A Harmony

of the

ESSAYS. ETC.

of

FRANCIS BACON,

Viscount St. Alban, Baron Verulam, &c.

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

ARRANGED BY

EDWARD ARBER.

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

LONDON:

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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English Reprints.

Carefully Edited by
EDWARD ARBER,
Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

A Harmony of
LORD BACON'S
Essays, &c. 1597-1633.

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

1871.
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P R O L O G U E.

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

2. Within the century since Caxton had established the use of printing in England, there had come into vogue ALLEGORICAL VERSE in Stephen Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure, which kind of composition had recently been revived in Spenfer's Faery Queene. Another class of poetry, PASTORAL VERSE, had been represented by Barclay's Egloges, Spenfer's Shepheardes Calender, Lodge's Phillis, Watson's Melibæus (in English), and Barnfield's Affectionate Shepheard. The Reformer spirit sometimés had used the laff of SATIRICAL VERSE, as in Roy's Rede me and be nott wrothe, and the many unprinted Ballad Invectives and Complaints that have come down to us. Then Classical literature had come in like a flood, and there had arifen a school of severe CRITICISM in Greek, Latin, and English, including such scholars as Sir J. Cheke, Walter Haddon, and Roger Ascham. Then there had been the almost universal habit among Gentlemen of SONNETTING, of which no one knows the entire existing remains. Then had arisen the fashion of PLAYS: Comedies first, arising out of the Miracle, Mystery, and Morality plays: afterwards Tragedy, in imitation of the Dramas of Seneca. Then had come the fashion of collecting the Sonnets and kindred verse into POETICAL MISCELLANIES. So much poetry occasioned DISCUSSIONS AND CONTROVERSIES IN THE ART OF POETRY, begun by Gaeboigne and which were destined to continue, with hardly a break, beyond the time of Dryden. Soon after came up the EUPHUISTIC OR
Witticism Romances of Lyly, Lodge, Greene and others. Lastly, Hooker had recently introduced a New Style of Prose in his Ecclesiastical Polity. Such had been the growth in variety of English Letters; when Bacon added to it yet another form.

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

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

Come with me and be my Love,
for Earle’s description of A Shee-Precife Hypocrite: and in like manner, the Sonneteers of the first period are succeeded in equal number by the Character-Writers of the second. It was precipitately at this point of Change, that the Euphuistic and Italian Romances were supplanted by Essays.

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

The Essays of Montaigne, the first edition of which appeared at Bordeaux in 1580, make in several respects an epoch in literature, less on account of their real importance, or the novel truths they contain, than of their influence upon the taste and the opinions of Europe. They are the first provocatio ad populum, the first appeal from the porch and the academy to the haunts of
busy and of idle men, the first book that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy. In an age when every topic of this nature was treated systematically, and in a didactic form, he broke out without connexion of chapters, with all the digressions that levity and garrulous egotism could suggest, with a very delightful, but, at that time, most unusual rapidity of transition from seriousness to gaiety. It would be to anticipate much of what will demand attention in the ensuing century, were we to mention here the conspicuous writers who, more or less directly, and with more or less of close imitation, may be classed in the school of Montaigne; it embraces, in fact, a large proportion of French and English literature, and especially of that which has borrowed his title of Essays. *Intr. to Lit. of Europe* [from 1550—1600] ii. 169. *Ed.* 1839.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yet it is strange that Bacon ignores his guide. There is no allusion by him to Montaigne in these essays before 1625, under which year he will be found quoted at p. 501. When, in 1612, he was writing his dedication to Prince Henry of his second and revised Text, it pleased him to go back to antiquity for a precedent, and to find in Seneca's Epistles of Lucilius the prototype of the modern Essay, see p. 158.
8. At whatever date the first of these Essays were written, they were certainly preceded in publication by another work of like kind, which I take to be the earliest publication in the technical form of Essay-writing in our language. It is a very rare little book—for the inspection of which I am indebted to that beneficent friend of this Series, Henry Pyne, Esq.—entitled "Remedies against Discontentment, drawn into severall Discourses from the writings of auncient Philosophers. By Anonymous. London. Printed for Rafe Blower. An. Do. 1596." It was registered at Stationers' Hall on 2 June 1596. The entry stands at the top of fol. 11. of Register C (1595-1620) as follows:

1596. 38. Regni Rie Eliz: 
Secundo die Juniij.

Raphe Blower and Tho: Purfoote Junior
Entred for their copie vnder hands of Mr Hartwell and bothe the wardens a booke intituled Anonymous his Remedia against discontentment.

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

You earnestlie entreated mee to sende you those small discourses you tooke view of in my studie, not longe since. You haue so great authoritie over me that I can not (without breaking the league of friends! ) make that just excuse vnto you, which I might vnto others. They were onely framed for mine owne private use; and that is the reason I tooke no great paine, to set them forth anye better, thinking they should never see the light. Imagine not to find in them, those subtill questions, and profound discourses which so weightie a matter requireth. It was not my purpose to enter so farre, both in regard of the weakenes of mine owne forces, as that I did likewise knowe well, that the auncient Philosophers haue lefte vnto vs many volumes of the same subject, whose perfection I am in no wise able to imitate. But as they all with one accord doe acknowledge thus much, that wee do naturally desire to bee happy, and that there is no meanes in this world to attaine thereunto, but to bridell our affections, and to bring them vnto a sounde temper, which is the onely waye to set our mynde at rest: So did they judge it requisite, that wee should referre all our labour, watching, and meditation to this end. And in deede it is the course which the best witts of those times, haue taken: yea not onely they who haue beene guided by the obscure lightes of nature, but even those whose thorowe faith haue been enlightened, by the cleare shining of the Sonne beams. From these faire flowers, whiche their labours haue afforded mee, I haue as I passed by, gathered this small heape, and as my time and leasure serued me, distilled them, and kept them as precious. Deeming that the lesser quantiety they they did containe, so much greater shoulde their vertue and power be. For I was long since thus perswaded, that the receiptes which wee seeke, to calme, and appease our mind with all, ought to bee gathered into the fewest words, and shortest precepts that may be, that wee may alwayes haue them about vs. Forasmuch as disquietnes, which stoppeth the passage of felicitie, and with the which we are alwaies to combate, doth for the most part take vs vnawares, and keepe vs at that bay, that if wee haue not still some short, and easie weapons about vs, which we may well handle, we should not be able to defend our selues. I doubt not but your age, and experience, hath long since provided you those that are of better mettle, better forged, and tempered. But sith that you haue a good opinion of mine, and desire to vs them (as you make me beleue) I do answerable to your desire send them

b
you. If they please you, it shall be according to my wish: If they displease, yet is it according to your commandment. Fare you well. Yours Anonimus.

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


Of all these we may glie as a samble, the fifth Discouerse. How we ought to rule our life.

In mine opinion it is necessarie to hould a certaine firme and staid course of life without chaunging vpon every slight occasion. You shall see some who are so infected with this vice, that they alter their manner of life daily, being vnpossible to sette themselves to any thing, like vnto those who never have been at Sea, who when they first set saile, remoue ou of a great Ship into a little, and from a little to a great, shewing plainly that they dislike both; being still Sea-sick and purging their stomack. It is even so with those who bring their passions with them in those matters they undertake, seeking daily a new forme of life and neuer doe effect any thing they begin. Euerie thing maketh them sick, all things torment them: to haue much busines, to be idle, to serue, to command, to be maried, to leade a single life, to haue children, to bee without issue: to bee short, nothing pleaseth them, nothing satisfieth them, but that which they haue not: And such kind of men liue miserably and discontentedly, like vnto those who are restrayned of their libertie, and fettered, liuing in a dayly torment.

There are another sort of men almost like vnto these, who can never stand still nor staie in one place, they never cease going and comming, they intermeddle themselves in euery mans matter without any intretacie, they are wonderfullie troubled with busines, and yet they have nothing at all to do. When they come abroad, if you demaunde of them whither they go, they straight-waies make answere I know not, I haue some busines like as others haue, They run about the streetes, and market places, and returne all wearie and disquieted, hauing dispatched nothing at all. For there is nothing that so much wearieht any man as to labour in vaine. It is like ants who clime vnto the top of a tree, and when they are at the highest haue nothing else to doe but to come downe againe, without reapig any other profit. They goe with such a randome that they carrie all that they meeete before them. The Exchange, Powles, and the market places, are ordinarily full of such men. These forge and inuent newes, are deceauers, talking still of men liues, and discoursing vainely what charges and offices other men haue.

A wise mans actions tend alwaies to a certaine end, he never burdeneth himselfe, with more busines then hee can well execute. And to say the troth, Hee which taketh much vpon him, giveth fortune much more power over him.

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

Having thus brought the reader to the threshold of the present Reprint, we close our brief sketch of the advent of the Essay in our national Literature.
Knowledge of the manhood of Bacon wonderfully illustrates the
drift and method of his Essays, and vice versa. We fortunately
possess an early and most authoritative account of him in the
following Life by his 'first and last Chaplain,' the Rev.
William Rawley, D.D., which first appeared in his Resuscita-
tio, 1657. fol., was revised in the reprint of it of 1661, and is for the most
part, the best testimony attainable (viz., that of a credible Eye and Ear wit-
ness), expressed with great strength and clearness.

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

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

Before the Life, in the edition of 1661, he placed an Epistle to the Reader, which begins thus:—"Having been employed as an amanuensis
or daily instrument to this honourable Author, and acquainted with his
Lordship's conceits in the composing of his Works, for many years together,
especially in his writing time. I conceived that no man could pretend a
better interest or claim to the ordering of them, after his death, than myself.
For which cause I have compiled in one, whatsoever bears the true stamp
of his Lordship's excellent genius, and hath hitherto slept and been sup-
ppressed in this present volume; not leaving anything to a future hand which
I found to be of moment and communicable to the public, save only some
few Latin works, which, by God's favour and suffrance, shall soon after
follow.

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

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

There is required now: and I have been moved by many, both from foreign
nations and at home, who have in price, and been admirers of this honourable
Author's conceits and apprehensions: that some memorials might be added
concerning his Lordship's life. Wherein I have been more willing than
sufficient to satisfy their requests, and to that end have endeavoured to con-
tribute not my talent, but my mite, in the next following discourse. Though
to give the true value to his Lordship's worth, there were more need of
another Homer to be the trumpet of Achilles' vertues."
The Life of the Honourable Author.

FRANCIS BACON, the Glory of his Age and Nation, the Adorner and Ornament of Learning, was born in York House or York Place, in the Strand; on the 22d day of January in the year of our Lord, 1560. His father was that famous Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, the second Prop of the Kingdom in his time; Sir NICHOLAS BACON Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England: a Lord of known prudence, sufficiency, moderation, and integrity. His mother was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir ANTHONY COOK, unto whom the erudition of King Edward the Sixth had been committed: a choice Lady and eminent for piety, virtue, and learning; being exquisitely skilled, for a woman, in the Greek and Latin tongues. These being the parents, you may easily imagine what the issue was like to be; having had whatsoever Nature or Breeding could put into him.

His first- and childish years were not without some mark of eminency. At which time, he was endued with that pregnancy and towardness of wit, as they were presages of that deep and universal Apprehension which was manifest in him afterward; and caused him to be taken notice of by several persons of Worth and Place, and especially by the Queen; who (as I have been informed), delighted much, then, to confer with him, and to prove him with questions. Unto whom, he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that Her Majesty would often term him 'The young Lord Keeper.' Being asked by the Queen 'How old he was?' He answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, 'That he was two years younger than Her Majesty's happy Reign.' With which answer the Queen was much taken.

At the ordinary years of ripeness for the University, or rather somewhat earlier; he was sent by his father to Trinity College in Cambridge, to be educated and bred under the tuition of Doctor JOHN WHITGIFT, then master of that College, afterwards the renowned Archbishop of Canterbury: a prelate of the first magnitude for Sanctity, Learning, Patience, and Humility. Under whom, he was observed to have been more than an ordinary proficient in the several arts and sciences. Whilst he was commorant in the University, about 16 years of age (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the Philosophy of Aristotle. Not for the worthlessness of the Author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes; but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a Philosophy (as his Lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of Works for the benefit of the Life of Man. In which mind he continued to his dying day.

After he had passed the circle of the Liberal Arts; his father thought fit to frame and mould him for the arts of State. And, for that end, sent him over into France, with Sir AMYAS PAULET, then employed Ambassador Leger into France: by whom he was; after a while, held fit to be entrusted with some message or advertisement to the Queen; which having performed, with great approbation, he returned back into France again, with intention to continue for some years, there.

In his absence in France, his father the Lord Keeper died; having collected (as I have heard of knowing persons) a considerable sum of money, which he had separated, with intention to have made a competent purchase of land for the livelihood of this his youngest son; (who was only unprovided for, and though he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest in his father's affection); but the said purchase being unaccomplished at his father's death, there came no greater share to him, than his single part or portion of the money divisible amongst five brethren. By which means he lived in some straightness and necessities in his younger years. For as for that pleasant site and manor of Gorhambury, he came not to it, till many years after, by the death of his dearest brother, Mr. ANTHONY BACON; a gentleman equal to him in height of wit, though inferior to him in the endowments of learning and knowledge. Unto whom he was most nearly conjoined in affection: they two, being the sole male issue of a second venture.
Being returned from travel, he applied himself to the study of the Common Law, which he took upon him to be his profession. In which he obtained to great excellency: though he made that (as himself said) but as an accessory and not as his principal study. He wrote several tractsates upon that subject. Wherein, though some great masters in the Law did outgo him in bulk and particularities of cases, yet in the true science of the grounds and mysteries of the law he was exceeded by none. In this way, he was, after a while, sworn of the Queen’s Counsell Learned, Extraordinary; a grace (if I err not) scarce known before. He seated himself, for the commodity of his studies and practise, amongst the Honourable Society of Gray’s Inn; of which House he was a member: where he erected that elegant pile or structure, commonly known by the name of Lord Bacon’s Lodgings, which he inhabited, by turns, the most part of his life (some few years only excepted) unto his dying day. In which House, he carried himself with such sweetness, comity, and generosity, that he was much revered and loved by the Readers and Gentlemen of the house.

Notwithstanding that he professed the law for his livelihood and subsistence: yet his heart and affections were more carried after the affairs and places of State; for which, if the Majesty Royal then had been pleased, he was most fit. In his younger years he studied the service and fortunes (as they call them) of that noble but unfortunate Earl, the Earl of Essex; unto whom he was, in a sort, a private and free counsellor, and gave him safe and honourable advice: till, in the end, the Earl inclined too much to the violent and precipitate counsel of others, his adherents and followers; which was his fate and ruin.

His birth and other capacities qualified him above others of his profession, to have ordinary access at court; and to come frequently into the Queen’s eye: who would often grace him with private and free communication, not only about matters of his profession or business in law; but also about the arduous affairs of state. From whom she received, from time to time, great satisfaction. Nevertheless, though she cheered him much with the bounty of her countenance; yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her hand: having never conferred upon him any ordinary place or means of honour or profit, save only one dry reversion of the Register’s Office in the Star Chamber, worth about £1600 per annum: for which he waited in expectation, either fully or nearly twenty years. Of which his Lordship would say, in Queen Elizabeth’s time, ‘That it was, like another man’s ground, butting upon his house; which might mend his prospect but it did not fill his barn.’ Nevertheless, in the time of King James it fell unto him.) Which might be imputed, not so much to Her Majesty’s averseness or disaffection towards him: as to the arts and policy of a great statesman then, who laboured by all industrious and secret means to suppress and keep him down; lest if he had risen, he might have obscured his glory.

But though he stood long at a stay in the days of his mistress, Queen Elizabeth: yet, after the change and coming in of his new master King James, he made a great progress; by whom, he was much comforted in places of trust, honour, and revenue. I have seen a letter of his Lordship’s to King James, wherein he makes acknowledgement: “That he was that master to him, that had raised and advanced him nine times; thrice in dignity, and six times in office.” His offices (as I conceive) were, Counsel Learned Extraordinary [25th August 1604] to his Majesty, as he had been to Queen Elizabeth; King’s Solicitor General [25th June 1607]; His Majesty’s Attorney-General [27th October 1613]; Counsellor of State [i.e., Privy Councillor, 7th June 1616], being yet but Attorney; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England [3d March 1617]; lastly, Lord Chancellor [4th January 1619]: which two last places, though they be the same in authority and power; yet they differ in patent, height, and favour of the prince. Since whose time none of his successors until this present honourable Lord [Lord Clarendon] did ever bear the title of Lord Chancellor. His dignities were first Knight [23d July 1603]; then Baron of Verulam [11th July 1618]; lastly, Viscount Saint Alban [25th January 1621]; besides other good
gifts and bounties of the hand, which His Majesty gave him; both out of the Broad Seal and out of the Alienation Office, to the value in both of £1,800 per annum; which with his Manor of Gorhambury and other lands and possessions, near there unto adjoining, amounting to a third part more, he retained to his dying day.

Towards his rising years, not before, he entered into a married state; and took to wife Alice, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Benedict Barnham Esquire, and Alderman of London: with whom he received a sufficiently ample and liberal portion in marriage. Children he had none; which though they be the means to perpetuate our names after our deaths; yet he had other issues to perpetuate his name: the issues of his brain. In which he was ever happy and admired, as Jupiter was in the production of Pallas. Neither did the want of children detract from his good usage of his consort during the intermarriage, whom he presented with much conjugal love and respect, with many rich gifts and endowments, besides a robe of honour which he invested her withal [i.e., he made her a Peeress], which she wore, until her dying day, being twenty years and more, after his death.

The last five years of his life being withdrawn from civil affairs and from an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies. A thing, whereof his Lordship would often speak during his active life; as if he affected to die in the shadow, and not in the light; which also may be found in several passages of his works. In which time, he composed the greatest part of his books and writings, both in English and Latin. Which I will enumerate (as near as I can) in the just order, wherein they were written. The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, Abecedarium Nature, or a Metaphysical piece, which is lost. Historia Ventorum, Historia vitæ et mortis; Historia densus et rarius not yet printed. Historia Gravis, et Levis, which is also lost. A Discourse of a War with Spain. A Dialogue touching An Holy War. The fable of the New Atlantis. A Preface to a Digest of the Laws of England. The beginning of the History of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth. De Augmentis Scientiarum; or The Advancement of Learning; put into Latin, with several enrichments and enlargements. Counsels Civil and Moral or his book of Essays, likewise enriched and enlarged. The conversion of certain Psalms into English verse. The translation into Latin; of the History of King Henry the Seventh, of the Counsels Civil and Moral, of the dialogue of The Holy War, of the fable of The New Atlantis; for the benefit of other nations. His revising of his book De Sapientia Veterum, Inquisitio de Magnete, Topica Inquisitionis de Luce et Lumine: both these not yet printed. Lastly, Sylvia Sylvarum or the Natural History. These were the fruits and productions of his last five years. His Lordship also designed upon the motion and invitation of his late majesty [Charles I.] to have written The Reign of King Henry the Eighth; but that work perished in the designation merely. God not lending him life to proceed further upon it than only in one morning’s work whereof there is extant an Ex Ungue Leonem, already printed in his Lordship’s Miscellany Works.

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

I have been induced to think; That if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man, in these modern times, it was upon him. For though he was a great reader of books, yet he had not his knowledge from books, but from some grounds or notions from within himself; which notwith-
standing, he vented with great caution and circumspection. His book of

*Instauratio Magna* (which, in his own account, was the chiefest of his

works) was no slight imagination or fancy of his brain; but a settled and con-
ccocted notion: the production of many years' labour and travail. I myself

have seen at the least twelve copies of the *Instauratior* revised, year by

year, one after another; and every year altered and amended in the frame

thereof; till, at the last, it came to that model, in which it was committed to

the press: as many living creatures 'do lick their young ones till they bring

them to their strength of limbs.

In the composing of his books he did rather drive at a masculine and clear

expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases; and would often

ask if the meaning were expressed *plainly enough*. As being one that

accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the

principal: and if his style were polite, it was because he could do no other-

wise. Neither was he given to any light conceits, or descanting upon

words: but did ever, purposely and industriously, avoid them. For he held

such things to be but digressions or diversions from the scope intended, and
to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style.

He was no plodder upon books: though he read much; and that, with

great judgement, and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors.

For he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his

studies; as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other

befitting recreation. And yet he would lose no time: inasmuch, as upon his

first and immediate return, he would fall to reading again: and so suffer no

moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement.

His meals were refections of the ear as well as of the stomach: like the

*Noctes Atticae* or *Convivia Deipnosophistarum*, wherein a man might be

refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body. And I

have known some of no mean parts, that have professed to make use of their

note-books, when they have risen from his table. In which conversations

and otherwise, he was no dashing man, as some men are; but ever a counte-
nancier and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one, that would

appropriate the speech wholly to himself or delight to out-vie others, but

leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns. Wherein he would
draw a man on, and allure him to speak upon such a subject as wherein he was

peculiarly skilful and would delight to speak: and for himself he contemned

no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle.

His opinions and assertions were, for the most part, binding, and not

contradicted by any: rather like oracles than discourses. Which may be

imputed, either to the well weighing of his sentence by the scales of truth

and reason; or else to the reverence and estimation wherein he was commonly

had, that no man would contest with him. So that there was no argumenta-
tion, or *pro* and *con* as they term it, at his table; or if there chanced to be

any, it was carried with much submission and moderation.

I have often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he

had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and

faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before:

so that the author should find his own speech much amended and yet the

substance of it still retained. As if it had been natural to him to use good

forms; as Ovid spake of his faculty of versifying,

*Et quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.*

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

When his office called him, as he was of the King's Counsell Learned to
charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitalls: he was never of an

insulting or domineering nature over them, but always tender-hearted and
carrying himself decently towards the parties: (though it was his duty to
charge them home) but yet as one that looked upon the example with the eye

of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion. And

in Civil Business, as he was Councillor of State, he had the best way of
advising: not engaging his master in any precipitate or grievous courses, but

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

in moderate and fair proceedings. The King whom he served, giving him this testimony, 'That he ever dealt in business suavibus modis, which was the way that was most according to his own heart.'

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

And as he was a good servant to his master: being never in nineteen years service (as himself averred) rebuked by the King for any thing relating to his Majesty: so he was a good master to his servants, and rewarded their long attendance with good places freely when they fell into his power; which was the cause that so many young gentlemen of blood and quality sought to enlist themselves in his retinue. And if he were abused by any of them in their places; it was only the error of the goodness of his nature: but the badges of their indiscretions and intemperances.

This Lord was religious. For though the world be apt to suspect and pre-judge great wits and politicians to have somewhat of the Atheist: yet he was conservant with God. As appeareth by several passages throughout the whole current of his writings. Otherwise he should have crossed his own principles, which were, 'That a little philosophy maketh men apt to forget God, as attributing too much to second causes; but depth of philosophy bringeth a man back to God again.' Now I am sure there is no man that will deny him, or account otherwise of him but to have been a deep philosopher: and not only so, but that he was able to render a reason of the hope which was in him, which that writing of his of the Confession of the Faith doth abundantly testify. He repaired frequently, when his health would permit him, to the service of the Church, to hear sermons, to the administration of the Sacrament of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ; and died in the true faith established in the Church of England.

This is most true. He was free from malice, which (as he said himself) he never bred, nor fed. He was no revenger of injuries, which if he had minded he had both opportunity and place high enough, to have done it. He was no heaver of men out of their places, as delighting in their ruin and undoing. He was no defamer of any man to his Prince. One day, when a great Statesman was newly dead, that had not been his friend, the King asked him 'what he thought of that Lord which was gone?'. He answered 'That he would never have made his majesty's estate better; but he was sure, he would have kept it from being worse.' Which was the worst he would say of him. Which I reckon not amongst his moral but his Christian virtues.

His fame is greater and sounds louder in foreign parts abroad, than at home in his own nation: thereby verifying that Divine sentence, A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country and in his own house. Concerning which, I will give you a taste only, out of a letter written from Italy (the Store-House of refined wits) to the late Earl of Devonshire [d. 1668.] then the Lord Cavendish. I will expect the new Essays of my Lord Chancellor Bacon; as also his History, with a great deal of desire: and whatsoever else he shall compose. But in particular, of his History I promise myself a thing perfect and singular; especially in Henry the Seventh, where he may exercise the talent of his divine understanding. This Lord is more and more known; and his books here, more and more delighted in; and those men, that have more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs, esteem him one of the most capable spirits of this age. And he is truly such."

Now his fame doth not decrease with days since, but rather increase. Divers of his works have been anciantly and yet lately translated into other tongues both learned and modern, by foreign pens. Several persons of quality, during his Lordship's life, crossed the seas on purpose to gain an opportunity of seeing him and discoursing with him; whereof one carried his Lordship's picture from head to foot, over with him to France, as a thing which he foresaw, would be much desired there: that so they might enjoy
the image of his person as well as the images of his brain, his books. Amongst the rest, the Marquis Fiat, a French nobleman who came ambassador into England in the beginning of Queen Mary, wife to King Charles; was taken with an extraordinary desire of seeing him; for which he made way by a friend. And when he came to him, being then through weakness confined to his bed, the Marquis saluted him with this high expression; 'That his Lordship had been ever to him like the angels, of whom he had often heard, and read much of them in books, but he never saw them.' After which they contracted an intimate acquaintance: and the Marquis did so revere him that besides his frequent visits, they wrote letters, one to the other, under the titles and appellations of father and son. As for his many salutations by letters from foreign worthies devoted to leaning, I forbear to mention them, because that is a thing common to other men of learning or note together with him.

But yet in this matter of his fame, I speak in the comparative only and not in the exclusive. For his reputation is great in his own nation also, especially amongst those that are of a more acute and sharper judgement. Which I will exemplify but with two testimonies and no more. The former, when his History of King Henry the Seventh was to come forth, it was delivered to the old Lord Brooke to be perused by him; who, when he had despatched it, returned it to the author, with this eulogy, 'Commend me to my Lord, and bid him take care to get good paper and ink: for the work is incomparable.' The other, shall be that of Doctor Samuel Collins, late Provost of King's College in Cambridge, a man of no vulgar wit, who affirmed unto me, 'That when he had read the book Of the Advancement of Learning, he found himself in a case to begin his studies anew and that he had lost all the time of his studying before.'

It hath been desired that something should be signified touching his diet and the regimen of his health: of which in regard to his universal insight into nature, he may, perhaps, be, to some, an example. For his diet, it was a plentiful and liberal diet, as his stomach would bear it, than a restrained. Which he also commended in his book of The History of Life and Death. In his younger years, he was much given to the finer and lighter sort of meats, as of fowls and such like: but afterwards, when he grew more judicious, he preferred the stronger meats, such as the shambles afforded, as those meats which breed the more firm and substantial juices of the body and less dissipable. Upon which, he would often make his meal; though he had other meats upon the table. You may be sure he would not neglect that himself, which he so much extolled in his writings; and that was the use of Nitre: whereof he took in the quantity of about three grains, in thin warm broth every morning for thirty years together next before his death. And for physic he did indeed live physically but not miserably. For he took only a maceration of rhubarb infused into a draught of white wine and beer, mingled together for the space of half an hour, once in six or seven days, immediately before his meal, whether dinner or supper, that it might dry the body less; which, as he said, did carry away frequently the grosser humours of the body, and not diminish or carry away any of the spirits, as sweating doth. And, this was no grievous thing to take. As for other physic, in an ordinary way, whatsoever hath been vulgarly spoken, he took not. His receipt for the gout, which did constantly ease him of his pain within two hours, is already set down in the end of the Natural History.

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

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

cold; whereby the defluxion of rheum fell so plentifully upon his breast that he died by suffocation. And was buried in St. Michael's Church at Saint Albans: being the place designed for his burial by his last will and testament; both because the body of his mother was interred there, and because it was the only church then remaining within the precincts of old Verulam. Where he hath a monument erected for him of white marble, (by the care and gratitude of Sir Thomas Mewys Knight, formerly his Lordship's secretary, afterwards clerk of the King's Honourable Privy Council, under two kings) representing his full portraiture, in the posture of studying: with an inscription composed by that accomplished gentleman and rare wit, Sir Henry Wotton.

But howsoever his body was mortal, yet no doubt his memory and works will live, and will, in all probability, last as long as the world lasteth. In order to which, I have endeavoured, after my poor ability, to do this honour to his Lordship, by way of conducting to the same.

Ben Jonson's Testimony to Bacon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* A boare.
The East India merchants presented his Lop. with a cabinet of jewells, which his page, Mr. Cockaine, received, and deceived his Lord. His Lordship was a good Poet, but conceal'd as appears by his Letters. See excellent verse sof his Lop's., which Mr. Farnaby translated into Greeke, and printed both in his Ανθολογία, sc.

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

[As this translation by Lord Bacon is not generally known, we give it entire. T. Farnaby's Epigrammata Selecta, taken from various authors, with his Greek translations of them upon opposite pages, was published at London in 1629, under the title Η τῆς Ανθολογίας Ανθολογία. Florilegium Epigrammatum Graecorum, eorumque Latino versu à varijs redditorum. Among the Epigrams on 'Human life' is one by John Gorræus: after which comes, Huc elegantem viri clarissimi Domini Verulamij παρωδίαν adjicere adiubuit.

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

Yet since with sorrow here we live opprest:
what life is best?
Courts are but only superficiaall scholers
to dandle fooles.
The rurall parts are turn'd into a den
of savage men.
And wher's a city from all vice so free,
But may be term'd the worst of all the three?
Domesticke cares afflict the husbands bed,
or paines his head.
Those that live single take it for a curse
or doe things worse.
Some would have children, those that have them, none,
or wish them gone.
What is it then to have or have no wife,
But single thraldome, or a double strife?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Aubrey in his *Life of Hobbes.* Vol. II. Part ii. p. 602 of the same work, states, 'The Lord Chancellor Bacon loved to converse with him. He assisted his Lordship in translating several of his essays into Latin, one I well remember is that, Of the Greatness of Cities; [*1 Kingdoms*] the rest I haue forgott. His Lordship was a very contemplative person, and was wont to contemplate in his delicious walks at Gorhambery, and dictate to Mr. Bushell, or some other of his gentlemen, that attended him with ink and paper ready to set downe presently his thoughts ']

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

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

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

My Lord. WITH as much confidence, as mine own honest, and faithfull Devotion unto your Service, and your honourable Correspondence unto me, and my poor estate, can breed in a Man, do I commend myself unto your Lordship. I waxe now somewhat ancient; One and thirty yeares, is a great deal of sand, in the Houre-glasse. My Health, I thank God, I find confirmed; And I do fear, that Action shall impair it; Because I account, my ordinary course of Study, and Meditation to be more painfull, than most parts of Action are. I ever bare a mind, (in some middle place, that I could discharge,) to serve her Majesty; Not as a Man, born under Sol, that loveth Honour; Nor under Jupiter, that loveth Business (for the Contemplative Planet carrieth me away wholly,) but as a Man born, under an Excellent Sovereign, that deserveth the Dedication, of all Mens Abilities. Besides, I doe not finde, in myself, so much Self-love, but that the greater parts, of my Thoughts are, to deserve well, (if I were able,) of my Friends, and namely of your Lordship; who being the Atlas, of this Commonwealth, the Honour of my House, and the second Founder of my poor Estate, I am tied, by all duties, both of a good Patriot, and of an unworthy Kinsman, and of an Obliged Servant, to employ whatsoever I am, to doe you Service. Again, the Meanness of my Estate, doth somewhat move me: For though I cannot accuse my Self, that I am either prodigal, or slothfull, yet my Health is not to spend, nor my Course to get. Lastly, I confess, that I have as, vast Contemplative Ends, as I have moderate Civil Ends: For I have taken all Knowledge to be my Province; And if I could purge it, of two sort of Rovers, whereof the one, with frivolous Disputation, Confutations, and Verbosities: The other, with blind Experiments, and Auricular Traditions, and Impostures; hath committed so many spoils; I hope, I should bring in, Industrious Observations, grounded Conclusions, and profitable Inventions and Discoveries, the best State of that Province. This, whether it be Curiosity, or Vain-glory, or Nature, or, (if one take it favourably,) Philanthropia, is so fixed in my minde, as it cannot be removed. And I doe easily see, that Place of any Reasonable Contenance, doth bring commandement, of more Wits, than of a Mans own; which is the Thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not finde more Strength, and less Encounter, in any other. And if your Lordship, shall finde now, or at any time, that I doe seek, or affect, any place, whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship, shall be concurrent, say then, that I am a most dishonest Man. And if your Lordship, will not carry me on, I will not doe as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself, with Contemplation, unto voluntary poverty; But this I will doe, I will sell the Inheritance, that I have, and purchase some Lease, of quick Revenew, or some Office of Gain, that shall be executed by Deputy, and so give over, all Care of Service, and become some sorry Book maker, or a true Pioneer, in that Mine of Truth, which (he said) lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordship, is rather Thoughts, than Words, being set down without all Aw, Disguizing, or Reservation. Wherein I have done honour, both to your Lordships Wisdom, in judging, that that will be best believed of your Lordship, which is truest; And to your Lordships good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so, I wish your Lordship all Happiness, and to my self, Means and Occasion, to be added, to my faithfull desire, to doe you Service.

From my Lodgings at Grays Inn. [Resuscitatio, p. 95. Ed. 1657.]
2. No right judgment can be formed of these Essays, in relation to Bacon's powers: unless some glimpse, however brief and imperfect, be obtained of the 'vaft contemplative ends' to which he chiefly consecrated his magnificent powers for the last thirty-five years of his most busy life. Mr. Hallam has given us an excellent sketch of that New Philosophy, which talked even the mighty intellect of the Lord Chancellor firmly to design.

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

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

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

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

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

In a fifth part of the *Instauratio Magna* Bacon had designed to give a specimen of the new philosophy which he hoped to raise after a due use of his natural history and inductive method, by way of anticipation or sample of the whole. He calls it *Predomini, sive Anticipationes Philosophiae Secundae*. And some fragments of this part are published by the names of *Cogitata et Visa, Cogitationes de Natura Rerum, Filum Labyrinthis*, and a few more, being as much, in all probability, as he had reduced to writing. In his own metaphor, it was to be like the payment of interest, till the principal could be raised, *tantum fenus reddatur, donee sors haberis posset*.

