers. God graunt me leaue (farre from all tumults of townes) to walk with a gladsome and wandring eie amid these heatbes and Flowers of the knowne and (a) vnknown worlde; and to reach my handes and to cast mine eies one while to this full-growne Flower, and another while to that newlie in the blossome: so that my minde being beguiled with a kind of wandering retchlesnes, I may cast off the remembrance of all cares and troubles.

My wish.

(a) The new world, as it is commonly called.

CHAPT. II.

Here is argued against some curious persons that do abuse gardens to vanitie and slouthfulnes: what is the true vse of them: that they are meet for wise men, and learned: And that wisdome her selfe was first bred and brought vp in them.

WHEN I had thus spoken sharplie in voice and countenance, then spake *Langius* softlie vnto me; I see (*Lipsius*) I see you loue this flourishing purple Nymph, but I feare mee you doate vpon her. You commend gardens, but so as you seeme only to admire vain and outward things therin, neglecting the true & lawful delights therof. You poare only vpon collours, and borders, and are greedy of strange Flowers brought from all partes of the world. And to what end is all this? Except it be that I might account thee one of that sect which is risen vp in our dayes, of curious & idle persons, who haue made a thing that was in it self good and without al offence, to be the instrument of two foule vices, *Vanity* and *Slouthfulnes*. For euen to this end haue they their gardens: they do vainglorious hunt after strange hearbs & flowers, which hauing gotten, they preserue & cherish more carefully thã any mother doth her child: these be the mẽ whose letters fly abroad

The new sect of Garden-masters, scorned.

into *Thracia*, *Greece*, and *India* only for a little root or seede. These men will bee more grieued for the losse of a newe-found flower, than of an olde friend. Would not any man laugh at that (a) Romane which mourned in blacke for the death of a fish that he had. So do these men for a plant.

(a) *Hortensius vvho (it is said) vvare mourning apparell for the losse of a Lamprey:*

Now if any of these whome ye see come hether to my Dame *Flora* for flowers, happen to get any new or strange one, how doth he boast of it? His companions doe grudge and enuie at him, yea some of them return home with a heauier heart, than euer did *Sylla* or *Marcellus* when they were put backe in their suit for the Pretorship. What should I cal this but a kind of merrie madnesse? not vnlike the striuing of children about their little puppets and babbies.

Yet consider moreouer what great paines they take in these gardens. They sit, walk about the allies, stretch themselues like sluggards, and sleepe; So as they make that place not onely a nurserie of idlenesse, but a verie sepulcher of their slothfulnes. A prophane generation of men! whome I may rightlie banish from the ceremonies and communion of true gardens, which I know were ordained for modest recreation, not for vanitie: for solace, not for slouth. What? shall I be so light-headed as to be lifted vp or pressed downe in mind for the getting or loosing of some rare and straunge hearbe? Nay rather I will esteeme al things according to their worth, and setting aside the inticement of rarenes and noueltie, I knowe they are but hearbes or flowers; that is, things fading and of smal continuance. Of which the Poet speaketh verie fitly, *that Zephirus with his blastes bringeth vp some, and withereth others.* Therefore I doe not contemne the beautie and elegancie of them; (as you may see for example here before your eies:) But I dissent from the opinion of these great Garden-masters, in that I get them without much trauell, keepe them without care, and lose them without

The true vse of Gardens.

Which consisteth not in the price and estimation of flowers.

without grief. Again I am not so simple or base-minded as to tie or wed my self to the shadowes of my garden. I find som busines euen in the mids of my idlenes; my mind is there busied, without any labour, and exercised without paine. *I am neuer lesse solitarie* (said one) *then when I am alone: nor neuer lesse idle, then when I am at leasure.* A worthy saying, which I dare sweare had his first beginning in these selfe same gardens that I speake of. For they be ordained, not for the body, but for the mind: and to recreate it, not to beset it with idlenesse: only as a wholsome withdrawing place from the cares and troubles of this world. Art thou weatie of the concourse of people? here thou maist be alone. Haue thy worldly businesses tyred thee? here thou maist be refreshed again, where the food of quietnes, & gentle blowing of the pure & whol some aire, will euen breath a new life into thee. Doest thou consider the wise men of olde time? They had their dwelling in gardens. The studious and learned wits of our age? they delight in gardens: and in them (for the most part) are compiled those diuine writings of theirs which we woonder at, and which no posteritie or continuance of time shall be able to abolish. So many sharp and subtil disputations of naturall philosophy, proceed from those greene bowers. So many precepts of manners frō those shadowy Achademies. Yea out of the walkes and pleasant allies of gardens, spring those sweet abounding riuers which with their fruitfull ouerflowings haue watered the whole world. For why? the mind lifteth vp and advanceth it self more to these high cogitations, when it is at libertie to beholde his owne home, heauen: Then when it is inclosed within the prisons of houses or townes. Here you learned Poets compose yee some poemes worthy of immortalitie. Here let al the learned meditate and write: here let the Philosophers argue & dispute of contentation, constancie, life, and death. Beholde (*Lipsius*)

But in honest delight and recreation of the mind,

For they be places most fit whither men may withdrawe themselues.

And take the fresh aire.

In old time they were the howses of wise men.

They are most meet for learned meditations and writings.

the true end and vse of gardens: to wit, quietnes, withdrawing from the world, meditation, reading, writing: and all this as it were, by way of recreation & sport: As painters hauing dimmed their eies with long and earnest beholding their work, do recõfort thẽ with certain glasses or green collours so here may we refresh our wearied and wandring minds.

And why should I conceale mine intent from thee? Seest thou yonder arbour curiouslie wrought with sundry pictures cut out of the greene boughes; The same is the house of my Muses, my nursery and schoole of wisedome. Here I either plie my selfe with diligent and earnest reading, or els sowe in my heart some seed of good cogitations, and thereby lay vp some wholsome lessons in my minde, as it were weapons in an armorie, which are alwayes ready with me at hand against the force and mutabilitie of Fortune. So soone as I put my foote within that place, I bid all vile and seruile cares abandon me, and lifting vp my head as vpright as I may, I contemne the delights of the prophane people, & the great vanitie of humane affaires. Yea I seem to shake off all thing in mee that is humaine, and to bee rapt vp on high vpon the fiery chariot of wisdome. Doest thou thinke when I am there that I take any care what the Frenchmen or Spaniards are in practising? who possesse the scepter of *Belgica*, or who be depriued of it? Whether the (a) Tyrant of *Asia* threaten vs by sea or land: Or finally, (b) *What the king of the cold countrie vnder the* Northpole imagineth? No; none of all these things trouble my braine. I am guarded and fenced against all externall things, and setled within my selfe, careless of all cares saue one, which is, that I may bring in subiection this broken and distressed mind of mine to RIGHT REASON and GOD, and subdue all humaine and earthly things to my MIND. That whensoeuer my fatal day shall come, I may be readie with a good courage ioyfully to welcome

And chieflie for the exercise of wisedome.

(a) *The Turke.*
(b) *Quid sub Arcto Rex gelidæ meditetur Oræ.*

come him, and depart this life, not as thrust out at the windowes, but as let out at the dore. This is my recreation (*Lipsius*) in my gardens. These be the fruits which I will not exchaunge (so long as I am in my right mind) for all the treasure of *Persia* and *India*.

CHAPT. IIII.

An exhortation therefore vnto Wisedome. By it we come to Constancie. *Young men are seriously admonished to ioyn the graue studie of* Philosophy *with those other studies that be more pleasant and plausible.*

THus *Langius* made an ende of speaking; And with his last profound & constant talk, I confesse he made me amazed. Yet recalling my self, Oh happie man (said I) both in tranquilitie and troubles! O more than manly courage in a man! which wold to God I were able in some measure to imitate, and to creepe after your footsteps, although I came farre behind. Here *Langius* reprehending me, what talke you of imitating? you may easily exceed me: and not onely follow, but far passe mee. For I my selfe (*Lipsius*) haue trode but verie little in this path of Constancie and vertue. Neither am I to bee compared as yet to valiant and good men, but perchance am a little better than the most effeminate and worst sort. But thou, whose towardlines is lusty and quick, set thy selfe forwards, & vnder my conduct enter into this high-way which leadeth directly to *Stablenes* and *Constancie*. The way that I speak of, is wisedom: whose euen & easie track I pray & admonish thee, that thou cease not to tread. Hast thou delighted in learning, & the companie of those (*a*) nine sisters? I like it wel, knowing that by this lighter & pleasant kind of learning, the mind is prepared & made readie (*b*) *not being fit before to receiue the sacred seed.* Howbeit

The way to *Constancie*, lyeth open vnto all men. Which way is wisedome.

(*a*) *The Muses.*
(*b*) *Augustines words and iudgment in his 1. book of order.*

I allow not that thou ſhuldeſt ſtay there, and make that both the beginning and perfection of all thy ſtudies. Theſe muſt be the foundation not the ſelfe work: The way to the mark, but not the goale or mark it ſelf that we run at. If thou were bidden to a banket, I trowe thou wouldeſt not only taſte of Marchpanes & iunkets, but firſt ſettle thy ſtomack with ſom ſtronger meat: why ſhould not the like be done in this publike feaſt of learning? Why (I ſay) ioyne we not to the firme food of Philoſophy, with the ſweet delicates of Orators and Poets? Miſtake me not, I do not condemne theſe latter, but commend them in their place: and I would haue thoſe looſe wandring Nymphes to be brideled (as I may ſay) by ſome ſeuere *Bacchus*.

Therfore we condemne Philologie, which is, loue of talk or eloquence.

Except wee ioine therewithal philoſophie, which is, loue of wiſedome.

The wooers that *Homer* writeth of are worthely ſcoffed, who miſſing of *Penelope*, became ſuiters to her maides. Beware thou do not likewiſe, and forſaking the ladie of all, fall in loue with her ſeruants. It is a plauſible kind of praiſe to be called a learned man: but better to be called a wiſe man; and beſt of all to haue the title of a good man. Let vs follow this, and by many labours let vs not couet to know alone, but to be wiſe and do thereafter.

How little worth is learnings skill,
Where wiſedome is not preſent ſtill?

So ſaith the olde verſe trulie. How many are there at this day of the trayne of the Muſes that doe diſgrace both themſelues and the name of learning? Some, for that they are repleniſhed with vices and wikednes: Many for that they be vaine, vnconſtant, only ſpeculatiue, and giuen to no fruitful or profitable ſtudie. What though they vnderſtande Greeke and Latine Authors? That is all, they doe nothing but vnderſtand thē. And as *Anacharſis* ſpake pretily of the Athenians, that they vſed (*a*) mony only to caſt accoũts withal: ſo theſe men haue their knowledge to no end, but to know. So little care

The diſhoneſtie and vaine folly of ſome learned men.

(*a*) *Nummis ad numerandum.*

care haue they of their life and deeds (in my conceit) that it is not without cause that learning is so ill spoken of amōg the multitude, as if it were a Mistresse to vngodlines. Howbeit good letters being rightly vsed are a directory vnto vertue, couple wisedome with thē; vnto the which learning ought to prepare and frame our wits, not to detaine or challenge them to it selfe. For as some trees will beare no fruite, except they grow neere vnto others that be of the male kind: No more wil these tender Virgins (I mean good letters) vnlesse they be conioyned with the manly courage of wisedome.

What is the true end and vse of learning.

Why doest thou correct the writings of *Tacitus*, if thy owne life be vncorrected? why doest thou illustrate *Tranquillus*, thy selfe being in the darke myst of errours? Why art thou so careful in purging *Plautus* from faultes and imperfections, when thy owne minde is full of foule filth and sluttishnesse? Giue thy self at length to better studies; and get learning that may seruе thee not for vaine ostentation, but to some good vse and purpose. Apply thy selfe to wisedom, which may amend thy euill maners, set at rest and beautifie thy distempered and vncleane mind: She only is able to imprint vertue, & to work the impression of CONSTANCIE in thee, and to set open vnto thee the Temple of A GOOD MIND.

An exhortation thereunto

CHAPT. V.

That wisedome is not obtained by wishing, but by working. A returning to the former talke of Constancie. *That desire of learning is a good signe in youth.*

THis admonition wrought in mee an earnest desire which I could not conceale: and thereupon I saide: My father, in heart and mind I follow you, when shall I be able in deeds so to doe? When will that day come

wherein I shall be free from all these cares that trouble mee, and tread the trace that leadeth vnto true wisdome, whereby I may attain to CONSTANCY? *Langius* taking me vp short, What? Doest thou betake thy selfe to wishing, rather than doing? It is spoken fondlie, and as the common sort of men vseth. For it cannot be that as fables make mention how *Cæneus* with a wish was transformed from a woman into a man; so thou shouldest of a foole bee sodenly made wise, and of a light person, become constant with wishing. Thou must bestow thy labour with al, and (as the saying is) ioyne handes with heart. Seeke, read, learne. I knowe (*Langius*) saide I, that I must doe so, but I pray you set too your helping hande, and proceede forwards in your yesterdayes talke that was interrupted by going to supper. Returne againe to CONSTANCIE, the ceremonies of whose honour hauing bene begun to bee celebrated, may not be discontinued without sacriledge.

Wisdome is not had with wishing.

A returning to the first communication that was interrupted.

Langius shaking his head a little. No *Lipsius* (quoth he) I will not doe it, least I shut vp my selfe againe in this schoolhouse: This is no place fit for our purpose, which thou knowest vvell I made for mine ease, not for my paines: we will at some other time prosecute that argument. Nay, euen now (quoth I) for what place is more meete for such wise communication, then that your schoole of wisedom? I mean your faire summer-house, which to me is (as it were) a Temple, and the table therein in stead of an aultar, where sitting we may rightlie sacrifice to this Saint. And againe, I haue a guesse of good lucke therehence. What is that? said *Langius*. That euen as they which sit in Apothecaries shops carie with them in their clothes some sauour of the place: so I haue good hope that some sent of wisedome wil stick in my minde, by residing in her studie. *Langius* laughing I feare me (saide he) your coniecture is so light that it vvill

weigh

weigh iust nothing. Yet let vs goe thither *Lipsius*, For I tell thee without dissimulation, this honest ardent desire of thine somewhat mooueth and prouoketh mee. And as they that search for water-springes, when they perceaue in the morning a steame rising out of the earth, doe make coniecture that Waters lie there vnderneath: So I haue great good hope of the fruitfull streames of vertue; when I see and beholde in a young man an earnest desire of learning. And with those wordes he brought me to his bower-house, and into it: he set him downe at the table. I turning me to the boyes that were there, Hoe sirs (quoth I) stande you and keepe vvatch. And first of all, lock fast the doore. And heare yee mee? If anie bodie come in hither to vs aliue, you shall die for it. I will haue neither man, nor dog nor woman to be let in: no not GOOD FORTVNE her selfe, if she come. Then *Langius* laughing out-right, saide, haue you at any time bene a Vice-roy, your mandates are so maiesticall and seuere. Ivvis (quoth I) it behooueth me to beware by the hard warning we had (a) yesternight. Hold you on your talk in Gods name.

The loue and earnest desire of learning, is a token of a good nature & disposition

(a) See the later end of the last chapter of the first booke.

CHAPT. VI.

The third argument for Constancy, taken from PROFIT. *That calamities are good for vs, whether we respect their beginning, or end. For the originall of them is of God, who is eternallie and immutablie good: And therefore not the cause of anie euill.*

Langius not meditating long, began thus. In the communication that I had yesterday of Constancie, I wil constantlie perseuer: following the same methode, & containing my tongue within those boundes which I

before prescribed. You knowe that I had foure bandes or troupes of soldiers to fight for CONSTANCY against your SORROW and dispaire of courage; wherof I haue trained into the fielde the two former, which were of *Prouidence* and *Necessity*. And I prooued sufficiently that publike calamities were sent from God alone: Also that they were necessary, and by no flying away to be auoyded. Now I set forwards my third troup, vnder the leading of PROFITE, wherein serueth the Legion which I may well tearme AIDING. A valiant and politike troupe it is, if you marke it well. For I know not how it creepeth softly and insinuateth it selfe into the minds of men, & with a kind of flattering force ouercommeth them willingly. It stealeth, rather than rusheth vpon vs: inticeth, not enforceth: and we are as easilie lead by profite, as drawne by necessitie. This *Profite (Lipsius)* I oppose against thee & thy weake bands.

A brief repetition of somewhat before spoken.

The third argument taken from *Profite*. The force thereof.

I say these publike calamities which we suffer are profitable vnto vs accompanied with an inward fruit and commoditie. Do we call them EVILS? Nay rather they are good, if we pluck aside the vaile of Opinions, and cast our eyes to the beginning and end of them: whereof the one is from God; the other for good. The original of these miseries (as I prooued plainly yesterday) is of God: That is, not only of the chiefest good, but also of the authour, head and fountaine of al goodnes: from whom it is as impossible that any euil should proceed, as it is for himselfe to be euill. The diuine power is bountifull and healthfull, refusing to doe or receiue harme; whose chiefe vertue is to do good. Therefore the Auncients though they were voyde of the knowledge of God, yet hauing some conceit of him in their braine, called him (a) *Iuppiter a iuuando*; that is, of helping. Doest thou imagine that he is angrie, or chollericke, and casteth, as it were those noisome dartes among men? Thou art deceiued

That the publike evils, as we call them, are indeed good, because they come of God

Who is bountiful and helping.

(a) *Iupiter quasi iuuans pater*, that is, a helping father.

deceiued. Anger, wrath, reuenge, are names of humaine affections; and proceeding from a naturall frailty & weaknes, are incident only to weaklings. But that diuine spirite doeth still perseuer in his bountie: and those same bitter pils which he ministreth to vs as medicines, though sharpe in taste, yet are they wholsome in operation. Well was it said by that prince of Philosophers, *God doth no euill, neither is the cause of any.* Better and more significantly spake our wise-maister; *What is the cause that God doth good? His own nature. He is deceiued whosoeuer thinketh that God can, or will do hurt. He can neither suffer nor do wrong. The first worship of God is, to beleeue him. Then to attribute to him his maiestie, and also his goodnes, without the which ther is no maiestie: to know that it is he which is gouernor of the world, that ruleth all things as his own, that taketh vpon him the tuition of all man-kind, yea more carefully of euerie particular person. He neither doth euill to others, nor hath any in himselfe.*

Those euils are not sent as punishments.

But as medicines.

Plato.

Seneca.

CHAPT. VII.

Likewise, that the end of calamities tendeth alwaies to good, albeit they be effected often times by hurtful persons, and for harmes sake: But God breaketh and brideleth their force. And that all things are turned to our benefit. By the way is shewed why God vseth the instrument of wicked men, in inflicting calamities.

THerefore, these calamities are good in respect of their beginning: and likewise in regarde of their ende, because they are euer directed to good and safety; (surely in good men) Thou wilt obiect and say, howe can this be? Is it not euident that these warres and slaughters are committed with an intent to harme and hurt? It is true so, in respect of men, but not in respect of God: which that thou maist more plainly and fully conceiue, I must apply the light of a distinction. There be two sortes of calamities sent from God,

Publike calamities are good.

Because the end of them is euer good.

Ther be two sorts of them.

Some immediatlye from God, others by the means and ministry of men.

God: some *Simple*, some *mixt*. The first I cal those which proceed *purely from God without any interposition of mans pollicy or force*. The second, *Which are of God, yet wrought by the ministerie of men*. Of the former kind are famine, dearth, earth-quakes, openings of the earth, ouerflowings of waters, sicknes, death Of the latter are tyrannie, warre, oppression, slaughters. In those first all thinges are pure and without spot, as springing from a most pure fountain. In the latter I deny not but there is some filth and mixt, because they are conueighed & diriued through the foule conduites of affections. Is man a meane for effecting them? what maruell then is it, if there be a fault and offence committed in accomplishing them? maruell thou more at the prouident goodnes of God, who conuerteth that fault to our furtherance, and the offence to our good. Seest thou a tyrant breathing out threatnings & murthers: whose delight is in doing harme? which could be content to perish himselfe, so he may persecute others? Let him alone: he strayeth from his right mind. And God (as it were) by an inuisible string leadeth him to his destruction. As an arrow commeth to the marke without any feeling of him that shot it: so doe these wicked ones. For that supreame power brideleth and keepeth vnder al mens power, and directeth their straying course to the happy hauen. As in an Army the souldiers haue sundry affections; one fighting for praie, another for prayse, another for hatred, yet they all in their princes quarrell and for the victorie: So all mens wils bee they good or bad, fight vnder God, and among sundrie and manifolde endes, at length they come all to this end of ends, as I may say.

In the last sort there is some fault admixt.

Which God wipeth away in respect of vs.

For he draweth all purposes to his own purpose.

Neither is it any iniury that God inflicteth his chastisements by others.

But thou wilt demaunde, vvhy God vseth the meanes of euill men? Why doeth hee not inflict those grieuous punishmentes immediatlie himselfe, or els by the ministerie of good men? O man, thou art too curious in enquiring; neither

neither doe I knowe whether it lie in my power to open these secretes vnto thee. This I knowe well, that he hath reason of his doinges, euen then when wee are farthest off from perceauing any. And yet vvhat straunge or newe thing is this? The President of a prouince commaundeth an offender to bee punished by the lawes, yet the punisher to be some beadle or Sergeant. The father of a great familie sometimes correcteth his sonne himselfe, otherwhiles he commandeth a seruant or schoole-maister to doe it. Why should wee not graunt vnto God so much authoritie as to them? Why shall not hee when it pleaseth him scourge vs with his owne hande; and againe when it seemeth good to him, by the meanes of others? For therein is no wrong or iniurie. Is the seruant that punisheth angrie with thee? Hath he an intent to doe thee harme? It maketh no matter, haue thou respect to the minde of him that commanded. For thy Father who required it, standeth by, & hee will not suffer thee to haue one stripe more than his own appointmẽt

But why is sin mixt herewithal, and the poyson of passions fastened to these diuine darts? Thou driuest me now to a steep mountaine, yet I will assay to clime vp. God, to the end he might shew foorth his wisedome and great power, (a) *Hath thought it better* (The words be Augustines) *to make good of euil, thē to permit no euil at al*: for what is wiser or better thē he which can gather good from those euil, & turn things to health and safety, that were deuised to destruction? wee praise the physitian that compoundeth the venemous viper with his triacle to work a wholesome effect: why wilt thou control God, if to these healthfull dregs of calamities and afflictions, he ad some faultes of men without any offence to thee? for surely hee boyleth away & consumeth to nothing that poyson adioyned, with the secret purging fire of his prouidence. Finally it maketh for the aduancement of his power

Nor yet, that the sinne of men is mixt therewith. The cause thereof.

(a) *In his Enchiridion.*

and glory, whereto he referreth all thinges necessarily. For what is more able to expresse his mightie power, than that he doth not only vanquish his enemies that withstand him, but so ouer-ruleth them, that he draweth them to his partie? That they fight in his quarrel? And beare armes for his victorie? which thing daylie commeth to passe, when Gods will is persourmed in the wicked, but not of the wicked. When those things which vngodly men do against his will, he turneth them so that they come not to passe without his will. And what stranger miracle can there be, (a) *then that wicked men should make them good, that were euil before.*

The wicked do vnwittinglie and vnwillingly serue God.

(a) *The words of Seuerinus Boethius in his book of comfort*

Behold, thou *C. Cesar* shalt help a little to our purpose. Go thy way and tread vnder foot two things religiously to bee esteemed, to wit, thy country and son in law: This thy ambition (vnawares to thee) shal do seruice to God, and to thy country, against which it aspired; for it shal be the restoring and preseruing of the Romane state. Thou *Attila* thirsting after bloud & booty, hast thee hither frō the vttermost ends of the earth; take to thee by strong hand, slay, burn, & waste; This thy cruelty shall fight for God, and do nothing els but stir vp the Christians which were drowned and buried in vain delights & pleasures. What do you, ye two *Vespatians*? Destroy the country of *Iewrie* and the people: take and sacke the holy citrie. To what end: You verely do it for your glorie and the augmentation of your Empire: but ye erre. Ye are onely the Beadles & Sergeants of Gods seuere punishments vpon that vngodlie nation. Go to, euen you (peraduenture) that put the Christians to death at *Rome*, reuenge the death of Christ in *Iewrie*.

(b) *Ab Hespero præses siue ab Aurora. In the Latine he alludeth pretily to the cuntry, and lawful title of their prince, by a double signification of the word. For He-*

And now, O thou that art our president, whether it bee from (*b*) West or East; what intendest thou by this war and bloudy weapons? Euen to strengthen the empery of thy kingdome, and the power of thy owne nation. But in vaine.

For thou art nothing els but a whip & scourge of the wanton and lasciuious Flemings, We know not how to concoct our great felicities, without the help of these Neronian hoate bathes. These examples are occurrent in all ages, where we see that God by the wicked lustes of some men, hath accomplished his owne good pleasure: and by the iniustice of other men, hath executed his iust iudgments wherfore (*Lipsius*) let vs admire this hidden force of his wisdome, and not aspire to know it: and let vs bee assured that all these great afflictions are to good end and purpose; although this blind mind of ours perceiue it not, or slowly attaine to the vnderstanding therof. For the true ends of afflictions are often hid from vs, which notwithstanding shal haue their due course though to vs vnknown; not vnlike to certain riuers, which being remooued from our sight, and running vnder the ground, are yet caried into their own sea.

Hesperus signifieth the euening star, or West: And Hesperia, is taken for Spaine. And Prœses *expresseth the rightful title of their Lord or souereaigne.*

The ends of publike calamities be oftentimes hid and secret.

CHAPT. VIII.

It is here more distinctlie spoken of the endes themselues. They bee threefold. To whom euery of them doth agree. Then somewhat more at large touching Exercising, *which profiteth good men more wayes than one: by strengthening, by prooving, by giuing example to others.*

BVt if it be lawful for me to hoise sailes, & carie my ship deeper into this sea of diuine matters, I could (happily) speak somwhat of the ends themselues more plainlie & more profoundly: First adding that saying of *Homer*,: *If it lie in my power, or if the thing it selfe wil admit the same.* For there be some of those ends which it seemeth I can well ynough conceiue my selfe and make knowne to others: some also there be which I perceiue doubtfully and with a confused sight. Of the first kind of ends which are certain, be these three. *Exercising, Chastising, Punishment.* For if thou marke it it wel thou shalt find that these grieuous afflictions sent of

The ends of afflictions, or miseries.

God do cõmonly either exercise the good, chastice offẽders or punish the wicked; and al this for our good. And to stand a whiles vpon explaining the first branch, wee see dayly the best sort of men to be subiect to calamities either priuatly or els to be partakers thereof with the wicked: We marke and maruel thereat, because wee neither sufficiently conceiue the cause, nor consider the consequence therof. The cause is Gods loue towards vs, and not hatred. The end or consequẽce, not our hurt, but our benefit. For this our exercising furthereth vs more waies than one: it confirmeth or strengtheneth vs; it trieth or prooueth vs; it maketh vs mirrours of patience vnto others.

First exercising of vs.

Which helpeth vs three waies.

1. By strengthening vs.

It doth strengthen vs, for that the same is (as it were) our school-house wherin God traineth vp his seruantes in Constancy and vertue. We see those that exercise the feates of wrestling or barriers endure many hard trials, that they may get the mastery: so think that we ought to do in this warrefare of aduersitie. For why? that same our trainer & master of the game is such a one as requireth patience and paines, not only vnto sweating, but euen to bleeding. Thinkest thou that he will handle his schollers tenderly? that he will dandle them with delights vpon his knee? No, he will not doe so. Mothers for the most do corrupt their children, and make them wantons with tender bringing vp: but their fathers hold thẽ in aw with more seuerity. God is our father, therfore he loueth vs truly, yet with seuerity. If thou wilt bee a Marriner, thou must be taught in tempests. If a souldier, in perils. If thou bee a man indeed, why refusest thou afflictions? seeing ther is none other way to constancy. Doest thou consider those lither and lazie bodies vpon whom the Sun seldom shineth, or the wind bloweth, or any sharp aire breatheth? Euen such are the minds of these nice folke that feele nothing but felicity, whom the least blast of aduerse fortune bloweth downe, and resolueth into nought. Therefore aduersitie

uersitie doth confirme and strengthen vs. And as trees that be much beaten with the winde, take deeper roote: so good men are the better contayned within the compasse of vertue, being somtimes assaulted with the stormes of aduersity.

They do moreouer proue and trie vs. Els how could any man be assured of his own proceeding and firmnesse in vertue? if the wind blow alwaies merrily a sterne, the Pilot shall haue no opportunitie to try his cunning. If all things succeed prosperously and happily to a man, ther is no place to make proofe of his vertue: for the only true leuell to trie withall, is affliction; *Demetrius* said worthily *I account nothing more vnfortunate than that man which neuer had feeling of aduersitie.* Very true it is. For our General doth not spare such souldiers, but mistrusteth them, neither doeth he affect and loue, but despise and contemne them. I say he doeth cassier them out of his company as base *Besonians* and dastards. 2 By prouing vs.

Finally, they serue in steed of mirrours or presidents: For that the constancy & patience of good men in miseries, is as a cleare light to this obscure world. They prouoke others thereunto by their example, and tread the path wherin they shuld walk. *Bias* lost both his goods & cuntry, but his words sound in the ears of men at this day; *That they should carie all their goods about them.* *Regulus* was vnworthily put to death by torments; but his worthy example of keeping promise liueth yet. *Papinianus* was murthered by a tyrant: but the same butcherly axe that cut off his head, emboldneth vs to suffer death for iustice sake. Finally, so many notable citizens we see to be violently & iniuriously either banished or murthered: but out of the riuers of their blood we do (as it were) drink vertue & constãcy euery day: Al which things shuld lie hid in darke corners of obliuion, were it not for the bright firebrands of these cõmon afflictions and calamities. For as costly spices do giue a sweet sauor far off, if they be bruised: euen so the fame of vertue is spread abroad, whẽ it is pressed with aduersity. 3 By giuing example to others.

Bias, omnia mea mecum porto.

CHAPT. IX.

Of Chaſticement, which is the ſecond ende. It is prooued to be for our behoofe, two manner of waies.

Aduerſity for our chaſticement.