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

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

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

In the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and in the *Novum Organum*, we have less, no doubt, than Lord Bacon, under different conditions of life, might have achieved; he might have been more emphatically the high priest of nature, if he had not been the chancellor of James I.; but no one man could have filled up the vast outline which he alone, in that stage of the world, could have so boldly sketched.—Intro. to the Lit. of Europe, iii. 168-175. *Ed. 1839.*
Bacon did 'get help' in his Natural History from his chaplain, Dr. Rawley: and among the many writings of his 'writing time,' i.e. from his fall till his death, this work was completed. It was published after his decease under the title of 'Sylva Sylvarum: or A Naturall Historie, in ten Centuries,' London, 1627. fol., with the following dedication to Charles I.:

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

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

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

Having had the Honour to bee continually with my Lord, in compiling of this Worke; And to be employed therein; I haue thought it not amisse (with his Lordships good leaue and liking,) for the better satisfaction of those that shall read it, to make knowne somewhat of his Lordships Intentions, touching the Ordering, and Publishing of the same. I haue heard his Lordship often say: that if hee should haue serued the glory of his owne Name, hee had been better not to haue published this Naturall Historie: For it may seeme an Indigested Heap of Particulars; and cannot haue that Lustre, which Booke cast into Methods haue; But that he resolued to preferre the good of Men, and that which might best secure it, before any thing that might haue Relation to Himselfe. And hee knew well, that there was no other way open, to vnloose Mens minds, being bound; and (as it were) Maleficiate, by the Charmes of deceiving Notions, and Theories; and therby made Impotent for Generation of VVorke: But onely no wheer to depart from the Sense, and cleare experience; But to kepe close to it, especially in the beginning: Besides, this Naturall Historie was a Debt of his, being Designed and set downe for a third part of the Instauration. I haue also heard his Lordship discourse, that Men (no doubt) will thinke many of the Experimentes contained in this Collection to be Vulgar or Trivial: Meane and Sordid; Curious and Fruitlesse; and therefore he wisheth, that they would haue perpetually before their Eyes, what is now in doing: And the Difference betweene this Naturall Historie, and others. For those Naturall Histories, which are Extant, being gathered for Delight and Vse, are full of pleasant Descriptions.
and Pictures; and affect and seek after Admiration, Rarities, and Secrets. But contrariwise, the Scope which his Lordship intendant, is to write such a Naturall History, as may be Fundamentall to the Erecting and Building of a true Philosophy: For the Illumination of the Vnnderstanding; the Ex-tracting of Axiomnes; and the producing of many Noble Works, and Effects. For he hopeth, by this meaues, to acquit Himselfe of that, for which hee taketh Himselfe in a sort bound; And that is, the Aduauncement of all Learning and Sciences. For haung in this present VWorke Collected the Materials for the Building; And in his Novum Organum (of which his Lordship is yet to publish a Second Part,) set downe the Instruments and Directions for the Worke; Men shall now bee wanting to themselves, if they raise not Knowledge to that perfection, whereof the Nature of Mortall men is capable. And in this behalfe, I haue heard his Lordship speake complaing-ingly; That his Lordship (who thinketh hee deserueth to be an Architect in this building,) should be forced to be a VWork-man and a Labourer; And to digge the Clay, and burne the Brick; And more then that, (according to the hard Condition of the Israelites at the latter end) to gather the Strawe and Stubble, over all the Fields, to burn the Bricks withall. For he knoweth, that except hee doe it, nothing will be done: Men are so sett to despise the Meanes of their owne good. And as for the Basenes of many of the Experiments: As long as they be Gods VWorks, they are Honourable enough. And for the Vulgarnes of them; true Axiomnes must be drawne from plaine Experience, and not from doubtfull; And his Lordships course is, to make VWonders Plaine, and not Plaine things VWonders; And that Experience likewise must be broken and grinded, and not whole, or as it groweth. And for Vse; his Lordship hath often in his Mouth, the two kindes of Experiments; Experimenta Fructifera, and Experimenta Lucifera: Experiments of Vse, and Experiments of Light; And he reporteth himself, whether he were not a strange Man, that should thinke that Light hath no Vse, because it hath no Matter. Further, his Lordship thought good also, to add vnto many of the Experiments themselves, some Glosse of the Causes; that in the succeeding work of Interpreting Nature, and Framing Axiomnes, all things may be in more Readines. And for the Causes herein by Him assigned; his Lordship perswadeth Himselfe, they are farr more certaine, than those that are rendred by Others; Not for any Excellency of his owne Witt, (as his Lordship is wont to say) but in respect of his continuall Conversacion with Nature, and Experience. He did consider likewise, that by this Addi-tion of Causes, Mens mindes (which make so much hast to find out the Causes of things;) would not think themselves vitterly lost, in a Vast VWood of Experience, but stay upon these Causes, (such as they are) a little, till true Axiomnes may be more fully discovered I haue heard his Lordship say also, that one great Reason, why he would not put these Particulars into any exact Method, (though he that looketh attentiously into them, shall finde that they have a secret Order) was, because hee conceived that other men would now thinke, that they could doe the like; And so goe on with a further Collection: which if the Method had been Exact, many would have despaired to attaine by Imitation. As for his Lordships loue of Order, I can refer any Man to his Lordships Latine Booke, De Augmentis Scientiarum; which (if my Judgment be any thing) is written in the Exactest Order, that I know any Writing to bee. I will conclude with an usuall Speech of his Lordships. That this VWorke of his Naturall History, is the World, as G o d made it, and not as Men have made it; For that it hath nothing of Imagination.

W. Rawley.

After Sylva Sylvarum appeared in the same impression, the 'New Atlantis, A Worke vnfinisht,' respeecting which Dr. Rawley thus writes To the Reader.
This Fable my Lord devised, to the end that He might exhibit therein, a Modell or Description of a Colledge, instituted for the Interpreting of Nature, and the Producing of Great and Marvellous Works for the Benefit of Men; Vnder the name of Salomons House, or the Colledge of the Sixe Dayes Works. And even so farre his Lordship hath proceeded, as to finish that Part: Certainly, the Modell is more Vast, and High, than can possibly be imitated in all things. Notwithstanding most Things therein are within Mens Power to effect. His Lordship thought also in this present Fable, to have composed a Frame of Lawes, or of the best State or Mould of a Common-wealth; But foreseeing it would be a long Worke, his Desire of Collecting the Natural History diuerted him, which He preferred many degrees before it.

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

W. Rawley.

3. We have thought thus much—and we would suggeft that every claffe and fatement quoted should be thoroughly con- sidered—concerning Bacon’s Life and Operations, indifpenfable to a fair consideration of thefe Effays. For they formed no essential part of his work; they entered not into his conceptions of the proficiency and advancement of knowledge. Like his History of Henry VII., written at the request of King James, and his in- tended History of Henry VIII., which he promised to Prince Charles; thefe Counfels are by-works of his life, the labours, as it were, of his left hand; his right being occupied in grasping the Inftauration.

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

4. What kind of writing is an Essay? A queftion somewhat hard precisely to anfwer. Usually we are taught that the word Essay (from the French Essay) is synonymous with Aeffay or Trial-Examination, and equivalent to Attempt. The word, however, both in its earlieft and more recent ufe, is really but a moderate depreciation of a man’s own Opinions and Reflections. So that, though he should give you his keeneft observation, his ripeft thought, his cleareft utterance; he disclaims their intrin fick importance and value, and bids you take them but for simple Attempts. The word itself has nothing neceffarily to do with any specific manner of the writing. Montaigne, Bacon, and Addifon, were Master-Essayifts; yet their compositions are wholly unlike in ftyle and form.
The vagueness of the name, Essays, has led in recent times to the use of a number of sectional sub-titles. Essays in Philosophy are known as Dissertations or Treatises; Essays in Science as Papers; Essays in Criticism as Reviews; and Essays in Politics as Articles. All these, however, do separate themselves from the true Essay, which seems to be more especially connected as to its subject with Literature and Human Nature. There is also about an Essay a certain good-humoured headines quite separating it from Squibs, Skits, and such like; and from bitterness and satire of all kinds. So its weakness is a liability to a wordy dulness; and it requires the hand of a Master for the smooth strong writing of a good Essay.

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

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

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

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

b. Bacon tells us in Adv. of Learning ii. fol. 20. Ed. 1655, that 'In Philosophy, the contemplations of Man doe either penetrate unto God, or are conferred to Nature, or are reflected or reverted upon himselfe.' Out of which severall inquiries, there doe arise three knowledges, Divine Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, and Humane Philosophy or Humantie. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple Character of the power of God, the difference of Nature, and the use of Man.' These Essays in their method and form are simply the turning of his system of investigating Nature upon Humanity and Society.

c. The first ten Essays are not true Essays. They are severally a succes-
sion of the sharpest Aphorisms, each isolated from the other with a \(\text{\textdollar}}\), and otherwise independent. They are devoid of quotation, illustration, and almost of explanation: and appear like a series of oracular sentences.

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

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

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

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

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

b. The Essays are an excellent Land Mark in the Constitutional History of England. It helps us towards an understanding of the political system under which our country was ruled under the two first Stuarts, and which but for the Long Parliament, would certainly have drifted on, until England had been made like France came to be under Louis XIV. and his successor. It is startling to hear him so constantly talk of the entire State, as the King's *Estate*, as a nobleman's park might be: it is curious, in a book dedicated to the reigning Favorite, to hear his defence of Favorites, p. 227, and also to mark his instructions, how the King was to suck the brains of his Counsellors, and then palm all off as his own, p. 317; to note his denunciation of Cabinet Councils, p. 319, (a name since applied to a different kind of assembly;) to see him thinking so late as 1625, that there was little danger to a King, from the Commons, and not much danger from the Gentry, p. 397. He seems not to have conceived the possibility of the coming of the English Commonwealth. Thus these Counsels do reflect in many things the times in which they were written.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


3. 1606. London. Same title as No. 2. Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete streete at the hand and Starre neere Temple barre. 1606.

[1607-1612. Between these dates was transcribed Harl. MS. 5106, of which see title at p. 157.]


5. 1612. London. Same title as No. 2. Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleete-streete at the Hand and Starre, neere Temple barre. This edition was partially printed when the second text, No. 4, came out. The new Essays were therefore added at the end of this impression.

6. 1613. London. Same title as No. 2. Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling at the Hand and Starre betweene the two Temple gates. 1613.

7. 1618. London. Saggi Morali and Della Sapienza degli Antichi. 1 vol. 8vo. Trans. by Toby Matthew; whose dedication to Cosmo de Medici, Duke of Tuscany, is dated London, 3 July [1618.]


11. 1624. London. The Essaies of Sr Francis Bacon Knight, the King's Atturney Generall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Diswasion. Scene and allowed. Printed at London by I. D. for Elizabeth Iaggard, at the hand and Starre, neere the middle Temple-gate. 1624.


This is the first edition in quarto.

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

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

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

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

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

1. The Essays or Counsels, &c. in English of 1597, 1598, 1607-12, and 1628; together with their translation into Latin, under the title of.

2. Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum (Ser. Fid.) of 1638.

Also the (3.) Meditations Sacrae (Med. Sacrae.) in Latin of 1597, and their English version (4.) Sacred Meditations (Sac. Med.) of 1598.

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

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

I. AS A SEPARATE PUBLICATION.

A. Essays alone.

**English.**


60. 1851. London (Paris.) The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral. Ed. by A. Spiers, Ph.D.


64. 1856. London. Bacon’s Essays; with annotations by Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Bacon’s Antitheta are placed after each corresponding Essay, and the footnotes consist of illustrative quotations showing the meaning of words. The annotations swell the book to over 500 large pages and are good reading but too diffuse for purposes of study.

68. 1857. London. Second edition of No. 64.

69. 1858. London. Third edition of No. 64.

70. 1858. London. Fourth edition of No. 64.

71. 1860. London. Fifth edition of No. 64.

75. 1864. London. Sixth edition of No. 64.


A reprint of No. 67, without Wisdom of the Ancients.

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

21. 1641. Lug. Bat. Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum. The early foreign Latin editions have Cols. of Good and Evil, with other pieces, at the end.
LATERN BIBLIOGRAPHY.


Retranslations from the Latin.

33. 1720. London. Lord Bacon's Essays, or Counsels Moral and Civil. 2 vols. 8vo. Translated from the Latin by William Willymott, I.L.D., who thus apologises for his publication:

"Wanting an English Book for my Scholars to Translate, which might improve them in Sense and Latin at once, (Two Things which should never be divided in Teaching) I thought nothing more proper for that Purpose than Bacon's Essays, provided the English, which is in some places grown obsolete, were a little reformed, and made more fashionable (!)."

The work mainly consists of the Essays, but there are added to it some passages translated from De Augmentis Scientiarum.


Italian.


B. Sacred Meditations alone.

No edition published.

C. Colours of Good and Evil alone.

No edition published.

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

A. Essays with Sacred Meditations only.

No edition published.

B. Essays with Colours of Good and Evil only.

English.


62. 1853. London. The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral, with a Table of the Colours of Good and Evil. Ed. by T. Markby, M.A.

71. 1862. London. Bacon's Essays and Colours of Good and Evil. Ed. by W. A. Wright, M.A. [Text 1625, with Text 1597 in an Appendix.] A most excellent edition; the briefest but most erudite of notes, which will facilitate the labours of all future editors, and to which I gratefully acknowledge my own indebtedness.
# BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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

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### D. Essays with Wisdom of the Ancients

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

#### English

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### F. Essays, with The Advancement of Learning

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### G. Essays, with the Apophthegmes

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

French.


III. WITH COLLECTIONS OF LORD BACON'S WORKS.

A. PARTIAL COLLECTIONS.

Latin.

17. 1638. London. Operum Morallum et Civilium ... Tomus. Ed. 1 vol. fol. by Rawley, D.D. The standard Latin text. It contains only 56 Essays; Of Prophecies and Of Masques and Triumphs not being included in this Translation.


French.


English.

34. 1723. London. The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon. Methodized and made English, from the Originals, by Peter Shaw, M.D. Supplement 11 contained in Vol. iii., pp. 63-164, consists of 'Interioura Rerum' or Essays.' These are grouped into three classes, viz., Essays on Moral Subjects, on Economical Subjects, and on Political Subjects, and are stated to be "enrich'd by the Addition of several Pieces, originally written in Latin, by the Author, and never translated into English." The reader will be surprised to find that these 'Pieces' are the 'Sacred Meditations,' already printed several times in English.


B. COMPLETE COLLECTIONS.

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

All these Collections are of course in Latin-English.

35. 1730. London. Opera Omnia, &c. Ed. by John Blackbourne, 4 vols. fol. This is the first of what we may be termed the modern editions. It has the three dedications (1) to Anthony Bacon, 1597; (2) to Sir John Constable, 1612; and (3) the
Duke of Buckingham, 1625. Text 1625. There are 60 numbered essays. The spurious of a king being no. 14, and of fame, being no. 60.


37. 1740. London. Works, &c. With several additional pieces never before printed in any edition of his works. To which is prefixed a new life of the author. [by David Mallet.]
The Second Collected Text. It was published by subscription both in small and large paper. It has the 3 dedications: and embraces 60 unnumbered essays. Text 1625, with of a king and of fame in the same position as in previous edition.


The Third Collected Text, and the last edition in folio. 3 Deds. Text 1625. 58 numbered essays: of a king, and of fame are unnumbered at the end. Also text 1638.


39. 1765. London. Works. [The English Part edited by Rev. John Gambold; the Latin by W. Bowyer: Lowndes.] The Fourth Collected Text and the first in 4to. As this edition was the standard one for upwards of 60 years, it may be advisable to quote thus much from the advertisement:

"... Two Gentlemen, now deceased, Robert Stephens, Esq., Historiographer Royal, and John Locker, Esq., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, both of whom had made a particular study of Lord Bacon's writings, and a great object of their industry the correcting of original or authentic manuscripts, and the earliest and best editions, whatever of his works had been already published, and adding to them such, as could be recovered, that had never seen the light.

Mr. Stephens dying in November, 1732, his papers came into the hands of Mr. Locker, whose death, on the 30th of May 1760, prevented the world from enjoying the fruits of his labours, tho' he had actually finished his correction of the fourth volume of Mr. Blackburne's edition, containing the law-tracts, letters, &c. After his decease his collections, including those of Mr. Stephens's, were purchased by Dr. Birch, the use of which is glad of this opportunity of giving to the public."

3 dedications, Text 1625. 58 essays. Of a king, and of fame are at the end, unnumbered. Also text 1638.


49. 1824. London. The Works, &c. A reprint of 1803 Edition. So that even so late as this, there was nothing more than the information and criticism of 1765.
Effayes.

Religious Meditations.
Places of persuasion and dissuasion.

Seene and allowed.

A T L O N D O N,
Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are
to be sold at the blacke Beare
in Chauncery Lane.

1 5 9 7.
To M. Anthony Bacon
his deare Brother.

Owing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent steealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the flaire of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to aduenture the wrong they mought receive by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to beslow vpon them. Therefore I helde it beft discretion to publish them my felfe as they pass'd long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my felfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrarie or infectious to the flate of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I fuppofe) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not fay with their Master, but would needses trauaille abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next my felfe, Dedicated them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I affure you) I sometimes with your infirmiies translated vppon my felfe, that her Maieftie mought haue the fervice of fo active and able a mind, and I mought be with excufe confined to these contemplations and Studies for which I am fitteft, fo commend I you to the preferuation of the diuine Maieftie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne this 30. of Ianuarie. 1597.

Your entire Louing brother. Fran. Bacon.
Effaies.*

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

*In the 1598 Edition, the Contents precede 'The Epistle Dedicatorie.
† Of Sutors, in 1598 Edition.
Tudies serve for pastimes, for ornaments and for abilities. Their chiefest use for pastime is in privateness and retiring; for ornament is in discourse, and for ability is in judgement.

For expert men can execute,

but learned men are fittest to judge or censure.

To spend too much time in them is sloth, to use them too much for ornament is affectation: to make judgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholler.

They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience.
I. OF STUDIES.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

29. Of Studies.

Studies serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability; their chiefest use for delight, is, in private and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse, and for ability, is in judgment.

For expert men can execute,

but learned men are fittest to judge or censure.

To spend too much time in them, is Sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

50. Of Studies.¹

Studies² serve for Delight,³ for Ornament,⁴ and for Ability.⁵ Their chiefest use for delight, is in private and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse;⁶ And for ability, is in the judgement and disposition of business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars,⁷ one by one; But the general counsels, and the plots, and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth;⁸ To use them too much for ornament, is affectation;⁹ To make judgement wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholler.¹⁰ They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience:

6 Discourse. In Sermone tam Familiari, quam Solenni, ‘in discourse both friendly and formal.’

7 Judge of particulars. In specialibus, judicio non malo utuntur, ‘and in particulars use no bad judgment.’

8 Sloth. Speciosa quaedam Solentia, ‘a kind of plausible sloth.’

9 Affectation. Affectatio mera est, quae seipsam proficit; ‘is mere affectation which betrays itself.’

10 Humour of a Scholler. Scholum omnino sapit, nec bene succedit. ‘savours altogether of the school, and does not succeed well.’
Craftie men contemne\textsuperscript{*} them; simple men admire them; \textsuperscript{†} wise men use them:
For they teach not their owne use, but that is a wise-
dome without them: and above them wonne by ob-
eruation.

Craftie Men contemne them; simple Men admire them, and wise men use them:
Ffor they teach not their owne use, but that is a wise-
dome without them, and above them won by ob-
eruacion.

Reade not to contradict, nor to be-
lieue,

but to weigh and consider.

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

* contemne, in 1598 edition. \textsuperscript{†} and, added in 1598 edition.

\textsuperscript{11} Vse them. 
Quantum par est, \textquoteleft as much as is right.'

\textsuperscript{12} Confute. 
Disputationum Prætiiis concertandi; \textquoteleft engage in battles of discussion.'
Crafty men contemne them, simple men admire them, and wise men use them. For they teach not their own use, but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, wonne by observation.

Read not to contradict, nor to believe, but to weigh and consider.

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

For natural abilities, are like natural plants, that need provning by study: and studies themselues, doe giue forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience.

Crafty men contemne studies; simple men admire them; and wise men use them. For they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, wonne by observation.

Read not to contradict, and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to finde talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider.

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

13 Weigh and consider. Ut addiscas, ponderes, et judicio tuo aliquat- tenus utaris, 'to learn, weigh, and use your judgment somewhat.'
14 Swallowed. Deglutire, cursimque legere, 'swallowed and read rapidly.'
15 Curiously. Non multum temporis, in iisdem evolvendas, insumendum, 'but not much time to be spent in turning them over.'
Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had neede haue a great memorie; if he conferre little, he had neede haue a present wit,* and if he reade little, he had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that he doth not.

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

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

16 Flashy. Insipidi, 'tasteless.'
17 Full man. Copiosum et bene instructum, 'full and well informed.'
18 Conference. Disputationes et Colloquia, 'discussions and conference.'
19 Ready. Promptum et facilem, 'ready and fluent.'
20 Writing. Scriptio autem, et Notarum Collectio, 'writing, and the collection of notes.'
21 Exact Man. Perfecta in animo imprim't, et altius sigil, 'prints what is read on the mind and fixes it deeper.'
Reading maketh a ful man, Conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, hee had neede haue a great memory; if he confer little, hee had neede haue a prefent wit, and if he read little, hee had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that hee doth not. Histories make men wife, Poets wittie, the Mathematickes subtill, Naturall Philosophie deepe, Morall graue, Logicke and Rhetoricke able to contend. Abound studia in mores. Nay, there is no flond or

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

Reading maketh a Full man; Conference a Ready Man; And Writing an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little, he had need haue a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he had need haue a Prefent Wit; And if he Reade little, he had need haue much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth not. Histories make men Wife; Poets Witty; The Mathematicks Subtill; Naturall Philosophy deepe; Morall Graue; Logick and Rhetorick Able to Contend.

Nay there is no Stond or

---

21 "Studies have an influence and operation upon the manners of those that are conversant in them." Adv. of L. Bk. 1. p. 13, Ed. 1605.
22 Write little. In notando, segnis sit, aut fastidiosus, 'is slothful or averse to taking notes.'
23 Able to Contend. Pugnaceum, et ad Contentiones alacrem, 'pugnacious and ready for contention.'
24 (Ut ait ille,) 'as he says.'
26 Impediment. *Impedimentum aliquod insitum, aut naturale,* 'any implanted or natural impediment.'

27 To beat over Matters. *Ad Transcursus Ingenii sequi sit,* 'slow in the motion of his mind to and fro.'

28 Call vp. *Acessere, et arripere dextre,* 'call up and skilfully lay hold of.'

29 Special Receit. *Ex Literis, Medicinas proprias comparare sibi possint,* 'may obtain special medicines from literature.'
impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Raines; Shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head; and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the Mathematiks;

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

if it be not apt to beat over matters and to find out resemblances, let him study Lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receit.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit Studies: Like as Diseaſes of the Body, may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Raines; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke; Riding for the Head; And the like. So if a Man's Wit be Wandering, let him Study the Mathematicks; For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him Study the Schoolemen; For they are Cymini Feblores. If he be not Apt to beat over Matters, and to call vp one Thing, to Prove and Illustrate another, let him Study the Lawyers' Cases: So every Defect of the Mind, may have a Speciall Receit.

a "Antoninus Pius... was called Cymini Sector, a caruer, or divider of Comine seede, which is one of the least seedes: such patience hee had and setled spirit, to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes." Advancement of Learning, Bk. I. p. 35, Ed. 1605.
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

For variations of II., see footnotes.

[2.] Of Discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit in being able to hold all arguments, then of judgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain Common places and Theames wherein they are good, and want variety, which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and nowe and then ridiculous.

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

It is good

to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument, tales with reaons, asking of queftions, with telling of opinions, and ieft with

* giue, in 1598 edition.


1 Title. De Discursu Sermonum, 'of the discourse of speech.'

Ome in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, then of judgment in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certaine common places, and theames wherein they are good, and want variety: which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and now and then ridiculous.

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

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

2 Know. Invenire, 'to discover.'
3 Are good. Luxuriantur, 'are fertile.'
4 Want Variety. Cetera stieriles et jejuni, 'otherwise barren and meagre.'

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. earnest.

† But some things are privileged from iest,

namely Religion, matters of State, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pittie.

But somethings are privileged from iestle,

namely Religion, Matters of State, great Persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pitty.

† He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much, specially if he apply his questions to the

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

5 For it is a dull Thing, &c. Satietatem siquidem et Fastidium parit, in aliquo Subjecto diutius hancere, 'for to stick to any subject too long produces satiety and digest.'
But some things are privileged from jest, namely religion, matters of State, great persons, any man's present businesse of importance, and any case that deserveth pity;

and generally men ought to finde the difference betweene saltinesse and bitternesse. Certainly he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others memory. He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much; specially if he apply his questions to the

a Spare, boy, the whip and tighter hold the reins. Ovid, Met. ii. 127.

6 Dart . . Quicke: Acutum aliquem et mordacem Sarcasnum in quem pium contorscrint, 'they dart out at some one some sharp and biting sarcasm.'
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<td>skill of the person of whome he asketh, for he shall giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shall continualliy gather knowledge.</td>
<td>skill of the person of whom he asketh; for he shall giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himself shall continualliy gather knowledge.</td>
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7 Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh, *Ad captum et peritiam Responderentis,* 'to the understanding and skill of the answerer.'

8 To please themselves in Speaking. *Scientiam suam ostentandi,* 'to show his knowledge.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Skill of the persons of whom he asketh: For he shall give them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather knowledge.

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

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh: For he shall giue them occasion, to please themselues in Speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Pofer. And let him be sure, to leave other Men their Turnes to speake.\(^9\)

Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take vp all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians vse to doe, with thofe, that dance too long Galliards.

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

---

\(^9\) Let him be sure, to leave . . . to speak. Etiam qui Sermonis Familiaris Dignitatem tueri cupid, aliis vcees loquenat reliquat, "also he who wishes to preserve the dignity of friendly conversation, should leave other men their turns to speak."
and there is but one case, wherein a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth.

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

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

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

13 Drie blow. Omitted in the Latin.

14 The Lord would say. At ille, utpote alterius Æmulus, 'to which he, as the other's rival.'

15 Good Dinner. Prandium bonum malis Condimentis, 'a good dinner, with bad sauces.'
with whome we deale is more then to speake in good wordes or in good order.

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

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

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

16 Shalownesse and Weaknesse. *Penuriam, et Scientiam minime fundatam*, 'poverty and knowledge ill founded.'
II. OF DISCOURSE. 23

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

with whom we deal, is more than to speake in good words, or in good order.
A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution, sheweth slownesse: and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallownesse and weaknesse: as we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turne.

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

V. 1625. æt. 65.

with whom we deal, is more than to speake in good Words, or in good Order.
A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse. As we see in Beasts that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, and the Hare.
To use 17 too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To use none at all, is Blunt. 18

17 Vse. Orationem vestire, 'to clothe a speech with.'
18 Blunt. Abruptum quiddam est, et ingratum, 'is blunt and disagreeable.'
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<td>For variations of II., see footnotes.</td>
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<td>[3.] Of Ceremonies and Respectes.</td>
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*Ee that is onely reall had need haue exceeding great parts of vertue, as the flone had neede bee rich that is set without foyle. But commonly it is in praiye as it is in gaine. For as the proverbe is true, That light gaines make heauie Purfes: Because they come thicke, whereas great come but now and then, so it is as true that final matters winne great commendation: because they are continually in vse and in note, whereas the occasion of any great vertue commeth but on holy-daies.*

| III. | 1607-12. aet. 47-52. |
| Harleian MS. 5106. |
| 10. Of Ceremonies and Respectes. |

*Ee that is onely reall had neede have exceeding great partes of vertue, as the Stone had neede to be riche that is set without foyle. But commonly it is in praiye as it is in gaine; For as the Proverbe istrue, That light gaines make heauie purfes; Because they come thicke, whereas great come, but now, and then; so it is as true, that smale matters wynn great commendacion, because they are contynually in vse, and in note, Whereas the occasion of anye great vertue cometh but on holie dayes.*

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**II. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.**

1 **Title.** *De Ceremoniis Civilibus et Decoris,* 'of civil ceremonies and propriety.'

2 Rich. *E purissimis et nitidissimis,* 'most pure and bright.'

3 Commendation of Men. Omitted in the Latin.

4 Gettings. Omitted in the Latin.

5 Matters. *Virtutes,* 'virtues.'
III. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS. 25

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

30. Of Ceremonies and Respects.

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

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

52. Of Ceremonies and Respects.\(^1\)

Ee that is only Reall, had need haue Exceeding great Parts of Vertue:

As the Stone had need to be Rich,\(^2\) that is set without Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praife and Commendation of Men,\(^3\) as it is in Gettings\(^4\) and Gaines: For the Prouerbe is true, That light Gaines make heauy Purfes; For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true, that Small Matters\(^5\) win great Commendation, because they are continually in Vse, and in note:\(^6\) whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue,\(^7\) commeth but on Festiuals.\(^8\) Therefore it doth much adde, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as Queene Isabella\(^9\) said) Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory, to haue good\(^10\) Formes.

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\(^{1}\) In Vse and in note. Quia perpetuus earum usus est; Turn in observationem Hominum incurrunt: 'because their use is continual, and they meet the observation of men.'

\(^{2}\) Great Vertue. Virtutus alijus magna exercendae, 'of exercising any great vertue.'

\(^{3}\) Festiuals. Raro admodum obtingit, 'happens but rarely.'

\(^{4}\) Isabella. Regina Castiliana, 'Queen of Castile.'

\(^{5}\) Good. Discretis et decoris, 'discreet and proper.'
To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them, for so shal a man obserue them in others and let him truft himfelfe with the rest: for if he care to expresse them hee shal leefe their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery fillable is meafured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his minde too much to small obserua-tions?

Not to vfe Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vfe them againe, and fo diminish his refpect; especially they be not to bee omitted to Straungers and Strange natures.

Not to vfe Ceremonies at all is to teach others not to vfe them againe, and to diminifheth refpect, especially they be not to be omitted to Straungers and formall Natures.

Behauiour. *Vultus, et Gestus, et Externa alia,* 'look, carriage, and other externals.'
III. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS. 27

IV. 1612. æt. 52.
To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them: For so shall a man observe them in others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he care to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is to be naturall and unaffected. Some mens behaviour is like a verse wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them againe; and so diminisheth respect: especially they bee not to be omitted to strangers, and formal natures.

V. 1625. æt. 65.
To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he Labour too much to Express them, he shall lose their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Unaffected. Some Mens Behaviour,11 is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Observations? Not to use Ceremonies at all, is to teach Others not to use them againe; And so diminisheth Respect12 to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and Formal Natures: But the Dwelling vpon them, and Exalting them aboue the Moone,13 is not only Tedioues, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Convaying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst

12 Diminisheth Respect. Teipsum facies viliorem, 'make yourself cheaper.'
13 Exalting them aboue the Moone. Locutio plane Hyperbolica, 'speech which is clearly extravagant.'
Amongst a mans Peires a man shall be sure of familiaritie, and therefore it is a good title to keepe flate; amongst a mans inferiours one shall be sure of reverence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar.

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

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

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

* amonge, in 1598 edition.

14 Kind of conveying, &c. *Est procul dubio Modus, artificiosa eujusdam Insinuationis, in Verbis ipsis, inter Formulas communes, qui Hominis revera inescat, et mirifice afficit,* 'there is certainly a kind of cunning insinuation in the words themselves, among common compliments, which indeed allures men, and is of wonderful effect.'

15 Hit vpon it. *Ejus viam calceat,* 'knows the way of it.'
III. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS. 29

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

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

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

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

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

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Complements, which is of Singular vse, if a Man can hit vpon it.

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

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

To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good; So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it vpon Regard, And not vpon Facilitie.

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

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16 Keepe State. *Reprime te paululum, et dignitatem tuam, 'repress yourself a little and keep your dignity.'

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

18 In any Thing. *In Sermo aliquo aut re, 'in any discourse or thing.'

19 Regard. *Comitate et Urbanitate, 'courtesy and politeness.'
motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counfell, let it be with allleadging further reason.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

mocion, lett it be with condicion, if you allowe his Counfaile, lett it be with allleadginge further reason.

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

21 Men had need beware. Cavendum imprimis, ne Magister in Ceremoniis et Formulis habearis: Id enim si sit, utcunque Virtute vera emineas,
III. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS. 31

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

motion; let it be with condition; if you allow his counfell, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had neede beware how they be too perfect in complements. For be they neuer fo sufficient otherwise, their enuiers will bee sure to giue them that attribute to the dis-advantage of their greater vertue. It is loste also in businesse to be too full of respects, or to be to curious in observing times and opportunities. Sal-omon faith He that considereth the wind shall not sowe, and hee that looketh to the cloudes, shall not reape. A wife man will make more opportunities then he findes.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Motion, let it bee with Condition; If you allow his Counfell, let it be with All-eldiging further Reason.20 Men had need beware,21 how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they neuer fo Sufficient otherwise, their Enuiers will be sure to giue them that Attribute, to the Dis-advantage of their greater Vertues. It is loste also in businesse, to be too full of Respects, or to be too Curious in Observing Times and Opportunities. Sal-omon faith; He that considereth the wind, shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape. A wife Man will make more Opportunities then he findes.

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

audies tamen ab insidiis, in Nominis tui Detrimentum. Vultus tantum et Affectator, 'you must beware first of all of being considered a master of ceremonies and compliments, for if so, however eminent you are in true worth, you will be called by your enviers, to the detriment of your name, only polite and zealous.'
No variations in Text II.

[4.] Of followers and friends.

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

T Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselues, but vpon discontentment conceived against some other, whereupon commonly infused that ill intelligence that we many times fee between great personages.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
Harleian MS. 5106.


Of flliehollowers are not to be liked, least while a Man maketh his straine longer, he make his wings shorter; I reckon to be costlie not them alone which charge the purfe, but which are wearysome and ymportune in sutes. Ordinarie Followers ought to challenge no higher conditions, then countenance, recommendacion and proteccion from wronges.

Factious Followers are worse to be liked, which followenot vpon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but vpon discontentment conceived against some other; Whereupon commonlyy infused, that ill intelligence, that wee many tymes fee betweene great personages.


1 Title. De Clientibus, Famulis, et Amicis. 'Of followers, servants, and friends.'
2 Wings Shorter. Ne dum quis Caudæ pennas adauget, Alarum pennas.
IV. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

32. Of Followers and friends.

Ofly followers are not to bee liked, left while a man maketh his traine longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to bee coftly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearable and importune in suits. Ordinarie followers ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious fellowes are worfe to bee liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but vpon discontentment conceived against some other. Whereupon commonly en-suite, that ill intelligence, that we many times fee betweene great personages. Likewise glorious followers

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

48. Of Followers and friends.

Ofly Followers are not to be liked; Left while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Coftly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary Followers ought to challengeno Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious Followers are worfe to be liked, which Follow not vpon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but vpon Discontentment Conceived against some Other: Whereupon Commonly en-suite, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times fee betweene Great Personages. LikewiseGlorious Followers, who make themselues as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow.

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

3 Factious Followers. Clientes autem et Amici factiosi adhuc magis vitandi, 'factious followers and friends are the more to be avoided.'
The following by certaine States answerable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene employed in the warres, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuile, and well taken euen in Monarchies, so it be without too much pompe or popularitie.

But the most honorable kind of following is to bee followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance vertue and desert in all fortes of persons, and

---

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

5 In great Favour. *Apud Dominos suos, saepenumero in summo pretio habentur,* 'are often held in great esteem by their masters.'
IV. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS. 35

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<th>IV. 1612. æt. 52.</th>
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<td>are full of inconueniency; for they teint businesse through want of secrecy, and they export honor from a man and make him a returne in enuy.</td>
<td>are full of Inconuenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie, And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Enuie. There is a Kinde of Followers likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Fauour; For they are Officious, And Commonly Exchange Tales.</td>
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The following by certaine States, answerable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imploied in the warres, and the like, hath euer beene a thing ciuill, and will taken euyn in Monarchies so it be without too much pompe or popularitie.

But the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance vertue and desart in all sort of perfons. And

6 Ciull. Decora, honourable.
7 All Sorts of Persons. Ut quis Patronum se profiteatur eorum qui Virtute et Meritis clarent, eujusque Ordinis sint, vel Conditionis, to profess one's self a patron of those who are remarkable for worth or desert, of whatever order or condition.
yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able.

In government it is good to use men of one rank equally, for, to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But in favours to use men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of favour.

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

To be governed by one is not good,

In government it is good to use men of one rank equally, For to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But in favours to use them with much difference, and election is good, For it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of favour.

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

To be governed by one is not good,

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8 To take with. Patrocinari, 'to patronize.'
9 Actiuæ. Industriæ et satagentes, 'industrious and active.'
10 Clama a Due. Quandquisidem Ordinis Paritas aquis Gratiae Conditiones, tanguam ex debito, poscit, 'because the equality of rank demands as a due, equal conditions of favour.'
11 Because all is of favour. Neque ex hoc merito conqueratur quisquis.
IV. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS. 37

IV. 1612. Æt. 52.
yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able.

V. 1625. Æt. 65.
yet, where there is no Eminent Oddes in Sufficiency, it is better to take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Actius Men are of more vse, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Gouernment, it is Good to vse Men of one Rancke equally: For to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Infolent, and the rest Discontent; because they may claime a due. But in favour to vse men with much difference and election, is good; For it make them more Thankfull, and the rest more officious; because all is of favour. It is good not to make to much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion. To bee gouerned by one is not good,

In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally: For to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Infolent, and the rest Discontent; because they may claime a due. But in favour to vse men with much difference and election, is good; For it make them more Thankfull, and the rest more officious; because all is of favour. It is good not to make to much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion. To bee gouerned by one is not good,

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

10 Proportion. Nam qua tractu temporis sequentur, vix ipsis initinis respondere possunt, 'for what will follow in the course of time, can scarcely answer to your beginning.'

13 Gouerned. Fingi et regi, 'to be moulded and governed.'
and to be distracted with many is worse;

but to take advice of friends is ever honorable: For lookers on many times see more then gamesters, And the vale best discovereth the hill.

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

and to be distracted with manie is worse;

but to take advice of frendes is ever honorable. For lookers on manie tymes see more, than gamesters, and the vale best discovereth the hill.

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

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14 Speake ill. Omitted in the Latin.
15 Talke more boldly of. Amicium illum nostrum Contumeliis afficere non verehunctur; 'will not fear to attach contumely to our friend.'
16 Distracted. Plurium potestati subjici, et veluti in partes distrahi, 'to be under the power of several, and as it were distracted.'
and to bee distracted with many, is worse;

but to take advice of some few friends, is ever honourable, For lookers on many times see more then games ters, and the vale best discovereth the hill.

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

it shewes Softneffe, and giues a Freedome to Scandal and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediatly, will take more boldly of Those, that are so great with them, and there by Wound their Honour.