AN other ende why God ſendeth afflictions, is for our Chaſticement: which I ſay is the beſt and genteleſt that may be for our amendment. It helpeth and healeth vs two manner of waies. Eyther as a whippe when we haue offended: Or as a bridle to holde vs backe from offending. As a whip, becauſe it is our fathers hande that dooth often ſcourge vs when wee doo amiſſe: but it is a butcherly fiſt that ſtriketh ſeldome, and then payeth home for all at once. As fire or water are vſed to purge filth: So is this Purgatorie of perſecutions to our ſinnes. This whip (*Lipſius*) is now worthilie beſtowed vpon vs. We Flemings haue of a long time falne in the lapſe, and beeing corrupted with delights and exceſſe of wealth, we haue wandered in the ſlipperie pathes of viciouſneſſe: But that great God dooth admoniſh & gentlie reclaime vs, giuing vs a fewe ſtripes, that beeing warned thereby, we may come againe to our ſelues, yea rather to him. He hath taken from vs our goodes, which we abuſed to luxurioufneſſe. Our liberty, which wee abuſed licentiouſlie. And ſo with this gentle correction of calamities, he dooth (as it were) purge and waſhe awaie our wickedneſſe. A right gentle correction it is. For alaſſe, what a ſlender ſatisfaction may we call it? It is ſaid that when the Perſians woulde puniſh any Noble man, they tooke from him his garments and hood, and hanging thoſe vppe, did beate them in ſtead of the man: euen ſo dooth this our father, who in all his chaſtiſementes toucheth not vs, but our bodies, our fieldes, our wealth, and all externall things.

Which correction doth either blot out, and wipe away our offences.

Likewiſe Chaſticement ſerueth as a bridle, which hee raineth

rayneth fitlie, when he ſeeth vs running to wickednes. As Phyſitians do ſometimes vpon good aduiſe let blood, not that the partie is ſicke, but to preuent ſicknes: So God by theſe afflictions taketh away ſomething from vs, which els would foſter and nouriſh vices in vs. For he knoweth the nature of all men, which created them all. He iudgeth not of diſeaſes by the vaines, or collour: But by the very heart and inwardes. Doth he ſee the Tuſcane wits to bee ſharpe and waſpiſh? He keepeth them vnder with a prince. Doeth he ſee the Switzers to be of diſpoſition peaceable & quiet? He giueth them libertie. The Venetians to bee of a meane betweene both? He permitteth to them a mixt or meane kind of gouernment. All which peradueture he wil change in time, if thoſe people alter their diſpoſitions. Yet notwithſtanding we murmure, ſaying, Why are we longer afflicted with warre, than others? Or why are wee helde in more cruell bondage? O foole, and ſicke at the very heart! art thou wiſer than God? Tell me, why doeth the Phyſitian miniſter to one patient more Wormewood or Lingwort, than to another? Forſooth becauſe the diſeaſe or diſpoſition of the party ſo requireth. Euen ſo think thou of thy ſelf. He ſeeth this people haplie to be ſomewhat ſtubborne and therefore that they muſt be kept vnder with corrections: an other nation more meeke that may be brought vnder obedience onely with ſhaking of the rod. But it may bee that vnto thee it ſeemeth otherwiſe. VVhat maketh that to the matter? Parents will not ſuffer kniues or weapons in the hands of their childe, though he weepe for it, becauſe they foreſee the daunger: why ſhoulde God geue vs too much of our wil to our own deſtruction? Sith indeed wee be very babes, and kno w not how to asl e thinges that bee for our health, nor to auoyd that is hurtfull. Nothwitſtanding, if needs thou wilt, vveepe thy fil: yet ſhalt thou drink of the cup of afflictions which that heauenly phyſitian offe reth thee full o the brimme, not without good aduiſe.

Or elſe doth terrifie & withdraw vs from committing them.

For it is vſed as a preuentiõ.

By him who knoweth all inward diſeaſes yea the leaſt diſpoſitions in vs.

Therfore we do in vaine & vnaduiſedlie ſearch the ſecreates of his medicines.

For he appoyneth them accoording to the diuerſitie of natures.

Finallie that our iudgments are not ſound in our owne caſe.

CHAPT. X.

Finally that punishment it selfe is good and wholsome, in respect of God, of men, and of the party that is punished.

Calamities for punishments sake.

Which punishment is bitter, but yet good both in respect of god, & men.

BVt PVNISHMENT I confesse belongeth to euill men, and yet is not it euill. For first it is good if wee haue respect vnto God, whose eternal and inuiolable law of iustice requireth that mens faults be either cured, or cut off. Now chastcement reformeth those that may be amended: punishment cutteth awaie the incureable. It is good againe in regard of men, among whome no societie can stand or continue, if busie and vngodly wittes may practice what they please vncontrolled. And as it is expedient for the securitie of each priuate person to haue execution done vpon a particular theefe or murtherer: So is it behouefull in generall, that the like iustice be shewed vpon notorious publicke malefactors. These punishments vpon tirants and spoilers of the whole world, most necessarily be inflicted somtimes, that they may bee mirrors to admonish vs, *That it is the eie of iustice which behouldeth all things.* Which also may crye out to other princes and people.

(a) Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere diuos. Aeneid, li. 6

(a) *Learn iustice now by this, and God aboue despise no more.*

And also in respect of them that are punished.

Thirdly punishmente is good in respect of those that be punished: for it is not properly vengeaũce or reuenge, neither doth the gentle deietie *punish rigorously in rage.* As a wicked Poet said wel: But it is onely a prohibition & restraint frõ wickednes. And as ỹ Grecians significantly do expresse it (b) CHASTICEMENT not REVENGEMENT. As death is many times sent to goodmen before they fall into a greuous sin: So it happeneth to those that be desparatly wicked in the middes of their vn godlines, which they do loue so much ỹ they cannot be drawne frõ it except they be clean cut off. Therfore god stoppeth vs of

(b) κόλασις οὐ τιμωρία which Aristotle finely distinguisheth

of our vnrulie course, gently taking away offendors and such as are rũning into sin. To conclude, al punishment is good, in respect of Iustice; as impunitie or lacke of due correction is euill, which suffereth men to liue till they be more and more wicked, that is, miserable. *Boethus* spake wittilie, *The wicked that abide some punishment are happier, then if no rod of Iustice did correct them.* And he yeeldeth a reason, because some good befalleth them (to wit, Correction) which they had not afore in the Catalogue of their faults.

1. lib. Rhet. reuẽge differeth from chastisement. For this is in respect of the sufferer. That of the doer.

CHAPT. XI.

Of the fourth end, which is vncertaine to man. That it apperteineth eyther to the preseruation and safetie, Or els to the ornament and beautie of the whole World. Euery of these pointes largely handled.

THe three endes aforesaid (*Lipsius*) are certaine and euident, which I haue passed ouer with sure footing. The fourth remaineth, wherein I wauer, for the same is more secret and farther remoued, then that the capacitie of mans reason can attaine vnto it. I see it onely through a Cloude, and I may coniecture thereat, but not know it: wander towardes, but not to it. This end which I speake of is generall, and respecteth either the conseruation of the whole World, or the ornament thereof. And touching the conseruation I doe therefore coniecture, because that same great God, which hath wisely created and ordered all these things, so made them as that he hath disposed them all in (*a*) *Measure, number, and Weight*, neither is it lawfull for any thing in his kinde to surpasse that meane, without the ouerthrow and ruine of the whole. Euen so those great bodies, the Heauen, the Sea, and Earth haue their bounds: So euerie age hath his prescribed number of liuing Creatures. Likewise is it in

A certen generall end of all great calamities, respecting the whole world.

Either for the conseruation, or for the ornament thereof.

(a) So saith the Hebreue wise man. wisedome ca. 11. verse 17.

in men, townes, and regions: will any of these exceede their bounds? Then of necessitie some whirlewind and tempest of misfortune must consume them, or else they would hurt and deface the bewtifull frame of this worlde. But it is apparant, that they doo often striue to exceede their number, especially those Creatures that by nature doo engender and increase. Behold men, who can deny that by nature we spring vp a great deale more then die? So that two men doe sometimes within the space of a few yeares procreate a hundred out of their bodies, of whom ten or twenty doe not die. Heards of Cattle also woulde encrease without number, if Butchers did not choose & cull out yeerely, certeine of them for the shambles. Likewise birdes and fishes woulde in a short space pester the aire and the waters, were it not for fighting and vvarre among themselues, as also deceipts practised against them by men. In euery age Citties and tovvnes are builded, and if burnings or other destructions happened not, our World, nor scarce another would containe them. And so in conceipt thou maiest passe through the nature of all things. Therefore, Is it any maruell, if that olde father of the familie thrust in his sickle into this ranke fielde, and cut off some superfluous thousandes with pestilence or warre? If he did not so, What Countrey were able to containe vs? What land could affoord vs nourishment? Therefore in Gods name let some partes perish, that the whole perfection of all may be perpetuall. For euen as vnto gouernors of Common-wealthes, the safegarde of the people is the highest law, so is the world to God.

All creatures & especially the liuing do fructifie and encrease abondantly.

Which would grow to an infinite number, were it not for violent and vnnaturall meanes

Therfore the sithe of commó calamities is needfull, to mowe and cut downe.

Or els ỹ world could not continue.

Which god careth for especially.

And concerning the bewtie or ornament of ỹ world, my coniecture is two fold. First, for that I can conceiue no trimnesse in this huge engine, without a different change and varietie of things. I knowe that the sunne is most bewtifull: yet the dewie night, and the mantle of that blacke dame put betweene, maketh him to appeere more gratious. The summer is most pleasant, yet the win-

Also these great calamities and destructions do adorne and bewtifie the world with a kind of varietie.

winter dooth make it more louely with her ycie marble and white ſnow. Which things if you take away, in truth you depriue vs of the inward delight and feeling both of ſunne and Summer. In this our Earth, one vniform faſhion pleaſeth me not, but I take pleaſure to behold the Champion countrey and mountaines, vallies and rocks, Fieldes tilled and Sea ſands, meadowes and woods. Sacietie and lothſomneſſe is euer a companion of vniformity or likeneſſe. And vppon this ſtage of my life, whye ſhould one faſhion of attire and geſture content me? No, it ſhal not. But (in my minde) let there be times of great quietneſſe, and therein ſome naughtineſſe; which ſoone after tumults of warres and the rage of cruel tyrants may take away. Who would wiſh this world to be like a dead Sea, without wind or waues?

And in the amending or poliſhing of things, and of our minds.

But I perceiue moreouer another kinde of ornament, of more account and inward profit. Hiſtories doo teach me, that al thinges become better and quietter, after the ſtormes of aduerſities. Dooth warre vex any Nation? The ſame dooth alſo (a) quicken them, and moſt commonly bringeth in Artes, together with other thinges, that doo diuerſlie adorne their wittes. The Romanes in times paſt, impoſed a greeuous yoke vppon the necke of the whole world, but yet a yoke that prooued wholeſome in the ende; wherby Barbariſme was expelled from our mindes, as the ſunne driueth away darkeneſſe from our eies. What had the Frenchmen, we our ſelues, and the Germanes beene at this day, if the light of that mighty Empire had not ſhined vpon vs? Fierce, vnciuill, delighting in ſlaughters betwixt our ſelues and others, contemners of God and men. Euen ſo (I geſſe) it will come to paſſe with the new world which the Spaniardes haue waſted with a profitable ſeueritie, and themſelues will ſhortly repleniſh againe with people, and inhabit it. And as they which haue great nurſeries for plants, do remoue ſome, ſet others, and cut off other ſome, ordering them

(a) wher etc the prouerb hath respect, which ſaith That war is the father of all feats or facultiies.

A verie fit ſimilitude.

with skill for their owne good and benefit: Euen so doth God in this wide fielde of the world. For he is a most skilful husband man, and one while he breaketh off som wast braunches of families: An other while he croppeth and cutteth away a fewe leaues of particular men. This helpeth the stock of the tree, albeit those branches perish, & those leaues are blowne away with the winde. Againe he seeth this nation very bare and barren of vertues: hee casteth it out. Another rough and vnfruitfull: hee remoueth it. Yea and som he confoundeth among themselues & by grafting maketh (as it were) a medley of them. You Italians waxen feeble and effeminate in the declining of your Empire, why do ye hold the best cũtry of the world? Geue place. Let the sterne and sturdy Lumbards manure with more happines this soile. You wicked & wãton Grecians, perish ye vtterly: And let those cruel Scithians be setled & wax mild in your cuntry. And moreouer with a certen confusion of nations you French men posses Gaule: ye Saxons, Britanie: ye Normans, seaze vpon Belgica and the territories bordering. All which matters (Lipsius) and many more are manifest out of histories and by the euentes of things, to any diligent reader.

Comfort drawen from the end of calamities.

Therfore let vs lift vp our selues, and whatsoeuer dammage we sustaine priuately, let vs know that it doth good in some part of the whole world. The rooting out of one nation or kingdom, is the raising vppe of an other: The decay of one tower, the building of an other: And no thinge properly dyeth or perisheth heere, but altereth. Are we Flemings alone in accompte and estimation before God? Alone continually happie, and fortunes white sonnes? O fooles! That greate gran-dam hath many moe children, whom we must bee contented that shee cherish and lull in her lappe one after another, because she either can not, or will not dally with them all at once. The sunne hath shined with his bright beames a longe time vpon vs: Now let it be nighte with vs awhiles, and let

let the glittering light illuminate the Spaniards and farthest westerne partes. Seneca (after his manner) sayth fitly and profoundly to this purpose. *A wise man should not take in ill parte whatsoeuer happeneth vnto him: But let him know that those selfe things which seeme to annoy him, do belong to the preseruation of the whole world, and are of the nomber of those things that do consummate the course & office of the whole.*

CHAPT. XII.

An old and common obiection against Gods iustice, why punishments be not equal. Such inquiry is remoued from men. and declared to be vngodly.

HEre whiles *Langius* paused a little, I spake thus: As a faire water-spring to trauellers in sommer: So is your talke to me. It cherisheth, refresheth, and with a cooling kinde of moisture qualifieth my feuer and feruent heat: But yet it qualifieth, not quencheth the same. There sticketh a thorne in my mind (which also pricked the Auncients) touching equallity of punishments. For what (*Langius*) if that equal ballance of iustice if this sword of afflictions

Gods iustice (vpon occasion) is accused.

Lucretius.

Doth often times let wicked men go free,
And slay such folke as good and harmelesse bee?

As though punishments and afflictions wer not equally distributed, nor deseruedlie.

Why (I say) are some innocent people rooted out and the children and posteritie afflicted for the faults of their Auncestors? This is a thicke miste in my eies, which (if you can) disperse with the bright beames of reason. *Langius* with a wrinkeled forehead, yea younker (quoth hee) are you so soone gone astray againe? I will none of that. For as skilfull huntsmen suffer not their hounde to range, but to follow one and the same deere: So woulde I haue thee to treade onely in those foote steppes which I haue traced out vnto thee. I woulde beate into thy brayne the endes of afflictions to the intente that if

thou

thou be good, thou mayest thinke thy selfe to bee exercised: if fallen, to be lifted vppe: if vtterly naught, to be punished. And now thou drawest me to the causes. Wandring minde! What meanest thou by this curious carefulnesse? Wilt thou needes feele those celestiall fires? They will melt thee like wax. Wilt thou clime vppe into the Tower of prouidence? Thou shalt soone fal down headlong. As butter-flies, and other little flies doo by night flutter so long about the candle, till it burne them: Euen so dooth mans mind dally about that secret celestial flame.

But the search therof is shewed to bee aboue mans capacitie.

Shewe me the causes (sayest thou) why the vengeance of God ouer-skippeth some, and whippeth others? Dost thou seek the causes? I say most safely, that I know them not. For the heauenly Court neuer comprehended me, nor I the decrees thereof. Of this onely I am assured, that Gods will is a cause aboue all causes; beyond which, who so seeketh another, is ignorant of the efficacie and power of the diuine nature. For it is necessarie, that euery cause be in a sort, before and greater then his effect: but nothing is before, nor greater than God and his will, therefore there is no cause thereof. God hath pardoned: God hath punished: what wilt thou haue more? *The will of God is the chiefe Iustice*, as *Saluianus* saith well and godly. Yet ye say, we require a reason of this inequality. Of whome? Of God? To whom that is lawfull whatsoeuer him liketh; and nothing liketh him but that which is lawful. If the seruant cal his maister, or the subiect his Soueraigne to account; the tone may take it in contempt, & the tother as treason. And art thou more bold with God? Fie vpon such peruerse curiositie. (a) *This reason cannot stand otherwise, then if it be rendred to no man.* And yet when thou hast doone all that thou art able, thou shalte not cleere thy selfe out of the darke mistes of ignorance, nor be partaker of those meere mystical councelles and decrees. It is excellently spoken by Sophocles, *Thou shalt*

Which is ioyned with daunger of a downe fall.

And wherein we are meerly pore-blind.

Whatsoeuer God will, is therfore right, because he willeth it.

a *which was wittilie spoken by Salust, and applied to Tiberius in the high Empire. Tacit. 1. Annal.*

ſhalte neuer attaine to the knowledge of heauenly things, if God conceale them: nor of them all, though thou beſtowe thy labour euer therein.

CAPT. XIII.

Yet to certifie the Curious, three old obiections are aunſwered. And firſte touching euill men not puniſhed. Wee proue they are repriued, and pardoned. And that either in reſpect of men themſelues, or in regarde of Godsnature, which is ſlow to puniſh.

THis plaine & broad way (Lipſius) is onely ſafe here: All others be deceaueable and ſlippery. In diuine and heauenly matters, it is the ſharpeſt ſight to ſee nought; and the only knowledge to know nothing. Yet becauſe this cloud hath of old time, and nowe doth compaſſe mens wittes, I will wind thee out of it ſhortly, if I can. And will waſh away that that ſticketh by thee, with this riuer here at hand. O thou celeſtiall and eternall ſpirite (there with he caſt his eies on high) pardon and forgiue me if in theſe profound miſteries I vtter any thing impure or vngodly, yet with a godly intent. And firſt I may generally defend the iuſtice of God with his owne blow. Yf God behould the affaires of men, he hath care of them: if he haue care, he gouerneth them: if hee gouerne, hee doth it with iudgement: if with iudgement, how can it be without iuſtice? which if it be wanting ther is no regiment nor gouerment at all, but diſorder, confuſion, and trouble. What haſt thou to oppoſe againſt this weapon? what ſhielde or armour? Say the truth, onely mans ignorance. I vnderſtand not (ſaiſt thou) why theſe ſhould be puniſhed, and thoſe not. Well ſaide. Wilte thou therefore ioyne impudencie to thy ignorance? And becauſe thou comprendeſt not the power of the diuine and pure lawe, wilte thou carpe at it? what more vniuſte

Simpliſſitie & modeſtie are acceptable to God.

Whoſe iuſtice is generallie proued.

Which onely our ignorance acculeth.

reason would be alleadged against iustice? if some stranger should vtter his coniectures of the lawes and ordinaunces of thy cuntry, thou wouldest bid him hold his tongue and be gone, because he hath not the knowledge of them: And doest thou, An inhabitant of this earth rashly condemne the vnknowne lawes of heauen? Thou creature, thy creator? yet goe to, take thy pleasure, I will close neerer with thee, searching distinctly the thicke mists of these thy cauilles by the cleere sunne of reason, as thou requirest. Thou obiectest three thinges, That GOD letteth scape offendors. That he punisheth innocentes. That hee putteth ouer and transferreth his punishmentes from one to an other. I will begin with the first.

By a wrong course and custome.

All cauills against gods iustice be thre fold.

The first obiection answered, touching the escaping of malefactors.

Thou saist that the vengeance of God doth not well to ouerpasse the wicked. Yea, doth it ouerpasse them? No, I thinke rather it forbeareth them onely for a time. If I haue greate deptes owing me, and if it please me to exacte my due of one depter presently, and to beare with another for a longer time, who can blame me? for it is at my owne good will and pleasure. Euen so doth that greate God; Of whome whereas all naughtie men haue deserued punishment, hee exacteth it of some presently, and beareth with others to bee payd afterwardes with interest. What vnrightousnes is here, except it be so ỳ thou take thought for God, & feare least he be indemnified by this his bountiful forbearance But alas seely man! Thou arte more affraide then hurt. Neuer shall any man deceaue this greate crediror. Whither soeuer wee flye, we are all in his sight, yea in bondes and fetters to him. But thou saist, I would haue such a tirant to be presently punished, that by his death at this time, satisfaction may be made to so many whom he hath oppressed; So shal the iustice of God be made more manifest vnto vs. Nay, thou bewrayest hereby thy blockishnes. For who art thou that dost not onely appoint God how, but also prescribe him when

For God omitteth present punishment but he doth not remit it.

Neither is god deceaued by this forbearaunce.

when to punish? Thinkest thou that he is thy iudge, or onely a serieant or vnder-officer? Goe, leade him hence, whip him, muffle his face, hange him vpon a cursed tree, for so it seemeth good in my eies. Fie vppon this impudencie. Vnto God it seemeth otherwise, whom thou must vnderstand to see much better in this case then thy selfe, and to haue another end in punishing. Thou arte prouoked with choller, and caried away with desire of reuenge. He being far from both these, hath respect to the ensample and correction of others. He also knoweth best to whom the same may do good, & when. The moments of times are of great weight, and the most wholesom medicine is often turned to the destruction of the diseased, not being applyed in due season. God cut off Caligula in the prime of his tyrannie. He suffered Nero to run on farther; And Tiberius farthest of all. And doubte thou not but it was for the good of those that then murmured at it. Our euill and disordered manners haue neede of a continuall scourge; but we woulde haue it taken from vs at the firste, and caste into the fier. This is one cause of forbearance, which respecteth vs.

Why God omitteth or forbeareth to punish.

First that he may send his punishments in due time.

An other there is in respecte of God vnto whome it seemeth peculiar. *To proceed slowly in reuenge of himselfe, and to quit that slacknesse with the grieuousnes of the punishment.* Well spake Sinesius, *The diuine nature proceedeth leisurely and orderly.* And the old Sages went not much awry, who in this respect feined God to haue woollen feet So that albeit thou be a hasty man and geuen to reuenge, thou oughtest not to be grieued at this forbearãce which is such a delay of the punishment, as it is withal an encreasing of the same. Tell me, in beholding a tragedy, will it stomacke thee to see Atreus or Thiestes in the firste or second acte walking in state and maiestye vppon the scene? To see them raigne, threate and commaund? I thinke not, knowing their prosperitie to be of small continuance; And when thou shalte see them shamefullie come to confusion in the laste Acte. Nowe then in

Secondly it proceedeth frõ an instincte of his nature. (If I may so speake.)

Because the most mild god is slow to punish.

But he paieth home in the end with a commendam.

this Tragedy of the World, why art not thou so fauourable towards God, as to a poore Poet? This wicked mã prospereth. That Tyrant liueth. Let be awhiles. Remember it is but the first Act, and consider aforehande in thy mind, that sobs and sorrowes will ensue vppon their sollace. This Scene will anon swimme in bloud, then these purple and golden garments shalbe rowled therein. For that Poet of ours is singular cunning in his art, and will not lightly transgresse the lawes of his Tragedie. In musicke, doo we not allowe sometimes disagreeing soundes, knowing that they will all close in consent? But the parties iniured doo not alwaies see the punishment. What maruell is that? The tragedy commonly is tedious, and they are not able to sit so long in the theater: yet others doo see it, and are worthily stricken with feare when they perceiue that some are repriued before this seuere throne of iustice, but not pardoned: And that the day of execution is prolonged, not wholly taken away. Wherefore (*Lipsius*) holde this for certaine, That vngodly men are forborne awhiles, but neuer forgiuen: And that no man hath a sinne in his hart, but the same man carieth (*a*) Nemesis on his backe. For that Furie followeth them alwaies, and as I may say with Euripides, *Going silently and with a soft foot, she will in due time violently pluck the wicked from off the earth.*

The life of the wicked is compared to a tragedie.

(*a*) *The Paynimes goddesse that punisheth heynous maly factors.*

CHAPT. XIIII.

Then is it shewed that there be sundry kinds of punishmẽts: And some of them hidden or inward, alwaies accompanying the wicked facts themselues, which vngodly men shall neuer escape. And they bee more greeuous than any outward.

There be three sorts of punishments that God vseth.

YEt to make thee conceiue these thinges the better, and that I may lead thee at length into the chiefe bulwarke of this argument; Thou must vnderstand

that

ý there be 3 ſundry ſorts of Gods puniſhments; Internal, After this life, External. The firſt I call thoſe that VEX THE MIND OR SOVLE YET COVPLED TO THE BODIE; As ſorrow, repentance, feare, and a thouſande gnawinges of conſcience. The ſecond ſort are ſuch as TOVCH THE SAME SOVLE BEING FREE AND LOOSED FROM THE BODIE: as bee thoſe puniſhments which moſt of the olde heathen writers did (not without reaſon) coniecture were reſerued for vngodlie men after this life: The third WHICH TOVCH THE BODY, OR ARE ABOVT THE SAME: as pouertie baniſhment, griefes, diſeaſes, death. And it commeth to paſſe oftentimes that all theſe, by the iuſt iudgement of God, doo fal vppon the wicked: But certeinly the twoe former kinds doo alwaies followe them. And to ſpeake of INTERNALL puniſhments, what man was there at any time ſo giuen ouer to worke wickedneſſe, but that he felt in his minde ſharpe ſcourges, and (as it were) heauy ſtrokes eyther in committing miſchieuous deeds, or elſe after the facts committed? For Plato ſaid trulie, *That puniſhment is the companion of iniuſtice*. Or as Heſiodus more plainly and forceably expreſſeth the matter, *It is coeternal and coequall with it*. The puniſhment of wickedneſſe is kin to euery wicked act, yea bred in it; neyther is any thing free and out of care in this life, but innocencie. As malefactors among the Romanes that were condemned to bee crucified, dyd beare their croſſe, which ſoone after ſhoulde beare them: So hath God laid this croſſe of conſcience vppon all vngodly men, whereby they may ſuffer paines afore they come to execution. Dooeſt thou thinke there is none other puniſhment but that which is obiected to our eies? Or that which is inflicted vppon the bodie? It is farre otherwiſe. All ſuch are externall, and doo lightly for a ſhort time only touch vs; But thoſe that bee inwarde doo torment vs. As wee iudge them to bee more ſicke which pine awaie with a

1. Internall.

2. After this life.

3. Eternall.

Some of theſe are alwaies inflicted vpon the wicked.

Eſpecially the internal, which are corraſiues to the mynd.

And the moſt grieuous pains of all other.

cōſumption, then they ỳ haue an inflamation or feuer, and yet theſe laſt haue the greateſt appearance: Euen ſo be thoſe wicked men in worſte caſe, which are ledde to euerlaſting death with a lingring pace. Caligula ruling with great Tyrannie, would be ſo ſtricken on a ſudden as though he ſhoulde die: So fareth it with thoſe wicked-linges when that butcher (their owne minde) pricketh and beateth continuallie with ſoft ſtrokes.

Lying hid often tymes vnder a cherefull and mertie countenaunce

Let not the gorgeous outward apparance beguile thee, nor the puiſſant pompe wherewith they are enuironed, or their aboundance of wealth. For they are not the happier nor in any better caſe thereby, no more then a ſicke man whoſe ague or goute lyeth vppon a ſtatelie featherbedde. When thou ſeeſt a poore beggerly fellowe playing a kinges part on a ſtage, adorned with golden robes, thou enuyeſt him not, knowing that vnder the ſame gorgeous attire are ſcabs, filthe, and vncleaneneſſe: haue thou the very ſame opinion of all theſe great proud Tyrantes, *Whoſe mindes if they might be opened* (ſaith Tacitus) *wee ſhould beholde rentinges and ſtrokes: Sith that euen as the bodie with ſtripes, ſo is the mind torne in peeces with crueltie, luſt, and euil cogitations.* I knowe they laugh ſometimes, but it is onely from the teeth outwarde. They reioice, but with no true ioy. No more certeinely then they which being in a dungeon condemned to die, doo ſeeke to beguile themſelues with playing at dice or tables, and yet cannot. For the deepe imprinted terrour of puniſhment at hande remaineth, and the image of grieſly death neuer departeth from before their eies. I pray thee draw backe this curtaine of externall thinges, and behold that (*a*) Scicilian tyrant,

In wicked men there is disagreement betwixt ỳ tongue & thoughtes.

(*a*) *Dionyſius.*

Ouer whoſe wicked head a naked ſword
Doth alwaies hang.

(*b*) *The words of Tiberius in an epiſtle to the ſenate.*

Lyſten to that Romane emperour lamentably crying out (*b*) *All the Gods and Goddeſſes ſend me a worſe deſtruction, then that I feele a dailie dying in me.* Heare another

ther of them ſighing from the heart, & ſaying: (a) *What? Am I the onely man that haue neither friende nor foe?* Theſe are the true tormentes of the minde. *(Lipſius)* Theſe be griping greeſes indeed, alwaies to bee vexed, ſorrowfull, terrified. Beware thou compare not any tortures, rackes, or iron Inſtrumentes vnto theſe.

(a) *The words of Nero at his death.*

CHAPT. XV.

That paines after this life are prepared for euill dooers. And moſt commonly alſo externall puniſhments. Confirmed by ſome notable examples.

IOyne moreouer heereto thoſe euerlaſting paines after this life, which it ſufficeth mee onely to point at out of the middes of diuinitie, without further vnfolding of them. Adde alſo externall puniſhmentes, which if they bee wanting, yet in aſmuch as the former neuer are omitted, who can rightlie blame the iuſtice of God? But I ſay that thoſe firſt are not lacking: And neuer, or ſurely very ſeldome dooth it happen, but that notorious euill perſonnes and ſuch as oppreſſe others, doo ſuffer open and publicke paines. Some of them ſooner, ſome later; Some in themſelues, and ſome in their poſteritie: Thou markeſt and murmureſt that the Sicilian Tyrant Dyoniſius dooth for many yeares together commit adulteries, rapines, murders, without controulment. Haue patience a little while, thou ſhalte ſee him ſhortly infamous, a baniſhed man, beggerly, and (a matter ſcarce credible) thruſt down from the ſcepter, to ỹ ferruler. The ſame king of a great Iland, ſhal ſet vp a ſchoole at Corinth, himſelf being indeed a very ſcoffe to fortune. On the other ſide, Doth it grieue thee ỹ Pompey ſhould be ouerthrowne in Pharſalia, and his army almoſt conſiſting of Senatours? That the Tyrant ſhoulde take his pleaſure

Paines after this lyfe of which diuines do properly intreate.