Yet to be Distraeted with many is worse; Forit makes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change.

To take Advice of some few Frends is ever Honourable; For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth the Hill.

There is Little Friendship in the World, and least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified.

That that is, is between Superior and Inferior, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.

17 Honourable. *Honorabili sane et utile, 'really honourable and profitable.'*

18 The Vale. *(Ut adagio dictur, vallis, 'as is said in the adage, the vale."

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

20 Magnified. *Apud Veteres, 'amongst the ancients.'*
For Variations of II., see footnotes.

[5.] Of Sutes.*

Anie ill matters are undertaken, and many good matters with ill mindes.

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

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

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

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


1 Embrace. *In manus suas recipiant, et operam avide pollicentur,* 'take suits into their hands and eagerly promise assistance.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52.

31. Of Suitors.

Any ill Matters and Projects are undertaken; And Private Sutes doe Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are undertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt Mindes; but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance. Some embrace Sutes, which never mean to deale effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to winne a thank, or take a second reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the Sutors hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to croffe some other, or to make an Information whereof they could not otherwise have apt pre-

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

3 Be content to winne. Aueupabuntur, 'will try to catch.'

4 Hopes. Spes dum Negotium vertitur, 'hopes while the business is moving.'

5 Some other. Negotiis aliorum, qua simul tractantur, 'the business of others, which is being treated at the same time.'
Nay some undertake Sutes with a full purpose to let them fall, to the ende to gratifie the aduerse partie or competitor.

Surely there is in forte a right in every Sute, either a right of equity, if it be a Sute of controuersie; or a right of desert, if it bee a Sute of petition. If affection leade a man to fauor the wrong side in iusflce, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carrie it. If affection lead a man to fauor the leffe worthy in desert, let him doe it, without depraung or disabling the better deferver.

In Sutes a man doth not well vnderfland, it is

* pretext, in 1598 Edition.
6 Entertainment. Pontem sternant, 'to lay a bridge.'
7 In some sort. Si quis rem rite perpendat, 'if a man weigh the matter rightly.'
8 In everie Sute. Comitatur omnem Petitionem, 'accompanies every suit.'
V. OF SUITORS. 43

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

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

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

Surely there is in sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controuersie or a right of desart, if it be a suit of petiti[on]. If affection leade a man to favouer the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vfe his countenance to compound the matter then to carry it. If affection leade a man to favouer the leffe worthy in desart, let him doe it without deprauing or disabling the better deferuer.

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

V. 1625. æt. 65.

text; without Care what become of the Suite, when that Turne is ferued: Or generally, to make other Mens Bu[n]nefe, a Kinde of Entertainment, to bring in their owne.

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

Surely, there is, in some sort,7 a Right in every Suite:8 Either a Right of Equity, if it be a Suite of Controuersie9; Or a Right of Desert, if it be a Suite of Petition.10 If Affection lead a Man, to favouer the Wrong Side in Justice, let him rather vfe his Countenance, to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to favouer the leffe Worthy in Desert,11 let him doe it without Deprauing or Disabling12 the Better Deferver.

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

9 Controuersie. Justitiae, 'justice.'
10 Petition. Gratiae, 'favour.'
11 In Desert. Merentem, in causa Gratiae, 'in desert, in a cause of favour.'
12 Deprauing or disabling. Abstineat saltem ab omni Calumnia et Maledicentia, 'let him abstain from all calumny and evil-speaking.'
good to referre them to some friend of trust and judgement, that may report whether he may deale in them with honor.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
good to referre them to some friend of trust and Judgement, that may report whether he may deale in them with honour.

Suitors are so dislafsted with delayes, and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deserved, is growne not onely honourable but also gracious. In Sutes of favoure the first comming ought to take little place, so far forth consideracion may bee had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue beene had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note.

Suitors are so dislafsted with delayes, and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Suites at first, and reporting the success barely, and in Challenging noe more thankes then one hath deserved, is growne not onely honourable but alsoe gracious. In suites of favor the first comming ought to take little place, so far forth consideracion may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have beene had, but by him, advantage be not taken of the note.

To be ignorant of the

His temporibus . . . cruciantur, 'in these times . . . are so tortured.'
Reporting the success barely. Successum ejus qualem-qualem animo simplici referendo, 'reporting the success truly, whatever it is.'
So farre forth . . . for his Discoverie. [This passage is thus rendered
V. OF SUITORS.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

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

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

To be ignorant of the

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

V. 1625. æt. 65.

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

Sutors are so distafted with Delayes, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and Reporting the Success barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deferued, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In Sutes of Fauour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, coulde not otherwise haue beene had, but by him, Aduantage bee not taken of the Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some fort, Recompenced for his Discouerie.
value of a Suite is simplici-
tie, as well as to be ignor-
ant of the right thereof is
want of conscience.

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

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

*Ignorant of the Right. *Æquitatem eiusdemoscitanter prætervehi, 'to
be carelessly carried beyond the right.'

*Choice of his Meane. *Æjus, cui Petitionis tuae curam demandes, 'to
whom you entrust the care of your suit.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52.

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

Secrecy in suits is a great means of obtaining; For voicing them to be in forwardness, may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others.

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

Let a man in the choice of his meanes, rather choose the fittest meanes than the greatest meanes, and rather them that deale in certaine things then those that are generall.

The reparation of a deniall is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man shew himselfe neither devised, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut aequum feras,* is a good rule where

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V. 1625. æt. 65.

value of a *suit,* is simplicity; As well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is Want of Confidence.

Secrecy in *suits,* is a great mean of obtaining; For voicing them, to be in Forwardness, may discourage some kinds of *suitors*; But doth Quicken and Awake Others.

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

Let a man, in the choice of his *meanes, 17* rather choose the Fittest *meane* than the Greatest *meane,* and rather them that deale in certaine *things* then those that are *generall.*

The *reparation* of a *deniall,* is sometimes equal to the first *grant,* if a man shew *himselfe* neither devised, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut Aequum feras,* is a good rule where

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*a* Thou seestest unjustly, that thou mayest do justice. Quintilian Inst. Orat. iv. 5, 16.

18 Reparation. *Denegatur Petitionis iteratio,* 'the repetition of a suit refused.'
Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it bee not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

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

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19 Rise in his Sute. Gradibus quibusdam, ad id quod petis ascendere, et aliquid saltem impetrare, 'rise by certain steps to what you desire, and at least gain something.'
a man hath strength of favour; but otherwise a man were better rest in his suit; for hee that would haue ventured at first to haue loft the suit, will not in the conclusion lose both the suit and his owne former favour. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his Letter; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

20 No worse Instruments. Non inventur in Rebus publicis perniciosius Hominum Genus, 'there is found no more dangerous kind of man in states.'
No variations in Text II.

[8.] Of Expence.

Iches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary Expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntarie vndoing may bee as well for a mans countrie, as for the kingdome of heauen. But ordinary expense ought to bee limited by a mans estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceit and abuse of servauntes, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bils maye be lesse then the estimacion abroad.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
Harleian MS. 5166.


Iches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary Expence must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntarie vndoing may be as well for a Mans Countrey, as for the kingdome of Heaven. But ordinary Expence ought to be limited by a Mans estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceit, and abuse of servauntes, and ordered to the best shewe; that the Billes maye bee lesse, then the estimacion abroade.

It is no basenes for the


1 Spending. Destinantur sumptibus, 'are intended for spending.'
2 Vndoing. Paupertas, 'poverty.'
VI. OF EXPENSE.


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

It is no baseness for the

3 May be aswell for. *Debetur, 'is due to.' 
4 Euen hand. *Qui Diminutionem Fortunarum suarum pati nolit, 'who does not wish to suffer a decrease of his fortune.'
greatest to descend and looke into their owne estate. Some forbeare it not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But Woundes cannot bee cured without searching.

Hee that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whom he imployeth, yea and change them after. For new are more timerous and leffe subtyle.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
greatest to descende, and looke into their owne estate. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But Woundes cannot bee cured without searchinge.

Hee that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whom he imployeth, yea and change them often. Ffor new are more timerous and leffe subtyle.

6 Descend and looke. *Si rationes suas diligenter inspiciant, 'if they look diligently into their affairs.'*
6 Some. *Complures, 'very many.'*
7 Doubting. *Aversatione quadam, ne, 'from a certain dislike, lest they.'*
greatest to descend and looke into their owne estates. Some forbeare it not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot bee cured without searching. He that cannot looke into his owne estate at all, had neede both choose well those whom he imploith, and change them often: for new are more timorous, and iesse subtile. He that can looke into his estate but feldome, had need turne all to certainties.

Greatest, to descend and looke,\(^5\) into their owne estate. Some\(^6\) forbeare it, not upon Negligence alone, But doubting\(^7\) to bring Themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken.\(^8\) But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all,\(^9\) had need both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and iesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but feldome, it behoueth him to turne all to Certainties.\(^10\)

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

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\(^5\) Broken. *Nimio accisas, 'too much impaired.'*
\(^6\) At all. *Commode, 'conveniently.'*
\(^7\) Certainties. *Quæ Computationi subjacent, in certos Reditus atque etiam Sumptus vertère, 'to turn what is subject to calculation into certain revenues and expenses.'*
<table>
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<th>I. &amp; II. 1597-8. aet. 37-8</th>
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In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too fud-daine, as in letting it runne on too long, for hastie selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest.

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

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

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11 Estate. *Perplexa et obscurata Re Familiari*, 'estate perplexed and involved in debt.'
12 Gaineth vpon. *Medetur*, 'heals.'
In clearing of a man's estate, hee may aswell hurt himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it run on to long. For hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse: For finding himselfe out of straught, he wil reuer to his customes. But hee that clears eth by degrees, induceth an habit of frugality, and gaineth aswell vpyn his minde as vpwn his estate. Certainly who hath a state to repaire may not despise small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges, then to stoope to pettie gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun must continue. But in matters that return not, he may bee more magnificent.

12 Matters that returne not. Sumptibus, qui non facile redeunt, 'expenses that do not easily return.'

13 Magnificent. 'Splendidiorum et magnificentiorem, 'more splendid and magnificent.'
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<td>For variations of II., see footnotes.</td>
<td><em>Harleian MS. 5106.</em></td>
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### 7. Of Regiment of Health.

**Here is a wisdome in this beyond the rules of Phisicke.**

A man's own observation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best Phisicke to preserve health.

But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth well with me, therefore I will continue it, then this I finde no offence, of this therefore I may use it. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, which are owing a man till his age.

**Diference of the commeing on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the same things still.**

*not, inserted here in 1598 edition.*

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

1 There is a wisdome in this. *In Regimine Valetudinis, invenire est quandam Prudentiam,* 'in the regiment of health there is a certain wisdom to be found.'
17. Of Regiment of health.

Here is a wisdome in this, beyond the rules of Physicke. A man's owne observation what he findes good of, and what hee findes hurt of, is the best Physicke to prese[r]ue health.

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

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


Here is a wisdome in this, beyond the Rules of Physicke: AMans owne Obseruation, what he findes Good of, and what he findes Hurt of, is the best Physicke to prefere Health.

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

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

For Age will not be Defied.

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2 Agreeeth. *Hoc sensi mihi nocuisse, 'I have felt that this injures me.'*
3 Continue. *Utar, 'use.'*
4 Owing. *Tandem velut debita exigentur, 'will be at last exacted like debts.'*

Beware of any sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Beware of anie suddaine chaunge in anygreat pointe of Dyett, and if necessitie inforce it, fitt the rest to it.

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

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

5 Then one. Quam unum Magnum, 'than one great one.'
6 Apparell. Vestitum, Mansionis, 'apparel, habitation,'
7 It. Ad Consuetu, 'to the accustomed course.'
Beware of any sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one.

To be free minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat, and of sleep, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting.

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8 Held good and wholesome. Sunt salubria, 'are wholesome.'
9 Body. Corporis tui unici Constitutioni, 'the constitution of thy body alone.'
If you fly Physicke in health altogether, it will be too strange to your body, when you shall neede it, if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect when sickness commeth.

Disdaine no new accident in the body, but ask opinion of it.

Disdaine noe new accident in this body, but ask opinion of it.

10 Communicated. Alte pressam, et non communicatam, 'pressed down, and not communicated.'
11 Wonder. Omitted in the Latin.
12 Strange. Ingratior, 'too unpleasant.'
If you fly Physiske in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body, when you shall need it: if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinary effect, when sickness commeth.

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

13 Extraordinary Effect. *Detrahent de viribus et efficacia ejus*, 'it will de tract from its strength and efficacy.'
14 New. *Novum et insuetum*, 'new and unaccustomed.'
15 Opinion. *Consilium Medicorum*, 'opinion of physicians.'
I. & II. 1597-8. \( \text{aet. 37-8} \).

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

III. 1607-12. \( \text{aet. 47-52} \).

In sicknes respect health principally, and in health action. For those that putt theire bodyes to endure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not verie sharpe, be cured onely with dyett, and tendering.

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

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

* Comfortable, in 1598 Edition.

16 Action. *Corporae tuo utere, nec sis nimis delicatus,* 'use your body and be not too delicate.'

17 Tendering. *Corporis Regimine paulo exquisitior, absque multa Medicatione,* 'by a little more careful tendering of the body without much doctoring.'
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1 A. C. Celsus. *De re medica*. i. 1.
2 Robur acquiri, 'acquire strength.'
3 Conformable. Erga Aegrum, et ejus Desideria, tam sunt indulgentes, 'are so indulgent to the sick and his desires.'
prefše not the true cure of the diseafe; and some other are fo regular in proceeding according to Arte for the diseafe, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not bee found in one man, compound two of both forts, and forget not to call as wel the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his facultie.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
prefše not the true cure of the diseafe; and some other are fo regular in proceedinge according to Art for the diseafe, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one Man, com- byne two of both fortes, and forgett not to call aswell the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of, for his facultye.

20 Regular. Regulares et rigidi, 'regular and rigid.'
21 Condition. Conditionem et Naturam, 'condition and nature.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52.

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

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

22 The best acquainted. Gnarum, non minus quam, 'not less acquainted than.'

No variations in Text II.

[8.] Of Honour and reputation.

The winning of Honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage, for some in their actions do affect Honour and reputation, which sort of men are commonly much talked of; but inwardly little admired: and some darken their virtue in the shew of it, so as they be vnder-valewed in opinion.

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

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

21. Of Honor and reputation.

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

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

If a Man consider wherein others have given distaft,

**Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.**

1 Winning. *Vera, et jure optimo, Acquisitio*, 'the true and rightful winning.'

2 Honour. *Honoris et Existimationis*, 'honour and reputation.'
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<td><strong>Of Honour and Reputation.</strong></td>
<td><strong>British Museum Copy.</strong></td>
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He Winning\(^1\) of Honour,\(^2\) is but the Revealing of a Man's Vertue and Worth, without Disadvantage.\(^3\) For some in their Actions, doe Wooe and affect\(^4\) Honour, and Reputation: Which Sort of Men, are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little Admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue, in the Shew of it; So as they be under-valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before; Or attempted and giuen ouer; Or hath beene atchieued, but not with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more Honour, then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower.

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3 Without disadvantage. *Dextre et absque detrimento, 'dexterously and without disadvantage.'*

4 Woee and affect. *Proci Famae sunt, et veluti Venatores, 'are wooers and as it were hunters of fame.'*
If a man so temper his actions as in some one of them hee doe content euery faction or combination of people, the Musicke will be the fuller.

A man is an ill husband of his Honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can Honour him.

Discreete followers helpe much to reputation.

Envy which is the canker of Honour, is best extinghuished by declaring a

Discreete followers helpe much to reputacion.

Envy which is the Canker of honour, is best extinghuished by declaring a

5 Temper. Inter se committat, et contemperet, 'combine and temper.'
6 Gained and broken upon Another. Qui Comparationibus est, et Alium pregnavat, 'which is comparative and depresses another.'
7 Diamonds. Adamantis, aut Carbunculi, 'a diamond or carbuncle.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV. 1612. æt. 52.</th>
<th>V. 1625. æt. 65.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them, he doth content euerie Action, or Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his Honour, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then the Carrying of it through can Honor him. Honour, that is gained and broken vpon Another, hath the quickeft Reflection; Like Diamonds cut with Facets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in Honour, in Outshooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet Followers and Servants helpe much to Reputation. Enuy, which is the Canker of Honour, is best extinguisht, by declaring a</td>
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[This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

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*a All Fame proceeds from servants. Cicero. De petitione consulatus. v.

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

9 Omnis Fama. Ita Quintus Cicero, omnis, &c., 'thus Q[uintus] Cicero says, Omnis, &c.'

10 Canker. Tinea et teredo, 'moth and worm.'
mans felfe in his ends, rather to feeke merite then fame, and by attributing a mans succeffes rather to divine providence and felicitie then to his vertue or policie.

The true Marshalling of the degrees of Soueraigne honour are thefe.

In the first place are Conditores, founders of flates.

In the second place are Legiflatores Lawgivers, which are also called fecond founders, or Perpetui principes, because they gouerne by their ordinances after they are gone.

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

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
Mans felfe in his endes, rather to feeke meritt, then fame, and by attributing a mans succeffes rather to divine providence, and felicitye, then to his vertue or policie.

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

In the first place are Conditores, Founders of States.

In the second place are Legiflatores, Law givers which are also called se- cond Founders or Perpetui Principes, because they gouerne by theire ordinances after they are gone.

In the third place are Liberatores, Such as compound the long misereyes of Civill warres, or deliver their

11 Saluatores. Servatores Patriarum suarum, 'preservers of their country.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52. V. 1625. æt. 65.

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

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

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

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

In the Third Place, are Liberatores, or Salvatores:11 Such as compound the long Miferies of Ciuill Warres, or deliever their

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

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

In the fourth place are Propagatores or Propugnatores imperii, such as in honourable warres enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Invaders.
And in the last place are Patres patriæ, which reign justly and make the times good wherein they live.

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

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

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.  
Countryes from servitude of Strangers or Tyrantes.

In the fourth place are Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperii, such as in honorable warres enlarge their Territories, or make noble defence against Invaders.
And in the last place are Patres patriæ, which reign justly and make the tymes good wherein they live.

degrees of honor in Subjectes are first Participes curarum, those vpon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest weight of their affaires, their Right handes (as wee call them.)
The next are Duces belli, great leaders, such as are Princes Lieutenauntes and doe them notable services

12 Noble defence. Defensione strenua et Nobili, 'energetic and noble defence.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52.
Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As Augustus Caesar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, K. Henry the 7. of England, K. Henry the 4. of France.
In the Fourth Place, are Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperij; Such as in Honourable Wars enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Inuders.
And in the Last Place, are Patres Patriae; which reign prudently, and make the Times good, wherein they live.
Both which last Kindes, need no Examples, they are in such Number.

Degrees of Honour in Subjects are;
First, Participes Curarum; Those upon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs; Their Right Hands, as we call them.
The Next are, Duces Belli, Great Leaders; Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Services

[This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]
The third are *Gratiofi*, favorites, such as exceede not this scantling to bee follace to the Soueraigne and harmelesse to the people.
And the fourth *Negotii pares*, such as haue great place vnder Princes, and execute their places with sufficiencie.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. in the Warres.
The third are *Gratiofi* favorites such as exceede not this scantling to be follace to the Sovereigne, and harmeles to the People.
And the fourth *Negotii pares*, such as have great place vnder Princes, and doe execute their places with sufficiencye.

15 Exceed not this Scantling. Non ultra hoc potes sunt, 'have no power beyond this.'
in the Warres.
The Third are, Gratiosi, Fanourites; Such as exceed not this Scantling;\(^15\) To be Solace to the Soueraigne, and Harmelesse to the People.
And the Fourth, Negotijs pares; Such as haue great Places vnder Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency.
There is an Honour likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as Sacrifice them- selves, to Death or Danger, for the Good of their Countrey: As was M. Regulus, and the Two Decij.

\[This\ \textit{Essay} \text{ does not occur in the 1612 Edition.}\]
For variations of II., see footnotes.

[9.] Of Faction.

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

¶ Meane men must adhere, but great men that have strenght in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indiffernt and neutrall; yet euen in beginners to adhere so moderatly, as he be a man of the one Fac-

III. 1607-12. Æt. 47-52.
Harleian Ms. 5106.

20. Of Faction.

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

Meane men must adhere, but great men that have strenght in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indiffernt, and neutrall; yet euen in beginners to adhere so moderatly, as he be a man of the one Fac-

*De Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.*

Title. De Factionibus, 'of factions.'
Any have an opinion not wise; That for a Prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is the principal part of policy: whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do not otherwise agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected.

Meane men must adhere, but great men that have strength in themselves were better to maintain themselves indifferent, and neutral. Yet even in beginners to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one fac-

2 Dealing with Correspondence, &c. Vel in palpandis, conciliandis et tractandis singulis. 'or in touching, conciliating, and treating with particular persons.'
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.


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

† The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in conjunction.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

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

The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in conjunction;

† When one of the Factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth which is good for a second Faction.*

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

* Faction, omitted in 1598 Edition.

3 Most Passable. Et tamen Parti adversa minime odiosus, 'and still is not odious (i.e. the man) to the adverse faction.'

4 Giueth best Way. Viam quandam sternit ad Honores, per Medium Factionum, 'paves a way to honours by means of factions.'
IX.  OF   F A C T I O N.  

IV.  1612.  æt.  52.  Faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giueth best way.
The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction.

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

V.  1625.  æt.  65.  Faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giueth best Way.4
The Lower and Weaker Faction, is the firmer5 in Coniunction: And it is often seen, that a few, that are stiffe,6 doe tire out,7 a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the Fac-
tions is Extinguished, the Remaining Subdiuideth:

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

5 Firmer.  Firmior et constantior, 'firmer and more consistent.'
6 Stiffe.  Obstinati et pertinaces, 'obstinate and persevering.'
7 Tire out.  In fine defatigare et depeller, 'in the end tire out and displace.'
8 Held out a while.  In satis magno Vigore, 'with sufficient vigour.'
It is commonly seen that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter.

The Traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have fluctuated long in ballancing, the winning of some one

9 Brake and Subdivided. *Cum Partibus suis, paulo post dissipierunt*, 'with their parties soon after divided.'

10 Prove ciphers and Casheerd. *Potestate omni excidunt*, 'fall out of all power.'

11 Once Placed. *Postquam Voti compotes sint, et in Dignitate quam ambierunt collocati*, 'when they have obtained their wish and are placed in the dignity which they desired.'
It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that, by which they enter.

The Traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it: for when matters have fluctuated long in balancing, the winning of some one then tooone after Antonius and Oetaionus brake and Subdivided. These Examples are of Wars, but the same holdeth in Private Faction. And therefore, those that are Seconds in Faction, doe many times, when the Faction Subdivided, prove Principals: But many times also, they prove Ciphers and Caheer’d. For many a Man’s strength is in opposition; And when that faileth, he growth out of use.

It is commonly seen, that Men once placed, take in with the Contrary Faction to that, by which they enter; Thinking belike that they have the First Sure; and now are Readie for a New Purchafe.

The Traitor in Faction lightly goeth away with it; For when Matters have fluctuated long in Ballancing, the Winning of some one

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12 That they have the First Sure, &c. Se de alterius Factionis Affectu et Studiiis, jam dudum certos esse; Itaque ad Amicos novos conciliando se comparare, ‘that they have been long sure of the goodwill and zeal of the other faction, and so prepare themselves to gain new friends.’

13 Lightly goeth away with it. Plernaque rem obtinet, ‘commonly gets an advantage.’
man casteth them, and hee getteth all the thankes.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
Man casteth them, and he getteth all the thankes.

14 Truenessse to a Mans Selfe. A Consilio callido, quandoquidem proximus sibi quisque sit, 'from a crafty plan, since each man is nearest to himself.'

15 Haue often in their Mouth. De quo Vox illa, in Vulgus volitat, 'about whom this saying is common among the people.'
man casteth them and he getteth all the thankes. The euen carriage between two factions, proceedeth not alwaies of moderation, but of a truenesse to a mans selfe, with end to make vs of both. Certainly in Italie they hold it a little suspext in Popes, when they haue of- ten in their mouth Padre Commune, and take it to be a signe of one that meaneth to referre all to the great- nesse of his owne house.

Kings had need beware, how they Side themselues, and make themselues as of a Faction or Partie: For Leagues, within the State, are euer Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soueraignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis.* As was to be seene, in the League of France. When Factions are carried too high, and too vio-

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*a As one of us.

Faction or Partie. *Factioni alicui Subditorum suorum,* 'any faction of their subjects.'

Carried too high. *Manu forti, et palam, concertant,* 'contend with the strong hand and openly.'
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

IX. OF Faction.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

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

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

HARMONY OF THE

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II., see footnotes.

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by
fpeech then by
letter, and
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ter to deale

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the mediation of a thirde the mediacion of a third,
then by a mans felfe. Let- then by a mans felf; Let-

good when a man ters are good when a Man
woulde draw an anfwere would drawe an aunfweare
by letter backe againe, or by letter back againe, or
when it may ferue for a when it may ferve for a
mans iuflification after- mans luflificacion afterwards to produce his owne wardes to produce his owne

ters are

letter.

letter.

To deale in perfon is good To deale in perfon is good
when a mans face breedes when a mans face breedes
regard, as commonly with regard, as commonly with
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Vbi sua {ntersit, 'when it may be to a man's profit.'
Exemplaria Literarnm,quas scripsit,prodjicere, et vtonstrare,
produce and show the copy of the letter which he wrote.'

1 Justification.
2 Letter.
'

of


33. Of Negotiating.

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

47. Of Negotiating.

Letters are good, when a Man
would draw an Answer
by Letter backe againe; Or
when it may serue, for a
Mans justification, afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may
be danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To deale in Person is good,
when a MansFace breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender
Cases, where a Mans Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speak-
eth, may giue him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a
Man will referue to himselfe Libertie, either to Disavow, or to Expound.

3 Inferiours. In Colloquio cum Inferiore: 'in conversation with an inferior.'

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

5 Expound. Interpretandi ea quae dixerit, 'to expound what he has said.'

ments it is better to choose men of a plainer forte that are like to doe that that is committed to them; and to reporte backe againe faithfully the successse, then those that are cunning to contrive out of other mens business somewhat to grace themselves, and will helpe the matter in reporte for satisfactions fake.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

ments it is better to choose men of a playner forte, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to reporte backe againe faithfully the successse, then those that are cunning to contrive out of other mens business somewhat to grace themselves, and will helpe the matter in reporte for satisfactions fake.

6 Instruments, In tractando per alios, 'in treating by means of others.'
7 Better. Cautius et melius, 'safer and better.'
8 Grace themselves. Qui ex aliorum Negoitiis, aliquid in se Honoris aut Utilitatis transferre, callidi sunt, 'that are cunning to transfer to themselves some honour or profit from other men's business.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52.

It is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report backe againe faithfully the success, then those that are cunning to continue out of other mens busi-ness, somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report for satisfaction sake.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

It is better, to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Success; Then those, that are Cunning to Continue out of other Mens Business, somewhat to grace themselves; And will help the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction sake. We also, such Persons, as affect the Business, wherein they are Employed; For that quickneth much; And such, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry and Observation, Froward and Absurd Men for Business that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Also such, as haue beene Luckie, and Preuailed before in Things wherein you haue Employed them; For that breeds Confidence, and

9 Help the Matter, in Report. *Atque ea, quæ referent, verbis emollient, ut impensæ placant,* 'and smoothe by their words what they report to give great pleasure.'

10 Quickneth. *Industriam acuit,* 'sharpeneth industry.'

11 Beare out it Selfe. *Quæ aliquid iniqui habent,* 'which have something unjust about them.'
It is better to found a person with whom one deales a farre off, then to fall vpon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprize him by some shorte question.

It is better dealing with men in appetite then with those which are where they would be.

If a man deale with an other vponn condicions, the starte or first performance is all, which a man can not reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other partie that he shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he bee counted the honefler man.

All practife is to discouer or to worke: men discouer themselues in trust,
It is better to found a person with whom one deals a farre off, then to fall vpon the point at first, except you meane to surprize him by some short question.

It is better dealing with men in appetite, then with those which are where they would bee.

If a man deale with an other vpon conditions, the start or first performance is all, which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perfwade the other party, that hee shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the honefler man.

All practise is to discouer or to worke: Men discouer themselues in trust,

they will strive\(^{12}\) to maintaine their Prescription.

It is better, to found\(^{13}\) a Person, with whom one Deales, a farre off, then to fall vpon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize\(^{14}\) him by some Short Question.

It is better Dealing with Men in Appetite,\(^{15}\) then with those that are where they would be.

If a man Deale with another vpon Conditions, the Start or First Performance\(^{16}\) is all; Which a Man cannotreasonably De- maund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must goe before; Or Elfe a Man can perfwade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man.\(^{17}\)

All Practife\(^{18}\) is to Discouer, or to Worke. Men Discouer themselues, in Trust,\(^{19}\)

\(^{16}\) Start or First Performance. \textit{Prima veluti Occupatio, aut Possessio Votorum, in praecipuis numeranda, 'the first seizure, as it were, or the possession of one's wishes, is to be considered the chief point.'}

\(^{17}\) Honester Man. \textit{Pro Homine iuexprimis integro et verace, 'for a man especially upright and truthful.'}

\(^{18}\) Practife. \textit{Negotiatio, 'negotiation.'}

\(^{19}\) In Trust. \textit{Vel Animum suam communicando, 'either by communicating their minds.'}
in passion, at vnwares and of necessitie, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot find an apt precept.* If you would worke any man, you muſt either know his nature, and fashions and fo leade him, or his ends, and fo winne him, or his weakenes,§ or disaduantages, and fo awe him, or those that haue interef in him and fo gouerne him.

† In dealing with cunning persons, we muſt euer conſider their endes to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they leaſt looke for.

F I N I S.

* pretext, in 1598 Edition.
§ weakenes, in 1598 Edition.

20 In Passion. Vel cum Ira commoti sunt, nec se bene cohibere sciant; 'or when moved with anger and unable to restrain themselves.'
21 Work any Man. Si quem ad Nutum fingere cupias, ut inde efficias aliquid, 'if you would work any man to your will to gain anything thereby.'
IV. 1612. aet. 52.  
In passion, at vnawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so leade him; or his endes, and so perfwade him; or his weaknes or disadvantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so go-uerne them.

In dealing with cunning persons, we must euer con sider their endes to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they leaft looke for.

V. 1625. aet. 65.  
In Passion, At vnawares; And of Necessitie, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you woulde Worke any Man, you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perfwade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disadvantages, and so Awe him; or those that haue Interest in him, and so Go-uerne him.

In Dealing with Cunning Persons, we must euer Con sider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to say little to them, and that which they leaft looke for.

In all Negotiations of Difficultie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Business, and so Ripen it by Degrees.

20 Those that haue Interest. Aut deique Amici ejus, qui plurimum apud eum valent, conciliandi, 'or lastly, you must conciliate his friends, who have the greatest influence with him.'

21 Consider their Ends. Verbis eorum minime credendum, nisi Fines et Intentiones eorum habeas Verborum Interpretes, 'their words must be but little believed, unless you have their ends and intentions to interpret their words.'
SACRED MEDITATIONS.

The Latin Version of 1597. Text I.

PLACED ON OPPOSITE PAGES TO

The English Version of 1598. Text II.

OF THE

COLOURS OF GOOD & EVIL.

First Published in 1597. Text I.

Literal corrections of 1598 edition, Text II, are shown between [].
MEDITATIONES SACRAE.

LONDINI.
Excudebat Johannes Windet.
1597.
[ No separate title.
The text follows on immediately after the Effaies.]
1 De operibus Dei, et hominibus
2 De miraculis Seruatoris
3 De columbina innocentia, et serpentina prudentia
4 De exaltatione Charitatis
5 De mensura curarum
6 De Spe terrestrial
7 De Hypocritis.
8 De impostoribus.
9 De generibus Imposturæ.
10 De Atheismo.
11 De Hæresibus.
12 De Ecclesia, et Scripturis
Meditationes sacrae.

OF the workes of God and man.

Of the miracles of our Saviour.

Of the innocencie of the Doue, and the wise-dome of the Serpent.

Of the exaltation of Charitie.

Of the moderation of Cares.

Of earthly hope.

Of Hipocrites.

Of Impoflers.

Of the feuerall kinds of Impofture.

Of Atheifme.

Of Heresies.

Of the Church and the scriptures.
MEDITATIO-
NES SACRÆ.

De operibus Dei et hominis.

Idit Deus omnia quae fecerant manus eius, et erant bona nimis: homo autem conversus, ut videret opera quae fecerunt manus eius, inuenit quod omnia erant vanitas, et vexatio spiritus.

Quare si opera Dei operaberis, fudor tuus ut vnguentum aromatum, et feriatio tua ut Sabatham Dei. Laborabis in fudore bona conscientiae, et feriabere in otio fauissimae contemplationis. Si autem post magnalia hominum persequeris, erit tibi in operando stimulus et angustia, et in recordando fasidium, et exprobratio. Et meriti tibi euenit (ō homo) et cūm tu qui es opus Dei, non retribuas ei beneplacentiam; etiam opera tua reddant tibi fructum similem amaritudinis.

De miraculis Servatoris.

Bene omnia fecit.

Eurus plausus; Deus cūm vniverfa crearet, vidit quod singula, et omnia erant bona nimis. Deus verbum in miraculis quæ edidit (omne autem miraculum est noua
Of the works of God and man.

O
d beheld all things which his hands had made, and lo they were all passing good. But when man turned him about, and took a view of the works which his hands had made, he found all to be vanity and vexation of spirit: wherefore if thou shalt worke in the works of God, thy sweat shall bee as an ointment of odours, and thy rest as the Sabbaoth of God. Thou shalt travaile in the sweate of a good conscience, and shalt keepe holyday in the quietnesse and libertie of the sweetest contemplations. But if thou shalt aspire after the glorious actes of men, thy working shall bee accompanied with compunction and strife, and thy remembrance followed with distaft and vp-braidings, and insly doeth it come to passe towards thee (O man) that since thou which art Gods worke doest him no reason in yeelding him well pleasing seruice, even thine owne workes also should rewarde thee with the like fruit of bitterness.

Of the miracles of our Saviour.

He hath done all things well.

True confession and applause: God when hee created all things, saw that euery thing in particular, and all thinges in generall were exceeding good. God the worde in the miracles which hee wrought (now euery miracle is a new creation and not according to
the first creation) would do nothing which breathed not towardes men fauour and bontie. Moyfes wrought miracles and scourg'd the Egyptians with many plagues. Elias wrought miracles and shut vp heauen that no raine shoule fall vppon the earth, and againe brought downe from heauen the fire of God vpon the captaines and their bands. Elizeus wrought also and called Beares out of the desart to deuour yong children. Peter stroke Ananias the facrilegious hipocrite with present death, and Paule Elimas the forcerer with blindnesse, but no such thing did Iefus, the spirit of God descended downe vppon him in the forme of a Doue, of whom he said, *You know not of what spirit you are.* The spirite of Iefus is the spirit of a Doue, those servants of God were as the Oxen of God treading out the corne and trampling the strawe downe vnder their feete, but Iefus is the Lambe of God without wrath or judgementes. All his miracles were consumate about mans bodie, as his doctrine respecked the foule of man. The body of man need-eth these things, sustenance, defence from outward wronges, and medicine, it was he that drew a multitude of fishes into the nets that hee might giue vnto men more liberall prouision. He turned water, a leffe worthy nourishment of mans body, into wine a more worthy, that glads the heart of man. He sentenced the Figge tree to wither for not doing that dutie whereunto it was ordayned, which is to beare fruit for mens foode. He multiplyed the scarfitie of a few loues and fishes to a sufficiency to victuaile an hoff of people. He rebuked the winds that threatned destruction to the feasaring men: He restored motion to the lame, light to the blinde, speech to the dumbe, health to the fick, cleanness to the leprous, a right mind to those that were possesed, and life to the dead. No miracle of his is to bee found to haue beene of judgement or reuenge, but all of goodnesse and mercy, and respeckting mans bodie; for as touching riches he did not vouchsafe to do any miracle, faue one onely that tribute might be giuen to Cefar.
De Columbina innocentia, et Serpentina prudentia.

Non accipit fiultus verba prudentiae, nisi ea dixeris quae versantur in corde eius.