External puniſhments moſt commonly are ſent before thoſe other.

Either in the perſons offending, or in their poſterity.

The ſtraunge puniſhment that God ſent vpõ Dioniſius.

pleasure and pastime awhiles in the bloud of citicens? I blame thee not much, considering that Cato himselfe here lost the helme of sound Iudgment, & from his heart vttered this doubtful voice, *Diuine matters are full of obscurity*. Notwithstanding thou Lipsius, thou Cato, cast your eies a little aside, you shall see one thing that will bringe you into good liking with God againe. Behold that Cesar, statly, A conquerour, in his own and some other folks opinion, a very god; Slaine in, and of the Senate. And that not with one simple death, but wounded with three and twenty seuerall thrusts, and rouling in his own bloud like a beast. And (what more could you wish?) this was donne euen in the courte of Pompei, the Image of Pompei standing there on high, celebrating a greate sacrifice to the ghost of that *(a)* Greate one. Euen so Brutus loosing his life in the Philippian fieldes for his cuntry, and with his cuntry, moueth me to compassion: But I am recomforted when I see not long after those conquering armies (as it were) before his tombe falling together by the eares betweene themselues; And Maister Antonius one of the Chiefetaines ouercome both by sea and land, among three seely women hardly finding death with that womanish hand. Where arte thou now that of late wast Lord of all the east? Leader of the Romaine Armies? Persecuter of Pompei and the common-wealth? Loe thou hangest in a rope by thy bloudy hands! Lo thou creepest into thy graue halfe aliue! Loe dying thou canste not bee withdrawne from her which was thy death! Marke whether Brutus vttered in vaine those last words at his death. *O Iupiter, let not the author of this euill beguile thee*. No more did he deceaue or escape him. No more did that other Captain, who not obscurely suffered in himselfe the punishment of his youthfull misdeedes; But yet more apparantly in all his progenie. Let him be happy and mighty Cæsar, and truly *(b) Augustus*: But with all let him haue a daughter Iulia, and a neece; Also some of his nephewes

Likewise on Iulius Cesar.

(a) Pompey, was surnamed The GREAT.

Also vpon M. Antonius.

And lastly vpon Octauianus Augustus, Antonies companion.

(b) That is in english, full of maiestie and reuerence.

phewes let him lose by false accusations. Others let him banish out of his fauour: And with loathsomnes of these let him wish to die with fower daies hunger, and not bee able. Finally, let him liue with his *Liuia*. vnhonestlie married, vnhonestlie kepte: And vpon whom he doted with vnlawfull loue, (*a*) let him die a shamefull death by her meanes. In conclusion (saith *Plinie*) *He being made a god and gaining heauen (but I wot not whether he deserued it) let him die, and let the sonne of his (b) enemie be his heire.* These and such like things (*Lipsius*) are to be thought vpon whensoeuer we begin to breake forth into any complaintes of vnrighteousnes in god. And we must alwaies cast our mindes to the consideration of two things, the slownes, and the diuersitie of punishments. Is not such a man punished? Hold thee contented a little, he shall feele it ere long: If not in his bodie, yet assuredly in mind. If not whiles he liueth, yet doubtles when he is dead.

(a) It is thought he was poisoned by her. Of all these masters see at large in his life.

(b) Tiberius, who was the son of Liuia by her first husband.

The conclusiõ of this place touching complaining against euill men.

Though vengeaunce come behind and her foote sore,
She ouer-takes the offender that goeth before.

Seneca.

For that same heauenlie eye watcheth still, and when thou thinkest it sleepeth soundlie, it doth but winke a little. Onely see that thou beare thy selfe vprightly towards him; And do not vainely accuse thy iudge, by whom thy selfe must eftsoones be iudged.

CHAPT. XVI.

An answeare to the other obiection touching guiltles men. It is proued that all haue deserued punishment, for that al are offendors. And who they bee that doe offend more or lesse, can hardly or by no meanes be discerned by men. It is God onely that seeth thoroughly into faults, and therefore doth punish most iustlie.

The second cauill touching guiltles persons: which is in deed a meere cauill or slaunder, because ther be none guiltles or innocent.

BVt thou saist that guiltlesse and innocent people are punished. For this is thy second complaint, Or rather I may tearme it a slanderous accusation. Vnaduised yong man! So speakest thou? In what countrey may we find such countrey-men as are without fault? It were great boldnesse, yea rashnesse to affirme that of any one man. And dost thou make no scruple to quit whole peoples and nations of offence? Thou doost most foolishly. I know we haue all sinned and daily doe; we are borne in vncleannesse and in it we liue. In somuch that the storehouse of heauen (as I may say with the Satiricke) woulde be without thunder-bolts, if they were hurled continually vpon all that do offend. For though fishes be ingendred and nourished in the salt sea and themselues tast not of any saltnes: yet may we not thinke it to bee so with vs men, that we being born in this contagion of the world, should our selues be without corruption. Then if all bee offendors, where are these harmles innocent people? For punishment is alwaies most iustly ỹ companiõ of offence

Neither may we pretend inequalitie of the fault and punishment.

But thou wilt say, I mislike the inequality, in that some folke hauing trespassed but a little are greeuously corrected: And others notoriously naught, are suffred to florish and haue dominion. I see what the matter is. Belike thou wilt take the ballance of iustice out of Gods hand, & wilt poise it after thine owne fantasie and pleasure. To what else tendeth this thy valuation of greater or smaller offences, which thou assumest vnto thee before God? But heere *(Lipsius)* I would haue thee consider two thinges: First that men cannot neither ought to take vpon them the iudging of others faults. For how can it be that thou (sillie man) shouldst weigh faults vprightly, which doost not marke them throughly? Canst thou giue sentence iustly of that which thou art not able to examine diligẽtlie? Thou wilt easily graunt that it is the minde or soule which sinneth, by meanes of the body and the instruments

Wherin men are no vpright iudges.

ments of the ſences, but yet ſo, that the whole waighte and burthen of ſinne reſteth vpon it. This is ſo true, that if thou grant a man hath committed ought againſt his will, then he hath not therein ſinned. If it be ſo, how art thou able to behold the offence, which ſeeſt not ſo much as the harbour and ſeate thereof? And ſurely thou arte ſo farre from ſeeing an other mans mind, that thou perceaueſt not thine owne. Therefore this is greate folly or temerity in arrogating to thy ſelfe the cenſuring and iudgement of that thing which is not ſeene, nor to bee ſeene; Neither knowne nor able to bee comprehended by any mans knowledge.

In that they ſee not the mind, which is the ſeat of ſin.

Secondly, admitte there be ſuch inequallity as thou ſpeakeſt off: Yet is there no harme nor wronge don herein. No harme, in ỳ it is for their good which are preſently puniſhed euen for their leaſt faults. Therin God loueth vs. And we ought greatly to miſdoubte longe forbearance, which euer bringeth with it more grieuous paines. Againe neither is there any wrong donne thereby, becauſe (as I ſaide) wee haue all of vs deſerued puniſhment, and there is not in the beſt any ſuch purity, but that ſom ſpots doe ſtaine them, which muſt be waſhed away with this ſalt water of aduerſities. Wherefore (young man) lette paſſe this moſt intricate diſputation of the eſtimating of faults and offences, thou being an earthly and very ſimple iudge, Referre it to God, who diſcerneth more vprightly and ſoundly that matter from his high throne of iuſtice. He alone it is that eſteemeth indifferently of deſerts. He, which without al fraude or dawbing of diſſimulation beholdeth vertue and vice in their proper hue. Who can deceaue him which ſearcheth all outward and inward thinges alike? which ſeeth both body and mind? The tongue and the very veynes of the hearte? Finally all things whether open or ſecret? who ſeeth not onely ỳ deeds don, but euen the cauſes & proceedinges of them as cleere as the noon light. Thales, being once demanded

Neither yet the cauſe of outward puniſhment, which often times is for good.

Therfore we muſt leaue this iudgment to God alone.

Who is a ſearcher of the harte: And whom no counterfetting or diſſimulation can beguile.

whether any one could beguile God, that did commit wickednesse? No, nor if he do but imagine it onely; So said he truly. But now it is otherwise with vs being here in darknes, who not onely doo not see secret sinnes, but also such as are doone vnder the coate and skirts (as they say) no nor scarce those that be manifest and committed in the daie light. For wee doo not discerne the fault it selfe and the whole force thereof, but onely some externall signes of the same when it is doone and hath turned the backe to be gone againe. We do oftentimes thinke them the best men, whom God knoweth to bee the worst: And those we reiect, whome he dooth elect. Wherefore (if thou haue wisedome) shut thine eies, and stoppe thy mouth from hauing any thing to doo touching the worthinesse or vnworthinesse of men. Such hidden causes are hardly knowne for certaine.

CHAPT. XVII.

An answere to the third obiection touching punishmentes translated or put off from one person to another. It is shewed by examples that the same is vsually doon among men. What is the cause wherefore God vseth such translating of punishments from one to another. Also certeine other matters full of subtile curiositie.

The third cauil or slaunder of gods iustice, touching Substitutes in punishmentes.

Which is a matter neither strange nor vnusual among men

BVt now the third cloud brought in to ouer-shadowe Gods iustice, must be blowne away. For some saye that God dooth not deale vprightly in shifting ouer punishments from one to another: Neyther is it wel that the posteritie should suffer paines for the faultes of their predecessors. What? Is that such a rare or straunge matter? Nay rather I maruel why these men should maruell at that, seeing they doo euen the same heere in this world. Tell me in good sooth, doo not the rewards that Princes bestow vppon the Auncestors for their vertues,

remaine

remaine and redound also to their posteritie? Surely they do. And I thinke the like of reuenge and punishment for their euill deseruinges. Beholde in cases of treason against the state or person of a prince, some are apparantly in the faulte, and others do communicate with them in the punishment. Which thing is so farre intended by mans seuerity, as it is prouided by lawes that the innocent children, should be punished with perpetuall pouerty; *so as death may seeme a solace to them, and life a scourge*. Your mindes are altogether malitious. You will permit that to some kinge or pettie-potentate, which you will not vnto God: who notwithstanding if ye consider it well, hath far greater reason of this seuerity. For we haue transgressed and rebelled against this mighty king euery one of vs; And by many descents is that first blemish or staine diriued to the vnhappie children; Such a cheining and linking together of offences there is before God. Neither was it my father, or thine that first began to sinne, but the father of all fathers. What marueill is it then if he punish in the posteritie those faultes which be not properlie diuers, but by certen communication of seede made ioynt, and neuer being discontinued.

For that daily both priuiledges and punishments do redound to the posteritie.

That god doth most iustly in transposing of punishmẽts.

Because we are naturally linked with our fathers in their offences.

But to let passe these high misteries, and to deale with thee by a more familiar kind of reasoning; know this, that God ioyneth together those thinges which we through frailty or ignorance doe seperate and put a sunder: And that hee beholdeth families, townes kingdomes, not as things confuse or distinguished, but as one body and intire nature. The familie of the Scipioes or Cæsars, is but one whole thing to him. The cittie of Rome or Athens during all their time of their continuance, one. So likewise the Romaine emperie. And there is good reason it should be so. For there is a certen bonde of lawes, and communion of rights that knitteth together these greate bodies, which causeth a participation of rewards and punishments to bee betwixt those that haue liued in diuers

Finally because God vniteth together and bringeth vnder one viewe those thinges and faultes which we do seperate

That societies or corporations before god are but one intire thing.

ages. Therefore, were the Scipioes good men in times past? Their posterityе shall speede the better for it before the heauenly iudge. Were they euill? Let their posterity fare the worse. Haue the flemmings not many yeres past beene lasciuious, couetous, godlesse? let vs smart for it. Because in al external punishments God doth not onely beholde the time present, but also hath respect to time paste; And so by pondering of both these together, hee poyseth euenly the ballaunce of his iustice. I saide in all (*a*) EXTERNALL PVNISHMENTS, and I woulde haue thee marke it well. For the faults of one man are not layd vppon another, neither is there any confusion of offences: (God forbid that.) But these are onely paines and chasticements about vs, not in vs: And properly doe concern ỹ body or goods, but not our mind which is internal. And what iniury at all is there herein? we will be heires to our Auncestors of cõmodities & rewards, if they deserue any: Why should we refuse their punishments & paines? *O Romaines, ye shall suffer punishmẽts for the offences of your predecessors, vnworthely.* So said the Romain poet, and he spake true, but only in that he added *vnworthely.* For it is most deseruedly, because their fore-fathers had deserued it. But the poet saw the effect only, without lifting vp his consideration to the cause. Notwithstanding as one and the selfe same man may lawfully abide punishment in his old age, for som offence cõmitted in his youth: Euen so in Empires and kingdomes doth God punish old sins, because that in respect of outward communication and societie, they are but one selfe thing before God. These distances of times doe not seperate vs in his sight, who hath all eternitie inclosed in his infinite capacity. Did those (*b*) Martiall woolues in oulde time ouerthrowe so many townes, and breake in peeces so many scepters scotfree? haue they sucked so much bloude by slaughter, and themselues neuer loste their bloud? Then I will surely confesse that God is no reuenger (*c*) *Whoe both heareth and seeth whatsoeuer we doe.* But the case standeth other

That God ioyneth together tymes, be they neuer so far a sonder.

(*a*) *Which indeed is a wise chastisement, & in stead of a medicine. But in punishments commonly called spirituall, it is otherwise, which do extend only to the partie offending.*

(*b*) *The Romaines.*

(*c*) *Plautus in Capeiuis.*

otherwise. For it cannot be but they must at length euen in their posteritie receaue punishment, though slow, yet neuer too late.

Neither is ther with god this coniunction and vniting of times onely, but of partes also. This is my meaning: That like as in man when the(a) hands, ỷ secreate partes, and bellie do transgresse, the whole bodie buieth the bargaine deerly: So in a common multitude the sin of a fewe, is often required at the hands of all. Especially if the offenders be the worthiest members as Kinges, Princes, and Magistrates. Well said Hesiodus, and out of the bowells of wisedome.

(a) By theft, lechery and glottonie.

For one mans faulte the cittie suffreth paine,
When one committeth sacriledge, or wrong:
From heauen God makes tempestes downe to raine,
Or pestilence, or famishment among.

Hesiodus

So the whole Greekish Nauie perishd for one mans offence, euen the furious outrage of *Aiax Oileus*. Likewise in Iewry seuentie thousand men were iustly consumed with one plague, for the vnlawful (b) lust of the king. Somtimes it falleth out contrarilie, that whereas all haue sinned, God chooseth out one or a fewe to be (as it were) a sacrifice for the common crime. Wherein although he decline a little from the (c) straight leuell of equallitie, yet of this inequallitie a newe kind of iustice ariseth: And the same which in a fewe seemeth to be rigour, is a certaine merciful righteousnes towards many. Doth not ỷ schoolemaisters ferruler correcte one among a multitud of loytring schollers. Doth not a generall in the warres punish his mutinous Armie by drawinge the tenthe man? And both these do it vpon good aduise, for that this punishment inflicted vpon a fewe, doth terrifie and amend all. I see Phisitians many times open a veine in the foote or Arme, when the whole bodie is distempered. What know I whether it be so in this case? For these matters be misteries. (*Lipsius*) They be very deepe misteries.