Vdicio hominis deprauato et corrupto, omnis quae adhibetur cruidio et persuasio irrita est, et despectui quae non ducit ccordium a detegione, et representatione male complexionis animi fanandii, quem admodum inutiliter adhibetur medicina non pertentato vulnere. Nam homines malitiosi, qui nihil fani cogitant, præoccupante hoc fibi, vt putent bonitatem ex simplicitate morum, ac insctia quadam, et imperitia rerum humanarum signi. Quare nisi perspexerint ea quae versantur in corde suo, id est, penitifsimas latebras malitie fuae perslufratas esse, ei qui sua fum molitur, de ridiculo habent verba prudentiae; Itaque ei qui ad bonitatem aspirat, non solitariam, et particularum, sed feminalem, et genitium quae alios trahat, debent esse omnino nota, quae ille vocat Profunda Satane; vt loquatur cum auctoritate et insinuatione vera: Hinc est illud, Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. Inducens eleccionem iudiciosam ex generali examinatione: Ex codem fonte est illud; Eflote prudentes ficit serpentem, innocentes ficit columbae. Non est deus serpentis, nec venenum nec aculeus, quae non probata debeant esse, nec pollutionem quis timeat,
Of the innocency of the Doye, and wisedom of the Serpent.

The foole receyuyeth not the words of wisedome, except thou discouer to him what he hath in his heart.

O a man of a peruerse and corrupt judgement all instruc|tion or perlation is Fruit|lese and contemptible, which beginnes not with discouerie, and laying open of the distemper and ill complexion of the mind which is to be recured as a plaster is unseasonably applied before the wound be searched: for men of corrupt understanding that haue lost al found discern|ing of good and euill, come possest with this prejudice|cate opinion, that they think al honestly and goodness proceedeth out of a simplicity of manners, and a kind of want of experience and vnacquaintance with the affaires of the worlde. Therefore except they may perceiue that those things which are in their hartes, that is to say, their owne corrupt principles, and the deepest reaches of their cunning and rottennestse to bee throughly founded and knowne to him that goeth about to persuade with them they make but a play of the words of wisedome. Therefore it behooueth him which aspireth to a goodnes (not retired or particular to himselfe, but a fructifying and begetting goodnesse, which should draw on others) to know those pointes, which he called in the Reuelation the deepes of Sathan. That hee may speake with authoritie and true insinuation. Hence is the precept: Try all things and hold that which is good, which indureth a discerning election out of an examination whence nothing at all is excluded, out of the same fountain ariseth that direction: Be you wise as serpents, and innocent as doues. There are neither teeth nor flinges, nor venime, nor wreathes and foulde of serpents which ought not to be all known, and as far as ex-
De exaltatione Charitatis.

Si gauifus fum ad ruinam eius qui oderat me, et exaltaui quod inuennisset eum malum.

Deo et sol ingreditur latrinas, nec inquinatur, nec quis se deum tentare credat, nam ex precepto est, Et sufficiens est Deus ut vos immaculatos custodiat.

Et eslatio Iob; amicos redamare, est charitas publicanorum ex fudere utilitatis, versus inimicos autem bene animatos esse, est ex apicibus iuris Christiani, et imitatio divinitatis. Rursum tamen huius charitatis complures sunt gradus, quorum primus est inimicos resipiscentibus ignoscere, ac huius quidem charitatis etiam apud generofas seras umbra quadam, et imago reperitur; nam et leones in se submittentes, et proflermentes non ulterius se uincire prohibitentur. Secundus gradus est inimicos ignoscere, licet sint duriores, et absque reconciliationum piaculis. Tertius gradus est non tantum veniam, et gratiam inimicos largiri, sed etiam merita, et beneficia in eos conferre. Sed habent hi gradus, aut habere possunt, nescio quid potius ex osten
tatione, aut faltet animi magnitudine quam ex charitate pura. Nam cum quis virtutem ex se emanare, et esluere sentit, fieri potest ut is efferatur, et potius virtutis fve frustru quam salute, et bono proximi decelletur. Sed si aliunde malum aliquod inimicum tuum deprehendat, et
amination doth lead, tryed: neyther let any man here feare infeccion or pollution, for the sunne entreth into finkes and is not defiled. Neyther let any man thinke that herein he tempteth God, for this diligence and generality of examination is commanded, and God is sufficient to prefereue you immaculate and pure.

Of the exaltation of Charity.

If I have rejoyced at the overthrow of him that hated me, or tooke pleafure when aduerfity did befall him.

The deteflation or renouncing of Iobe. For a man to loue againe where he is loued, it is the Charity of Publicanes contracted by mutuall profite, and good offices, but to loue a mans enemies is one of the cunningeft pointes of the lawe of Chrift, and an imitation of the diuine nature. But yet againe of this charitie there be dyuers degrees, whereof the firft is to pardon our enemies when they repent: of which charitie there is a shadow and image euen in noble beatles, for of Lyons it is a receyued opinion, that their fury and fiercenesse ceafeth towards any thing that yeeldeth and prostrateth it felfe. The feconde degree is to pardon our enemies, though they perfift and without satiffactions and submissons. The thirde degree is not onely to pardon and forgiue and forbeare our enemies, but to deferue well of them, and to do them good. But all these three degrees either haue or may haue in them a certaine brauery and greatnes of the minde, rather then pure Charity: for when a man perceyueth vertue to proceede and flow from himfelfe, it is poffible that he is puffed vp and takes contentment rather in the fruit of his owne vertue, then in the good of his neighbors: but if any euill ouertake the enemie from any other coaft, then from thy felfe, and thou in the inwardeft motions of thy
tu in interioribus cellulis cordis graueris, et angufleris, nec, quasi dies vitionis, et vindictae tuae adueniffet, feteris; hoc ego fagligium, et exaltationem charitatis esse pono.

De mensura curarum.

Sufficit diei malitia tua.

Of the moderation of cares.

Sufficient for the day is the cuif of thereof.

Here ought to bee a man sure in worldly cares otherwise they are both unprofitable, as those which oppresse the mind and astonish the judgement, and profane as those which faU of a mind which promiseth to it selfe a certain perpetuity in the things of this world: for we ought to be daies-men, and not to morrowes men, considering the shortnesse of our time, and as he faith: Laying hold on the present day: for future thinges shall in their turnes become present: therefore the care of the present sufficeth: and yet moderate cares (whether they concern our particular or the common wealth, or our friends) are not blamed. But herein is a twofold exceffe, the one when the chaine or thread of our cares extended and spunne out to an ouer great length, and vnto times too farre off, as if we could bind the diuine prouidence by our pro- visions, which even with the heathen was alwaies found to bee a thing insolent and vnluckie, for those which did attribute much to fortune, and were ready and at hand to apprehende with alacritie the present occasions, haue for the most part in their actions beeene happie. But they who in a compasse wisedome haue entred into a confidence that they had belayed all events, haue for the most parte encountered misfortune. The second exceffe is, when we dwel longer in our cares then is requisite for due deliberating or firme resoluing: for who is there amongst vs that careth no more then sufficeth eyther to resolue of a course, or to conclude vpon an
non eadem fope retraelet, et in eodem cogitationum circuitu inutiliter haecat, et denique euanescat? Quod genus curarum, et diuinis et humanis rationibus aduer-

fisimum est.

De Spe terrestri.

Melior est oculorum viatio, quàm animi progresio.

Enfus purus in singula meliorem reddi conditionem, et politiam mentis, quàm istae imaginationes et progressiones animi. Natura enim animi humani etiam in ingenijs grauisimis est, vt á senfu singulorum latim progresdiatur, et saliat, et omnia auguretur fore talia, quale illud est quod praesentem senfum incutit, si boni est senfus facilis est ad spem indefinimat, si mali est senfus, ad metum: unde illud, Fallitur augurio spes bona fope suo, et contra illud, Pessimus in dubijs augur. Sed tamen timoris est aliquis fructus, preparat enim toleran-
tium, et acuit industriam; Non vlla laborum ó virgo noua mì facies inopauè furgit. Omnia praecipi, atque animo mecum ante percgi. Spes vero inutile quiddam videtur. Quorfum enim ista anticipatio boni? Attende, si minus eueniat bonum quàm spere, bonum licet fit, tamen quia minus fit, videtur damnum potius quàm lucrum ob excessum spei. Si par et tantum fit, et euentus fit spei aequalis, tamen flos boni per spem decerpitur, et videtur ferè obfoletum, et faflidio magis finitimum. Si maior fit successus sp, videtur aliquid
impossibilitie, and doth not still chewe ouer the same things, and treade a mace in the same thoughtes, and vanisheth in them without issue or conclusion, which kind of cares are most contrary to all diuine and humane respects.

**Of earthly hope.**

*Better is the sight of the eye, then the apprehension of the mind.*

We fence receiviing euery thing acording to the naturall impression makes a better state and gouernment of the mind then these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind: for the minde of man hath this nature and propertie, euen in the grauest and most setled wits, that from the fence of euery particular, it doeth as it were bound and spring forward, and take holde of other matters foretelling to it self that all shal proue like vnto that which beateth vpon the present fence: if the fence be of good, it easily runnes into an unlimited hope, and into a like feare, when the fence is of euill, according as is said:

*The oracles of hopes doth oft abuse.*

And that contrary,

*A frowarde southeayer is feare in doubts.*

But yet of feare there may bee made some use, for it prepareth patience, and awaketh industry.

*No shape of ill comes new or strange to me.*

*All forts set downe, yea and prepared be*  

But hope seemeth a thing altogether vnprouitable, for to what ende sereueth this conceit of good. Consider and note a little if the good fall out lesse then thou hopeft, good though it bee, yet lesse because it is, it seemeth rather losse then benefite through thy excess of hope: if the good proue equall and proportionable in euent to thy hope, yet the flower thereof
by thy hope is gathered, so as when it comes, the grace of it is gone, and it seemes vfed and therefore sooner draweth on faciety: admit thy successe proue better then thy hope, it is true gaine seemes to bee made: but had it not beeene better to have gayned the principall by hoping for nothing then the encreafe by hoping for lesse. And this is the operation of Hope in good fortunes, but in misfortunes it weakeneth all force and vigor of the mind: for neither is there alwaies matter of hope, and if there be, yet if it faile but in part, it doth wholly overthrow the constancie and resolution of the mind, and besides though it doeth carry vs through, yet is it a greater dignitie of mind to beare euelles by fortitude and judgement, then by a kind of abfenting and alienation of the mind from things present to things future, for that it is to hope. And therefore it was much lightnesse in the Poets to faine Hope to bee as a counterpoyfon of humaine deceafes, as to mitigate and affwage the fury and anger of them, whereas in deede it doth kindle and enrage them, and caufe both doubling of them and relapfes. Notwithstanding we see that the greatest number of men giue themselves ouer to their imaginations of hope and apprehenfions of the mind, in such fort that vn-gratefull towards things past, and in a manner vn-mindfull of things present, as if they were euers children and beginners, they are full in longing for things to come. I saw all men walking vnder the funne refort and gather to the second person, which was afterwardes to succede, this is an euill diseafe and a great idlenesse of the mind.

But perhaps you will aske the question, whether it be not better when things stand in doubtfull termes, to presume the beft, and rather hope well then distrust, specially seeing that hope doeth caufe a greater tranquillitie of minde.

Surely I doe judge a state of minde, which in all doubtfull expectations is setled and floteth not, and doeth this out of a good gouernment and composition of the affections, to be one of the principall supports
ex fana et sobria conie&utrum praevidere, et pra.supponere, vt aetiones ad probabilitatem eventuum magis accom-modemus; modo fit hoc officium intellectus ac iudicii cum iustia inclinatione affectus. Sed quem ita spes coeruit; vt cum ex vigilanti et ferme mentis discurrifu meliora, vt magis probabilia seibi praedixerit, non in ipsa boni anticipatio immoratus sit, et huiusmodi cogitationi, vt somnio placido indulsit? Atque hoc est quod reddit animum lenem, tumidum, inaequalem, peregrinantem. Quare omnis spes in futuram vitam caelestem consumenda est. Hic autem quanto purior sit praesentium sensus absque infectione, et tintura imaginationis, tanto prudentior et melior anima vitae summæ breuis spem nos vetat meliorare longam.

De Hypocritis.

Mifericordiam volo, et non Sacrificium.

Mnis iactatio Hypocritarum est in operibus prima tabulae legis, quæ est de venerationibus Deo debitis. Ratio duplex est, tum quod huiusmodi opera maiorem habent pompam Sanctitatis, tum quod cupiditatibus corum minus aduerfentur. Itaque redargutio hypocritarum est, vt ab operibus sacrificiij remittantur ad opera misericordiae, vnde illud,
of mans life: But that assurance and repose of the mind, which onely rides at ancore vpon hope. I doreiecteas waue-ering and weake, not that it is not conuenient to foresee and presuppofo out of a found and sober conceitute as well the good as the euill, that thereby we may fit out actions to the probabilities and likelihoods of their euent, so that this be a worke of the vnderstanding and judgement with a due bent and inclination of the affection: But which of you hath so kept his hopes within limites, as when it is so that you haue out of a watchfull and strong discourse of the minde set downe the better successe to bee in apparancy the more likely you haue not dwelt vpon the very muse and forethought of the good to come and giuing scope and fauour to your minde to fall into such cogitations as into a pleasant dreame: and this it is which makes the mind light, frothy, unequall and wandring: wherefore all our hope is to bee beflowed vpon the heauenly life to come. But here on earth the purer our fence is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and the wiser soule.

The summe of life to little doth amount,
And therefore doth forbidde a longer count.

Of Hipocrates.

I demand mercy and not sacrifice.

All the boastling of the Hipocrite is of the workes of the first table of the law, which is of adoration and dutie towards God: wherof the reason is double both because such workes haue a greater pompe and demonstration of holineffe, and also because they do leffe croffe their affections and desires, therefore the way to convict Hipocrates, is to fende them from the workes of sacrifise to the workes of mercy, whence commeth that saying.
Religiomunda et immaculata apud Deum et patrem hæc est, visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum, et illud, Qui non diligit fratrem suum quem vidit, Deum quem non vidit quomodo potest diligere? Quidam autem altioris et inflatioris Hypocrisice seipfos decipientes, et exsiliantes se arctiore cum Deo conversatione dignos, officia charitatis in proximum vt minora negligunt. Qui error monastice vitæ non principium quidem dedit, (nam initia bona fuerunt,) sed excessum addidit. Recìe enim dictum est, Orandi munus magnum esse munus in ecclesia, et ex usu ecclesiae est, vt sint ætus hominum à mundanis curis foluti, qui asiduis et deuotis precibus Deum pro ecclesiæ flatu follicent. Sed huic ordinationi illa hypocrisice finitima est, nec uniusfa institutio reprobatur, sed spiritus illi se efferentes cohibentur: nam et Enoch qui ambulavit cum Deo, prophetizavit, vt est apud Iudam, atque fructum fuœ propheticæ ecclesiæ donavit. Et Iohannes Bapt. quem Principem quidam vitæ monasticæ volunt, multo ministerio funélus est tum prophetisationis, tum Baptizationis. Nam ad alios flos in deum officiosos refertur illa interrogatio, Si iustè egeris, quid donabis Deo, aut quid de manu tua accipiet. Quare opera miserecordiae sunt opera discretionis hypocritarum. Contra autem sit cum haereticis, nam vt hypocrite simulata sua sanitate verfus Deum, iniurias suas verfus homines obducunt; ita haeretici moralitate quadam verfus homines, blasphemias suas contra Deum insinuant.
This is pure and immaculate religion with God the father, to vjite Orphanes and widowes in their tribulations. And that saying: He that loueth not his brother whom he hath seene, how can hee love God whom hee hath not seene.

Now there is another kind of deeper and more extravagant hipocrifie, for some deceiuing themselues, and thinking themselues worthy of a more neere acceffe and conuerfation with God do neglect the duties of charity towards their neighbour, as inferior matters, which did not in deede cause originally the beginning of a monafical life (for the beginnings were good) but brought in that excesse and abuse which are followed after: for it is truly said, That the office of praying is a great office in the Church. And it is for the good of the Church, that there bee confortes of men freed from the cares of this world, who may with dayly and deuout supplications and obseruances Solicite the diuine maieflie, for the causes of the Church. But vnto this ordinance that other Hipocrifie is a nigh neyghbour, neyther is the generall institution to be blamed, but those spirites which exalt themselues too high to berfrained: for euen Enoch, which was saide to walke with God, did prophesie, as is deliuered vnto us by Iude, and did indowe the Church with thefruite of his prophesie which heeleft: and John Baptifl vntowhom they did referre as to the authour of a monafical life, trauailed and exercifed much in the miniflerie both of prophesie and baptizing, for as to these others who are so officious towards God, to them belongeth that question: If thou do iustly what is that to God, or what profite docth he take by thy handes? wherefore the workes of mercy are they which are the workes of distinction, whereby to find out Hypocrites. But with Heretikes it is contrary, for as Hipocrites with their dissembling holinesse towards God doe palliate and couer their injuries towards men: So Heretikes by their moralitie and honest carriage towards men infinuate and make way for their blasphemies against God.
De Impostoribus.

Siue mente excedimus Deo, siue fobrii fumus vobis.


De generibus imposturae.

Deuita prophanas vocum nouitates, et oppositiones falli nominis scientiae.
Ineptas et aniles fabulas deuita.
Nemo vos decipiat in sublimitate fermonum.

Res sunt fermones, et veluti filii imposturae. Primum genus est eorum qui flatim et aliquam materiam naciunt, artem conficunt, vocabula artis imponunt, omnia in
Of Impostors.

Whether we be transported in mind it is to Godward. Or whether we be sober it is to youwardes.

His is the true image and true temper of a man, and of him that is Gods faithfull workeman, his carriage and conuerfation towards God is full of passion, of zeale, and of tranifies, thence proceed grones unspeakeable, and exultinges, likewise in comfort, rauifhment of spirit and agonies. But contrariwise his cariage and conuerfation towards men is full of mildnesse, sobrietie, and appliable demeanor. Hence is that saying, I am become all things to all men, and such like. Contrary it is with Hipocrites and Imposters, for they in the church and before the people fet themselues on fire, and are caried as it were out of themselues, and becomming as men inspired with holy furies, they fet heauen and earth together: but if a man did fee their folitarie and seperate meditations, and conuerfation whereunto God is onely priuy, he might towards God find them not onely cold and without vertue, but also full of ill nature, and leauen: Sober enough to God, and transported onely towards men.

Of the seuerall kinds of Imposture.

Avoid prophane strangenes of wordes and opposiitons of knowledge, falsely so called.
Avoid fond and idle fabies:
Let no man deceive you by high speech:

Here are three formes of speaking, which are as it were the file and phrase of imposture: the first kind is of them, who as foone as they haue gotten any subiect or matter, doe straight cast it into an arte,

De Atheismo.

Dixit inspiens in corde suo; non est Deus.

Rimum dixit in corde, non ait, cogitavit in corde; hoc est, non tam ita sentit penitus, sed vult hoc credere, quoniam expedire fibi videt, ut non sit Deus omni ratione fibi hoc suadare, et in animum inducere conatur; et tanquam thema aliquod, vel positum, vel placitum afferere, et asstruere, et firmare fludet. Manet tamen ille igniculus luminis prīmi, quo Divinitatem agnoscimus, quem prorsus extinguere, et flumulum illum ex corde euellere frustrà nititur. Quare
inventing newe tearmes of art, reducing all into diu-
flions and distinctions, thence drawing assertions or
positions, and fo framing oppositions by quesions and
answeres, hence issueth the copwebbes and clatterings
of the Schoolemen.

The seconde kinde is of them who out of the vanity
of their wit (as Church poets) doe make and deuife
all variety of tales, stories, and examples, whereby they
may leade mens mindes to a beliefe, from whence did
growe the Legendes and infinite fabulous inuention
and dreames of the ancient heretikes.

The third kinde is of them, who fill mens ears with
misteries, high parables, Allegories, and illusions:
which misticall and profound forme many of the here-
ticks haue also made choyce of. By the first kind of
these, the capacitie and wit of man is fettered and en-
tangled: by the seconde it is trayned on and inueigled:
by the thirde it is aſtonifhed and enchanted, but by
euery of them the while it is seduced and abused.

Of Atheisme.

The foole hath faid in his heart there is no God.

First it is to be noted that the Scripture faith,
the foole hath faid in his heart, and not
he hath thought in his heart, that is to
fay, he doth not so fully thinke it in judg-
ment, as he hath a good will to bee of
that belief, for seeing it makes not for him that there
shoulde bee a God, he doeth seeke by all meanes ac-
cordingly, to persuade and resolue himselfe, and stud-
ies to affirme, proue and verifie it to himselfe as some
theame or position, al which labor, notwithstanding
that sparkle of our creation light, whereby men acknowledge a Deitie, burneth still within, and in vayne doth
he strive utterly to alienate it or put it out, fo that it
is out of the corruption of his heart and will, and not
out of the naturall apprehension of his braine and con-
ex malitia voluntatis sua, et non ex natuino sensu, et
iudicio hoc supponit, vt ait comicus Poeta. Tune ani-
mus meus accessit ad meam sententiam, quas supe alter
eset ab animo suo. Itaque Atheisla magis dixit in
corde, quam sentit in corde, quod non fit Deus. Secundò,
dixit in corde, non ore locutus est, sed notandum est hoc
metu legis et famæ fieri, Nam vt ait ille, Negare Deos
dificile est in concione populi, sed in concessu famili-
ari expeditum. Nam si hoc vinculum tollatur e medio,
non est heresivs que maiore studio fe pandere, et fpargere,
et multiplicare nilatur quam Atheismus. Nec videoes
eos qui in hanc mentis insaniam immeriti sunt, aliud
ferè spirare, et importunè inculcare, quam verba atheismi,
vt in Lucretio Epicureo, qui ferè suam in Religionem in-
uecluam singulis alijs subjiclis intercalarem facit. Ratio
videtur esse, quod Atheisla cum fibi non satis acquiescat
œsfluans, nec fibi fatifcredens, et crebra suae opinionis de-
liquia in interioribus patiens ab aliorum affensu refocillari
cupit. Nam reale dixit esse. Qui alteri opinionem
approbare sedulò cupit, ipse diffidit. Tertio insipiens
est, qui hoc in corde dixit, quod verissimum est, non
tantum quod divina non sapiat, sed etiam secundum
hominem. Primò enim ingenia, que sunt in Atheis-
mum proriora, videoes ferè leuia, et dicacia, et audacula,
et infolentia: eius denique compositionis, quæ prudentiae,
et grauitati morum aduersiïsima est. Secundò inter viros
politicos, qui altioris ingenij et latioris cordis fuerunt,
Of Atheifme.

That he doth set downe his opinion, as the comical Poet faith: *Then came my mind to bee of mine opinion*, as if himselfe and his mind had beene two divers things: Therefore the Atheif hath rather faide and helde it in his heart, then thought or believed in his heart that there is no God. Secondly it is to be obferved, that he hath faid in his heart, and not spoken it with his mouth. But again you fhall note, that this smothering of this perswasion within the hart commeth to passe for feare of government and of speech amongst men: for as he faith, *To deny God in a publike argument were much, but in a familiar conference were current enough.* For if this bridle were removed, there is no herefie which would contende more to spread and multiply, and disseminate it self abroad then atheifme, neither fhall you fee those men which are drencht in this frenzie of minde to breath almost any thing els, or to inculcate euen without occafion, any thing more then speech tending to Atheifme, as may appeare in Lucrefias the Epicure, who makes of his inuencrues againft religion, as it were a burthen or verse of returne to all his other discourses: the reason seems to bee, for that the Atheif not relying sufficiently vpon him self, floting in mind, and vnSATISfied and induring within many faintings, and as it were fals of his opinion, desires by other mens opinions agreeing with his to be recovered and brought againe: for it is a true faying:

*Who fo laboureth earnestly to proue an opinion to an other, himselfe distrusts it.*

Thirdly, it is a foole that hath fo faide in his heart, which is most true, not onely in respect that he hath no taste in those things which are supernaturall and diuine: but in respect of humane and ciuile wifedome: for firft of all, if you marke the wits and dispositions which are inclyned to Atheifme, you fhall finde them light, scoffing, impudent, and vayne: briefly, of such a constitution, as is most contrarie to wifedome and morall grauitie. Secondly, amongst states men and

De Haresibus.

Erratis nescientes scripturas, neque potestatem Dei.
polities, those which have been of greatest depths, and compass, and of largest and most universal understanding, have not only in cunning made their profit in seeming religious to the people, but in truth have beene toucht with an inwarde fence of the knowledge of Dyeties, as they which you shall euermore note to have attributed much to fortune and prouidence.

Contrariwise, those who ascribed all things to their owne cunninges and practises, and to the immediate and apparent causes: and as the Prophet faith, have sacrificed to their owne nets, have beene alwaies but petty counterfaite states men, and not capable of the greatest actions. Lastly, this I dare affirme in knowledge of nature, that a little naturall philosophie: and the first entrance into it doth dispose the opinion to Atheisme: But on the other side much naturall philosophie, and wading deepe into it, will bring about mens mindes to religion: wherefore Atheisme every way seems to be joined and combined with folly and ignorance, see that nothing can bee more iuflly allotted to be the sayings of fooles then this, there is no God.

Of Heresies.

You erre not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God.

His Cannon is the mother of al Canons against Herefie: The causes of errour are two: the ignorance of the wil of God, and the ignorance or not sufficient consideration of his power, the will of God is more revealed by the Scriptures, and therefore the precepte is, Search the Scriptures: the will [? power] of God is more revealed by the creatures, and therefore the precept is: Beholde and consider the creatures: So is the fulness of the power of God to bee affirmed,
Meditationes Sacrae. 1597.

as wee make no imputation to his will, so is the goodness of the will of God to be affirmed, as we make no derogation from his power: Therefore true religion feated in the meane betwixt Superflition, with superflitious heresies on the one side, and Atheisme, with prophane heresies on the other: Superflition reiecing the light of the scriptures, and giuing of it self out to ungrounded traditions and writings doubtfull and not Canonical, or to newe reuelations, or to vntrue interpretations of the Scriptures themselfes doth forge and dreame many thinges of the will of God, which are strange and farre distant from the true fence of the scriptures: But Atheisme and Theomachie rebelleth and mutineth against the power of God, giuing no faith to his worde, which reuealeth his will, vpon a discredit and vnbeliefe of his power, to whom all thinges are possible. Now those heresies which spring out of this fountain seeme more haynous then the other: for euen in ciuile gouernment it is held an offence in a higher degree to deny the power and authority of a prince, then to touch his honour and fame. Of these heresies which derogate from the power of God beside plain atheisme, there are three degrees, and they haue all one and the same mistery: for all Antichristianity worketh in a misterie, that is, vnder the shadow of good, and it is this to free and deliever the will of God from all imputation and aspersion of ill. The first degree is of those who make and suppose two principles contrary and fighting one against the other, the one of good, the other of euill.

The second degree is of them to whome the Maieflie of God seemes too much wronged in setting vppe and erecting against him another aduerse and opposite principle, namely such a principle as should bee active and affirmatiue, that is to say, cause or fountaine of any essence or being: therefore reiecing all such presumption they doe neverthelesse bring in against God: a principle negatiue and priuatiue, that is a cause of
natiuum, et substantiuum, vt ex se vergat et relabatur ad confusionem, et ad nihilum, nescientes eiusdem esse omnipotentia ex aliquo nihil facere, cuius ex nihilo aliquid. Tertius gradus est eorum, qui arclant et restringunt opinionem, priorem tantum ad actiones humanas, quae participant ex peccato, quas volunt substantiue, absque nexu aliquo causarum, ex interna voluntate et arbitrio humano pendere, flatuuntque latiores terminos scientiae Dei, quum potesfatis, vel potius eius partis potesfatis Dei, (nam et ipsa scientia potesfatis est) qua factum esse eum, quod mouet, et agit, vt praefciat quaedam otiose, quae non praeeditat et praordinet. Et non absimile est figmento, quod Epicurus introductit in Democritismum, vt fatum olleret, et fortunae locum dare, declinationem videlicet atomi, quod semper à prudentioribus insanisstimun commentum habitum est. Sed quicquid a deo non pendet, vt autore, et principio, per nexus et gradus subordinatos id loco Dei erit, et nouum principium, et Deaefer quidem. Quare merito illa opinio respuitur, vt laesio et diminutio maiesfatis et potesfatis Dei. Et tamen admodum recte dicitur, quod Deus non fit author mali, non quia non author, sed quia non mali.
not being and subsisting, for they will have it to be an
inbred proper work, and nature of the matter and
creature it selfe, of it selfe to turne aganie and resolue
into confusion and nothing, not knowing that it is an
effect of one and the same omnipotencie, to make
nothing of somewhata, as to make somewhat of no-
thing. The third degree is of those, who abridge and
restrain the former opinion onely to those humane
actions which pertake of sinne: which actions, they
will have to depende substantiuely and originally, and
without any sequele or subordination of causes vpon
the will, and make and set downe and appoint larger
limites of the knowledge of God then of his power,
or rather of that parte of Gods power (for knowledge
it selfe is a power whereby he knoweth) then of that
by which hee moueth and worketh, making him fore-
know some things idlie and as a lookeer on, which hee
doeth not predefinitt nor ordayne: Not vnlike to
that deuise which Epicurus brought into Democritus
opinion, to take away deflinie and make way to
Fortune, to witte, the start and flippe of Attemus,
which alwaies of the wiser fort was relieeted as a moe
frivolous shift. But whatsoeuer depends not of God,
as Author and Principle by inferiour linkes and de-
grees, that must needes bee in place of God, and a new
principle, and a certaine vfurping God: wherefore
worthely is that opinion refuseth as an indignitie and
derogation to the maiestie and power of God, and yet
it is moe truely affirmed, that God is not the author
of euill, not becaufe he is not author, but becaufe not
as of euill.
De ecclesia et Scripturis.

Proteges eos in tabernaculo tuo a contradictione linguarum.


FINIS.
Of the Church and the Scriptures.

Thou shalt protect them in thy tabernacle, from the contradiction of tongues.

The contradiction of tongues doeth every where meet with us out of the tabernacle of God, therefore whither soever thou shalt turne thy selfe, thou shalt find no ende of controversie, except thou withdraw thy selfe into that tabernacle, thou wilt say, tis true, and that it is to bee vnderstood of the unitie of the church: But heare and note, there was in the tabernacle the Arke, and in the Arke the testimony or tables of the lawe: what doest thou tell me of the huske of the tabernacle without the kernel of the testimonie. The tabernacle was ordained for the keeping and deliuering ouer from hand to hande of the testimony. In like manner the custodie and passing ouer of the scriptures is committed vnto the Church. But the life of the tabernacle is the testimony.
THE COLOURS OF GOOD AND EVIL.

IT would seem that among his early studies, Bacon was led to enquire into the nature and powers of human Imagination as a means for obtaining knowledge. What flesh and blood are to the Body, what love and friendship are to the Soul; that is imagination to the Spirit of man. It is a warm, exhilarating, active source of Thought. By it we can realize perfection, beauty, and felicity never to be seen by mortal eyes. It is the creative power in Poetry, Fiction, Painting, and in much of the Fine Arts. It is a comfort to Man; both as an Earthly Hope in the midst of his troubles, and as a recreation from the toil of his other faculties.

Imagination as a Guide in the establising of his New Philosophy, Bacon utterly rejected. Yet it is not to be univerfally put aside. We could not do so if we would. The intuition of women often outstrips the reason of men in true judgment; and God, who has honoured this faculty as He has done the rest, has taught truth to man through his imagination, in the sublime visions of the Old and New Testament.

We must think to what an abuse, Imagination had been substituted for Enquiry down to Bacon's time; in considering this description.

There is yet a much more important and profound kind of Fallacies in the Minde of Man. . . . The force whereof is such, as it doth not daze, or snare the understanding in some particulars, but doth more generally, and inwardly infect and corrupt the state thereof. For the mind of Man is farre from the Nature of a cleare and equall glasse, wherein the beames of things should reflect according to their true incidence; Nay, it is rather like an enchanted glasse, full of superstition and Imposture, if it hee not delivered and reduced. *Adv. of Learning*; ii. fol. 55. Ed. 1605.

Nothing can be stronger than these Meditations of 1597—

Pure sence receiuing every thing according to the naturall impression makes a better state and government of the mind then these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind: for the minde of man hath this nature and propertie, even in the grauest and most setled wits, that from the sence of every particular, it dooth as it were bound and spring forward, and take holde of other matters fortelling to it self that all shal prove like unto that which beateth vpon the present sense.

That assurance and repose of the mind which only rides at ancor vpon hope. I do reiect as wauering and weake.

Here on earth the purer our sence is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and wiser soule. *See pp. 111-115*
And he sums up his judgement on this faculty in the Apothegm of Heraclitus. *Dry Light is the best Soul.*

2. Bacon, in the second book of *The Advancement of Learning* also tells us.

The duty and Office of Rhetoricke is, *To apply Reason to Imagination,* for the better moouing of the will; For wee see Reason is disturbed in the Administration thereof by three meanes; by Illaqueation [i.e. Entanglement], or Sophisme [i.e. Falacy], which pertaines to Logicke: by Imagination or Impression, which pertaines to Rhetoricke, and by Passion or Affection, which pertaines to Moralitie. And as in Negotiation with others; men are wrought by cunning, by Importunitie, and by vehemencie; So in this Negotiation within our selues, men are undermined by Inconsequences, solicited and importuned, by Impressions or Observations: and transported by Passions. *Fol. 66. Ed. 1605.*

There is a seducement that worketh by the strength of the Impression, and not by the subtiltie of the Illaqueation, not so much perplexing the Reason, as ouer-ruling it by the power of the Imagination. *Fol. 55. Ed. 1605.*

Colours of Good and Evil are Impressions perplexing and ouer ruling the Reason by the power of the Imagination. Being Good in the cafes where they hold true; and Evil where such Impressions are fallacious.

3. Bacon was further of this opinion.

I doe not finde the Wisedome and diligence of Aristotle well pursued, who began to make a collection of the popular signes and colours of good and evil, both simple and comparatine, which are as the Sophisms of Rhetoricke, (as I touched before.) For Example,

**Sophisma.**

*Quod laudatur, bonum; Quod vituperatur, malum.*

[What is praised is good: what is abused is bad.]

**Redargvtio.**

*Laudat venales, qui vult extrudere merces.*

[He who wishes to sell his goods, praises them.]

*Malum est, Malum est (inquit Emptor) sed cum recesserit, tum gloriatitur.*

[It is naught, it is naught, sayth the buyer: but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth. *Proverbs xx. 14.*]

The defects in the labour of Aristotle are three; One, that there be but a few of many: another, that their *Elenches* are not annexed: and the third, that he conceiued but a part of the use of them: for their use is not onely in probation, but much more in Impression. For many fourmes are equal in *Signification,* which are differing in *Impression:* as the difference is great in the piercing of that which is sharpe, and that which is flat, though the strength of the percussion be the same. *Adv. of Learning. Bk. ii. fol. 68. Ed. 1605.*
4. To these three quotations; we can add in further elucidation of the intention of this fragment, a copy of its dedication while in a manuscript state. We give it in the modernized form given by Mr. Spedding. (*Works*, vii. 70. *Ed*. 1858.)

Mr. Francis Bacon of *The Colours of Good and Evil*, to the Lord Mountjoye.

I send you the last part of the best book of Aristotle of Stagira, who (as your Lordship knoweth) goeth for the best author. But (saving the civil respect which is due to a received estimation) the man being a Grecian and of a hasty wit, having hardly a discerning patience, much less a teaching patience, both so delivered the matter, as I am glad to do the part of a good houseken, which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasants' eggs. And yet perchance some that shall compare my lines with Aristotle's lines, will muse by what art, or rather by what revelation I could draw these conceits out of that place. But I, that should know best, do freely acknowledge that I had my light from him; for where he gave me not matter to perfect, at the least he gave me occasion to invent. Wherein as I do him right, being myself a man that am as free from envying the dead in contemplation, as from envying the living in action or fortune: so yet nevertheless still I say, and I speak it more largely than before, that in perusing the writings of this person so much celebrated, whether it were the impediment of his wit, or that he did it upon glory and affectation to be subtile, as one that if he had seen his own conceits clearly and perspicuously delivered, perhaps would have been out of love with them himself; or else upon policy to keep himself close, as one that had been a challenger of all the world, and had raised infinite contradiction: to what cause soever it is to be ascribed, I do not find him to deliver and unwrap himself well of that he seemeth to conceive, nor to be master of his own knowledge. Neither do I for my part also, (though I have brought in a new manner of handling this argument to make it pleasant and lightsome,) pretend so to have overcome the nature of the subject, but that the full understanding and use of it will be somewhat dark, and best pleasing the tastes of such wits as are patient to stay the digesting and soluting unto themselves of that which is sharp and subtile. Which was the cause, joined with the love and honour which I bear to your Lordship, as the person I know to have many virtues and an excellent order of them, which moved me to dedicate this writing to your Lordship; after the ancient manner, choosing both a friend, and one to whom I conceive the argument was agreeable. *The original transcript is Harl. M.S. 6797, art. 6.*
OF
The Coulers of good and euill a fragment.

1597.
Civ eternæ partes vel sedequæ secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum fœbi vindicent melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex selo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero tribuere.

Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior id toto genere melius.

Quod ad veritatem refertur maius est quàm quod ad opinionem. Modus autem, et probatio eius quod ad opinionem pertinent hæc est. Quod quis si clam putaret fore facturus non esset.

Quod rem integrâm feruât bonum quod fine receptu esset malum. Nam se recipere non posse impotentiae genus esset, potentia autem bonum.

Quod ex pluribus consistat, et intuisibilius esset maius quàm quod ex paucioribus et magis eum: nam omnia per partes considerata maiorâ videntur; quare et pluralitas partium magnitudinem prae se fert, fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti, et impedit comprehensionem.

Cuius privatio bona, malum, cuius privatio malâ bonum.

Quod bono, vicinum bonum, quod a bono remotum malum.

Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, maius malum, quod ab externis imponitur minus malum.

Quod opera, et virtute nostra partum esset, maius bonum, quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortune delatum esset, minus bonum.

Gradus privationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutio, et rursus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.
N deliberatues the point is what is good and what is euill, and of good what is greater, and of euill what is the lesse.

So that the perswaders labor is to make things appeare good or euill, and that in higher or lower degree, which as it may be performed by true and solide reasons, so it may be represented also by coulers, popularities and circumstances, which are of such force, as they fway the ordinarie judgemen either of a weake man, or of a wise man, not fully and conferletely attending and pondering the matter. Besides their power to alter the nature of the subiect in appearance, and so to leade to error, they are of no lesse vse to quicken and strengthen the opinions and perswasions which are true: for reasons plainly delivered, and alwaies after one manner especially with fine and fastidious mindes, enter but heauily and dully; whereas if they be varied and haue more life and vigor put into them by these fourmes and insinuations, they cause a stronger apprehension, and many times suddainely win the minde to a resolution. Lastly, to make a true and safe judgement, nothing can be of greater vse and defence to the minde, then the discouering and reprehension of these coulers, shewing in what cases they hold, and in what cases they deceiue: which as it cannot be done, but out of a very vniverselknowledge of the nature of things, so being performed, it so cleareth mans judgement and election, as it is the lesse apt to slide into any error.
A Table of Coulers, or
apparances of good and euill,
and their degrees as places of
perswasion and diffwasion; and
their feuerall fallaxes, and
the elenches of them.

[1] Cui ceteræ partes vel seclæ secundas unanimiter defer-
unt, cum singulae principatum sibi vindicent melior
reliquis videtur, nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur
sumere, secundas autem ex vero et merito tribuere.

O Cicero went about to proue the
Secte of Academiques which sus-
pended all aseueeration, for to be the
best, for sayth he, aske a Stoicke
which Philosophie is true, he will
preferre his owne: Then aske him
which approcheth next the truth, he
will confesse the Academiques. So
deale with the Epicure that will scant indure the Stoicke
to be in fight of him, as soone as he hath placed him-
felfe, he will place the Academiques next him.

So if a Prince tooke diuers competitors to a place,
and examined them seuerallie whome next themselues
they would ratheft commend, it were like the ablest
man shoule haue the most second votes.

The fallax of this couler hapneth oft in respect
of enuy, for men are accustomed after themselues and their owne faction to incline to them which are softest and are leafed in their way in despite and derogation of them that hold them hardest to it. So that this couler of melioritie and preheminence is oft a signe of eneration and weakeneffe.

2 Cuius excellentia vel exuperantia melior, id toto genere melius.

Appertaining to this are the fourmes; Let vs not wander in generalities: Let vs compare particular with particular, etc. This appearance though it seeme of strength and rather Logicacll then Rhetoricall, yet is very oft a fallax.

Sometimes because some things are in kinde very casuall, which if they escape, proue excellent, so that the kinde is inferior, because it is so subiecl to perill, but that which is excellent being proued is superioer, as the blossome of March and the blossome of May, whereof the French verfe goeth.

Bourgeon de Mars enfant de Paris,
Si vn efchape, il en vaut dix.

So that the blossome of May is generally better then the blossome of March; and yet the best blossome of March is better then the best blossome of May.

Sometimes, because the nature of some kindes is to be more equall and more indifferent, and not to have very distant degrees, as hath bene noted in the warmer clymates, the people are generally more wise, but in the Northerne climate the wits of chiefe are greater. So in many Armies, if the matter should be tryed by duell betweene two Champions, the victory should go on one side, and yet if it be tryed by the grosse, it would go of the other side; for excellencies go as it were by chance, but kindes go by a more certaine nature, as by discipline in warre.
Lastly, many kindes haue much refuse which counter-
vaile that which they haue excellent; and therefore
generally mettall is more precious then stone, and yet
a dyamond is more precious then gould.

3 Quod ad veritatem resfertur maius est quam quod ad
opinionem. Modus autem et probatio eius quod ad
opinionem pertinet, haec est, quod quis si clam putaret
fore, facturus non effet.

O the Epicures say of the Stoicks felicitie
placed in vertue, That it is like the felicitie
of a Player, who if he were left of his
Auditorie and their applaufe, he would
fireight be out of hart and countenance,
and therefore they call vertue Bonum theatrale. But
of Riches the Poet sayth:

Populus me fibilat,
At mihi plaudo.

And of pleafure.

Grata jub imo
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulare pudorem.

The fallax of this couler is somewhat subtile, though
the aunfwere to the example be readie, for vertue is
not chofen propter auram popularem. But contrari-
wise, Maxime omnium teipsum reuerere, So as a vertuous
man will be vertuous in solitudine, and not onely in
theatro, though percafe it will be more strong by glory
and fame, as an heate which is doubled by reflexion;
But that denieth the fupposition, it doth not reprehend
the fallax whereof the reprehenfion is a low [Alow], that
vertue (such as is ioyned with labor and conflict) would
not be chofen but for fame and opinion, yet it follow-
eth not that the chiefe motiue of the election shou'd not
be reall and for it felse, for fame may be onely caufa
impulfiua, and not caufa constituenus, or efficiens. As
if there were two horfes, and the one would doo better
without the spurre then the other: but agayne, the other with the spurre would farre exceede the doing of the former, giuing him the spurre alfo, yet the latter will be iudged to be the better horfe, and the fourme as to say, Tush, the life of this horfe is but in the spurre, will not ferue as to a wife iudgemente: For since the ordinary instrument of horfemanfhip is the spurre, and that it is no manner of impediment nor burden, the horfe is not to bee accounted the leffe of, which will not do well without the spurre, but rather the other is to be reckoned a delicacie then a vertue. So glory and honor are as spurres to vertue: and although vertue would languifh without them, yet since they be alwayes at hand to attend vertue, vertue is not to be sayd the leffe, chofen for it felfe, because it needeth the spurre of fame and reputation: and therefore that position, Nota eius rei quod propter opinionem et non propter veritatem eligitur, hae eft quod quis fi clam putaret fore facturus non effet is reprehended.

4 Quod rem integram feruat bonum, quod fine receptu est malum. Nam fe recipere non posse impotentiae genus eft, potentia autem bonum.

Ereof Aesope framed the Fable of the two Frogs that confulted together in time of drowth (when many plafhes that they had repayred to were dry) what was to be done, and the one propounded to goe downe into a deepe Well, because it was like the water would not fayle there, but the other aunswered, yea but if it do faile how fhall we get vp againe? And the reafoon is, that humane actions are fo uncerayne and subieclte to perills, as that seemeth the beft course which hath moft passages out of it.

Appertaining to this perfwafion the fourmes are, you shall ingage your felfe. On the other fide, Tantum quantum voles fumes ex fortuna, you shall keepe the
matter in your owne hands. The reprehension of it is, That proceeding and resoluing in all actions is necessarie: for as he sayth well, Not to resolue, is to resolue, and many times it breedes as many necesfities, and ingageth as farre in some other fort as to resolue.

So it is but the couetous mans diseafe translated into power, for the couetous man will enjoy nothing because he will haue his full flore and posibilitie to enjoy the more, so by this reason a man shoulde execute nothing because hee should be still indifferent and at libertie to execute any thing. Besides necessitie and this same iacta est alea hath many times an aduantage, because it awaketh the powers of the minde, and strengtheneth indevior. Ceteris pares necessitate certe superiores eslis.

5 Quod ex pluribus conflat et diuisibilitus est maius quam quod ex paucioribus et magis vnum: nam omnia per partes considerata maioravidentur; quareet pluralitas partium magnitudinem praefert; fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit, nam inducit similitudinem infiniti et impedit comprehensionem.

His couler seemeth palpable, for it is not pluralitie of partes without maioritie of partes that maketh the totall greater, yet neverthelieffe it often carries the minde away, yea, it deceyuyeth the fence, as it seemeth to the eye a shorter distance of way if it be all dead and continued, then if it haue trees or buildings or any other markes whereby the eye may deuide it. So when a great moneyed man hath deuided his chefts and coines and bags, hee seemeth to himselfe richer then hee was, and therefore a way to amplifie any thing, is to breake it, and to make an anatomie of it in feuerall partes, and to examine it according to feuerall circumflances, And this maketh the greater shew if it be done without order, for confusion maketh
things muster more, and besides what is set downe by order and division, doth demonstrate that nothing is left out or omitted, but all is there; whereas if it be without order, both the minde comprehendeth lesse that which is set downe, and besides it leaueth a supposition, as if more might be saide then is expressed.

This couler deceyueth, if the minde of him that is to be perswaded, do of it selfe ouer-conceiue or pre-judge of the greatnesse of any thing, for then the breaking of it will make it seeme lesse, because it maketh it appeare more according to the truth, and therefore if a man be in sicknes or payne, the time will seeme longer without a clocke or howre-glass then with it, for the minde doth value euery moment, and then the howre doth rather summe vp the moments then deuide the daye. So in a dead playne, the way seemeth the longer, because the eye hath pre-conveyued it shorter then the truth: and the frustrating of that maketh it seeme longer then the truth. Therefore if any man haue an ouergreat opinion of any thing, then if any other thinke by breaking it into feuerall considerations, he shall make it seeme greater to him, he will be deceyued, and therefore in such cases it is not safe to deuide, but to extoll the entire still in generall.

An other case wherein this couler deceyueth, is, when the matter broken or deuided is not comprehended by the fence or minde at once in respect of the distraeting or scattering of it, and being intire and not deuided, is comprehended, as a hundred poundes in heapes of fiue poundes will shewe more, then in one grosse heape, so as the heapes be all vppon one table to be seene at once, otherwise not, or flowers growing scattered in diuers beds will shewe more then if they did grow in one bed, so as all those beds be within a plot that they be obiect to view at once, otherwise not: and therefore men whose liuing lieth together in one Shire, are commonly counted greater landed then those whose liuings are dispersed
though it be more, because the notice and comprehension.

A third case wherein this couler deceiuieth, and it is not so properly a case or reprehension as it is a counter couler being in effect as large as the couler it selfe, and that is, Omnis compositio indigentiae cuinidam videtur esse particeps, because if one thing would serve the turne it were euer beft, but the defect and imperfections of things hath brought in that help to piece them vp as it is sayd, Martha Martha attendis ad plurima, vnum sufficit. So likewise hereupon Aesope framed the Fable of the Fox and the Cat, whereas the Fox bragged what a number of shifts and deuises he had to get from the houndes, and the Catte faide she had but one, which was to clime a tree, which in proofe was better worth then all the reft, whereof the prouerbe grew. Multa novit Vulpes sed Felis vnum magnum. And in the morall of this fable it comes likewise to passe: That a good sure friend is a better helpe at a pinch, then all the stratagems and pollicies of a mans owne wit. So it falleth out to bee a common errour in negociating, whereas men haue many reasons to induce or persuade, they strive commonly to vtrer and vfe them all at once, which weakeneth them. For it argueth as was said, a needines in euer of the reasons by it selfe, as if one did not truft to any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himselfe onely with that. Et qua non profunt singula multa iuuant. Indeed in a fet speche in an assemble it is expected a man shoulde vfe all his reasons in the case hee handleth, but in priuate perswasions it is alwayes a great errour.

A fourth case wherein this colour may be reprehended is in respecte of that same vis vultis fortior, according to the tale of the French King, that when the Emperours Amb[assador] had recited his maysters file at large which confiseth of many countries and dominions: the French King willed his Chancellor or other minifter to repeate and say ouer Fraunce as many
times as the other had recited the feuerrall dominions, intending it was equiualent with them all, and befire more compatcted and vnited.

There is also appertayning to this couler an other point, why breaking of a thing doth helpe it, not by way of adding a shew of magnitude vnto it, but a note of excellency and raritie; whereof the fourmes are, Where shall you finde such a concurrence? Great but not compleat, for it feemes a leffe worke of nature or fortune to make any thing in his kinde greater then ordinarie, then to make a straunge composition.

Yet if it bee narrowly confidered, this coulour will bee reprehended or incountred by imputing to all excellencie in compositions a kind of pouertie or at leaft a casualty or ieopardy, for from that which is excellent in greatnes fomwhat may be taken, or there may be decay; and yet sufficiencie left, but from that which hath his price in composition if you take away any thing, or any part doe fayle all is disgraced.

6 Cuius priuatio bona, malum, cuius priuatio mala, bonum.

He formes to make it conceyued that that was euill which is chaunged for the better are, He that is in hell thinkes there is no other heauen. Satis quercus, Acornes were good till bread was found etc. And of the other fide the formes to make it conceyued that that was good which was chaunged for the worfe are, Bona magis carendo quàm fruendo sentimus, Bona à tergo formosifsma, Good things neuer appear in their full beautie, till they turne their backe and be going away, etc. The reprehension of this colour is, that the good or euil which is remoued may be esteemed good or euil comparatiuely and not positiuely or simply. So that if the priuation bee good, it follows not the former
condition was evil, but lesse good, for the flower or blossom is a positive good, although the remoue of it to giue place to the fruite be a comparatiue good. So in the tale of Æsophe; when the olde fainting man in the heat of the day cast downe his burthen and called for death, and when death came to know his will with him, saide it was for nothing but to helpe him vppe with his burthen agayne: it doth not follow that because death which was the priuation of the burthen was ill, therefore the burthen was good. And in this parte the ordinarie forme of Malum necessarium aptly reprehendeth this colour, for Privatio mali necessarij est mala, and yet that doth not convert the nature of the necessarie cuil, but it is euill.

Againe it commeth sometymes to passe, that there is an equalitie in the chaunge or priuation, and as it were a Dilemma boni or a Dilemma mali, so that the corruption of the one good is a generation of the other, Sorti pater æquus æquie eft: And contrarie the remedy of the one euill is the occasion and commencement of an other, as in Scilla and Charibdis.

7. Quod bono vicinum, bonum: quod a bono remotum malum.
chase and exterminate their contraries. And that is
the reason commonly yeelded why the middle region
of the aire shold be coldeft, because the Sunne and
stars are eyther hot by direct beames or by reflection.
The direct beames heate the upper region, the reflect-
ed beames from the earth and seas heate the lower
Region. That which is in the middefl being furtheft
distant in place from these two Regions of heate are
moft distant in nature that is coldeft, which is that
they tearme colde or hot, *per antiperistafin*, that is in-
uiironing you by contraries, which was pleasantly taken
holde of by him that saide that an honest man in these
daies muft needes be more honest then in ages hereto-
fore, *propter antiperistafin*, because the shutting of him
in the middefl of contraries muft needs make the
honesty stronger and more compact in it felfe.

The reprehenfion of this colour is, firt many things
of amplitude in their kind doe as it were ingroffe to
themselves all, and leave that which is next them moft
destitute, as the shootes or vnderwood that grow neare
a great and spread tree, is the moft pyned and shrub-
bie wood of the field, because the great tree doth de-
prive and deceiue them of fappe and nourishment.
So he faith wel, *Dinitis ferui maxime ferui*: And the
comparison was pleasant of him that compared courtiers
attendant in the courtes of princes, without great place
or office, to fafting dayes, which were next the holy daies,
but otherwise were the leanest dayes of all the weeke.

An other reprehension is, that things of greatness
and predominance, though they doe not extenuate
the thinges adjoyning in substance; yet they drowne
them and obscure them in shew and appearance. And
therefore the Astronomers say, that whereas in all other
planets coniunction is the perfecteft amitie: the Sunne
contrariwise is good by aspect, but euill by coniunction.

A third reprehension is because euill approcheth to
good sometymes for concealement, sometymes for pro-
tection, and good to euill for conversion and reformat-
tion. So hipocrifie draweth neer to religion for couert
and hyding it selfe: *Saepe latet vitium procinitate boni*, and Sanctuary men which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, were wont to be neereft to priests and Prelates and holy men, for the maieftie of good thinges is fuch, as the confines of them are reuered. On the other fide our Saviour charged with neereenes of Publicanes and rioters faid, *The Phifitian approcheth the ficke, rather then the whole.*

8. Quod quis culpa fua contraxit, maius malum; quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum.

The reafon is because the fling and remorfe of the mind accusing it selfe doubleth all aduerfitie, contrarywise the considering and recording inwardly that a man is cleare and free from fault, and iuft imputation, doth attemper outward calamities: For if the euill bee in the fence and in the conscience both, there is a gemination of it, but if euill be in the one and comfort in the other, it is a kind of compenfation. So the Poets in tragedies doe make the moft passionate lamentations, and those that forerunne final difpaire, to be accusing, queftioning and torturing of a mans felfe.

*Seque vnum clamat caufamque, caputque malum.* and contrariwise the extremities of worthie perfons haue been annihiilated in the confideration of their owne good deferuing. Befides when the euill commeth from without, there is left a kinde of euaporation of grieſe, if it come by humane injurie, eyther by indignation and meditating of reuenge from our felues, or by expecting or forconceyuing that Nemesis and retribution will take holde of the authours of our hurt, or if it bee by fortune or accident, yet there is left a kinde of expofilulation againft the diuine powers.

*Atque Deos atque asira vocat crudelio mater.*

But where the euill is deriued from a mans own fault there all strikes deadly inwardes and suffocateth.
The reprehenfion of this colour is first in respect of hope, for reformation of our faultes is in nostra poteslate, but amendment of our fortune simplicie is not. Therefore Demofthenes in many of his orations sayth thus to the people of Athens. That which having regarde to the time past is the worst pointe and circumflance of all the rest, that as to the time to come is the best: What is that? Euen this, that by your sloth, irresolution, and mifgovernement, your affaires are growne to this declination and decay. For had you used and ordered your meanes and forces to the best, and done your partes every way to the full, and notwithstanding your matters should haue gone backwards in this manner as they doe, there had been no hope left of recuperie or reparation, but since it hath bene onely by your owne errours etc. So Epicletus in his degrees faith, The worst flate of man is to accuse externe things, better then that to accuse a mans selfe, and best of all to accuse neyther.

An other reprehenfion of this colour is in respect of the well bearing of euils, wherewith a man can charge no bodie but himfelfe, which maketh them the leffe.

Leuefit quod bene fertur onus. And therefore many natures, that are eyther extremely proude and will take no fault to themselfes, or els very true, and cleauning to themselfes (when they see the blame of any thing that falles out ill must light vpon themselfes) haue no other shift but to bear it out wel, and to make the leaft of it, for as we see when sometimes a fault is committed, and before it be known who is to blame, much adoe is made of it, but after if it appeare to be done by a fonne, or by a wife, or by a neere friend, then it is light made of. So much more when a man must take it vpon himselfe. And therefore it is commonly seene that women that marrie husbandes of their owne chooing againft their friends confents, if they be neuer so ill vfed, yet you shall seldomfe see them complaine but to fet a good face on it.
He reasons are first the future hope, because in the favours of others or the good windes of fortune we haue no flate or certainty, in our endeavours or abilities we haue. So as when they haue purchased vs one good fortune, we haue them as ready and better edged and inured to procure another.

The forms be, you haue wonne this by play, you have not onely the water, but you haue the receit, you can make it againe if it be lost etc.

Next because these properties which we inioy by the benefite of others carry with them an obligation, which feemeth a kinde of burthen, whereas the other which deriue from our felues, are like the freeft patents absque aliquo inde reddendo, and if they proceede from fortune or prouidence, yet they feeme to touch vs secretly with the reverence of the divine powers whose favours we taft, and thersore worke a kind of religious feare and restraint, whereas in the other kind, that come to passe which the Prophet speaketh, Laetantur et exultant, immolant plagis suis, et sacrificiant reti suo.

Thirdely because that which commeth vnto vs without our owne virtue, yeeldeth not that commendation and reputation, for actions of great felicitie may drawe wonder, but prayselesse, as Cicero said to Cefar: Quae miremur habemus, quae laudemus expectamus.

Fourthly because the purchases of our own industrie are ioyned commonly with labour and strife which giues an edge and appetite, and makes the fruition of our desire more pleafant, Suavis cibus a venatu.

On the other side there bee fowre counter colours to this colour rather then reprehensions, because they be as large as the colour it selfe, first because felicitie feemeth to bee a character of the favour and loue of the divine powers, and accordingly worketh both con-
idence in our felues and resepcele and authoritie from others. And this felicitie extendeth to many casuall thinges, whereunto the care or virtue of man cannot extend, and therefore seemeth to be a larger good, as when Cæsar sayd to the sayler, Cæsarem portas et fortunam eius, if he had faide, et virtutem eius, it had beeene small comfort against a tempest otherwise then if it might seeme vpon merite to induce fortune.

Next, whatsoeuer is done by vertue and induftrie, seemes to be done by a kinde of habite and arte, and therefore [thereupon] open to be imitated and followed, whereas felicitie is imitable: fo wee generally see, that things of nature seeme more excellent then things of arte, because they be imitable, for quod imitabile est potentia quodam vulgatum est.

Thirdly, felicitie commendeth those things which commeth without our owne labor, for they seeme gifts, and the other seemes penyworths: whereupon Plutarch sayth elegantly of the actes of Timoleon, who was fo fortunate, compared with the actes of Agefilaus and Epaminondas, That they were like Homers verses they ranne so eadyly and fo well, and therefore it is the word we giue vnto poesie, terming it a happie vaine, because facilitie seemeth euuer to come from happines.

Fourthly, this fame præter spem, vel præter expecta-tum, doth increase the price and pleasure of many thinges, and this cannot be incident to those thinges that proceede from our owne care, and compasse.

10 Gradus priuationis maior videtur quàm gradus diminutionis; et virus gradus inceptionis maior videtur quàm gradus incrementi.

T is a position in the Mathematiques that there is no proportion betweene somewhat and nothing, therefore the degree of nullitie and quidditie or act, seemeth larger then the degrees of increase and decreasfe, as to a monoculos it is more to loose one eye, then to a man that hath two eyes. So if one haue lost diuers
children, it is more griefe to him to loofe the laft then all the rest, because he is *fpes gregis*. And therefore *Sybilla* when she brought her three books, and had burned two, did double the whole price of both the other, because the burning of that had bin *gradus privationis*, and not *diminutionis*. This couler is reprehended firft in those things, the vfe and service whereof refleth in sufficiencie, competencie, or determine quantitie, as if a man be to pay one hundreth pounds vpon a penaltie, it is more for him to want xii pence, then after that xii pence supposed to be wanting, to want ten shillings more: So the decay of a mans eflate seemes to be most touched in the degree when he firft growes behinde, more then afterwards when he proues nothing worth. And hereof the common fourmes are, *Sera in fundo parsimonia*, and as good neuer awhit, as neuer the better, etc. It is reprehended alfo in respect of that notion, *Corruptio unius, generatio alterius*, fo that *gradus privationis*, is many times leffe matter, because it giues the caufe, and motiue to fome new courfe, As when *Demofthenes* reprehended the people for harkning to the conditions offered by King Phillip, being not honorable nor equall, he faith they were but elements of their floth and weakenes, which if they were taken away, necessitie woulde teach them stronger resolutions. So Doctor *Hecelor* was wont to Dames of London, when they complayned they could not tell how, but yet they could not endure to take any medicine, he would tell them, Their way was onely to be ficke, for then they would be glad to take any medicine.

Thirdly, this couler may be reprehended, in respect that the degree of decreafe is more fenfitive, then the degree of priuation; for in the minde of man, *gradus diminutionis* may worke a wauring betweene hope and feare, and fo keepe the minde in fuspence from fetling and accomodating in patience, and resolution; hereof the common fourmes are, *Better eye out, then alwayes ake*, make or marre, etc.

For the seconf braunch of this couler, it depends vpon the fame generall reafon: hence grew the common
place of extolling the beginning of every thing, *Dimidium qui bene æpit habet*. This made the Astrologers so idle as to judge of a man's nature and destiny by the constellation of the moment of his nativity, or conception. This couler is reprehended, because many inceptions are but as *Epicurus* termeth them, *tentamenta*, that is, imperfect offers, and essays, which vanish and come to no subsistence without an iteration, so as in such cases the second degree seemeth the worthyest, as the body-horse in the Cart, that draweth more than the forehorse, hereof the common fowmes are, *The second blow makes the fray, The second word makes the bargain*, *Alter principium dedit, alter absulit, etc.* Another reprehension of this couler is in respect of defatigation, which makes perseverance of greater dignitie then inception, *[for chaunce or instinct of nature may cause inception,] but settled affection or judgement maketh the continuance.

Thirdly, this couler is reprehended in such things which have a natural course, and inclination contrary to an inception. So that the inception is continually evacuated and gets no start, but there behoueth *perpetua inceptio*, as in the common fourme. *Non progresi, est regredi, Qui non proficit, deficit* : Running against the hill: Rowing against the streame, etc. For if it be with the streame or with the hill, then the degree of inception is more than all the rest.

Fourthly, this couler is to be underfloode of *gradus inceptionis à potentia, ad actum comparatus*; *cum gradu ab actu ad incrementum*: For other, *maior videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quàm a potentia ad actum.*

**FINIS.**

Printed at London by John Windet for Humfrey Hooper. 1597.
A HARMONY
OF THE
SECOND GROUP
OF
TWENTY-FOUR
ESSAYS.

11. OF FRIENDSHIP.
12. OF WISDOM FOR A
   MAN'S SELF.
13. OF NOBILITY.
14. OF GOODNESS AND
    GOODNESS OF NATURE.
15. OF BEAUTY.
16. OF SEEMING WISE.
17. OF AMBITION.
18. OF RICHES.
19. OF DESPATCH.
20. OF DEFORMITY.
21. OF YOUTH AND AGE.
22. OF MARRIAGE AND
    SINGLE LIFE.

23. OF PARENTS AND
    CHILDREN.
24. OF GREAT PLACE.
25. OF EMPIRE.
26. OF COUNSEL.
27. OF ATHEISM.
28. OF SUPERSTITION.
29. OF PRAISE.
30. OF NATURE IN MEN.
31. OF CUSTOM AND
    EDUCATION.
32. OF FORTUNE.
33. OF DEATH.
34. OF SEDITIONS AND
    TROUBLES.

First found in Harleian MS. 5106.

COLLATED WITH SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS.
The Writings of
Sir Francis Bacon Kn: the Kinges Solicitor Generall in Moralitie Policie, and Historie.
To the most high and excellent Prince
Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of
Cornwall and Earle of Chester.

vt may please your H[ighness]

Aving devided my life into the Contemplative, and active parte, I am desierous to give his Maiestie, and your Highness of the Fruites of both, simple though they be. To write iuft Treatifes requireth leasure in the Writer, and leasure in the Reader, and therefore are not fo fitt, neither in regard of your Highnesses princely affaiers, nor in regard of my continuall Services, Which is the cause, that hath made me chuse to write certaine breif notes, fett downe rather significantlye, then curiously, which I have called Effaies; The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Senecaes Epifles to Lucilium; yf one marke them well, are but Effaies,—That is
III. 1607-12. \( \text{vt. 47-52.} \)

disperfed Meditations, though conveyed in the forme of Epistles. Theis labors of myne I knowe cannott be worthie of your highness—for what can be worthie of you? But my hope is, they may be as graynes of falte, that will rather give you an appetite, then offend you with satiety. And althoughe, they handle those things wherein both Mens Lives, and their pens are most converfant, yet (What I have attained, I knowe not) but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar; but of a nature, Whereof a Man shall find much in experience, little in bookes; so as they are neither repeticions, nor fancies. But howsoever, I shall most humbly desier your Highness to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive that if I cannott rest, but must shewe my dutifull, and devoted affection to your Highness, in theis things which proceed from my self, I shalbe much more ready to doe it, in performance of any your princely Commandementes; And so wishing your Highness all princely felicitye, I rest.

your Highnesses most humble Servant.
[The first page of the MS. is torn away, so that there remains only the conclusion of this Essay. It is, however, certain from the next following Essays being numbered 2, 3, 4, &c., that there was no other Essay than this one upon the missing page, though of what length this one consisted cannot at present be known. Possibly the MS. began with a list of the Essays contained in it.]

inanimate, union strengtheneth animate natural motion, and weakeneth animate violent motion; so amongst men, friendship multiplyeth joys, and divideth griefes. Therefore whosoever wanteth Fortitude, let him worship Friendship; For the yoke of Friendship maketh the yoke of Fortune more light; There bee some whose liues are, as if they perpetually played upon a flage, disguised to all others, open onely to themselues; But perpetuall dissimulation is painefull, and hee that is all fortune and noe nature is an exquisite Hirplinge; Liue not in continual smoother, but take some frendes with whom to communicate. It will unfold thie understanding; it will evaporate thie affectiions, it will prepare thie busi-
XI. OF FRIENDSHIP.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

27. Friendship.

[Entirely rewritten, see below.]
nes. A Man may keepe a Corner of his minde from his friend, and it bee but to witnesse to himself that it is not vponn faciltye, but vponn true vfe of Friendshipp that hee imparteth himself. Want of true frendes as it is the rewarde of perfidious Natures, so it is an impo-ficion vponn great fortunes. The one deferue it, the other cannott scape it. And therefore it is good to re-tayne sinceritye, and to put it into the reckoning of Ambition, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true Frendes he shall have. Per-fection of Friendshipp is but a Speculacion; It is Friendshipp, when a Man can say to himself, I loue this Man without respect of Vtilitye. I am open harted to him, I fingle him from the gener-alitye of those with whom I liue, I make him a porcion of my owne wishes.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]
T had beene hard for him that spake it, to haue put more Truth and vntruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech; Whosocuer is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast, or a God.\(^a\) For it is moft true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Auerlation towards Society, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Sauage Beast; But it

\(^a\) Aristotle. \textit{Politics}. Bk. i. c. 2.
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

**i64 A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.**

[Content continues with notes and variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.]

1 But it is. *Illud tamen e converso*, 'but the converse.'
2 It. *Hujusmodi Vita solitaria*, 'a solitary life of this kind.'
3 Loue. Omitted in the Latin.
4 Cretian. *Cretense*, 'the Cretan.'
5 What Solitude is. *Quid hoc sit quod Solitudo nominatur*, 'what that is which is called solitude.'
6 Is not Company. *Non est Societas dicenda*, 'is not to be called company.'
XI. OF FRIENDSHIP.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

is\(^1\) most Vntrue, that it should have any Character, at all, of the Divine Nature; Except it\(^2\) proceed, not out of a Pleasure in Solitude, but out of a Loue\(^3\) and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conuerfation: Such as is found, to have been falsely and falsely, in some of the Heathen; As Epimenides the Candian,\(^4\) Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Scicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceiue, what Solitude is,\(^5\) and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company;\(^6\) And Faces\(^7\) are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talk but a Tinkling Cymball, where there is no Loue. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; Magna Ciuitas, Magna solitudo;\(^a\) Because in a great Towne, Friends\(^8\) are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship,\(^9\) for the most Part, which is in lesse Neighbourhoods. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly, That it is a meere, and miserable Solitude, to want true Friends; without which the World is but a Wildernesse: And even in this senfe also of Solitude, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is vnfit\(^10\) for Friendship, he taketh it of the Beaf, and not from Humanity.

A principall Fruit of Friendship, is the Eafe and Discharge of the Fulnesse\(^11\) and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce.\(^12\) We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much

\(^a\) A great city is a great desert.

\(^1\) most Vntrue, that it should haue any Character, at all, of the Divine Nature:

\(^2\) proceed, not out of a Pleasure in Solitude:

\(^3\) and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conuerfation:

\(^4\) Epimenides the Candian:

\(^5\) and how farre it extendeth:

\(^6\) Company:

\(^7\) are but a Gallery of Pictures:

\(^8\) are scattered:

\(^9\) for the most Part, which is in lesse Neighbourhoods:

\(^10\) for Friendship:

\(^11\) and Swellings of the Heart:

\(^12\) which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce.
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

13 Minde. Ἄγριτυδινίβοις Ἁνίμα, 'diseases of the mind.'
14 Suspicions. Curas, 'cares.'
15 In a kind. Sub Sigillo, 'under the seal.'
16 Shrift. Omitted in the Latin.
17 Distance. Distantium et Sublimitatem, 'distance and loftiness.'
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otherwise in the Minde: You may take Sarza to open the Liuer; Steele to open the Spleene; Flower of Sulphur for the Lungs; Cafloreum for the Braine; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart, Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth vpon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Civil Shrift or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to obserue, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do set vpon this Fruit of Friendship, whereof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subiects and Servants, cannot gather this Fruit; Except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times forteth to Inconuenience. The Moderne Languages giue vnto such Persons, the Name of Favorites, or Priuadoes; As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conuersation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Vse, and Caufe thereof; Naming them Participes Curarum; For it is that, which tieth the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath been done, not by Weake and Passionate Princes onely, but by the Wiseft, and most Politique that euer reigned; Who haue oftentimes ioyned to themselves, some of their Servants; Whom both Themselves haue called Friends; And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner; Vsing the Word which is receiued between Priuate Men.

13 Raise. Evexuant et promotant, 'raise and promote.'
19 Priuadoes. Amicorum Regis, 'friends of the king.'
20 Knot. Verum Ligamen, 'true knot.'
21 Priuate. Privaee Fortuna, 'of private fortune.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. | IV. 1612. æt. 52.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

22 Great. *Verba Indignationis,* 'indignant words.'
23 In effect. *Fere disertis Verbis,* 'almost in express words.'
24 Had power. Omitted in the Latin.
25 Calpurnia. *Vxoris sue Calpurniae,* 'his wife Calpurnia.'
26 Dismiss. *Eum Senatum non tam parvi habiturum, ut dimittere vellet,* 'he would not have so little respect for the senate as to dismiss them.'
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L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after furname the Great) to that Heighth, that Pompey vaunted Himselfe for Sylla's Outermatch. For when he had carried the Conjuilship for a Friend of his, against the pursit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great, Pompey turned upon him againe, and in effect bad him be quiet; For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting. With Iulius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that Intereft, as he fet him downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his Nephew. And this was the Man, that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæfar would haue discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Prefages, and specially a Dreame of Calpurnia; This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not dismifse the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame. And it seemeth, his fauour was so great, as Antonius in a Letter, which is recited Verbatim, in one of Cicero's Philippiques, callefth him Venefica, Witch. As if he had enchanted Cæfar. Augustus raifed Agrippa (though of meane Birth) to that Heighth, as when he confulted with Mæcenas, about the Marriage of his Daughter Iulia, Mæcenas tooke the Liberty to tell him; That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him fo great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Seianus had ascended to that Height, as they Two were teardem and reckoned, as a Paire of Frends. Tiberius in a Letter to him faith; Hac pro Amicitia nostrâ non occultavi. And the whole Senate, dedicated

c Cicero. Philippics. xiii. 11.  d Dion Cassins. liv. 6.
e On account of our friendship, I have not concealed these things. Tacitus. Annales. iv. 40.

27 Venefica. Veneficium, 'sorcerer.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

28 Great dearenesse of friendship. Arctam Amicitiam, 'close friendship.'
29 The like. Similis, Amicitiae Exemplum, 'an example of like friendship.'
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an Altar to Friendship, as to a Goddeffe, in respect of the great Deareneffe of Friendship, between them Two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus, and Plantianus. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of Plantianus; And would often maintaine Plantianus, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words; I love the Man so well, as I wish he may ouer-liue me. Now if these Princes, had beene as a Traian, or a Marcus Aurelius, A Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wife, of such Strength and Seueritie of minde, and fo Extreme Louers of Themselfes, as all these were; It proueth most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as euer happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Piece, except they mought haue a Friend to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were Princes, that had Wives, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of Friendship.