(b) When David ambitiously nombred the people. 2. Sam. 24.

(c) Tacitus saith well: euery notable example hath some smacke of iniustice wish it, which (seeing it toucheth some particuler person onely) is sufficiently recompensed with the publicke profite.

If

If wee bee wise let vs not come too nighe this sacred fire whose sparkes and small flakes we men perchaunce may see, but not the thing it selfe. Euen as they which fix their eies too seriously vpon the sun, do lose them: so wee extinguish all the light of our mind, by beholding earnestly this light. My opinion therefore is, that wee ought to abstaine from this curious question so full of danger, And be resolued of this, That mortall men cannot rightfully iudge of offences, nor ought not to attempt it. God hath an other manner of ballaunce, and an other tribunall seat of iustice. And howsoeuer those secret iudgements of his be executed, we must not accuse but suffer and reuerence them. This one sentence I would haue thee to bee throughly perswaded off, wherewith I will shut vp this matter, and stop the mouthes of all curious busibodies, *The moste parte of Gods iudgements are secrete, but none of them vnrighteous.*

We must withdraw our cogitacions from those high misteryes.

Which we neither do nor can any waies comprehend.

CAPT. XVIII.

A Passage to the last place, which is of examples. It is shewed to be a matter profitable oftentimes to mix some things of sweete tast with sharper medicines.

THus much (*Lipsius*) I had to say in defence of Gods iustice against vniust accusers; which I confesse was not altogither pertinent to my purpose, and yet not much besides it: Because doubtlesse wee shall the more willingly and indifferently beare these greate publike miseries, when we are fully perswaded they bee iustly inflicted vpon vs. And heere surceassing our communication awhiles, *Langius* sodenly brake out into these wordes; it is well, I haue taken breath a little: And being now passed beyonde all the dangerous rockes of difficulte questions, it seemeth I may with full sailes strike into the hauen. I behold here at hand my fourth and last troupe, which

A returning to the talke of *CONSTANCIE.*

which I intende willingly to bringe into the field. And as marriners being in a tempest, when they see the two (*a*) twinnes appeare together, do receaue great hope & comforte: So fareth it with me, vnto whome after many sturdy stormes, this double legion hath shewed it self. Let me lawfully terme it so, after the auncient manner, because it is forked or twofold, And by it I muste manfully proue two seuerall things, that these euills which nowe we suffer are neither grieuous, nor new and vnaccustomed. In certaine of which fewe matters that are behind vnhandled, I pray the (*Lipsius*) shew thy selfe willing and attentiue vnto me. Neuer more willing (*Langius*) then now. For it pleaseth me very well that wee haue passed through the pikes: And I long earnestly for some pleasant and familiar medicines, after these sharpe and bitter pilles. And so it appeareth by the title that the disputation ensuing wilbe. You say true, quoth *Langius*. And euen as the chirurgians after they haue seared and cut as much as liketh them, do not forthwith dismisse their patient, but apply some gentle medicines and comfortable salues to asswage the pain: So I hauing sufficiently seared and purged thee with the rasors and fire of wisedome, will now cherish thee againe with some sweeter communication, & wil touch thee with a milder hand, as the saying is. I wil descend from that craggie hill of philosophy: leading thee awhiles into the pleasant fieldes (*b*) philology; And that, not so much for thy recreation, as for thy health. It is sayd that Demochares a phisitian hauing for his patient Considia a noble woman which refused all kind of sharpe medicines, ministred vnto her the milke of goates, which he caused to feed altogether vpon mastick: So it is my purpose to impart now vnto thee some historicall and delectable matters, but yet sauced with a secrete liquor of wisedome. What matter is it which way wee attempt the curing of a sicke bodie, so wee restore him to perfect health?

The fowrth argument for it: which is also twofold.

(*a*) *Castor and Pollux. who wher they appeare both in a storme, do beto ken a calme nigh as hand.*

(*b*) *Which is heer taken for eloquence or sweete communication. It signifieth properly loue of talke. as philosophie doth loue of wisedome.*

CAPT. XIX.

That publike euills are not ſo grieuous as they ſeeme to bee; which firſte is briefely proued by reaſon. For moſte commonly wee feare the circumſtances and adiuncts of thinges, more then the thinges themſelues.

The firſt part of his argument touching the lightnes of calamities.

NOw march forwards mine own good legion. And firſt of all that troupe which arte aſſigned to the vowe-ward; prouing that theſe euills are not grieuous, which we will conuince by a twofold argument, of reaſon and compariſon. OF REASON, becauſe if thou haue due reſpecte there vnto, truly all theſe things which do betide vs and hang ouer our heads, are neither grieuous nor greate, but do onely ſeeme ſo to be. It is OPINION which doth augment & amplify them, and lifteth them vp as it were vppon a ſtage to bee ſeene. But if thou be wiſe, ſcatter abroade that thicke miſte, and behold the thinges in the cleere light. For example ſake; Thou in this time of publike calamities feareſt pouerty, baniſhment, and death. If thou looke vpon theſe things with indifferent & ſound eies: alas what trifles are they? if thou poiſe them according to their weight, how light be they? This war, or elſe the tirannie of gouernors through exceſſiue tributes will impoueriſh thee. What then? Thou ſhalt be a poore man. Did not nature ſo mak thee, and ſo ſhall take thee hence? But if the odious and infamous name of tiranny offend thee, change thy habitation, ſo ſhalt thou free thy ſelfe. Fortune (if thou marke it) hath holpen thee, and prouided thee a place of more ſecurity. No man ſhall pill and poll thee any more. Thus ỳ thing which thou didſt accompt as dammage, ſhal be a remedy vnto thee. But I ſhalbe a banniſhed man. Nay rather a ſtranger, if thou wilt. If thou alter thy affection, thou chaungeſt thy cuntry: A wiſe man in wharſoeuer place

If we examine them with reaſon.

For pouertie is no hard mater to beare.

Neither is banniſhment grieuous.

place he be, is as a pilgrime; And a foole wheresoeuer he goeth, is an exile.

But thou wilt say, death is dayly imminent to me by meanes of a tyrant. As though it were not so euery daye by nature. Yea but it is a shamefull matter to die by execution or strangling. O foole, neither that nor any other kinde of death is infamous, except thy life bee such. Recount vnto me ye best & worthiest personnes that haue beene since the beginning of the world: They ended their liues by violence. This examination (*Lipsius*) whereof I do giue thee a tast only, must be vsed in all those things which doe seeme terrible, and wee must beholde them naked without any vestment or vizard of opinions. But wee poore wretches doe turne our selues to these vaine and external matters, not fearing the thinges themselues but the circumstances and adiuncts of them. Beholde if thou saile on the sea, and it beginne to swell mightely, thy courage quaileth, and thou trembleſt with feare, As though if the shippe were cast away, thou shouldest swallow vp the whole sea, whereas one quart or two thereof will suffice to drowne thee. If an earth-quake bee sodenly rayſed, what crying out and quaking is there? Thou imaginest that the whole towne, or at leaste a hovse will fall vppon thee: And dooest not consider that the dropping downe of one little stone is enough to knocke out thy braines. Euen so is it in these greate common calamities, in the which the noise and vaine imagination of thinges doth terryfie vs. See, this troupe of soldiors! See, these shining swordes! why? what can these soldiors, or these swordes doe? They will kill me. What is killing? A bare and meere death onely. And that the name may not terrifie thee, it is but a departing of the soule from the body (*a*). All which bandes of soldiors, all which threatning swordes shall doe but that which one feuer, one smal kernell of a grape, or one litle worme may bring to passe.

Nor death is selfe.

But we do augment them by our imaginations.

(*a*) *More of this matter we haue spoken in our booke intitled* THRASEA, *or* OF CONTEMPT OF DEATH.

But the other is more paineful. Nay it is farre more easy, for an ague which thou seemest rather to choose, kepeth a man in paines commonly a whole yeare togither; But heere the matter is ended with one blowe in a moment. Therefore it was well spoken of Socrates, who vsed to cal all these things no otherwise but GOBLINS or PAINTED VISARDS, which if thou put on, children runne from thee affrighted, but so soone as thou putteſt off the same and sheweſt thine owne face, they will come about thee againe and embrace thee in their armes. Euen so standeth the case in these matters that seeme so terrible, which if thou behold without vaile or visard, thou wilt confesse that all thy feare was but childish. As hailstones though they beat vppon houses with a great noise, yet themselues doo leape away and are dissolued: So these thinges if they happen to light vppon a constant setled mind, doo not cast downe it, but vanish and come to naught themselues.

A briefe and comfortable sayng of Socrates.

CHAPT. XX.

Now we come to comparison. And first of all the miserie of the Low-countries and of this our age, is exaggerated. That opinion is generallie confuted. And it is declared how that the natural disposition of men is prone to augment their owne griefes.

A cutting off of the former talke, which els would haue bene too copious and confuse

THis earnest & graue cõmunication of *Langius* was nothing answereable to my hope or expectation: Wherfore interrupting him, whither now? (quoth I.) Was this your promise to me? I expected the sweet wine and hony-combes of histories: But you serue me with such sower sauce, as there is none more sharpe among all the store of philosophy. What? Doo you thinke that you haue to doo with some (*a*) Thales? No, no: Now you haue *Lipsius* in hand, who as he is a man, and

(*a*) *One of the 7. wise men of Greece.*

and of the Common ſort of men: So he deſireth remedies ſomewhat more ſpiced with humanitie, then theſe be. Then ſaid *Langius* with a milde voice and countenance, I confeſſe indeed I am worthy of blame. For in following the bright beames of reaſon, I ſee my ſelfe to haue ſtrayed out of the high waie and declined vnwares into the path of wiſedome againe. But now I will amend the matter, and returne to holde on my courſe in a more familiar knowne trade-way. Dooth the ſharpeneſſe of the wine ý I broached, diſlike thee? I will ſweeten it with the honie of examples. Now therfore I come to COMPARISONS, and wil prooue euidently that there is nothing grieuous or great in all theſe euils which doo nowe abound euery where, if we compare them with thoſe of olde time. For in times paſt the ſame haue byn far more haynous and lamentable than now. Hereat I once again more egerly than before replyed: What? Say you ſo indeed? *(a) And think you to bring me into that beliefe?* No (*Langius*) not ſo long as there is any ſenſe in my head. For what age paſt, if you examin the matter rightly, hath at any time beene ſo miſerable as this ours, Or euer ſhalbe? What countrey, what region hath ſuffred, *So manie things greeuous to be ſpoken off, and rigorous to be endured*, As we Flemmings do at this day? We are ſhaken to and fro with wars not onely forrein, but ciuill: And not ſuch onely, but inteſtine diſſentions euen within our own bowels. For there be not onelie parties among vs, but new parties of thoſe ſame parties. (Alaſſe my deere countrey what Safety can ſaue thee?) Adde hereto peſtilence, and famine, tributes, rapines, ſlaughters: Alſo the vttermoſt extremitie of tyranny; And oppreſſions not of bodies onely, but alſo of the minds. And what is there in other partes of Europe? war, or feare of war: And if any peace be, it is ioyned with ſhamful ſeruitude vnder petty-lords, and no better at all then any kind of warre. Whitherſoeuer we caſt our eies or cogitations, al things hang in ſuſ-

The lightnes of theſe calamities is proued by comparison.

(a) *Ariſtophanes.*

The fatall miſeries of the lowe-countries.

And of all Europe: which certainly is euen readie to decaye,

ſpence and ſuſpition. And (as it were in an olde ruinous houſe) there be many tokens of falling downe. In fine (*Langius*) like as all riuers runne into the Sea: So it ſeemeth that al misfortunes are fallen vpon this preſent age. I ſpeake onely of thoſe euils which are in action, and now preſently toſsing vs. What need I make mention of ſuch as hang ouer our heads? To which I may truely applie that ſaying of Euripides:

I ſee ſo great a ſea of euils nigh at hand,
So that it ſeemes a matter hard, ſafly to ſwim to land.

Langius turning himſelfe towards me angerly, and as it were with intent to rebuke me; What? Dooſt thou yet again caſt thy ſelfe down by theſe querulous complaintes? I thought thou hadſt ſtood faſt like a man, and *I* ſee thou falleſt: That thy wounds had byn quite cloſed vp, but I perceiue thou doſt open them again. Howbeit thou muſt be endued with contentation of mind, if thou wilt bee in perfect health.

Querelous cõplaints do ſtirre vp the recordation of euils that were forgotten.

Thou ſayeſt, this age is the vnhappieſt that euer was. This hath bin an old lay long agon vſed. *I* know thy grãd father ſaid ſo, and likewiſe thy father. I know alſo that thy children and childrens children wil ſing the ſame note. It is a thing naturally giuen vnto men to caſt their eies narrowly vpon al things that be grieuous, but to wink at ſuch as be pleaſant. As flies & ſuch like vile creatures do neuer reſt long vpon ſmooth & fine poliſhed places, but doo ſticke faſt to rough and filthie corners: So the murmuring mind dooth lightly paſſe ouer the conſideration of all good fortune, but neuer forgetteth the aduerſe or euil. It handleth and pryeth into that, yea and oftentimes augmenteth it with great witte. Like as Louers doo alwaies behold ſomewhat in their miſtreſſe whereby they thinke her to excell all others: Euen ſo doo menne that mourne, in theyr myſeries. Yea moreouer wee imagine thinges that bee falſe, and bevvaile not onely things preſent, but alſo ſuch as bee to come. *A*nd vvhat gaine

Becauſe we are all prone to augment our owne ſorrowes

vve

we by this fore-reaching wit of ours? Surely nothing els, but that as some espying a farre off the dust rayſed by an armie, doo therevppon forſake their tentes for feare: So the vaine ſhadow of future danger caſteth vs downe into the pitte of deſparation.

Yea and to feine more then is true.

CHAPT. XXI.

The ſame is more properly and preciſely confuted by compariſon with the euils of olde time. First of the wars and maruellous deſolation of the Iewes.

BVt thou (*Lipſius*) let paſſe theſe vulgar matters, and followe me now to that Compariſon which thou ſo much deſireſt. Thereby it ſhall moſt plainly appeare vnto thee, that the myſerable deſolations of old time were not onely in all reſpects equall to theſe of our age, but did farre ſurpaſſe them; And that wee which liue in theſe daies haue cauſe to reioice rather then to grudge. Thou ſayeſt wee are toſſed with Warres. What then? were not they of olde time likewiſe? Yes (*Lipſius*) they had their beginning with the World, and ſhall neuer bee at an end ſo long as the world laſteth. But perhaps theirs were not ſo great, nor ſo greeuous as ours be. Nay but it is ſo farre otherwiſe, that all ours are meere ieſtinges and toyes, (I ſpeake in good earneſt) if they bee compared with the auncient ages. I ſhal hardly find an entrance in, or a way out, if once I throw my ſelfe into this deepe ſea of Examples. Notwithſtanding ſhall we wander a little through al parts of the Worlde? Let vs goe. Wee will begin with Iudea, that is with the holie Nation and people. I let paſſe thoſe things which they ſuffred in Egypt & immediatly after their departure therhence, for they are recorded and may eaſily be ſeene in holy Scripture. I wil come to the laſt of al, euen ſuch as are annexed to theyr finall

An entraunce into the compariſon.