It is not to be forgotten, what Commineus obserueth, of his first Master Duke Charles the Hardy; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And leaft of all, those Secrets, which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and faith, That towards his Latter time; That closenesse did impaire, and a little perish his understanding. Surely Commineus mought haue made the same Judgement alfo, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master Lewis the Eleuenth, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of Pythagoras is darke, but true; Cor ne

a Tacitus, Annals. iv. 74.

b Should be Plautianus: see Dion Cassius. lxxv. 13.


30 Entire. Integra et perfecta. 'entire and complete.'

31 Closeness. Occultatio Consiliorum, 'concealment of counsel.'
172 A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

III. 1607-12. at. 47-52. IV. 1612. at. 52.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

32 Open. Cogitationes suas, et Anxietates libere impertiunt, 'impart freely their thoughts and cares.'
33 Admirable. Ad Miraculum proxime accedit, 'comes very near to a miracle.'
34 Good. Omitted in the Latin.
Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, Those that want Friends to open themselves vnto, are Canniballs of their owne Hearts. But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first Fruit of friendship) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his Friend, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth Ioyes, and cutteth Griefes in Halfes. For there is no Man, that imparteth his Ioyes to his Friend, but he ioyeth the more ; And no Man, that imparteth his Griefes to his Friend, but hee grieueth the leffe. So that it is, in Truth of Operation vpon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the Alchymists vfe to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good, and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of Alchymists, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, Union strengtheneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And euen so is it of Minds.

The second Fruit of Friendship, is Healthfull and Soueraigne for the Vnderstanding, as the first is for the Affections. For Friendship maketh indeed a faire Day in the Affections, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh Day-light in the Vnderstanding, out of Darkness and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be vnderstood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiueth from his Friend; But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosoever hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Vnder-

*a* A saying of Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch. *De Educ. Puer. xvii.*

32 Bodies, *Rebus Naturalibus,* 'natural things.'
33 Soueraigne. Omitted in the Latin.
35 *Vnion* strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And euen so is it of Minds.
36 Out of Darkness... Thoughts. *Confusione cogitationum dissipata,* 'having dissipated confusion of thoughts.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

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38 Breake vp. Omitted in the Latin.
40 Communicating. Communicatione Consiliorum, 'communicating of plans.'
41 Easily. Et in omnes partes versat, 'and turns them in every direction.'
42 Lie. Complicantur et Involvuntur, 'are folded and rolled up.'
43 Vnderstanding. Obstructionibus Intellectus, 'obstructions of the understanding.'
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flanding doe clarifie and breake vp, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He toseth his Thoughts, more easilly; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe; And that more by an Houre's discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the King of Persia; That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure; whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs. a Neither is this Second Fruit of Friendship, in opening the Vnderstanding, restrained onely to such Frends, as are able to giue a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best) But euen, without that, a Man learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statue, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother. b

Adde now, to make this Second Fruit of Friendship compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation; which is Faithfull Counsell from a Frend. Heraclitus faith well, in one of his Ænigmas; Dry Light is euer the best. b And certaine it is, that the Light, that a Man receiueth, by Counsell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne Vnderstanding, and Judgement; which is euer infused and drenched in his Affections and Customes. c So as, there is as much difference, betweene the Counsell, that a Frend giueth, and that a Man giueth himselfe, as there is be-

a Plutarch. Themistocles. xxix. 4.

b Heraclitus the Obscure sayd: The drie Light was the best Soule. Meaning, when the Faculties Intellectual are in vigour, not wet, nor, as it were, blouded by the Affections. Lord Bacon's Apophth. No. 268, Ed. 1625.

44 Suffer to passe in smother. Silentio suffocare. 'smother in silence.'
45 And Customes. Omitted in the Latin.
III. 1607-12. \(47-52.\) IV. 1612. \(52.\)

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

46. Such. *Magis infestus,* 'more dangerous.'
47. Good. Omitted in the Latin.
49. Others. *Tanquam in speculo, aliquando, ut fit etiam in speculis, minus respondet,* 'as if in a mirror, sometimes does not answer, as is also the case in mirrors.'
50. A Man may think. *Vetus est,* 'it is an old saying.'
51. No more. *Melius,* 'better.' [The illustration is put inversely in the Latin.]
52. Or. *Licet nonnulli hoc cavillentur, etiam recte dicitur.* 'Some may make this objection. It is rightly said.'
53. Gamester. *Spectatorem sepe plus videre, quam Lusorem,* 'a looker-on often sees more than a player.'
tween the Counsell of a Friend, and of a Flatterer. For there is no such Flatterer, as is a Mans Selfe; and there is no such Remedy, against Flattery of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a Friend. Counsell is of two Sorts; The one concerning Manners, the other concerning Businesse. For the First; The best Preferuation to keepe the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a Friend. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive. Reading good Bookes of Morality, is a little Flat, and Dead. Obscruing our Faults in Others, is sometimes vnproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (beft (I say) to worke, and beft to take) is the Admonition of a Friend. It is a strange thing to behold, what grosse Errors, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a Friend, to tell them of them; To the great dammage, both of their Fame, and Fortune. For, as S. James faith, they are as Men, that looke sometimes into a Glass, and presently forget their owne Shape, and Favour. As for Businesse, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more than one; Or that a Gamester feeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said ouer the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell vpon the Arme, as vpon a Reft; And such other fond and high Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done, the Helpe of good Counsell, is that, which

\[\text{James i. 23.}\]
\[\text{In Bacon's time, } i \text{ and } j, \text{ and } u \text{ and } v, \text{ were not considered distinct letters.}\]
\[\text{Or that a Man in Anger . . . Letters. Omitted in the Latin.}\]
\[\text{Fond and high. } Quidam \text{ tam altum saepe intulerant, 'some think so highly.'}\]
\[\text{All is done. } Quicquid \text{ dicto posset in contrarium, 'whatever may be said to the contrary.'}\]
\[\text{The Helpe of, &c. Certum est, Consilium Negotia dirigere, et stabilire. it is certain that counsel setteth business straight and firm,'}\]
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

[Entirely rewritten in 1625 Edition, see opposite.]

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53 Perfect and entire. Fidei, et intimo, 'faithful and intimate.'
54 Counsell. Consilia illa, et diversis manantia, 'counsels coming from divers persons.'
55 Good Meaning. Fide, et bona intentione, 'faith and good meaning.'
56 You complain of. Omitted in the Latin.
57 Body. Corporis tui Constitutionis, 'the constitution of your body.'
fetteth Business straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take Counsel, but it shall be by Peace; Asking Counsel in one Business of one Man, and in another Business of another Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire\(^58\) Friend, to have Counsel giuen, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giueth it. The other, that he shall have Counsel\(^59\) giuen, hurtfull, and vnsafe, (though with good Meaning\(^60\) ) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Even as if you would call a Phyfician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Diseafe, you complaine of;\(^61\) but is vnacquainted with your body;\(^62\) And therefore, may put you in way for a present Cure, but ouerthroweth your Health in some other kinde;\(^63\) And so cure the Diseafe, and kill the Patient.\(^64\) But a Friend, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present Business, how he dasheth vpon other Inconuenience. And therefore, rest not vpon Scattered Counfels; They will rather, disface, and Misleade, then Settle, and Direct.

After these two Noble Fruits of Friendship; (Peace in the Affections, and Support of the Judgement,) followeth the last Fruit; which is like the Pomegranat, full of many kernels; I meane Aid, and Bearing a Part, in all Actions, and Occasions. Here, the best Way, to reprezent to life the manifold vse of Friendship, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe\(^65\) Himself;

\(^58\) Other kinde. *In summa, ' on the whole.'
\(^59\) Patient. *Atque hoc facto Morbum extinguet, et non ita multo post, Hominem, ' and in this way destroys the disease, and not so long after, the man.'
\(^60\) Doe. *Exequi commode, ' do conveniently.'
Sparing. Non per Hyberbolen, sed sobrie dictum, 'not hyperbolically, but sparingly said.'

For that. Quandoquidem, si quis vere rem reputet, 'since, if one truly considers the matter.'

Farre more then Himselfe. Amici officia, proprias cunusque vires supereunt, 'the services of a friend surpass one's own strength.'

Have their Time. Mortales sunt, 'are mortal.'

Desire some Things. In Medio Operum aliquorunm, 'in the middle of some works.'

Bestowing of a Child. Collocazione Filii in Matrimonium, 'bestowing a son in marriage.'

Worke. Conatum et Desideriorum suorum, 'their endeavours and desires.'

Care of those Things ... after Him. De iisdem rebus, Amici cun et opera, post Mortem perficiendis, 'that those things will be perfected after his death, by the care and assistance of his friend.'

So that a Man ... his desires. Adso ut Fatum immaturum vi x obsit; Atque habeat suis (ut loquamur more Triuulun aut Firmariorum,) in Desideriis suis, Terminum, non unius, sed duarum vitarum, 'so that premature fate scarcely injures him; and a man has (to speak as common people and farmers do) the term of not one but two lives in his desires.'
And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, That a Frend is another Himselfe: For that a Frend is farre more then Himselfe. Men have their Time, and die many times in desire of some Things, which they principally take to Heart; The Bestowing of a Child, The Finifhing of a Worke, Or the like. If a Man have a true Frend, he may rest almost secure, that the Care of thofe Things, will continue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where Friendship is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercife them by his Frend. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with modestly, much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg: And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a Frends Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe. A Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Husband; To his Enemy, but vpon Termes: whereas a Frend may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it forteth with the Person. But to enumerate thefe Things were endlesse: I haue giuen the Rule, where a Man can fitly play his owne Part: If he haue not a Frend, he may quit the Stage.

75 Hath. Circumscribitur, 'is bounded by.'
76 For he may exercize them by his Frend. Omitted in the Latin.
77 Say. Omitted in the Latin.
78 But vpon Termes. Nisi salva dignitate, 'without preserving his honour.'
Title. De Prudentia quae sibi sapit, 'of prudence which is wise for one's self.'
2 Orchard. Omitted in the Latin.
3 Society. Amorem Reipublicae, 'love of the state.'
4 True. Proximus, 'nearest.'
Ant is a wise creature for it selfe; But it is a shrewd thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great Louers of Themselfes, waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene Self-love, and Society: And be fo true to thy Selfe, as thou be not false to Others; Specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poore Center of a Mans Actions, Himselfe. It is right Earth. For that onely stands faft vpon his owne Center; Whereas all Things, that haue Affinity with the Heauens, move vpon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a Mans Selfe, is more tolerable in a Soueraigne Prince; Because Themselfes are not onely Themselfes; But their Good and Euill, is at the

5 False. Injurius, 'unjust.'
6 Poore. Ignobile, 'ignoble.'
7 Himselfe. Commodium Proprium, 'his own interest.'
8 Earth. Terrestrem naturam sapit, 'savours of earthly nature.'
9 That onely. Terra, 'the earth.'
10 Their Good, &c. Sed publico periculo, et Fortuna, deegunt, 'but they live with the danger and fortune of the people.'
perill of the publique Fortune, but it is a desperate evil in a Servaunt to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique; For whatsoever affayres passe such a Mans hande hee crooketh them to his owne ends, which must needes be often excentrique to the endes of his Master, or State; Therefore lett Princes, or States chuse such servauntes, as have not this marke, except they meane thereire service should be made but the Accessorie. And that which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is loft. It were disproporsion enouge for the servauntes good to be preferred before the Masters. But yet it is greater extreame, when a little good of the servauntes shal carrie thinges against a great good of the Masters; and yet that is the case.

perill of the publike fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servaunt to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republike. For whatsoever affayres passe such a mans hande, hee crooketh them to his owne ends: which must needs beeoften Eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore lett Princes or States, chuse such servaunts, as haue not this marke; except they meane their servuce should bee made but the accessary. And that which maketh the effect more pernitious, is, that al proportion is loft. It were disproportion enough for the servaunts good to be preferred before the masters: But yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servaunts, shal carrie thinges against a great good of the masters. And yet that is the case;

11 Whatsoeuer Affaires. Negotia publica universa, 'all public business.'
12 Pass . . Hands. Expeditiuntur, 'are despatched by.'
13 Servaunts. Ministros et Servos, 'officers and servants.'
14 Haue not, Non maculantur, 'are not spotted.'
15 All proportion. Rerum analogia, 'proportion of things.'
perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Euill in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoeuer Affaires passe such a Mans Hands, he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentrick to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose such Servants, as haue not this marke, Except they meane their Service should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough, for the Servants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant, shall carry Things, against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadors, Generals, and other Fals and Corrupt Servants; which set a Bias vpon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Enuies, to the overthrow of their Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part,
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For the good such servauntes receive, is after the modell of their owne Fortune, but the hurt, they fell for that good, is after the modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme Self-lovers, as they will sett an howfe on fire, and it were but to roft theire egge. And yet theis Men manie tymes hold creditt with theire Masters, because theire study is but to please them, and proffit them-selves; And for either re-fpect, they will abandon the good of theire affaires.

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for the good such servuants receiue; is after the modell of their owne fortune; but the hurt they fell for that good, is after the modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme selfe-louers, as they will set an house one fire, and it were but to rost their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters; because their study is but to please them, and proffit them-selves; and for either re-fpect they will abandon the good of their affaires.

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19 Sell. *Permutant, 'exchange.'
20 Extreme. Omitted in the Latin.
21 House. *Domum Proximi, 'the house of their neighbour.'
22 Masters. *Viros potentes, 'powerful men.'
23 Affaires. *Dominis sui, 'of their master.'
24 Rats. *Soricum, 'shrews.'
25 Thrusts out . . . for him. *E Domus expellit, quam sibi desodit, non aliis, 'thrusts [the Badger] out of the house which he has dug for himself, not for another.'
26 Selfe-wisdome. *Pulchra illa Sapientia, 'that fine wisdom.'
XII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF. 187

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the Good such Servants receive, is after the Modell of their own Fortune; But the Hurt they fell 10 for that Good, is after the Modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme Self-Louers; As they will set an House 21 on Fire, and it were but to roast their Eggs: And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters; 22 Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit Themselves: And for either respect, they will abandon the Good of their Affaires. 23

Wisedome for a Mans selfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraued Thing. It is the Wisedome of Rats, 24 that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the Wisedome of the Fox, that thrusts out the Badger, who digged and made Roome for him. 25 It is the Wisedome of Crocodiles, that shed tears, when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those, which (as Cicero saies of Pompey) are, Sui Amantes jine Rivialis, 26 are many times vnfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to Themselves, they become in the end Themselves Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their Self-Wisedome, 26 to have Pinnioned.
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

3. Of Nobilitye.

It is a reverend thing to see an auncient Caftell, or building not in decaye; or to see a faire timber Tree found, and perfect; how much more to behold an auncient Noble familie, which hath stood against the waves, and weathers of tyme. For new Nobility is but the Act of Power, but auncient Nobility is the Act of Tyme. The first Rayfers of Fortunes are commonly more vertuous, but leffe innocent, then their descendentes; For there is rarely ryfing, but by a commixture of good and euill Actes. But it is reaſon the memorie of their vertues remaine to their posterityes, and their faults dye with themselves; Nobilitie of Birth commonly abateth Industrie; and hee that is not induſtrious, envieth him, that is; Besides Noble perfons cannott goe much higher; and hee that

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

7. Of Nobility.

It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decaye; or to see a faire timber tree found and perfect; how much more to behold an auncient Noble familie, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. For new Nobility is but the act of power; but ancient Nobility is the act of tyme. The first raisers of Fortunes are commonly more vertuous, but leffe innocent, then their descendants. For there is rarely rising, but by a commixture of good and euill Arts. But it is reaſon the memorie of their vertues remain to their posterityes, and their faults die with themselves. Nobilitie of Birth commonly abateth industrié; and hee that is not induſtrious, envieth him that is; Besides noble perfons, cannott goe much higher; And he that
XIII. OF NOBILITY.. 189

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British Museum Copy.


[Transposed, see below at pp. 193, 195.]
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

flandeth at a flay when others rife, can hardlye avoyd mocions of envye. On thother fide, Nobilitye extinguisheth the paflue Envie in others towards them, because they are in posseffion of Honor, and Envye is as the Sunbeames, that beate more vponn a ryfing ground, then vponn a levell.

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flandeth at a flay when others rife, can hardlye avoyd motions of enuiie. On the other fide Nobility extinguisheth the pasfiue enuiie in others towards them; because they are in the posseffion of Honour: and Enuy is as the funne beames, that beate more vponn a rifing ground, then vponn a leuell.

[The paragraph on the opposite page was added in the 1625 edition, at the beginning of the Essay.]

1 Need it. Proceres non desiderantur: 'peers are not needed.'
2 They. Status ille Popularis, 'that state of the people.'
3 Sedition. Factionibus et Turbis, 'factions and disturbances.'
4 Then where there are. Ubi non sunt, 'where there are not.'
XIII. OF NOBILITY.

V. 1625. æt. 65.


[Transposed, see below, at pp. 193, 195.]

[These four lines were transposed in 1625 Edition to the Essay Of Enuy, see p. 514.]

E will speake of Nobility, first as a Portion of an Estate; Then as a Condition of Particular Persons. A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is euer a pure, and absolute Tyranny; As that of the Turkes. For Nobility attempers Soueraignty, and drawes the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the Line Royall. But for Democracies, they need it not; And they are commonly, more quiet, and leffe subieçt to Sedition, then where there are Stirps of Nobles. For Mens Eyes are vpon the Buïneffe, and not vpon the Perfons: Or if vpon the Perfons, it is for the Buïneffe fake, as fittefl, and not for Flags and Pedegree. Wee see the Switzers laft well, notwithstanding their Diuerfitie of Religion, and of Cantons. For Vitlity is their Bond, and not Respects. The united Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Gouernment, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferen, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull.

5 Pedegree. Imaginum, 'busts.'
6 Switzers last well. Helvetiorum Rempublicam satis florentem, 'the republic of the Swiss, flourishing enough.'
7 Respects. Dignitas, 'honour.'
III. 1607-12. \( \aleph \)t. 47-52.

A great Nobility addeth Maiestie to a Monarchy, but diminisheth power; and putteth life, and spirit into the people, but presseth theire fortunes. It is well when Nobles are not to great for Sovereignty nor for Justice, and yet mainteyned in that height, as the Insolencye of inferiours may bee broken vponn them, before it come on to faft vponn the maiestie of Kings.

IV. 1612. \( \aleph \)t. 52.

A great Nobilitie addeth maiestly to a Monarch, but diminisheth power: and putteth life and spirit into the people; but presseth their fortunes. It is well when nobles are not too great for Soveraigne, nor for Justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the infollency of inferiours may be broken vpon them, before it come on too fast vpon the maiestie of Kings.

[Originally at the beginning. Transposed here in 1625 Edition; see pp. 188, 190.]

8 Life and Spirit. Animos, 'spirit.'
9 Height. Dignitatis gradu, 'height of honour.'
10 Broken vpon. Illorum Reverentia, tamquam Obice, retundatur, 'may be blunted by reverence of them, as if by a barrier.'
11 Numerous nobility. Que plurunque minus potens est, 'which generally is less powerful.'
V. 1625. æt. 65.

A great and Potent Nobility addeth Majesty to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presses their Fortune. It is well, when Nobles are not too great for Sovereignty, nor for Justice; And yet maintained in that heighth,9 as the Insolence of Inferiors, may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings.

A Numerous Nobility,11 causeth Poverty, and Inconvenience12 in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expense; And besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion,13 betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for Nobility in particular Persons;

It is a Reuerend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay; Or to see a faire14 Timber Tree, found and perfect:

How much more, to behold an Ancient Noble Family, which hath stood against15 the Wanes and

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12 Inconuenience. Omitted in the Latin.
13 Disproportion. Divortium quoddam, sive malum Temperamentum, "a kind of divorce or bad proportion."
14 Faire. Anno sam et proceram, 'old and tall.'
15 Stood against. Illæam, 'unhurt by.'
Originally at the beginning. Transposed here in 1625 Edition; see pp. 188, 190.

[See pp. 190, 191, 514.]

16 Power. *Regiae Potestatis*, 'royal power.'
17 Time. *Temporis solius*, 'time alone.'
18 To nobility. *Ad Nobilitatis Fastigium*, 'to the height of nobility.'
19 More virtuous. *Virtutum Claritudine*. Eminent, 'excel in the esteem of virtue.'
weathers of Time. For new Nobility is but the Act of Power; but Ancient Nobility is the Act of Time. Thosethat are first raised to Nobility, are commonly more Virtuous, but lesse Innocent, then their Descendants: For there is, rarely, any Rising; but by a Commixture, of good and euill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselues. Nobility of Birth, commonly abateth Industry: And he that is not industrious, enuieth him, that is. Besides, Noble persons, cannot goe much higher; And he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy. On the other side, Nobility extinguisheth the passive Envy, from others towards them; Because they are in possession of Honour.

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20 Rising. *Ad Honores,* 'to honours.'
21 From others towards them. Omitted in the Latin.
22 In possession of. *In Possessione nati,* 'born in possession of.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Certainly Kings that have able Men of their Nobility shall finde ease in employing them, and a better flyde in their busines; for People naturally bend to them, as borne in some forte to commaunde.

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Certainly Kings that haue able men of their Nobility, shal find ease in employing them; and a better flyd in to their businesse: For people naturally bend to them, as borne in some fort to command.

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23 Able. *Prudentes et capaces, 'wise and able."

24 Finde ease. Omitted in the Latin.

25 In employing them. *Si eos potissimum adhibeant, 'if they employ them chiefly.*
Certainly Kings, that haue Able men of their Nobility, shall finde ease in employing them; And a better Slide into their Business: For People naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to Command.

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26 Better Slide, &c. *Negotia sua mollius fluere sentient,* 'will find their business flow easier.

27 Them. *Hujusmodi Proceres,* 'nobles of this kind.'
Take Goodness in this fence; The affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Græcians call Philanthropia; for the word Humanitie, (as it is vsed) it is a little too light to expresse it; Goodnes I call the habite, and Goodnes of Nature, the Inclina-
cion; This of all vertues is the greatest, being the Character of the Deitie, and without it Man is a busie, mischevous wretch-
ed thing, noe better then a kind of Vermyne. Goodnes aunsweres to the Theo-
logicall vertue, Charitie, and admits not exceffe, but errour.

Take goodnesse in this fence, the affecting of the Weale of men, which is, that the Græcians call Philanthropia; for the word humanitie (as it is vsed) it is a little too light to expresse it. Goodnesse I call the habite; and good-
nesse of Nature, the inclination. This of all vertues, is the greatest: being the character of the Deitie; and without it, man is a busie, mischievous, wretch-
ed thing: no better then a kind of vermine. Goodnesse answers to the Theo-
logicall vertue Charity, and admits not exceffe, but error.


1 Affecting. *Affectus, qui Hominum Commoda studeat, et bene velit* affection, which studies and wishes well to the weal of men.
2 Light. *Levius atque angustius*, 'too light and narrow.'
3 Habit. *Affectum, et Habitum*, 'affection and habit.'
Take Goodness in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; And the word Humanitie (as it is vsed) is a little too light, to expresse it. Goodness I call the Habit, and Goodness of Nature, the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deitie: And without it, Man is a Busie, Mischievous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. Goodness answers to the Theological Vertue Charitie, and admits no Excesse, but Errou.

The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall; the desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall; But in Charity, there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to Goodness, is imprinted deeply in the

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4 Character. Adumbrata quadem Effigies, et Character: 'a sort of shadowed likeness and character.'
5 Man. Homo Animalis, 'the animal man,'
6 Caused to fall. Caelo deturbavit; 'thrust down from heaven.'
7 Caused Man to fall. Paradiso expulit; 'drove out of Paradise.'
The Italians haue an vngracious proverbe Tanto buon che val niente, So good that he is good for Nothinge, and one of the Doctors of Italy Nicholas Matchiauell had the confidence to putt in writing almost in plaine termes, that the Christian faith had giuen vp good Men in praye, to thofe that are tyrannicall, and vnjust; which he spake because indeed there was never Lawe, or sect, or opinion did so much magnifie Goodnes as the Christian Religion doth. Therefore to avoyd the Scandall, and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the

The Italians, haue an vngracious proverbe, Tanto buon, che valmiente; So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of Italie, Nicholas Machiauel had the confidence to put in in writing, almost in plaine termes; That the Christian faith had giuen vp good men in prey, to thofe that are tyrannicall and vnjust; which he spake, because indeed there was never law, nor sect, or opinion, did so much magnifie goodnes, as the Christian religion doth. Therefore to avoid the scandall, and the danger both; it is good to take knowledge of the

8 Issue not. Benefaciendi Materia, aut Occasione, destituta, non inveniat, quo se exerceat in Homines, 'having no matter or occasion of doing good, it does not find a means of working upon men.'
9 Cruell. Sava et fera, 'cruel and savage.'
10 Christian Boy. Aurifex guidam Venetus, 'a Venetian goldsmith.'
11 Stoned. Vix fuerem Populi effugerit, 'scarcely escaped the fury of the people.'
12 Waggishnesse. Omitted in the Latin.
Nature of Man: In so much, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take vnto Other Liiuing Creatures: As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People, who neuertheless, are kinde to Beasts, and giue Almes to Dogs, and Birds: In so much, as Busbechius reporteth; A Christian Boy in Constantinople, had liked to haue beenstoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a longe Billed Fowle. Errors, indeed, in this vertue of Goodnesse, or Charity, may be committed.

The Italians haue an vngracious Prouerbe; Tanto buon che val mente: So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macciauel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaue Termes: That the Christian Faith, had giuen vp Good Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannicall, and iniust. Which he spake, because indeed there was neuer Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie Goodnesse, as the Christian Religion doth. Therefore to avoid the Scandal, and the Danger both; it is good to take knowledge, of the

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b Machiavelli. Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio. ii. 2.

13 One of the Doctors of Italy. Omitted in the Latin.
14 Good. Probos et innocentes, 'good and harmless.'
15 Danger. Periculi Ietum et Minas, 'the stroke and the threats of danger.'
errors of an habite so excellent. Seek the good of other Men, but bee not in bondage to their faces, or fancies, for that is but facility, and softnes which taketh an honest minde Prisoner. Neither give thou \AEfops Cock a gemme, who would be better pleased and happier, if he had had a Barley corne. The Example of God teacheth the lesson truly; He sendeth his rayne, and maketh his Sun to shine vpon the iufl and vnjuft, but he doth not rayne wealth, nor Shyne honours, and vertues vpon Men equallye; Common benefittes are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefittes with choise. And beware how in makeing the pourtraiture, thou breakest the patterne: For Diuinitie maketh the love of ourselfes the patterne, the love of our Neighbours, but the pourtraiture. Sell all thou haft, and giue it to the poore and

16 Errors. Errorres, qui nos a recto tam insignis Habitus tramite, transversos agant; "the errors which drive us from the straight path of so excellent a habit."
Errours,\textsuperscript{16} of an Habit, so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prifoner. Neither giue thou \textit{Æ}fops Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: \textit{He fendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, vpon the Lust, and Vniust;\textsuperscript{a} But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, vpon Men equally. Common benefits, are to be communicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice.\textsuperscript{17} And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Diuinitie maketh the Loue of our Selues the Patterne; The Loue of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. \textit{Sell all thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and}

\textsuperscript{a} Matt. xxv. 45.

\textsuperscript{17} Choice. \textit{Pancis, et cum delecitu, \textsuperscript{1} to a few, and with choice.}
followe me, but fell not all thou haft, except thou come, and followe me; that is, except thou have a vocation, wherein thou maieft doe as much good with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise in feeding the streames, thou dryest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of Goodnes directed by right reason; but there is in some Men, euen in Nature a disposition towards it; as on th[e] other fide there is a naturall Malignity; For there bee that in their nature doe not affect the good of others. Thelightier forte of Malignitye tourneth but to a Crofnes, or frowardnes, or aptnes to oppose, or difficultenes, or the like, but the deeper forte to enuye and meere mischief.

There be manie that make it theire practize to bring Men

followe me; but fell not all thou haft, except thou come and followe me; that is, except thou have a vocation, wherein thou maieft doe as much good with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise in feeding the streames, thou dryest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of goodnesse, directed by right reason: but there is in some men, euen in nature, a disposition towards it: as on the other side, there is a natural malignity. For there bee that in their nature doe not affect the good of others: the lighter fort of malignitie, tourneth but to a crossenesse, or frowardnesse, or aptnesse to oppose, or difficultnesse, or the like: but the deeper fort, to enuie and meere mischief.

There be many Misanthropi, that make it their practife to bring men

18 Nature. Ingenii proprii Instinctu, 'by the instinct of their nature.'
19 Deeper. Graviius . . atque altius, 'The more serious and deeper.'
follow mee. But fell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou maist doe as much good, with little means, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streams, thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a Habit of Goodness, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other side, there is a Natural Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, do not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crookedness, or Frowardness, or Aptness to oppose, or Difficultess, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Envy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are euer on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked Lazarus Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, vpon any Thing that is raw; Misanthropi, that make it their Practife, to bring Men,

Mark x. 21.
20 On the loading Part. Erasque semper aggravant, 'and always increase them.'
21 Raw. Cruda quaeque et excoriata, 'what is raw and excoriated.'
to the Boughe, and yet have never a Tree for the purpose in their Gardens;

Such dispositions are the very errors of humaine Nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great Politiques of, like to knee-tymber that is good for Shipps that are ordained to be toffed; but not for building houses, that shall stand firme.

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to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had. Such dispositions are the very errors of humane nature: and yet they are the fittest timber to make great Politiques of; like to knee-timber that is good for shippes that are ordained to be toffed, but not for building houses that shall stand firme.

22 Such dispositions, Ingenia ita disposita, non injuria vocare licet. 'natures thus disposed may be not unjustly called.'

23 Erross. Vomitas et Carcinomata. 'boils and cancers.'

24 Great Politiques. Mercurii Politicii; 'Mercurial politicians.'

25 Strangers. Hospites et Peregrinos. 'strangers and foreigners.'
to the Bough; Andyethaue neuer a Tree, for the purpofe, in their Gardens, as Ti-
mon had. Such Dispositions, are the very Errors of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme.

The Parts and Signes of Goodneffe are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands; but a Continent, that ioynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it selfe, when it giues the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted aboue Inuries; So that he cannot be shot. If he be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighs Mens Mindes, and not their Trash. But aboue all, if he haue St. Pauls Perfection, that he would with to be an Anathema from Chrifl, for the Saluation of his Brethren, it shewes much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of Conformity with Chrifl himselfe.

26 Shewes. Nobilitat, 'ennobles.'
27 Be shot. Supra Injuriaiam Jactum et Tela, 'above the reach and the weapons of injury'
28 Divine Nature. Proxime illum accedere ad Naturam divinam, 'that he approaches very near to the Divine nature.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.

5. Of Beautie.

_Vertue is like a rich stone, best plain set._ And fuerlie vertue is best set in a body that is comelie though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignitye of presence, then beawtie of aspeck. Neither is it almost seene, that verie beautifull persons are otherwise of great vertue; as if nature were rather busie not to erre, then in labour to produce excellencye; And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; And studie rather behauiour, then vertue.

In beautie that of favour is more then that of collour, and that of decent and

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_Vertue is like a rich stone, best plain set:_ and fuerlie vertue is best set in a body that is comely though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, then beauty of aspeck. Neither is it almost seene, that verie beautiful persons are otherwise of great vertue; as if nature were rather busie not to erre, then in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and studie rather behauiour then vertue.

In _Beautie,_ that of favour is more then that of collour; and that of decent and


1 Of Delicate Features. _Delicato, 'delicate.'_  
2 Presence. _Aspectus, 'of aspect.'_  
3 Aspect. Omitted in the Latin.
Ertue is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And surely Vertue is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of Delicate Features. And that hath rather dignity of Presence, then Beauty of Aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that very Beautiful Perhons, are otherwise of great Vertue; As if Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour, to produce Excellency. And therefore, they prove Accomplished, but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behauiour, then Vertue; But this holds not alwaies; For Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all High and Great Spirits; And yet the most Beautiful Men of their Times. In Beauty, that of Favour, is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and

4 Labour. Omitted in the Latin.
5 Accomplished. Conversationibus apti, 'fit for intercourse.'
6 Sophy. Omitted in the Latin.
7 High and Great Spirits. Viri prorsus magni, 'very great men.'
8 Of their Times. Omitted in the Latin.
9 Favour. Venustas, 'comeliness.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.  
gracious movion, more then that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot expresse, noe nor the first sight of the life; and there is noe excellent _Beautie_, that hath not some strange-nes in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether _Apelles_ or _Albert Durere_ were the more trriler; Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometrical proportion, the other by takeing the best partes out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such personages I thinke would please noe bodye, but the painter, that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter may make a better face then ever was; But he must doe it by a kinde of felicity (as a Musition, that maketh an excellent ayre in _Mufick_) and not by rule.

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gratious motion, more then that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot expresse: noe nor the first sight of the life: and there is no excellent beauty, that hath not some strange-nesse in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether _Apelles_ or _Albert Durere_ were the more trriler. Whereof one the would make a personage by Geometrical proportions, the other by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages I thinke would please no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter may make a better face then euer was: But heemust doe it by a kinde of felicity, (as a Musitian that maketh an excellent aire in _Mufick_) and not by rule.

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10 Motion. _Oris et Corporis motus_, 'motion of the face and body.'
11 Personages. _Effigies_, 'images.'
12 That made them. Omitted in the Latin.
13 Was. _In vivis fuit_, 'was in life.'
14 Felicity. _Felicitate quidam, et casu_, 'by a kind of felicity and chance.'
Gracious Motion, more than that of Favour. That is the best Part of Beauty, which a Picture cannot expresse; No nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no Excellent Beauty, that hath not some Strange-nesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether Apelles, or Albert Durer, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Personages, I think, would please no Body, but the Painter, that made them. Not but I think a Painter, may make a better Face, then everwas; But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musick) And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde never a good; And yet all to-gether doe well.

15 Excellent Ayre in Musicke. *Cantus,* 'melody.'
16 Rule *Recitatis Artis,* 'rules of art.'
17 Finde never a good. *Vix unum referies quam separatim probes,* 'you shall scarcely find one that you will approve of separately.'
III. 1607-12. at. 47-52.

Yf it be true that the principal part of Beautie is in decent motion, Certainly it is no mervail, though persons in yeeres seeme manie tymes more amiable. *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher.* For noe youth can be comely, but by pardon and by confidering the youth, as to make vp the comelynes. Beautie is as fommer fruites which are easie to corrupt, and cannott laft; and for the most part it makes a diffolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; But yet certainlie againe if it light well, it maketh vertues fhyne, and vices blushe.

IV. 1612. at. 52.

If it bee true that the principal part of beautie is in decent motion; certainly it is no maruell, though persons in yeeres seeme many times more amiable *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher.* For no youth can be comely, but by pardon, and confidering the youth, as to make vp the comlineffe. Beauty is as fommer fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot laft; and for the most part, it makes a diffolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; But yet certainlie againe, if it light well it maketh vertues shine, and vices blush.

18 More Amiable. *Junioribus amabiliores,* 'more amiable than younger persons.'
19 Before *Pulchrorum.* *Secundum illud Euripidis,* 'according to the saying of Euripides.'
XV. OF BEAUTY.

If it be true, that the Principal Part of Beauty, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no maruaile, though Persons in Yeares, seeme many times more Amiable;\(^1\)\(^8\) \textit{Pulchorum Autumnus pulcher:} for no Youth can be comely,\(^2\) but by Pardon, and considering the Youth, as to make vp the comelineffe. Beauty is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot laft: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute Youth, and an Age a little out of countenance:\(^2\) But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blusht.

\(^1\) The autumn of beautiful persons is beautiful. A saying of Euripides, preserved in Plutarch's \textit{Alcibiades} i. 5.

\(^2\) Euripides would say of persons that were beautifull, and yet in some yeeres: \textit{In faire bodies, not onely the Spring is pleasant, but also the Autumn.}\ L. Bacon's \textit{Apophth. No. 145. Ed. 1625.}

\(^2\) After comely. \textit{Per omnia, 'in everything.'}

\(^2\) Out of countenance. \textit{Sero paniitatem, 'repenting too late.'}
3. Of seeming wise.

It hath beene an opinion, that the French are wiser then they seeme, and the Spaniards seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it bee betwene Nacions, Certainly it is so betwene Man, and Man. For as the Apposile saith of Godliness. Having a shew of Godliness, but denying the power thereof. Soe certainly there are in pointe of wisedome, and sufficiency, that doe nothing, or little verie solemnly. Magno conatu mugas. It is a ridiculous thing, and fitt for a Satyre to perfons of Judgement, to see what shifts theis Formalists have, and what perspec- tiues to make superficies, to seeme body, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so clofe, and referued, as they will not shewe therein.


It hath beene an opinion, that the French are wiser then they seeme, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apo- sile faith of godliness: Having a shew of godliness, but denying the power thereof; Soe certainlie there are in point of wisedome and sufficiency, that doe nothing or little verie solemnly; Magno conatu mugas. It is a ridiculous thing, and fitt for a Satyre to perfons of judgement, to see what shifts these formalists haue, and what perspec- tiues to make Superficies to seeme body, that hath depth and bulke. Some are so clofe, and referued, as they will not shewe their


1 Title. De Prudentia Apparente, 'of seeming wisdom.'
2 In Points of Wisedome, and Sufficiency. Cum Prudentes minime, 'though they are not at all wise.'
hath been an Opinion, that the French are wiser then they seem; And the Spaniards feeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, Certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apostle faith of Godliness; Hausing a show of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof; So certainly, there are in Points of Wisedome, and Sufficiency, that doe Nothing or Little, very solemny; *Magna conatu Nugas.*

It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Judgement, to see what shifts these Formalists haue, and what Prospectives, to make Superficies to seem Body, that hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Referued, as they will not shew their

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a 2 Tim. iii. 5.

*b Magna conatu magnas nugas dixerit,* 'with great effort she uttered great trifles.' Terence. *Heauton. iv. 1.*

3 Shifts. *In quot Formas se vertant,* 'into how many forms they turn themselves.'

4 Bulke. *Dimensionem Solui,* 'the bulk of a solid body.'

5 Referued. *In se declarando parci,* 'reserved in declaring themselves.'
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<th>III. 1607-12. at. 47-52.</th>
<th>IV. 1612. at. 52.</th>
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<td>wares, but by a darke light, and feeme alwaies to keepe back somewhat, and when they knowe within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well knowe, would nevertheless feeme to others to knowe of that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with countenance, and gefure, and are wise by signes, as Cicero faieth of Pifo, that when he aunfweared him, hee fetched one of his browes vp to his forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chinne; responde altera ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentem* depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere. Some thinke to beare it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory, and will goe on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some whatsoever is beyond theire reach they will feeme to despise, or make light of, as impertinent or curious, and fo</td>
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* A clerical error for mentum.

 Kepee backe. Videri volunt, plus significare, quam Ioqui, 'wish to seem to mean more than they say.'
Wares, but by a darke Light:
And seeme alwaies to keepe backe somewhat: And when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know, would neverthelesse seeme to others, to know of that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wife by Signes; As Cicero faith of Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Browes, vp to his Forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chin: Respondes, altero ad Frontem subjato, altero ad Mentum depreso Supercilio; Cruelitatem tibi non placere. Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word, and being peremptory; And goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoeuer is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent or Curious; And so

"You answer—with one eyebrow lifted to the forehead, and the other lowered to the chin—that cruelty does not please you. Cicero. In L. C. Pisone. vi.

Well. Tuto, 'safely.'
would have their Ignorance seeme Judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing Men with a subtiltye, blanch the matter; of whom Gellius faith. Hominem delirum qui verborum minutiiis, rerum frangit pondera, of which kind also Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in scorne, and maketh him make a speach that confiseth of distinctions from the beginning to the end; But generally such Men in all deliberacions finde ease to be of the Negative fide, and affect a credit to obiedt, and foretell difficulties; For when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new worke; which false pointe of wise-dome is the bane of Busines. To conclude there is noe decaying Merchant, or inward Begger, hath so many tricks to

8 Would have. Inscitium suam obtendunt, 'conceal their ignorance.'
9 Judgement. Indicio limato, 'with a show of refined judgment.'
10 Men. Hominum Ingenia, 'men's minds.'
11 Blanch the matter. Kem præterechuntur, 'slip the matter by.'
12 Speech. Sermonem integrum, 'entire speech.'
13 Finde ease. Libenter se applicant, 'willingly apply themselves to.'
14 Difficulties. Scrupulis et Difficultatibus, 'scruples and difficulties.'
would have their Ignorance seeme Judgement. Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the matter; Of whom A. Gellius faith; *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum MinutijS Rerum frangit Pondera.* Of which kinde also, Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech, that confisleth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negative Side; and affect a Credit, to object and foretell Difficulties: For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisdome, is the Bane of Business. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks, to

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* [Lit. An insane man who breaks the weight of things with fineness of words.] A mistaken quotation as to the Author. It is from Quintillian, who, referring to Seneca, says; *Si rerum pondera minutissima sententia non frigisset, consensus fortius eruditorum quam puorum amore comprobaretur,* "If he had not broken the weight of things with most minute sentences, he would have been honoured rather by the unanimous approval of the learned, than by the admiration of boys." Inst. x. i.

15 Inward Beggar. *Decoctor Rei familiaris occultus,* 'hidden spendthrift of his family property.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Vphold the creditt of theire Wealth, as these empty persons have to maintaine the Creditt of theire sufficiencye.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Vphold the credit of their wealth, as these emptie persons have to maintaine the credit of their sufficiency.

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16 Empty. *Vera Prudentia destitut* 'destitute of true wisdom.'

17 Sufficiency. *Prudentia,* 'wisdom.'
vphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty persons have, to maintain the Credit of their Sufficiency. Seeming Wise-men may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were better take for Business, a Man somewhat Absurd, than our Formal.

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18 Seeming Wise. *Hac prudentia praditi,* 'endowed with this wisdom.'
19 Employment. *Ad Negotia gravi tractanda,* 'to manage important business.'
III. 1607-12. at. 47-52.

Harleian MS. 5106.


Ambition is like Choler which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not flopped. But if it be flopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh Adufl, and thereby ma-ligne and venemous. So ambitious Men if they find the way open of there ryfinge and fill get forward, they are rather busie then daungerous; but if they be checked in there desiers, they become secretly discontent, and looke vppon Men and matters with an evill Eye, and are best pleased when thinges goe backward; which is the worst property that can bee in a seruant of a Prince, or State. There fore it is good for Princes, if they vse ambitious Men, to handle it soe, as they be still progressive, and not

IV. 1612. at. 52.

22. Of Ambition.

Ambition is like choler; which is an humor that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not flopped. But if it be flopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh a dust, and thereby ma-ligne and venemous. So ambitious men if they finde the way open for their rising, and still get forward; they are rather busie then dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke vpon men, and matters with an euill eie, and are best pleased when things goe backward; which is the worst propertie that can be in a seruant of a Prince, or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they vse ambitious men to handle it so, as they be still progresive, and not
Ambition is like Choler; Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacrity, and Stirring, if it be not flopped. But if it be flopped, and cannot have his Way, it becometh Aduult, and thereby Maleigne and Venomous. So Ambitious Men, if they finde the way Open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busy then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke vpon Men and matters, with an Euill Eye; And are best pleased, when Things goe backward; Which is the worst Property, in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use Ambitious Men, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and not

4 After desires. Et subinde frustrantur, 'and are frequently frustrated.'
5 Become secretly discontent. Malvolentiam et Invidiam in Corde forsent, 'they cherish ill-will and envy in their heart.'
6 Best pleased. In sine laetantur, 'pleased in their heart.'
III. 1607-12. æ. 47-52.
retrograde; which because it cannot bee without inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them.

IV. 1612. æ. 52.
retrograde: which because it cannot bee without inconvenience; it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them.

7 Commanders. *Imperatores et Duces,* 'commanders and leaders.'
8 Dispenseth. *Compensat,* 'equalizes.'
9 Pulling downe, &c. *Ut prograndibus alas amputent, et eorum potentiam labefactent,* 'to cut the wings of persons who are too great, and to diminish their power.'
10 Brideled. *Frenandi et coercendi,* 'bridled and restrained.'
Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of Ambitious Natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessity. Good Commanders in the Wars, must be taken, be they never so Ambitious: For the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without Ambition, is to pull off his Spurs. There is also great Use of Ambitious Men, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envy: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Doe, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of Ambitious Men, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subject that over-tops. As Tiberius used Macro in the Pulling down of Seianus. Since therefore they must be used, in such Cases, there resteth to speake, how they are to be bridled, that they may be lesse dangerous. There is lesse danger of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh of Nature, then Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raised, then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weakness in Princes, to have Favorites. But it is, of

11 Dangerous. *Ut minus abillis impendeat Periculi,* 'that less danger may impend from them.'
12 Harsh. *Truciiores et asperiores,* 'more stern and harsh.'
13 Raised. *Honoribus adnoti,* 'raised to honours.'
14 Weakness. *Signum infirmi Animi,* 'sign of a weak mind.'
15 Favorites. *Gratiosos et Intimos,* 'favourites and intimates.'
Of Ambitions it is the leffe harmefull, the ambition to prevaile in great things, then that other to appeare in every thinge. For that breeds confusion, and marres businesse.

Hee that seeketh to be eminent amongst able

He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able

16 Ambitious Great-Ones. *Potentiam nimiam Procerum, aut Magistratuum,* 'too great power of nobles or magistrates.'
17 Any Other. *Alius aliquis ex Proceribus,* 'any other of the nobles.'
18 Proud. *Ambitiosos, et protervos,* 'ambitious and proud.'
19 Keep Things steady. *Qui Partes medias teneant, ne Factiones omnia pessandent:* 'to hold a middle course, lest factions ruin everything.'
20 Having of them Obnoxious to Ruine. *Quantum ad ingenierandam illum in Ambitionis opinionem, ut se ruine proximos potent, atque eo modo contincantur:* 'as to creating an opinion in ambitious persons that they are near ruin, and thus restraining them.'
all others, the best Remedy against Ambitious Great Ones. For when the Way of Pleasing and Displeasing, lieth by the Favourite, it is Impossible, Any Other should be Ouer-great. Another means to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady. For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the leaft, a Prince may animate and inure some Meaner Persons, to be, as it were, Scourges to Ambitious Men. As for the hauing of them Obnoxious to Ruine, if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way is, the Enterchange continually of Fa- vours, and Disgraces; whereby they may not know, what to expect. And be, as it were, in a Wood. Of Ambitions, it is leffe harmefull, the Ambition to preuaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in euery thing; For that breeds Confusion, and marres Businesse. But yet, it is leffe danger, to haue an Ambitious Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able

21 Designes. *Conatus et Machinationes,* 'endeavours and-designs.'
22 What to expect. *Unde attonti et confisi hereant, nescientes quid expectent,* 'whereby they may remain astonished and confused, not knowing what to expect.'
23 Be. *Ambulent,* 'walk.'
24 Confusion. *Confusionem Consiliorum,* 'confusion of councils.'
25 Dependances. *Gratia et Clientelis,* 'favour and following.'
Men, hathe a great Taske, but that is ever good for the publique. But hee that plotteth to be the onely figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. Honor hath three things in it. The Vantage ground to doe good. The Approache to Kinges, and principall persons, And the Rayfing of a Mans owne Fortune. Hee that hath the best of theis intencions when he aspireth is an honest Man, and that Prince that can discerne of theis intencions in another that aspireth is a wife Prince. Generally lett Princes, and States chufe such Ministers, as are more senible of dewty, then of Rysing, and such as love busines rather vpon confcience, then vpon bravery, and lett them discerne a busie nature, from a willing mind.

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26 Able Men. *Strenuos, et Negotiis pares,* 'active men and men fit for business.'
27 Plots. *Machinatur, ut Viros cordatos deprimat,* et, 'plots to depress wise men, and.'
28 Decay. *Lues et calamitas,* 'decay and misfortune.'
29 Kings. Omitted in the Latin.
30 Discerne. *Dignoscere et distinguere,* 'discern and distinguish.'
31 That aspireth. *In Servis suis,* 'in his servants.'
XVII. OF AMBITION.

1625. Men, hath a great Taske; but that is euer good for the Publique. But he that plots, to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay of an whole Age. Honour hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings, and principall Persons: And the Raising of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the beft of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discerne of these Intentions, in Another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States, choose fuch Ministers, as are more fenfible of Duty, then of Rising; And fuch as loue Bufineffe rather vpon Confcience, then vpon Brauery: And let them Discerne a Bufie Nature, from a Willing Minde.

32 States. Omitted in the Latin.
33 Loue. Amplectantur et amant, 'embrace and love.'
34 Confcience. Conscientia bona, 'good conscience.'
35 Discerne. Distinguant Principes cum judicio, 'let princes discern with judgment.'
36 Busie. Quae sese omnibus Negotiis inerunt, 'which obtrude themselves into every business.'
37 Willing. Promptum seu alacrem, 'ready or alert.'
Of Riches.

Cannott call Riches better then the baggage of Vertue (the Romaine word is better, Impedimenta) For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is Riches to vertue. It cannott bee spared, nor left behinde; but it hindereth the Marche, yea and the care of it some tymes leeseth, or disturb eth the victorye. Of great Riches there is noe Reall vse, except it bee in the distribution, the rest is but conceipt. So faith Solomon; where much is, there are manie to consume it, and what hath the owner but the fight of it with his eyes! The personall good of anie Man cannot reach to feele them. There is a custody of great Riches, or a power of Dole, and Donatiue; or a fame of them, but noe solide vse to the

IV. 1612. aet. 52.


Cannot call Riches better then the baggage of Vertue; the Romane word is better, Impedimenta; For as the baggage is to an Armye, so is riches to vertue: It cannot be spared, nor left behinde; but it hindereth the March, yea and the care of it some times lofeth or disturb eth the victorye. Of great Riches there is no reall vse, except it bee in the distribution: the rest is but conceit. So faith Salomon; Where much is, there are many to consume it, and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes? The personall frution in any man cannot reach to feele great riches; there is a custody of them; or a power of Dole and donatiue of them; or a fame of them; but no solide vse to the


1 Better. Cognomine magis propri o, 'by a more proper name.'
2 It cannot ... March, 'Necessarie siquidem sunt, sed graves, 'it is necessary but heavy.'
Cannot call Riches better,\(^1\) then the Baggage of Vertue. The Roman Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is Riches to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behind, but it hindreth the March;\(^2\) Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth\(^3\) or disturbeth the Victory: Of great Riches, there is no Real Vse, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So faith Salomon; *Where much is, there are Many to consume it*; *And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes?\(^a\)* The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to seele Great Riches;\(^4\) There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donatiue of them; Or a Fame\(^5\) of them; But no Solid Vse to the

\(^a\) Eccles. v. ii.

\(^2\) Loseth. Omitted in the Latin.

\(^4\) Personall Fruition Riches. *Possessio Divitiarum nulla voluptate Dominum perfundit, quantum ad Sensum*: ‘the possession of riches does not fill the owner with any pleasure as to sensation.’

\(^5\) Fame. *Fama, et Inflatio*, ‘fame and puffing up.’
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Owner. Doe you not see what fayed prices are fett vpon littel stones, and rarityes, and what workes of ostentacion are vndertaken, becaufe there mought feeme to be some vfe of great Riches? But then they may be of vfe to buy Men out of Daungers, or troubles; as Salomon sayeth; Riches are as a stronge-houlde, in the imagijacion, of the riche Man. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in imaginacion, and not alwaies in fact. For certainly great Riches have fold more men then they have bought out. Seeke not proud Riches, but fuch as thou mayest gett iuftly, vfe foberly, distriuate chearefully and leave contentedly; yet have no abstraét, nor Frierly con tempt of them, but distinguishe as Cicero faieth well of Rabirius Posflhumus; In studio rei amplificandae, apparebat non auaritia pre dam, fed instrumentum

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

owner. Doe you not see what fained prifes are fett vpon littel flones, and rarities, and what workes of ostentacion are vndertaken, becaufe there might feeme to bee some vfe of great riches? But then they may be of vfe to buy men out of dangers or troubles: as Salomon faith; Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in Imagination; and not alwaies in fact. For certainly, great riches have fold more men then they haue bought out. Seeke not proud Riches; but fuch as thou maiest gett iuftly; vfe foberlie, distriuate cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet haue no abstraét, nor flierly con tempt of them. But distinguiwh, as Cicero faith well of Rabirius Posthumus: In studio rei amplificandae, apparebat non auaritia pra dam fed instrumentum

Works of Ostentation. Inania Opéra, ad ostentationem meram, 'vain works, merely for ostentation.'
XVIII. OF RICHES.  

V. 1625. ut. 65.

Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Prices, are set ypon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Oftentation,⁶ are vndertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Vfe of great Riches? But then you will fay, they may be of vfe, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As Salomon faith; Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man.⁵ But this is excellently expressed, that it is in Imagination, and not alwaies in Fact. For certainly Great Riches, haue fold more Men, than they haue bought out. Seeke not Proud Riches, but such as thou mafft get iuftly, Vfe soberly, Distribute cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no Abstract⁸ or Friarly⁹ Contempt of them. But distinguiish, as Cicero faith well of Rabirius Poʃhumus; In studio rei amplificandae, apparebat, non Auaritæ Prædam, fed Instrumentum

⁵ Prov. xviii. 11.
⁶ Proud. Magnas, 'great.'
⁷ Abstract. A Šeculo abstracti, 'or a man removed from the world.'
⁸ Friarly. Instar Monachi, 'like a monk.'
| III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. | IV. 1612. æt. 52. |
| bonitati quæri. | bonitati quæri. |

10 Beware. *Nec inhia,* 'nor gape after.'
11 Vniust Meanes. *Injus titian et Scelera,* 'injustice and crimes.'
12 Husbandry. *Agriculturam, et Lucre Rustica,* 'husbandry and the profits of the country.'
13 Greatest Audits. *Maximi Reditus, e Re Rustica,* 'the greatest revenues from husbandry.'
XVIII. OF RICHES.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

Bonitati, quæri. a Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of Hastly Gathering of Riches: Qui fœsinat ad Diuittias, non erit infons. b The Poets faigne that when Plutus, (which is Riches,) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; But when he is sent from Pluto, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that Riches gotten by Good Meanes, and Just Labour, pace slowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Deuill. For when Riches come from the Deuill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and vniusf Meanes,) they come upon Speed. The Waies to enrich are many, and most of them Foule. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Charity. The Improvemen of the Ground, is the most Naturall Obtaining of Riches; For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, c it multiplieth Riches exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in England, that had the greatest Audits, d of any Man in my Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber e Man, A Great Colliar, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man. and fe of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly obserued by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little Riches, and very easily to Great Riches. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of

a This is spoken by Cicero of Caius Curius, the father of Rabirius Postumus. The passage [Pro C. R. Pos. 2.] runs thus, Ut in angenda re non avaritie prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati querere videtur,' that he seemed in the increase of his property, not to seek a prey for his avarice but a means of doing good,' b Prov. xxviii. 20. e Timber. Silvis, tam caeduis quam grandioribus, 'both underwood and timber.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.


16 Few Mens Money. *Quibus...perpauci admodum Homines apti sunt*, 'for which few men are ready.'

17 Younger. *Qui minus Pecunia abundant*, 'who have less money.'

18 Ordinary Trades and Vocations. *Professionibus*, 'businesses.'

19 Good and faire dealing. *Probitatem in Negotiando*, 'honesty in dealing.'

20 Bargaines. *Contractibus majoribus*, 'greater bargains.'

21 Necessity. *Necessitates et Angustias*, 'necessities and straits.'

22 Broake by ... to draw them on. *In Damnum Dominorum corrumpat*, 'corrupt, to the injury of their masters.'

23 Cunningly. *Artificiosae et vafræ*, 'by artifices and cunning.'

24 Crafty and Naught. *Merito damnandæ*, 'deservedly to be condemned.'
Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainly. The Gaines of Ordinary Trades and Vocations, are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. But the Gaines of Bargaines are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men shall waite vpon Others Necessity, broake by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off Others cunningly; that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught. As for the Chopping of Bargaines, when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell ouer againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both vpon the Seller, and vpon the Buyer. Sharings, doe greatly Enrich, if the Hands be well chofen, that are trusted. V fury is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eate his Bread; In judore vultis alieni: And besides, doth Plough vpon Sundaies. But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scrueners and Broakers, doe valew unfound Men, to serue their owne Turne. The Fortune, in being the First in an Inuention, or in a Priuiledge, doth caufe sometimes a wonderfull Overgrowth in Riches; As it was with the first Sugar Man, in the Canaries: Therefore, if a Man can play the true Logician, to have as

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*a In the sweat of another's brow.
25 Chopping of Bargaines. Emptiones, 'purchases.'
26 Hands. Quibuscum Societas initur, 'those with whom the partnership is entered into.'
27 Plough. Operari non cessat, 'does not cease to work.'
28 Sundaies. Sabbato, 'the Sabbath.' [This is an early (1625) instance of the Sunday being called the 'Sabbath.' Dies Sabbati being our Saturday.]
29 Flawes. Rimi secretis, 'secret flaws.'
30 The Fortune. Omitted in the Latin.
31 Wonderfull. Omitted in the Latin.
32 Overgrowth. Inundationem, 'overflow.'
33 Sugar Man. Sacchari excoctori, 'sugar baker.'
Neither trust thou much others, that seeme to despise them. For they despise them, that despaire of them, and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wife; Riches have winges, and sometymes they fly away of themselves, sometymes they must be sett flying to bring

34 Often times: ... Poverty. *Vix Fortunarum Dispendia vitabit*, 'will scarcely avoid the waste of his fortune.'
35 Not restrained. *Lege nulla prohibentur*, 'forbidden by no law.'
36 Great Meanes. *Viam sternunt facilem*, 'have an easy road.'
37 Service. *Servitium Regum, aut Magnatum*, 'services of kings or great persons.'
38 Though it be of the best Rise. *Dignitatem quandam habet*, 'has some dignity.'
well J udgement, as Inuention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that reffeth upon Gaines Certaine, shall hardly grow to great Riches: And he that puts all upon Aduentures, doth often times breake, and come to Pouerty. It is good therefore, to guard Aduentures with Certainties, that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and Coemption of Wares for Refale, where they are not restrained, are great Meanes to enrich; especially, if the Partie haue intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. Riches gotten by Service, though it be of the best Rife, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding, and other Servile Conditions, they may be placed amongt the Worst. As for Fishing for Testaments and Executorships (as Tacitus faith of Seneca; Testamenta et Orbos, tanquam Indagine capi;) It is yet worse; By how much Men submitt themselves, to Meaner Persones, then in Service.

Believe not much them, that seeme to despise Riches: For they despise them, that despaire of them; And none Worse, when they come to them. Benot Penny-wise; Riches haue Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring

\[ a \text{ He took testaments and wardships as with a net. Tacitus. Annales. xiii. 42.} \]

39 Feeding. Sese flectendo, 'bending one's self to.'

40 Worse. Tenaciorem, 'more grasping.'

41 Come to them. Ubi incipient ditescere, 'when they begin to grow rich.'

42 Penny-wise. In Minutiis tenax, 'stingy in small things.'
III. 1607-12. at. 47-52.
in more. Men leave their riches, either to their kinred, or to the publicque, and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an heire, is as a lure to all the Birds of pray rounde about, to feize on him, if he bee not the better established in yeares and Judgement. Likewise glorious gifts and foundacions are
but the painted Sepulchres of Almes, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt.

Therefore measure not thie advancementes by quantity, but frame them by measure; and deferre not Charities till Death; For certainly if a Man weight it rightly, he that doth foe, is rather liberall of another mans, then of his owne.

IV. 1612. at. 52.
in more. Men leave their riches, either to their kindred, or to the publiclike: and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an heire, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better established in yeeres and judgement. Likewise glorious gifts, and foundations, are
but the painted Sepulchres of Almes, which soone will putrefie and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thy advancementes by quantity, but frame them by measure; and deferre not charities till death: for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberall of another mans, then of his owne.

43 Men. Moribundi, 'men about to die.'
44 Kindred. Liberis, Cognatis, et Amicis, 'children, relatives and friends.'
45 Glorious. Gloriosae et splendide, 'glorious and splendid.'
46 Gifts. Omitted in the Latin.
47 Foundations. Fundationes . . in usus publicos, 'foundations for the public good.'
V. 1625. act. 65.

in more. Men leave their Riches, either to their Kindred; Or to the Publicque: And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better established in Yeares and Judgement. Likewise Glorious Gifts and Foundations, are like Sacrifices without Salt; And but the Painted Sepulchres of Almes, which foone will putrefie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure; And Deferre not Charities till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of an Other Mans, then of his Owne.

48 Painted. Dealkata, 'whitened.'
49 Advancements. Dona, 'gifts.'
50 Quantity. Magnitudine . sed Commoditate, 'by their size, but by their use.'
51 But frame. Et ad debitam Mensuram redigas, 'and reduce them to a proper measure.'
52 Charities. Opera Charitatis, 'works of charity.'
53 Liberall of. Donat, 'presents.'
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

III. 1607-12. s. 47-52.
Harleian MS. 5106.
17. Of Dispatch.

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the Physitians call pre-digestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of Crudities, and secret feedes of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the tymes of fitting, but by the advancement of the busines.

It is the care of some onely to Come of speedily for the tyme, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seeme men of dispatch. But it is one thing to make shorte by contracting, another by cutting off. And businesse so handled by peeces is com-

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It is the care of some onely to come of speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seeme men of dispatch. But it is one thing to make short by contracting; an other by cutting off; and businesse so handled by peeces, is com-


1 Title. De Expeditidis Negotiis, ‘of the despatch of business.’
2 Affected Dispatch. Celeritas nimia et affectata, ‘excessive and affected speed.’
3 Crudities. Humoribus crudis, ‘crude humours.’
4 Dispatch. Negotiorum Expeditionem, ‘the despatch of business.’
Ifeclad Dispatch, is one of the most dangerous things to Business that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call Predigestion, or Hosly Digestion; which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseafes. Therefore, measure not Dispatch, by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Business. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: So in Business, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth Dispatch.

It is the Care of Some, onely to come off speedily, for the time; Or to contrive some false Periods of Business, because they may seem Men of Dispatch. But it is one Thing, to Abbreviate by Contracting, Another by Cutting off: And Business so handled at feueral Sittings

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5 After Speed. Sed in Motu corundem humilior, et aquabili; 'but a lower and more even movement of the feet.'
6 Dispatch. Celeritatem in conficiendo, 'speed in completion.'
7 Come off. Multum confecisse videantur; 'to seem to have done much.'
8 Of dispatch. Acies in Negotiis, 'quick in business.'
9 Abbreviate. Tempori parere, 'to spare time.'
10 Contracting. Negotium contrahendo, 'contracting the business.'
III. 1607-12. aet. 47-52. monly protracted in the whole.

I knewe a Wife Man had it for a bye-word when hee sawe Men hasten to a Conclusion; Stay a little that wee Maie make an end the sooner.

On the either side true despatch is a rich thing: For tyme is the measure of businesse, as money is of wares. And busines is bought at a deare hand, where there is female despatch.

Give good hearing to those, that give the first informacion in busines, and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the contynuance of their speaches, For he that is putt out of his owne order, will goe forward, and backwards, and be more tedious by parcels,

IV. 1612. aet. 52. monly protracted in the whole.

I knew a wife man had it for a bye-word, when hee saw men hasten to a conclusion; Stay a little that wee may make an end the sooner.

On the other side, true despatch is a rich thing: For time is the measure of businesse, as money is of wares: and businesse is bought at a deare hand when there is small despatch.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business; and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches: For he that is put out of his own order, will go forward, and backwards, and be more tedious by parcels,

11 Men hasten to a conclusion. Festinationem nimiam, 'too much haste.'
12 True Dispatch. Vera Celeritas, in expediendis Negotis, 'true swiftness in despatching business.'
13 Small dispatch. Nimia protractio, 'too much time spent.'
or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in an unsteady Manner.
I knew a Wife Man, that had it for a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion;¹¹ Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.

On the other side, True Dispatch¹² is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small dispatch.¹³ The Spartans, and Spaniards, have been to be noted of Small dispatch;¹⁴ Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spaine; For then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good Hearing to those that give the first Information in Businesse¹⁵; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his own Order, will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, then

¹⁴ Small dispatch. Tarditatis, 'slowness.'
¹⁵ Those that give . . . in Business. Quibus prima in Informatione Negotii, partes demandatae sunt: 'to whom the first part in giving information about business is intrusted.'
¹⁶ His own. Quem sibi præstituit, 'which he fixed for himself.'
then he could have bene at once. But sometymes it is seene that the Moderator, is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iterations are commonly losse of tyme; but there is no such gaine of tyme, as to iterate often the flate of the question; for it chafeth away manie a frivolous speach, as it is Comming forth. Long and curious speaches are as fitt for dispatche, as a Robe or Mantell with a long trayne, is for race. Prefaces and passages, and excusacions, and other speaches of reference to the person, are great waftes of tyme, and though they seeme to proceede of modflie, they are brauery. Yet beware of being too materiall, when there is any impediment, or obftruccion in Mens wills; For preoccupacion ever requireth preface; like a fomentacion to make the vnguent enter.

17 Actor. Oratorem, ‘speaker.’
18 Frioulous. Prorsus abs re, ‘altogether away from the subject.’
19 Robe or Mantle, &c. Toga praelonga, Terram verrens, ‘a robe too long, sweeping the ground.’
20 Passages. Transitiones bella, ‘pretty transitions.’
he could have been, if he had gone on, in his own course. But sometimes it is seen, that the Moderator is more troublesome, than the Actor. 17

*Iterations* are commonly lost of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time, as to *iterate* often the State of the *Question*: For it chaseth away many a Frivolous Speech, as it is coming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle 19 with a long Traine, is for Race. Pre-faces, and Passages, 20 and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, 21 are great waists of Time; And though they seem to proceed of Modesty, they are Brauery. 22 Yet beware of being too Materiall, 23 when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde, ever requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomentation 24 to make the vnguent enter.

21 Person. *Personam loquentis,* 'the person of the speaker.'
22 Brauery. *Gloriæ captatrix,* 'to catch a little glory.'
23 Too material. *Ne in rem ipsam, ab initio, descendas,* 'of going too deep into the matter, from the beginning.'
24 Fomentation. *Fomentatio ante unguentum,* 'fomentation before an unguent.'
III. 1607-12.  aet. 47-52.

Above all things order, and distribution is the life of dispatch, so as the distribution be not too subtile. For he that doth not divide, will never enter well into business; and he that devideth to much, will never come out of it clearlye. To chuse tyme is to save tyme, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the ayre. There be 3 partes of business, the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection; Whereof, yf you looke for dispatch, lett the midle onely be the worke of Many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vpon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; For though it should be whollie reieected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of a direction, then an indefinite, as ashes are more generative then dust.

IV. 1612.  aet. 52.

Aboue all things, order and distribution is the life of dispatch: so as the distribution beenot too subtil: For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into business; and he that diuideth too much will neuer come out of it clearly. To chufe tyme, is to faue tyme, and an vnseasonable motion is but beating the aire. There bee three parts of business; the preparation, the debate, or examination, and the perfection. Whereof if you looke for dispatch, let the midle onely be the worke of many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vpon somewhat conceived in writing, doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: For though it should bee wholly reieected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of a direction, then an indefinite; as ashes are more generative then dust.

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25 Neuer . . . clearly. Vix, 'hardly.'
26 After Beating the Ayre. Et tempore abut, 'and wasting time.'
Above all things, Order, and Distribution, and Singling out of Parts, is the life of Dispatch; Soas the Distribution be not too subtil: For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into Businesse; And he that diuideth too much, will neuer come out of it clearely. To choose Time, is to saue Time; And an Unseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse: The Preparation; The Debate, or Examination; And the Perfection. Whereof, if you looke for Dispatch, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding vpon somewhat conceiued in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate Dispatch: For though it should be wholly rejected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of Direction, then an Indefinite; As Ashes are more Generative then Duft.
18. Of Deformity.

Eformed persons are commonly even with nature. For as Nature hath done ill by them, so doe they by nature, being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) void of natural affection, and so they have their revenge of nature; Certainly there is a consent betweene the body, and the minde, and wher nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in th'other; Vbi peccat in uno, pericidatur in altero. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his Minde, and a necessity in the frame of his body the Starres of natural inclination, are sometymes obscured by the sun of discipline and vertue; Therefore it is good to consider of deformity not as a signe which is more deceiveable,

25. Of Deformity.

Eformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, so doe they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture faith) void of natural affection; and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainlie, there is a consent betweene the body and the minde, and where Nature erreth in the one; she ventureth in the other. Vbi peccat in uno, pericidatur in altero. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his minde, and a necessity in the frame of his body; the starres of natural inclination, are sometymes obscured by the sunne of discipline and vertue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a signe, which is more deceiveable;


1 Are even with. Uliscuntur, 'revenge themselves upon.'
2 Done ill. Minus profita fuit, 'was less favourable to.'
Eformed Persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture faith) void of Natural Affection; And so they haue their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. 

Vbi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero. But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Natural Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of Deformity, not as a Signe, which is more Deceivable;

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\[a\] Rom. i. 31.

\[3\] Doe . . by. Adversi, 'are opposed to.'

\[4\] And so they haue their Revenge of Nature. Omitted in the Latin.
but as a cause which seldom faileth of its effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person, that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetually spurre in himself to rescue, and deliver himself from scorne. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold. First as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorne, but in process of time, by a generall habitt. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and specially of this kind to watch, and observe the weaknesses of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Againe in their Superiours it quencheth Ielousie towards them, as persons that they thinke they may at pleasure despise, and it layeth their Competitors and emulatours asleepe, as never believing they should be in possibility of aduancement, till they see them in posses-

5 Rescue. Omitted in the Latin.
6 Generall. Acquisitio, 'acquired.'
7 Obserue. Omitted in the Latin.
V.

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æt. 65.

But as a Cause, which seldom faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth endue Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliver himself from Scorne: Therefore all Deformed Persons are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being expos'd to Scorn; But in Process of Time, by a General Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and obserue the Weaknesse of Others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Againe, in their Superiours, it quencheth Jealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitors and Emulators asleep; As newer believing, they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in Posses-

8 Weaknesse. *Defectus et Infirmitates,* 'defects and weaknesses.'
9 Jealousie. *Suspiciones et Velotyphiam,* 'suspicions and jealousy.'
10 Beleeuing. *Suspicanter,* 'suspecting.'
11 *After advancement. Ad honores,* 'to honours.'
Soe that vponn the whole matter in a great Witt deformitye is an advantage to ryfing. Kings in aunient tymes, and at this present in some Countryes, were wont to putt great trust in Eunuches, because they that are envyous towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet theire trust towards them hath rather beene as to good spials, and good Whisperers, then good Magistrates and officers. And much like is the reaason of deformed persons. Still the grounde is, they will if they be of spiritt seeke to free themselves from skorne, which must be either by vertue, or malice; and therefore they prove either the beft of Men, or the worst, or strangely mixed.

12 After Possession. Honorum, of honours.'
13 Obnoxious. Obnoxii, 'submissive.'
14 Ground. Regula, quam antea posuimus, 'the rule, which we have before laid down.'
So that, upon the matter, in a great Wit, *Deformity is an Advantage to Rising.* Kings in Ancient Times, (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put Great Trust in *Eunuchs*; Because they, that are Envious towards All, are more Obnoxious and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons.* Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Maruelled, if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; As was Agesilaus, Zanger the Sonne of Solyman, *Æsopæ, Gafca President of Peru;* And *Socrates may goe likewise amongst them,* with Others.

15 Scorne. *Derisu et Ignominia,* 'scorn and ignominy.'
19. Of Young Men and Age.

Man that is young in yeares may be old in houres, if he have lost noe tyme; but that happeneth rarely. Generally youth is like the first cogitations not so wise, as the second; For there is a youth in thoughtes as well as in Ages.

Natures that have much heate, and great and violent desiers, and perturbacions, are not ripe for acction, till they have passed the Meridian of their yeares;

but reposèd Natures may doe well in youth,

as on thother side heat and vivacity in age is an

IV. 1612. at. 52.

23. Of Young Men and Age.

Man that is young in yeares, may bee old in houres; if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: For there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages.

Natures that haue much heat, and great and violent desiers and perturbations, are not ripe for action, till they haue passed the meridian of their yeeres;

but reposèd natures may doe well in youth:

as on the other side heat and vivacity in age is an

1 Title. De Juventute et Senectute, 'of youth and age.'
2 Great. Omitted in the Latin.
3 Perturbations. Perturbationibus, huc illuc impelluntur, 'are driven hither and thither by perturbations.'
Man that is Young in yeares, may be Old in Houres, if he haue lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second. For there is a youth in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Inuention of Young Men, is more liuely, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Diuinely.