And that thorough euery particular ſort of calamities.

First of warre.

The innumerable ſlaughters of the Iewes.

(a) Collected and taken out of Iosephus.

finall destruction; which it is expediente that I (a) propound particularly as it were in manner of a table. They suffered therefore in ciuiil and forreine warres within the space of seuen yeares, these thinges ensuing. First there were slaine at Ierusalem by the commaundement of Florus. 630

At Cesarea by the inhabitants there, for hatred of the nation and their (b) religion, at once. 20000.

At Scithopilis a towne of Siria. 13000.

At Ascalon in Palestina, of the inhabitants there. 2500.

Also at Ptolomais. 2000.

(b) Note that onely religion at that time was preiudiciall to many.

At Alexandria in Egigpt, vnder Tiberius Alexander then president. 50000.

At Damascus. 10000.

And al this happened as it were by sedicion and tumults: Afterwards by lawfull and open warre with the Romains. When Ioppa was taken by Cesius Florus, there were slaine of them. 8400.

Also in mount Cabulon. 2000.

In fight at Ascalon. 10000.

Againe by deceipt. 8000.

At the taking of Aphaca. 15000.

In mount Garizin were slaine. 11600.

At Iotapa where Iosephus himselfe was, about. 30000.

Againe at the taking of Ioppe, were drowned. 4200.

In Tarichæis slaine. 6500

At Gamala killed, & ỳ wilfully cast themselues headlong down from steepe places 9000. And not one man borne in that towne escaped, saue two women that were sisters.

Giscala being abandoned, there were slaine in the fighte 2000 And of women and children taken captiues. 3000.

Of the Gaderens were put to the sword. 13000.

Taken Captiues 2200. Besides an infinite nomber that Leapt into the riuer.

In the streetes of Idumæa were killed 10000.

At

At Gerasium. 1000.
At Macherunt. 1700.
In the wood Iarde. 3000.
In Massada a little Castle were slaine wilfully by themselues. 960.
In Cirene slaine by Catulus the president. 3000.
But in the cittie of Hierusalem during all the time of the siege, there died and were killed. 1000000.
Taken captiues. 97000.
This whole summe (a) besides an innumerable company not spoken of) amounteth to. 124000.

(a) Which perished by famine exile, and mischaunces.

What saist thou *Lipsius?* Dost thou cast downe thy eyes at this? Nay rather lift them vp: And see whether thou dare again compare the warres that haue bene through out all Christendome these many yeares, with the miserable desolations of this one Iewish nation.

CHAPT. XXII.

Of the destructions of the Gertians and Romaines by warre. The great numbers of them that haue bene slain by certaine Captaines. Also the wasting of the new world. And the extreame miseries of captiuitie.

I Rest not heer, but hold my way forwards into Greece. And if I should recount in order all the wars that those people haue had among themselues at home, or abroad with others it would be tedious to tell, and without any profit. Thus much onely I say, that this region hath continually bene so wasted and hacked with the sword of calamities as (b) Plutarke recordeth (which I neuer reade without anger and admiration) that the whole nation in his time was not able to make three thousand souldiers. And yet (saith he) in times past euen in the Persian warre, one little towne by Athens called Megara, sufficed to raise that nomber. Alas how art thou decayed? O thou

The marueillous desolations of Greece.

(b) In his booke of the defect of oracles.

garden of the whole earth? The glory and bewtie of Nations. There is ſcarce now a Towne of any name in this diſtreſſed countrey of Belgica, that cannot match that number of warrelike people. Now ſhall we take a view of the Romans and of Italie? Auguſtine and Oroſius haue already eaſed me of this buſines in rehearſing. See their writings, and in them huge ſeas of euils. One Carthaginian war euen the ſecond within the countrey of Italy, Spaine, and Sicilie, and within the ſpace of 17. yeares conſumed fourteene hundred thouſand men and aboue. (For I haue ſearched the number very narrowly.) The ciuil war between Ceſar and Pompei 300000. And the weapons of Brutus, Caſsius and Sextus Pompeius, more then that. What ſpeak I of wars managed vnder the conduct of diuers perſons? Behold. Only C. Ceſar (O the plague and peſtilence of mankind!) confeſſeth and that with boaſting (a) *That hee ſlue in battels eleuen hundred ninety and two thouſand men.* And yet the butchery of his ciuil wars runneth not in this reckoning. Theſe ſlaughters were committed vpon forreners in thoſe few yeares wherein he ruled ouer Spaine and France. And yet notwithſtanding in this reſpect he which was ſurnamed (b) THE GREAT, ſurpaſſed him: who cauſed it to be written in the temple of Minerua, *That he had ouercome, put to flight, ſlaine, & vpon yelding receiued to mercy, twenty hundred fower ſcore & foure thouſand men.* And to make vp the account, adde vnto theſe (if thou wilt) Q. Fabius who ſlue 110000. Frenchmen. C. Marius 200000. Cimbrians. And in a later age Aetius, who in a famous (c) battell killed an hundred, three ſcore & two thouſand Hũgariãs.

Neyther doo thou imagine that men onely were deſtroyed in theſe great wars: But likewiſe goodly townes were ruinated by them. Cato ſurnamed Cenſorius, (d) boaſteth that he tooke more townes in (e) Spaine, then he had bin daies in that countrey. Sempronius Gracchus (if we giue credit to Polybius) vtterly ouerthrew thirtie,

Also of Italy & the Romaine Empire.

Wonderfull great ſlaughters by the warres of the Romaines.

(a) Plinius li. 7.

(b) POMPEIVS Magnus.

(c) Bellum Calaunicum.

Many towers vtterly defaced by them.

(d) in Plutarch.

(e) To the number of 400. As Plutarch and Appian write.

in

in the ſame region. I thinke that no age ſince the worlde began is able to match theſe, but only ours, yet in another world. A few Spaniardes ſailing within theſe foureſcore years into that maruellous wide new world, O good god, what exceeding great ſlaughters haue they wrought? what wonderful deſolations? I ſpeake not of the cauſes and equitie of the war, but onely of the euents. *I* behold that huge ſcope of ground, (a great matter to haue ſeen, I ſay not to haue ſubdued it) how it was walked through by twenty or thirty ſouldiors, And theſe naked *(a)* heards of people cut downe by them, euen as corne with a ſieth. Where art thou the moſt mighty *I*land of Cuba? Thou Haytie? You Ilands Iucaiæ? which heretofore being repleniſhed with fiue or ſix hundred thouſand men, in ſome of you ſcant fifteene are left aliue to preſerue your ſeede. Shew thy ſelfe awhiles thou Peru and Mexico. O maruellous and miſerable ſpectacle! That mighty large countrey, and in truth another world, *(b)* appeareth deſolate and waſted, no otherwiſe than if it had beene conſumed with fire from heauen. My mind and toong both do faile me (*Lipſius*) in recounting theſe matters: And I ſee al our ſtirs in compariſon of thoſe, to bee nothing elſe but ſmall fragments of ſtraw, or as the Comicke Poet ſaith, *Little mites.*

The ſpoiling, yea vtter deſolation & waſting of the weſt Indies, or newe worlde.

(a) I may ſo engliſh it fitly, in reſpect of their ſauage brutiſhnes.

(d) Surely at the firſt beginning of the conqueſt, but now thoſe coaſtes be inhabited, and better furniſhed.

*A*nd yet haue I not ſpoken at al of the condition of captiue ſlaues, then the which nothing was more miſerable in the auncient wars. Free borne men, noble men, children, women, al whatſoeuer they were did the conquerour cary away. And who knoweth whether they were led into perpetual ſeruitude, or not? And truely the ſame ſuch a miſerable kind of ſlauery, as I haue good cauſe to reioice that not ſo much as the reſemblance of any ſuch hath heretofore byn, neither at this time is in Chriſtendome. The Turkes indeed doo practiſe it: And there is no other thinge that maketh that Scythian ſouereigntie more odious and terrible vnto vs.

Captiuitie in old time moſt grieuous, and not inferiour to death.

CHAPT. XXIII.

Most memorable examples of pestilence and famine in oulde times past. Also the intollerable tributes that haue bene then: And the rauenous pillings and powlings.

YEt thou proceedest on in thy whining complaint, adioining moreouer plague and famine, tributes & rapines. Let vs therefore make comparison of all these, but in fewe wordes. Tell me, how many thousands haue died of the pestilence in all the low-contries within these fiue or six yeares? I thinke fiftie, or at the most one hundred thousand, But one plague in Iudæa in the time of King Dauid, swypped awaie threescore and ten thousand in lesse space then one whole daie. Vnder Gallus and Volusianus the Emperours a plague (*a*) beginning in Ethiopia, went thorough all the Romaine prouinces, and continued wasting and deuouring fifteene yeares together. I neuer reade of a pestilence greater then that for continuaunce of time, or scope of places where it raged. Notwithstanding for fiercenes and extreme violence, that pestilence was more notorious which raigned in Bizance and the places confining, vnder the Emperour Iustinian. The extremity of which plague was so outragious, that it made euerie day 5000. coarses, and some daies 10000. I would be afraide for suspition of falshood to write this, except I had very (*b*) credible witnesses thereof that liued in the same age. No lesse wonderful was the plague of Afrike which began about the subuertion of Carthage. In the region of Numidia onely (now called Barbary) it consumed (*c*) eight hundred thousand men In the maritine coastes of Affricke 200000. And at Vtica 30000. soldiers which were left there for defence of that coast. Again in Greece vnder the raigne of Michael duca the plague was so hot, *That the liuing sufficed not to burie the*

Pestilence of old time.

(a) Zonaras. T. 2

(b) Procius lib. 11. de bello persico. et Agathias lib. 5. hist.

(c) Oposius lib. 5 cap. 8.

the dead: Those bee the wordes of Zonara. Finally in (*a*) Petrarches time (as he recordeth) the pestilence waxed so feruent in Italie, that of euery thousand persons scant ten were left aliue.

(*a*) *About the yere of Christ* 1359.

And now touching famine, our age hath seene none in comparison of old time. Vnder Honorius the Emperor there was such scarcity and lacke of victualles at Rome, (*b*) That one man fed vpon another: And in the place of the common assembly to see plaies and games, there was heard a voice openly saying, *Set a price vpon mans flesh* (*c*). Againe throughout all Italy. What time as the Gothes ransackt it vnder Iustinian, there raged so sore a famine, that in the cuntry of Picem fiftie thousand men perished with hunger: And not onely the flesh, but the very excrements of men serued commonly for meate. Two women (I quake to speake it) killed 17. men in the nighte by trechery, and did eate them: at length themselues were slain by the eighteenth who perceaued the matter. I speake not of the famine in the holy cittie, nor of other examples commonly knowne.

Famine in tymes past.

(*b*) *Zosimus.6. annal.*

(*c*) *Procopius of the war of the Gothes.11.booke In whose writings se more.*

And now if I shall say somewhat concerning tributes, it cannot be denied but they are very grieuous wherwith we are oppressed, if wee consider them in themselues alone without comparing ỳ same with those of old time s. (*d*) Almost euery prouince vnder the Romaine Empire payd yeerely the first of their pasture land, and the tentes of their earable. Neither did Antonius and Cæsar stick to exacte the tributes of 9. or 10. yeeres, altogether in one yeare. After the killing of Iulius Cæsar, when armes were taken for defence of liberty, euery cittizen was commanded to defray the fiue and twentieth parte of al his goods: & more then this, as many as wer of the degre of Senators paid (*e*) *six asses* for euery tile stone of their houses, which amounteth to an infinite sum of mony, and in our opinions neither credible, nor payable.

The excessiue tributes in old time.

(*d*) *Appianus lib. 1.* ἐμφυλ *1 belli ciuilis.*

(*e*) *Sex asses as my author setteth it downe Euery asse (as some write) is worth a groat. But Dio lib. hath.46.*

But Octauianus Cæsar (I beleue) in regard of his

(a)name, exacted & receiued of his enfranchized seruãts, ŷ eight part of al their goods. I omit that which ŷ TRIVMVIRI & other Tyrants practised, least by the rehersall thereof I should instruct them of our time. Let one example of pilling & powling serue for all the rest, namely that of (b) COLONIES, which deuise as it was most assured for the strengthening of the Empire; So there could nothing be imagined more heauie to the subiectes that were conquered. Whole Legions and bands of old Souldiors were sent abroad into Countries and townes, and the poore natural inhabitantes there, were in shorte time fleeced of al their goodes and substance, and that without any fault or offence of them, but only their welth and fat fields were the cause thereof. In which one kind of pilling is contained a gulfe of al calamities besides. Is it a miserable case to bee spoiled of our money? What is it then to be depriued of our fieldes and houses? If it bee greeuous to be thrust out of them; what is it to be banished our Countrey? To be cast out from our Churches and altars? For loe, certein thousands of people were taken vp, children from their parents, maisters from their families, women from their husbands, and were dispersed abroad into diuers Countries, euery one as his lotte was. Some among *The thirstie Africans*, As the Poet speaking of this matter sayth(c) *part of them into Scythia, or among the Britannes inhabiting the vtmost endes of the world from vs.* Onely Octauianus Cæsar in Italie alone placed 28. Colonies: And in the prouinces of the Empire as many as pleased him. And I know not of any one thing more pernitious then that, to the Frenchmen, vs, and Spaniards.

Τέσσαρας ὀβόλους 1, quatuor obulos. Obulus autem aliquibus est sexta pars drachme. Nobis octaua. Aliis alter.

(a) Because octauius is the eight. Dio. lib. 1.

(b) Those were such as the Romaines did send of their owne people to inhabit conquered places

The miserie in placing of COLONIES.

(c) pars scythiam, aut toto diuisos orbe Britannos.

CHAPT. XXIIII.

Some strange examples of crueltie and butcherlie slaughters, surpassing all the mischieuous massacres of our time.

But

BVt thou ſayſt further that the cruelties and butcherly ſlaughters of this age are ſuch, as haue not bin heard of before. I know thy meaning, and what hath been (a) lately doone. Yet, vpon thy credit *Lipſius* tel me, hath not the like beene among the Auncients? Thou art ignorant, if thou know it not, and ſcarce honeſt if thou diſſemble it. The examples are ſo many and readye at hand, that it is a buſineſſe for me to make choice of them. Haſt thou heard of the name of Sylla, that happie man? Then art thou not ignoraunt of his infamous and tyrannous proſcription, whereby hee depriued one Cittie of (b) foure thouſande ſeuen hundred cittizens. And leaſt thou ſhouldeſt thinke they were of the baſe, and meaneſt condition, know this that 140. of them were Senatours. I ſay nothing of the manifold murthers that were doone by his permiſſion or commiſsion. So as it was not without cauſe that Q. Catulus vttered theſe wordes, *With whom ſhal we liue at laſt, if we kill armed men in warre, and the vnarmed in peace?* Not long after I read that three of Syllas ſchollers being TRIVMVIRI, imitating their maſter, baniſhed (c) 300. Senators and aboue 2000. Gentlemen of Rome. O monſtrous wickednes, the like wherof the ſunne neuer ſaw nor ſhall ſee from Eaſt to Weſt! Read Appian if thou wilt, and there behold the variable and lothſome ſpectacle of ſome hiding in corners, ſome flying away: ſome drawing backe, others plucking forwards, children and wiues making lamentations rounde about. *I would I were dead* if any man will not affirme, that humanitie it ſelfe was vtterly extinguiſhed in that bloudy and brutiſh age. Theſe thinges were executed vppon Senators and Gentlemen of the beſt ſort, euen knights: That is, almoſt vpon ſo many kings & princes.

The outragious and infamous ſlaughters of old. time.

(a) *I take it he meaneth the Maſſacre at Paris on Bartholomewes daie.*

(b) *Valerius. lib. 11.*

(c) *Appianus ſo counteth them.*

But peradventure the common ſort taſted not of this ſawce? Yes, marke howe the verie ſame Sylla, (d) *when as foure Legions of the contrary party had yeelded*

(d) *Valerius lib. 9. 13.*

Amounteth to the nomber of 24000. Thogh Seneca speake but of 7000. De ira.

to his fidelitie, he caused them euery mā to be put to the sword in a cōmon village, they crying out in vaine for mercy at his trecherus hands. The pitilfull gronings of which men at their death, comming to the Senate, & the Senators turning about therewith amased: *O reuerent fathers* (quoth he) *let this be. Only a few seditious personnes are punished by my appointment*. And surely I knowe not at whether of these two I should maruill most, That a man could find in his heart to commit such a fact or to vtter such words. What? wilte thou haue yet more examples of cruelty? heare then (*a*). Seruius Galba assembling together the people of three townes in Spaine as if he had to treate of some thing of their wealth, caused sodenly to be murthered 7000. among whome was the flower of al the youth. In the same cuntry (*b*). *L.* Licinius lucullus the Consul, contrary to his promise made at the yealding of the Caucæans, sent his soldiors into their cittie and slue of them 20000. Octauianus Augustus when hee tooke Perowse. (c) *Choosing out 300. of those that had yeilded, as well of the better sort, as of the vulgar, slue them in manner of sacrifices before an altar newly erected* (*d*). DIVO IVLIO. Antonius Caracalca being (for some kinde of iests I knowe not what) offended with them of Alexandria (*e*), entring the citty in peaceable manner, and calling out all their youth into a faire fielde, enclosed them with his souldiors and at a signe giuen, killed them euery man; vsing the like cruelty against all the residue, whereby hee leste vtterlie without an inhabitant, that populous cittie (*f*) kinge Mithridates by one letter caused to be murthred 4 score thousand citizens of Rome, that were dispersed abroade throughout Asia about their marchandise, and other affaires (*g*). Volesus Messala being Proconsul of Asia, slue with the sword 300. in one day, & then walking proudly among ỳ corpses with his hands cast abrod, as though he had atchiued a worthy enterprise, cried out (*h*) *Oh kingly deed!* I speake onely of prophane and wicked heathens: But

(*a*) *Valerius.*

(*b*) *Appianus.*

(c) *Suetonius. his wordes.*

(*d*) *Tost Iulius.*

(*e*) *Ziphilinus & Herodianus.*

(*f*) *Valerius and others.*

(*g*) *Seneca. 11. de Ira.*

(*h*) ὦ πρᾶγμα βασιλικόν

But behold alſo among thoſe that are in name conſecrated to the true God, Theodoſius the prince, moſt miſchieuouſly and fraudulently calling together at Theſſalonica 7000. innocent perſons, as it were to ſee plaies, ſente in ſouldiors among them, and ſlue them. Then the which facte there is not any more impious among the impieties of the old tirants. Goe to now my cuntry men of Belgica, and complaine of the tyrannie and trechery of princes in this age.

CHAPT. XXV.

The tyranny of our time is extenuated. Shewing that the ſame is a thing incident either to the nature, or malice of men. And that both externall and internall oppreſsions haue benne in old time.

FInally, thou dooeſt accuſe moreouer the tyrannie of theſe times, and the oppreſſions of body and minde. It is not my purpoſe ambitiouſly to extoll this our age, or to afflicte and grieue it. For what good woulde come thereof? I will ſpeake of that, that maketh for my purpoſe of compariſon. When were not theſe euills rife? And where not? Name me any age without ſome notable tirannie, or any cuntry? if thou canſt doe ſo (let me abide the danger of this hazarde) I will confeſſe that we be the moſt wretched of all wretches. Why houldeſt thou thy peace? I ſee the old taunting by-word is true, *That all good princes may be*(a) *written at large in the compaſſe of our ring*. For it is natutally geuen to mens diſpoſitions, to vſe imperial authority inſolently, neither can they eaſily keep a meane in that thing which is aboue mediocritie. Euen we our ſelues that thus complaine of tiranny, do beare in our breſtes ſome ſeede thereof, and many of vs doe not want wil to performe it, but ability. The ſerpent being benummed with cold, hath yet his poyſon within him, but doth

Tyrannies & oppreſsions haue bin common at all times.

(a) *Perſcribi*, And in another edition. *Præſcribi*. Which haue their original frō the pride & fiercenes of mans nature.

doth not cast it out: So is it with vs, whom only imbecility keepeth back from doing harme, and a certain coldnes of Fortune: Geue strēgth, giue fit opportunity or instruments and I fear me that they which now are so querulous against mightie men, will be most vnruly themselues. Wee haue examples in the common course of our life. See how this father tyrannizeth ouer his children: That master ouer his seruants, Another scoole-master ouer his scholiers. Euery one of these is a (a) Phaleris in his kind: And they do stirre vp waues as much within their riuers, as kinges doe in their great Seas. Neither are other liuing creatures free from this natural disposition: Among whom many do exercise their cruelty vpon their like in kind, both in the aire, earth, and water; As it is wel said of Varo,

(a) A most cruel tyrant

There is tyranny also among other liuing creatures.

So little fish to great ones are a praie,
And sillie birdes, the greedie hauke doth slay.

Of oppressiō for religion

Thou replyest yet, that all these are only oppressions of the body: But now this passeth all the rest, that we endure also seruile oppression of our mindes. Is it so indeed? Of our mindes? Take heed this bee not spoken more enuiouslie, than trulie. Hee seemeth vnto mee to knowe neither himselfe, nor the celestiall nature of the mind, which thinketh it may be oppressed, or constrained. For no outwarde force can euer make thee to will what thou will not; or to beleeue that thou beleeuest not. A man may haue power vpon this bonde or fetter of the minde, but not ouer the mind it self. A tyrant hath power to loose it from the body, but not vnloose the nature therof. Such things as bee pure, euerlasting, and of fierie nature, set nought by al external & violent handling. But (saist thou) it is not lawfull for mee to expresse my mind freely. Be it so: herein thy tongue alone is bridled, not thy mind. Thy iudgment is not restrained, but thy acts. But this is a strange course & neuer before herd off!

The same hath bin like wise in times past.

Alas

Alas good man, how art thou deceiued? How many could I recount vnto thee, who for their vnaduised tongues haue suffred punishment of al their senses vnder tyrantes? Howe many of them haue indeuoured to force & constraine mens iudgments? yea their iudgments (I say) in matters of religion. The kings of *Persia* and of the East made it an ordinary custome to be adored. And we know that Alexander assumed to himselfe the same diuine honor, his own plaine countrey men the Macedonians misliking it. Among the Romanes that good and moderate prince Augustus had his *Flamines* & Priests in al prouinces, yea in priuat houses, as a God. Caligula cutting off the heades frō the images of their heathen gods, caused the likenes of his own to be put in their steeds; and with a ridiculous impietie he erected a temple, instituted priests and most exquisit sacrifices in honor of his own maiesty. Nero would needs be taken for Apollo, and the principall citizens were by him put to death vnder this pretēce (a) *because they had neuer sacrificed before the heauenly voice.* As for Domitian, he was commonly called, *our God*, and *our Lord*: what vanity (*Lipsius*) or impietie wer it to speak ought at this day against any king? I purpose not to sail nerer this gulf, wherinto no stormy winds of ambition shal euer draw or driue me, (*b*) *for the reward of silence is void of danger.* I wil al leadge only one testimony concerning all this matter of seruitude in old times, & that out of thy familiar writer, which I wold haue thee well to mark. Tacitus writing of Domitians time, hath thus. *We read that it was made a matter of death, whē Petus Thrasea was praised vnto Arulenus Iusticus, or Priscus Heluidius to Herennius Senecio. Neither extended this cruelty vnto those authors only, but also to their bookes, the Triumuiri, hauing the charge committed vnto them, to see the monuments of those excellent wittes burned in open viewe of the people, and in the market place. Forsooth they supposed by that fire vtterlie to abolish or suppresse the speach of the people of Rome, the libertie of*

(a) This among others is obiected to Thrasea.

(b) Periculo vacat silenti premium.

Tacitus.

(a) Note the condition of mere tyrantes.

the Senate, and the consciences of all mankind. (a) Expelling moreouer al professors of wisdom, and banishing al good arts, to the intent that no honest thing should remaine in vre. Surely, we haue giuen a notable experiment of patience; And as the olde ages haue seene the verie highest degree in libertie, so haue wee felt the vttermost extremitie in seruitude: The verie societie of speaking and hearing being taken from vs by straight inquisitions. We should also haue lost our memorie with our voice, if so be it lay in our power to forget, as it doth to hold our peace.

CHAPT. XXVI.

Finallie, it is prooued that these euils are neither strange, nor newe: but at all times common to all people and nations. And therein some comfort is sought for.

Against those who do imagine that these calamities are vnaccustomed, or els exceeding notorious & great

NEither will I adde any more touching comparison, I come now to the laste troupe of my Legion, which fighteth against noueltie, but brieflie, and with contempt of it; For it shall rather gather vp the spoyls of the conquered enemies, than bee forced to any fierce grappling with them. For in verie trueth, what is there here that can be accounted new to any man, vnlesse that thou thy self being new borne, art a nouice in humaine affaires? Well spake *Crantor* and wiselie, who had euer this verse in his mouth, (b) *vvoe is me, what woe is me? we haue suffred but things pertaining to men.* For these miseries doe but wheele about continually, & circularly run about this circle of the world. Why sighest thou for the happening of these heauy accidents? Why maruellest thou at them?

(b) *Heu me; Quid heu me? Humana perpessi sumus.*

O Agamemnon, Atreus thy Sire
Begate thee not to ioyfulnesse alone:
As mirth, so sorrowe sometimes is thy hire,
Mortal thou art, and thereto wast thou borne.

Yea

Yea though thou ſtriue, and ſtubburnly refuſe,
God hauing wild it ſo, thou canſt not chuſe.

This rather is a thing to be wondred at, if any man were lawleſly exempted from this common law, & caried none of that burthen, whereof euery man beareth a part. *Solon* ſeeing a very friend of his at *Athens* mourning piteouſlie, brought him into a high tower, and ſhewed him vnderneath all the houſes in that great cittie, ſaying vnto him, Thinke with thy ſelfe howe many ſundry mourninges in times paſt haue bene in all theſe houſes, how many at this preſent are, and in time to come ſhall bee: and leaue off to bewaile the miſeries of mortall folke, as if they were thine owne. I woulde wiſh thee (*Lipſius*) to doe the like in this wide worlde. But becauſe thou canſt not in deed and fact, goe too, doe it a little vvhiles in conceite and imagination. Suppoſe (if it pleaſe thee) that thou art with mee in the top of that high hill *Olimpus*; Behold from thence al townes, prouinces, and kingdomes of the world, and think that thou ſeeſt euen ſo many incloſures ful of humain calamities: theſe are but only Theaters and places for the purpoſe prepared: wherein Fortune playeth her bloudy tragedies. Neither caſt thine eies farre hence. Seeſt thou *Italie*? It is not yet full thirtie yeares agone ſince it had reſt from cruell and ſharpe warres on euerie ſide. Doeſt thou beholde the large countrey of *Germany*? There were lately in her greate ſparkes of ciuill diſſention, which doe beginne to burne againe; and (vnleſſe I bee deceiued) will growe to a more conſuming flame. *Brittaine*? In it there haue bene continuall warres and ſlaughters, and in that now it reſteth a while in peace, muſt be referred to the gouernment of a peaceable ſex. What of *France*? See, and pittie her. Euen nowe a feſtered Gangræne of bloudie warre creepeth thorough euerie ioynt thereof

A wittie inuention of Solon, for conſolation.

Great miſerable deſolations in all the world.

So is it in all the worlde besides. Which thinges thinke vvell vpon (*Lipsius*) and by this communication or participation of miseries, lighten thine owne. And like as they which rode gloriousnie in triumph, had a seruaunt behinde their backs, who in the middes of all their triumphant iollitie, cryed out often times, *Thou art a man?* So let this bee euer as a prompter by thy side, *That these things are humane, or appertaining to men.* For as labour being diuided between many, is easie: Euen so likewise is Sorrow.

CHAPT. XXVII.

The Conclusion of the whole conference: with a short admonition to the often repeating, and careful consideration therof.

The Conclusion and exhortation.

I Haue displayed all my forces (*Lipsius*) and all my argumentes. Thou hast heard as much as I thought necessary to be spoken in the behalfe of CONSTACIE against SORROW. Which God graunt it bee not onelie pleasing, but profitable vnto thee: and that it doe not so much delight, as benefite or helpe thee. As certainly it will doe, if it sincke not into thy eares alone, but also into thy minde: And if, hauing once heard the same, thou suffer it not to lie still and wither away as seede scattered vppon the face of the earth. Finally, if thou repeate the same often, and take due consideration thereof. Because that as fire is not forced out of the flint with one stroke: So in these frozen hearts of ours, the lurking and languishing sparkes of Honestie are not kindeled with the first stroke of admonitions. Which, that they may at the last be thoroughlie enkindled in thee, not in words or appearance, but in deed and fact, I humblie and reuerentlie beseech that eternal and celestiall (a) Fire.

(a) *God, who is a fire, ie spirit.*

When

When he had thus ſpoken, he roſe vp haſtily, and ſaid: I am going (Lipſius) for this South Sun is vnto me a token of dinner time. Followe thou aſter mee. Euen ſo (quoth I) gladlie and with a very good will. And now may I rightly ſing together with you in the (a) *Antiphonie*, as is vſed in holie Ceremonies,

I haue eſcaped the euill, and found the good.

(a) *In the Church were 3. partes of ſinging vſed. 1. Proſphoneſis, that is, an inuitation or prouoking. 2. Antiphonia, that is, a reſponſe or anſwere. 3. Synodia, a cloſe or ioyning together in harmony. See Apoca. ca. 19. verſ. 1. 3. 5. it ſeemeth he had reſpect to this order.*

FINIS.

Laus, Honor, & Gloria; Deo trino & vno.

¶ Imprinted at London, by *Richarde Iohnes*, at the Signe of the Roſe and Crowne, nigh vnto Saffron Hyll, in Holborne. 1595.