Natures that haue much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they haue passd the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with Iulius Cæsar, and Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom, it is said; *luuentutem egit, Erroribus, imo Furoribus, plenam.* And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the Litt. But Reposed Natures may doe well in Youth. As it is seene, in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others.

On the other side, Heate and Viuacity in Age, is an

\[a\] He spent a youth full of errors, and even of furies. \(\&\) Spartanus, *Vita Septimi Severi* 2.

\[4\] Ablest. *Celeberrimus,* 'most famous.'

\[5\] Reposed. *Sedata et composita,* 'settled and composed.'

\[6\] Doe well. *Florere,* 'flourish.'
excellent Composicion for busines. Yonge Men are fitter to invent, then to judge, fitter for execution, then for Councell, and fitter for new projects, then for fetled businesse, for the experience of Age in things that fall within the Compasse of it, directeth them, but in things meerely new abuseth them. The errors of yong Men are the ruyne of businesse, but the errors of aged Men amount but to this, that more ought have beene done, or sooner. Yonge men in the Conduet and manage of actions embrace more then they can hold; flirre more then they can quiet; flye to th'end without consideracion of the meanes, and degrees; pursue some few Principles, which they have chanced vpon absurdly; Care not to inno- vate, which draws vnknowne inconveniences; vfe extreame remedies at first; and that which doubleth all errors, will

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excellent composition for businesse. Young men are fitter to inuente then to judge; fitter for execution then for Counsell; and fitter for new projects, then for setled businesse. For the experience of age in things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them: but in things meerely new abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruine of businesse. But the errors of aged men, amount but to this; that more might haue bin done, or sooner.

Young men in the conduct and manmage of Actions, embrace more then they can hold, flirre more then they can quiet, flie to the end without consideration of the meanes, and degrees, pursue some fewe principles, which they haue chanced vpon absurdly, care not to inuocate, which draws vnknowne inconueniences; vfe extreme remedies at first; and that which doubleth all errors, will

7 Pursue. Absurde perseguuntur, 'pursue absurdly.'
8 Absurdly. Omitted in the Latin.
Excellent Composition for Business. Young Men, are Fitter to Inven, then to Judge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Projects, then for Setled Business. For the Experience of Age, in Things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; But in New Things, abufeth them. The Errours of Young Men are the Ruine of Business; But the Errours of Aged Men amount but to this; That more might have beene done, or sooner. Young Men, in the Conduct, and Manage of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles, which they have chanced upon absurdly; Care not to Innovate, which draws unknowne Inconueniences; Vse extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will

9 Care not to Innovate, which draws unknowne Inconueniences. Omitted in the Latin. [This is evidently misplaced, and is an error of Age.]
not acknowledge nor retract them, like an unready horse that will neither stop nor turne. Men of age object to much, consult to long, adventure to little, repent to soone, and feldome drive businesse home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly, it is good to compound imployments of both. For that will bee good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both, and good for succession, that yong Men may be Learners, while Men in age are Actours; and lastly in respect of externe accidentes, because authority followeth old Men, and favour, and popularity youth. But for the morall part, perhaps youth will have the preheminence, as Age hath for the politique. A certaine Rab-

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not acknowledge nor retract them; like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turne. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soone, and feldome drive businesse home to the full period; but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound imployments of both: for that will bee good for the present; because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may bee learners, while men in age are Actors: and lastly, in respect of externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the morall part: perhaps youth will haue the preheminence, as age hath for the politike. A certaine Rab-

10 Aduenture too little. Pericula plusquam expedit reformidant, 'fear dangers more than is expedient.'
11 Repent too soone. Pantentia propropera vacillant, 'waver with too hasty repentance.'
12 Good. Bonum in Negotiis, 'good in business.'
not acknowledge or retract them; Like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop, nor Turne. Men of Age, Obie&ct too much, Consult too long, Adven-ture too little, Repent too soone, and seldom drie Business home to the full Period; But content them-selves with a Mediocrity of Success. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good for the Present, because the Ver-tues of either Age, may correct the defects of both. And good for Succession, that Young Men may be Learners, while Men in Age are Actours: And lastly, Good for Externe Accidents, because Authority followeth Old Men, And Favour and Popu-larity Youth. But for the Morall Part, perhaps Youth will have the prehemi-nence, as Age hath for the Politique. A certaine Rab-

12 Both. Et Senum, et Juvenum, 'both of old and young men.'
14 Succession. Futuro, 'for the future.'
15 Are Actours. Moderentur, 'govern.'
16 Followeth. Senes Auctoritate, Juvenes Gratia et Popularitate, pos-lent, 'old men are strong in authority, young men in favour and popularity.'
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by vpon the Text, your young Men shall see visions, and your old Men shall dreame Dreames, inferreth that young Men are admitted nearer to God, then Old, because a Vision is a clearer revelation, then a dreame. And certainly the more a Man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth, and age doth profit rather in the powers of the understanding, then in the vertues of the will, and affections.

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by vpon the Text, Your Young men shall see visions, and your Old men shall dreame Dreames: inferreth, that young men are admitted neerer to God then old, because vision is a clearer revelation, then a dreame. And certainlie, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, then in the vertues of the will and affections.

17 Clearer. *Clario er manifestior,* 'clearer and more manifest.'
18 Yeares. *Juventute,* 'youth.'
19 Fadeth betimes. *Sed currentibus annis cito morsecunt; et deveniunt evanidi,* 'but as years pass on, soon wither and become weak.'
20 Becomes. *In Juvene landatur,* 'is praised in a young man.'
21 Tract of yeares. *Ætas proiectior,* 'more advanced age.'
OF YOUTH AND AGE.

V.

bine, upon the Text; Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dream dreams; a Inferreth, that Young Men are admitted nearer to God then Old; Because Vision is a clearer\textsuperscript{17} Revelation, then a Dreame. And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; And Agedoth profit rather in the Powers of Understanding, then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an Over-early Ripeness in their yeares,\textsuperscript{18} which fadeth betimes:\textsuperscript{19} These are first, Such as have Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soon turned; Such as was Hermogenes the Rhetorician, whose Books are exceeding Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that have some natural disposition, which have better Grace in Youth, then in Age: Such as is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech; which becomes\textsuperscript{20} Youth well, but not Age: So Tully faith of Hortentius; Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.\textsuperscript{b} The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares\textsuperscript{21} can uphold. As was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy\textsuperscript{c} faith in effect; Vitima primis cedebant.\textsuperscript{d}

\textsuperscript{a} Joel. ii. 28.
\textsuperscript{b} He remained the same, but it did not equally become him. Cic. Brutus. 95.
\textsuperscript{c} Livy, xxxviii. 53.
\textsuperscript{d} The last things fell short of the first. Ovid. Heroides ix. 23. 24.
Yet some there are that lead a single life whose thoughtes doe end with themselves,


1 Either of Vertue. *Sive ad Virtutem tendat quis, 'whether a man inclines to virtue,'*

2 Best works. *Ut alibi diximus 'as we have said elsewhere.' [This clause was added to the Latin version in 1625. It probably refers to the passage added in the last English edition of the next Essay, see p. 273. Mr W. A. Wright quotes also the following like passage from In felicem memoriam Elizabethae, translated in the *Resuscitatio*, p. 186, Ed. 1657. "Childlesse she was, and left no Issue behind Her; which was the Case of many, of the most fortunate Princes; Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Trajan, and*
E that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath giuen Hoftages to Fortune; For they are Impediments, to great Enterprises, either of Vertue, or Mischiefe. Certainly, the beft workes, and of greatest Merit for the Publike, haue proceeded from the *vnmarried*, or *Childlesse Men*; which.

both in Affection, and Meanes, haue married and endowed the Publike. Yet it were great Reason, that thofe that haue *Children*, fhould haue greateft care of future times; vnto which, they know, they must transmit, their deareft pledges.

Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their Thoughts doe end with themselues.

others. And this is a Case, that hath been often controverted, and argued, on both sides; Whilst some hold, the *want of Children*, to be a *Diminution*, of our *Happinesse*; As if it should be an Estate, more then Human, to be happy, both in our own *Persons*, and in our *Descendants*: But others, do account, the *want of Children*, as an *Addition* to *Earthly Happinesse*; In as much, as that *Happinesse*, may be said, to be compleat, over which *Fortune* hath no Power, when we are gone: Which, if we leaue *Children*, cannot be."

3 Vnmarried. Omitted in the Latin.
4 *After Single Life.* Tamen Memorix sua incuriosis sunt, 'yet are careless of their memory.'
and doe count future times, impertinencies. Nay there are some others, that esteeme wife and children, but as bills of charges;

but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certaine self pleasure, and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restriction, as they will goe neere to thinke their girdles, and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants, not alwaies best subjects, for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life is proper for Churchmen; For Charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a poole; it is indifferent for Judges, and Magis-

But the most ordinary cause of a single life, is liberty; especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restriction, as they will goe neere to thinke their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends; best masters; best servants; not alwaies best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life is proper for Churchmen. For charity will hardly water the ground, where it must first fill a poole. It is indifferent for Judges and Magis-

5 Rich couetous. Avari, 'avaricious.'
6 Humorous. Phantastici, 'fantastic.'
7 Light. Expediti, 'unencumbered.'
and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay there are some other, that account *Wife and Children*, but as Bills of Charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous\(^5\) Men, that take a pride in having no *Children*, because they may be thought, so much the richer. For perhaps, they have heard some talk; *Such an one is a great rich Man*; And another except to it; *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*: As if it were an Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life*, is Liberty; especially, in certaine Selfe-pleasing, and humorous\(^6\) Mindes, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters, to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends; best Masters; best Servants; but not alwayses best Subjects; For they are light\(^7\) to runne away; And almost all Fugitives are of that Condition. *A Single Life* doth well with Church men:\(^8\) For Charity\(^9\) will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole.\(^10\) It is indifferent for Judges and Magif-

\(^5\) Church men. *Ecclesiasticis, ‘clergymen.’\)

\(^6\) Charity. *Quis, ‘any one.’*

\(^7\) Poole. *Si prius Stagnalius, receptaculum interveniat, ‘if a reservoir of water is interposed.’*
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trates; for if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Seruaunte five tyme[s w]orfe then a Wife. For Souldiours I finde the [genera]lls commonlye in theire hortatives putt Men in [minde] of theire wives, and Children, and I thinke the [despifin]g of Marriage amongst the Turkes maketh [the vulg]ar Souldior more base. Certainly wife, [and ch]ildren are a kind of discipline of humanity [and single men are more cruell, and hard hearted [go]od to make feuere Inquisitours.

Grave Natures led by Custome, and therefore con- 
stant are commonly loving husbandes, as was saied of 
Vlisses, vetulam praetulit immortalitatii. Chaste 
Women are often proud, and froward as presuming vpon the meritt of theire Chastitye. It is one of the best 
bandes both of Chastitye

IV. 1612. act. 52. 

trates. For if they be facile and corrupt, you shall haue a seruant five fue times worfe then a wife. For Souldiers, I finde the Generals commonly in their hortatues, put men in minde of their wives, and children: and I thinke the despifying of marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar Souldier more base. Certainely, wife and children are a kinde of discipline of humanity: and single men are more cruell and hard-hearted; good to make feuere inquisitours.

Graue natures led by custome, and therefore con- 
stant, are commonly lousing husbandes: as was saied of Vlisses; Vetulam praetulit immortalitati. Chaste 
women are often proud and froward, as presuming vpon the meritt of their chastity. It is one of the best 
bandes both of chastity

11 Worse. Ad iujusmodi Lucra captanda, 'at getting gain of this kind.'  
12 Wiues and Children. Charitates Vxorum et Liberorum, 'the love of their wives and children.'  
13 Charitable. Munifici et charitativi, 'munificent and charitable.'  
14 Hard hearted. Sine visceribus, 'without bowels.'
trates: For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Servant, five times worse¹¹ than a Wife. For Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatiues, put Men in minde of their Wines and Children.¹² And I thinke the Despifing of Marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar souldier more base. Certainly, Wife and Children, are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity: And sngle Men, though they be many times more Charitable,¹³ because their Meanes are lesse exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruell, and hard hearted,¹⁴ (good to make feuere Inquiritors) because their Tendernesse,¹⁵ is not so oft called vpon.¹⁶

Graue Natures, led by Cuftome, and therfore conftant, are commonly louing Husbands; As was faid of Vlyfes; Vetulam fuum praetulit Immortalitati.ᵉ Chaft Women areoften Proud, and froward, as Presuming vpon the merit of their Chaftity. It is one of the beft Bonds, both of Chaftity

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¹¹ He preferred his little old woman to immortality. [i.e. to Circe.] Cic. De Oratore. i. 44.

¹² Tendernesse. Indulgentia et Teneritudo Affectuum, 'indulgence and tenderness of the affections.'

¹³ Called vpon. Evocatur, et excitatur, 'called out and roused up.'
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and obedience in the wife, if shee thinke her husband wife, which shee will never doe, if shee finde him icalous. Wives are younge mens mistresses, Companions to men of midle age, and old Mens Nurdes. So as a Man may have a quarrell to marrye when he will, but yet he was reputed one of the Wife Men, that made aunswere to the question When a Man should marrie, A younger Man not yet, an elder Man not at all.

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and obedience in the wife; if shee thinke her husband wife; which shee will neuer doe, if shee finde him icalous. Wives are young mens mistresses; companions for middle age; and old mens nourses. So as a man may haue a quarrell to marry when, hee will; but yet hee was reputed one of the wise men, that made answere to the question; When a man should marrie? A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.

17 Quarrell. Ansa, 'handie.'
18 When he will. Ætatis singulis, 'at every age.'
19 It rayseth the Price of. Hoc modo pretium addatur, 'in this manner value is added to.'
20 Choosing. Expetiti et electi fuerint, 'were desired and chosen.'
and Obedience, in the Wife, if She thinke her Husband Wife; which She will neuer doe, if She finde him Jealous. Wives are young Mens Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Mens Nurces. So as a Man may haue a Quarrell to marry, when he will. But yet, he was reputed one of the wife Men, that made Answere to the Question; When a Man should marry? A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all. It is often see, that bad Husbands, haue very good Wives; whether it be, that it rayseth the Price of their Husbands Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the Wives take a Pride, in their Patience. But this never faileth, if the bad Husbands were of their owne choosing, against their Friends consent; For then, they will be sure, to make good their owne Folly.

a Thales being asked, when a Man should marrie, sayd: Young Men not yet, old Men not at all. Lord Bacon's Apoth. No. 220. Ed. 1625.

21 Will be sure. Animus iis semper adest, 'they will always have a mind.'

22 Make good. Pœnitere non videantur, 'not to seem to repent.'
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23. Of Parents and Children.

He Ioyes of Parentes are secrett, and so are theire greifes, and feares; they cannot vutter the one, nor they will not vutter the other. Children sweeten laboures, but they make misfortunes more bitter, they encrease the Cares of life, but they mittigate the remembraunce of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to [east]es, but memorie, and meritt, and noble workes are [proper] to Men.

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6. Of Parents and Children.

He ioyes of Parentes are secret, and so are their griefs and feares: they cannot vutter the one, nor they will not vutter the other. Children sweeten labors, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mittigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuitie by generation, is common to beasts; but memorie, merit, and noble works are proper to men.

They that are the rayfers of theire h[ouses are] moost indulgent towards theire Children, beh[olding th]em, as the contynuance not onely of theire ki[nd, but] of theire worke, and so both Chil-


1 Labours. Labores humanes, 'human labours.'
2 Noble. Omitted in the Latin.
He joyes of Parents are Secret;
And so are their Griefes, and Pcares: They cannot utter the one; Nor they will not utter the other. 

Children sweeten Labours;¹ But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory, Merit, and Noble² workes, are proper to Men:

And surely a Man shall see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, have proceeded from Childleffe Men; which have fought to express the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies have failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that have no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses,³ are most Indulgent towards their Children; Beholding them, as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their Worke;⁴ And so both Chil-

¹ First Raisers. Houses. Qui Honores in Familiam suam primit introducunt, 'those who first bring honour into their families.'
² But of their Worke. Sed ut Kerum a se gestarum Heeredes: 'but as the heirs of their work.'
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dren, and Cr[atures].
The difference of affection, in Parentes, tow[ardes their]e seve rall Children is manie tymes vnequall [and] sometymes vnworthie, specially in the mother, as Salomon saieth. A wife fonne reioyce the father, but an vngracious fonne shames the Mother. A Man shall see where there is a howsefull of Children, one, or two of the eld[est respe]cted, and the yong[east made wantons, but in the midle, some that are as it were forgotten, who nevertheless prove the beft. The illerality of Parents in allowance towards theire Children is an harmefull errour, makes them base, acquaintes them with thiftes makes them forte with meane Companie, and makes them surfeit more, when they come to plenty; And therefore the profe is beft, when Men keepe theire authority towards theire Children, but not theire purse. Men have

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dren and creatures.
The difference of affection in parents towards their seve rall children, is many times vnequall; and sometymes vnworthie; specially in the mother; as Salomon faith: A wife fonne reioyce the Father, but an vngracious fonne shames the mother. A man shall see where there is a howse full of children, one, or two of the eld[est respe]cted, and the yong[east made wantons; but in the midle, some that are as it were forgotten; who nevertheless prove the beft. The illerality of Parents in allowance towards their children is an harmefull errour: makes them base; acquaints them with thiftes, makes them forte with meane companie; and makes them surfeit more, when they come to plenty. And therefore the profe is beft, when men keepe their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have

5 House full of Children. Domo secunda, et Liberorum plena, 'a prolific house, full of children.'
The difference in Affection, of Parents, towards their several Children, is many times unequall; And sometimes unworthy; Especially in the mother; As Salomon faith; *A wife fonne rejoiceth the Father; but an vngracious fonne shames the Mother.* A Man shall see, where there is a House full of Children, one or two, of the Eldest, respected, and the Youngest made wantons; But in the midst, some that are, as it were forgotten who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best.

The Illiberality of Parents, in allowance towards their Children, is an harmefull Error; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfeit more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proofe is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their Children, but not their Purse. *Men haue

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* Prov. x. 1.
* But not their Purse. *Crumenam laxant,* 'loosen their purse.'
A foolish manner, both Parents Schoole-Maistres, and Seruantes in creating, and breeding an emulation betweene brothers during Childhood, which mancie tymes forteth to discord when they are Men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference betweene Children, and Nephues, or neare Kinsfolkes; but so they be of the lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne body; and to saie Truth in nature it is much a like matter, in so much that wee see a Nephewe sometime reembleth an vnkle, or a kinsman more then his owne Parent, as the bloud happens.

Choose the best, habit will easily and pleasantly bring it to pass. A saying of Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch. De Exilio. c. 8.

Vocations, and Courses. Cui vitae Generi, 'what kind of life.'

Flexible. Flexibles, et cerei, 'flexible and soft (like wax).'

Extraordinary. Erga aliquod Studium insignis, 'extraordinary towards any pursuit.'

Crosse it. Nature, aut Indoli repugnet, 'resist nature or disposition.'

Fortunate. Fortune Filii, 'sons of fortune.'

Seldom or never. Sed raro, aut nunquam, prosperum sortiuntur Exitum, 'but rarely or never, do they obtain a happy end.'
a foolishe manner (both Parents, and Schoole-masters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during Childhood, which many times forteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth Families. The Italians make little difference betweene Children, and Nephewes, or neere Kinfiolkes; But so they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Uncle, or a Kinfman, more then his owne Parent; As the Bloud happens. Let Parents choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane their Children should take; For then they are most flexible; And let them not too much apply themselues, to the Disposition of their Children, as thinking they will take best to that, which they have most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection or Aptnesse of the Children, be Extraordinary, then it is good, not torosse it; But generally the Precept is good; Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet Consuetudo. Younger Brothers are commonly Fortunate, butfeldome or neuer, where the Elder are disinherited.
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24. Of Great Place.

En in great place, are thrice servuauntes; servuauntes of the Sovereigne, or State, servuauntes of fame, and servuauntes of businesse; so as they have noe freedome, neither in theire persons, nor in theire actions, nor in theire times. It is a strange desire to seeke power, and to loose liberty, or to seeke power over others, and to loose power over a Mans self. The rising vnto place is laborious, and by paynes Men come to greater paines; and it is sometymes base, and by Indignities Men come to Dignities; the standing is slippery, and the regresse is either a downfall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholie thing.
Nay, retire men cannot when they would, Neither will they when it were

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8. Of Great Place.

En in great place, are thrice servuauntes; servuauntes of the Soueraigne, or State; servuauntes of fame, and servuauntes of businesse. So as they have no freedome, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seeke power, and to lose liberty: or to seeke power ouer others, and to lose power ouer a mans selfe. The rising vnto place is laborious, and by paines men come to greater paines: and it is sometymes base, and by indignities men come to dignities: the standing is slippery; and the regresse is either a downfall, or at least an Eclipse; which is a melancholy thing.
Nay, retire, men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were


1 Title. De Magistratibus & Dignitatibus, ‘of magistracries & dignities.’
2 Losc. Exuere, ‘cast off.’
3 Base. Indignitatibus non vacat; ‘is not without indignities.’
En in *Great Place*, are thrice *Servants*: Servants
of the Souer-
aigne or State; Serv-
ants of Fame; and Serv-
ants of Business. So as
they haue no Freedome;
nor in their Persons;
nor in their Actions; nor in
their Times. It is a strange
desire, to seeke Power, and
to lose\(^2\) Libertie; Or to
seeke Power ouer others,
and to lose Power ouer a
Mans Selfe. The Rising
unto *Place* is Laborious;
And by Paines Men come
to greater Paines; And it
is sometimes base;\(^3\) And
by Indignities, Men come
to Dignities. The standing\(^4\) is flippery, and the
Regresse, is either a downe-
fall, or at least an Eclipse,
which is a Melancholy\(^5\)
Thing. *Cùm non fis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vuiere.*\(^a\)
Nay, retire Men cannot,
when they would; neither
will they, when it were

\(^a\) *When thou art no longer what thou wast, why wishest thou to live.*
Cicero. *Epistole Familiares.* (ad Marium) vii. 3.

\(^4\) Standing. *Statio in Dignitatibus,* 'the standing in dignities.'

\(^5\) Melancholy. *Triste quiddam, et Melancholicum,* 'is a sad thing and
melancholy.'
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reason, but are impatient of privatenes, even in age and sicknes which requier the shaddowe.

Certainly great persons had neede to borrowe other Mens opinions to thinke themselves happie; for if they iudge by theire owne feeling, they cannot finde it; but if they thinke with themselves, what other Men thinke of them, and that other Men would faine be as they are, then they are happie as it were by reporte, when perhaps they finde the contrary within; for they are the first, that finde theire owne greifes, though they bee the last that finde theire owne faultes. Certainly Men in great fortunes are Straungers to themselves, and while they are in the pufle of businesse, they haue no etyme to tend their health either of body, or minde, Illi mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis

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reason; but are impatient of privateneis, even in age and sicknesse, which require the shadow.

Certainly, great persons had need to borrow other mens opinions, to thinke themselves happy: for if they iudge by their owne feeling, they cannot find it; but if they thinke with themselves, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when perhaps they finde the contrarie within; for they are the first that finde their owne grieses, though they bee the last that finde their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the pufle of busineses they haue no time to tend their health, either of body or mind. Illi mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis

6 Reason. Cum ratio postulat ut id facerent, 'when reason demands that they should do it.'
7 Sicknesse. Infirmitas ingruit, 'weakness attacks them.'
8 Shadow. Umbrae et Ouium, 'shadow and ease.'
Reason: But are impatient of privateneffe, euen in Age, and Sicknesse, which require the Shadow: Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age to Scorne. Certainly Great Persons, had need to borrow other Mens Opinions; to thinke themselves happy; For if they judge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselves, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Grieves; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the pusle of businesse, they haue no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Minde. *Illi Mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis*

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9 Age. *Se, 'themselves.'*
10 Great. *In Magistratibus positis, 'placed in offices.'*
11 In the pusle of. *Distrabuntur, 'are distracted by.'*
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

omnibus, ignotus moritur fíbi. In place, there is licence to doe good, and evill; Whereof the latter is a Curfe; For in evill, the best condicion is, not to will, the secong, not to can: But power to doe good, is the true and lawfull end of aspiringe. For good thoughtes (though God accept them) yet towards Men are little better then good dreams, except they be putt in act, and that cannott be without power, and place, as the vantage and Commaunding ground. Meritt is the End of Mans mocion, and Conscience of Merite is the accomplishtement of Mans Reft. For if a Man can in anie meaure be partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be partaker of Gods rest. _Et converfus Deus vi aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus sua, vidit quod omnia effent bona nimis, and then the Sabbath._ In the discharge of thie place, ssett before

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omnibus, ignotus moritur fíbi. In place there is licence to doe good and evill: wherof the latter is a curfe: for in euill the best condition is, not to will; the secong not to can. But power to doe good, is the true and lawfull end of aspiring. For good thoughts, (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better then good dreams: except they be put in Art; and that cannot be without power and place; as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit is the ende of mans motion; and conscience of merit is the accomplishment of mans rest. For if a man can in any measure be partaker of Gods Theater he shall likewise be partaker of Gods rest. _Et converfus Deus vi aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus sua, vidit quod omnia effent bona nimis, and then the Sabbath._ In the discharge of thy place, ssett before

12 For if a man can be partaker . . . God's Rest. Omitted in the Latin.
omnibus, ignotus moritur jibi. In Place, There is License to doe Good, and Euill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Euill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power to doe good, is the true and lawful End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit, and good Works, is the End of Mans Motion; And Conscience of the fame, is the Accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man, can

be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest. Et conquer-fus Deus, et aspiceret Opera, quae fecerunt manus fiae, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis; And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy Place, set before

a Death lies heavily on the man, who too well known to all, dies a stranger to himself. Seneca. Thyestes. Act ii. (Chorus).
b Genesis i. 31.
c See p. 101.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III. 1607-12. at. 47-52.</th>
<th>IV. 1612. at. 52.</th>
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<tr>
<td>thee the best Exemples;</td>
<td>thee the best examples;</td>
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<td>For Imitacion is a Globe</td>
<td>for imitation is a globe</td>
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<td>of Preceptes. And after a</td>
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<td>tyme, set before the thyne</td>
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<td>amine thine self strictly,</td>
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<td>Whether thou didst not get</td>
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Reforme without braverye, or Scandale of former tymes, and persons, but yet set it downe to thine self, aswell to create good Presidents, as to followe them. Reduce things to the first Institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet aske Councell of both tymes; of the auncient tyme what is best, and of the latter tyme what is fittest. Seeke to make thine course regular, that Men may knowe before hand what they may expect, but be not to positive, and expresse thine self.

Reforme without bravery or scandall of former times and persons, but yet set it downe to thy selfe, aswell to create good presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet aske counsell of both times; of the ancient time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seeke to make thy course reguler, that men may knowe before hand what they may expect; but be not too positive, and expresse thy selfe.

13 Best at first. *Melius inceperis, quam persisteres,* 'begin better than you went on.'
14 Make thy Course Regular. *Ut qua agis pro Potestate, tanquam Regulis*
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V. 1625. \( \text{v} \).

thee the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee, thine owne Example; And examine thyself strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that have carried themselves ill, in the same Place: Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe, what to avoid. Reforme therfore, without Brauerie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Persons; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and observe, wherin, and how, they have degenerate; but yet aske Counsell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular; that Men may know before hand, what they may expect: But be not too positive, and peremptorie; And express thy selfe

\textit{quibusdam cohibantur}, 'that your actions for power, may be restrained by certain rules.'

13 Know before hand. \textit{Ut Hominibus tanquam digito monstrs}, 'that you may point out to men, as if with your finger.'

14 Thy selfe. \textit{Quid sit quod agas}, 'what it is you do.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

well, when thou digressest from this rule; Preferve the rightes of this place, but flirre not questions of Jurisdiccion, and rather assume this right in silence and de facto, then voyce it with claims and Challenges. Preferve likewise the rightes of inferiour places, and thinke it more honor, to direct in chief, then to be busie in all. Imbrace, and invite helps, and in-telligence, touching thy execution of this place; and doe not drive away such as bring thee Information, as Medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of Authority are chiefly 4. Delaies, Corruption, Roughnes, and Facility. For Delayes, give easie accessse; keepe tymes appointed; goe through with that which is in hand, and interlace not businesse but of necessitye. For Corruption, doe not only

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preferue the rights of thy place, but flirre not questiones of Jurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence and de facto, then voice it with claims, and challenges. Preferue likewise the rights of inferiour places; and thinke it more honour, to direct in chief, then to be busie in all. Imbrace and invite helps, and intelligence touching the execution of thy place; and doe not drive away such as bring thee information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly foure. Delaies, Corruptions. Roughnesse, and Facility. For Delayes, giue easie accessse; keepe times appointed; goe through with that which is in hand, and interlace not businesse, but of necessity. For Corruption, do not only

17 Assume. Assumas et exerceas, 'assume and exercise.'
18 Voice. Cum strepitu suscites, et agites, 'noisily raise and move.'
19 Preservue. Defende, et ne destitue, 'defend and do not desert.'
20 Inferiour. Inferiorum Munerum, tibi subordinatarum, 'inferior places subordinate to yourself.'
V. 1625. æt. 65.

well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preferue the Right of thy Place; but firre not questions of Jurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right, in Silence, and de facto, then voice it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preferue likewise, the Rights of Inferiour Places; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, and inuite Helps, and Aduices, touching the Execution of thy Place; And doe not drive away such as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of Authoritie are chiefly foure: Delaies; Corruption; Roughnesse; and Facilitie. For Delaies; Giue earie Accesse; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse, but of necelitie. For Corruption; Doe not only

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21 Accept. *Allieias, et recipias, 'draw to you and accept.'*

22 Authority. *In Auctoritate utenda, et exercenda, 'in using and exercising authority.'*

23 Delaies. *Mora nimia, 'too much delay.'*
bind thine owne handes, or thie Seruauntes handes, that may take, but bind the handes of them that should offer. For Integrity vfed doth the one, but Integrity professed, and with a manifest deteflation of Bribery doth the other. And avoyd not onely the faulte, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changing manifestly without manifest cause, giveth Suspicion of Corruption.

A Servaunt, or a Favourite if he bee inward, and noe other apparaunt cause of esteeme, is commonly thought but a by-way. For roughnes, it is a needlesse cause of Discontent. Severity breedeth feare, but roughnes breedeth hate. Even Reprofoes from authoritye, ought to be grave, and

A seruant or a faourite if he be inward, and no other apparaunt cause of esteeme: is commonly thought but a by-way. For roughnes it is a needlesse cause of discontent. Seueritie breedeth feare, but roughnes breedeth hate. Even reproofes from authoritye, ought to be graue and

24 Manifest. Omitted in the Latin.
25 Opinion. Opinione tua quam declarasti, 'the opinion you have declared.'
26 Course. Processu quem incepisti, 'the course you have begun.'
27 Declare it. Sedulo declares, et inculces, 'carefully declare and impress it.'
V. 1625. æt. 65.

binde thine owne Hands, or thy Servants hands, from taking; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offering. For Integritie vsed doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest detection of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, gueth Suspicion of Corruption. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changeft thine Opinion, or Courfe, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reafons, that moue thee to change; And doe not thinke to fleale it.

A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparent Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close Corruption. For Roughnesse; It is a needlefe caufe of Discontent. Seueritie breedeth Feare, but Roughnesse breedeth Hate. Euen Reproofes from Authoritie, ought to be Graue, and

28 Inward. Servus gratiosus, et apud Dominum potens, 'a favourite servant having influence with his master.'
29 Close. Omitted in the Latin.
30 Discontent. Invidiam, et Malevolentiam, 'envy and ill-will.'
31 Breedeth. Incutit, 'inflicts.'
not knowing. As for

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not Taunting. As for Facilitie; It is worfe then Bribery. For Bribes come\textsuperscript{32} but now and then; But if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall neuer be without. As Salomon faith; To respect Persons, is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a pece of Bread.\textsuperscript{a} It is most true, that was anciently spoken; A place sheweth the Man: And it sheweth some to the better and some to the worfe: Omnium consensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset;\textsuperscript{b} faith Tacitus of Galba: but of Vespasian he faith; Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.\textsuperscript{c} Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie,\textsuperscript{33} the other of Manners, and Affection. It is an assured Signe, of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom Honour amends. For Honour is, or should be, the Place of Vertue: And as in Nature, Things moue violently to their Place, and calmly

\textsuperscript{a} Prov. xxviii. 21.
\textsuperscript{b} In the opinion of all he was capable of Empire, had he not ruled. Tacitus. History. i. 49.
\textsuperscript{c} Vespasian, alone of the Emperors, changed for the better. Tacitus. History. i. 50.
in their place; so vertue in ambition is violent, in authority fetled.

in their place; so vertue in ambition is violent, in authority, fetled and calme.

34 Authority. *In Honore adopto,* 'when the honour is gained.'
35 Calme. Omitted in the Latin.
36 Fairly, and tenderly. *Illasam,* 'unhurt.'
37 Paid. *A Successore tuo,* 'by your successor.'
38 Respect. *Amice tracta,* 'treat in a friendly manner.'
in their Place: So Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authority\textsuperscript{34} setled and calme.\textsuperscript{35} All Rising to Great Place, is by a winding Staire: And if there be Factions, it is good, to fide a Mans selfe, whilest hee is in the Rising; and to ballance Hismelfe, when hee is placed. Vfe the Memory of thy Predecessor fairely, and tenderly;\textsuperscript{36} For if thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be paid,\textsuperscript{37} when thou art gone. If thou haue Colleagues, re-\textsuperscript{38}pect them, and rather call them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when they haue reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible, or too re-\textsuperscript{39}membriug, of thy Place, in Conuerfation, and pruvate Answers to Suitors;\textsuperscript{39} But let it rather be said: \textit{When he sits in Place,}\textsuperscript{40} he is another Man.

\textsuperscript{34} Conuersation, and private Answers to Suitors. \textit{Quotidianis sermonibus, aut conversatione privata, 'in daily discourse or private conversation.'}

\textsuperscript{35} Sits in Place. \textit{Sedet, et munus suum exercet, 'sits and exercises his office.'}
T is a miserable state of minde to have few things to desire, and manie things to feare; and yet that commonly is the Case of Kings who being at the higheft, want matter of desire, which makes theire mindes the more languishing, and have many repre- sentations of perillles, and shadowes, which makes theire mindes the leffe cleare. And this is one reason alsoe of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of *That the Kings heart is infercutable*; For multitude of Iealousyes, and lacke of some predom- inant desire, that shoule marshall, and putt in order all the rest, maketh Mens heartes hard to finde, or found. Hence comes it likewise, that Princes manie tymes make them- selves Desieres, and set their hearts vponn Toyes,
It is a miserable State of Minde, to have few Things to desire, and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the Case of Kings; Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Minde more Languishing; And haue many Representations of Perills and Shadowes,¹ which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason alfo of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of:² That the Kings heart is inscrutable.² For Multitude of Iealousies, and Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order³ all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or found.⁴ Hence it comes likewise, that Princes, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts vpon toyes:

¹ Prov. xxv. 3.
² Imperet, 'command.' ³ Marshall and put in order. ⁴ Finde, or sound. Exploratu, 'examine.'
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fometymes vpon a building,

fometymes vponn the advauncing of a person, fometymes vponn obtaining excellencie in some art, or feate of the hand,

and such things which feeme incredible to thofe that knowe not this principle That the minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed by profitinge in fmale things, then by flanding at a flay in great. Therefore great, and fortunate Conquerours in theirire first yeares,

tourne Melancholie and superflitious in theirire later, As did Alexander the great, and in our memorie Charles the fift, and manie others. Ffor he that is vfed to goe forarde, and findeth a flopp falleth out of his owne favour.

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fometymes vpon a building; sometimes vpon an order;

fometymes vponn the advauncing of a person; sometimes vpon obtaining excellency in some Arte, or feate of the hand:

and such like things, which feeme incredible to thofe that know not the principle; That the minde of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, then by standing at a slay in great. Therefore great and fortunate Conquerors in theirire first yeeres,

turne melancholy and superflitious in theirire latter, As did Alexander the great, and in our memory Charles the fifth, and many others. For he that is vfed to goe forward, and findeth a slopppe, falleth out of his owne fauour.

5 Building. *Aedificia extruenda,* 'erecting buildings.'

6 Order. *Ordinem aliquem aut Collegium,* 'some order or college.'
Sometimes upon a Building;\textsuperscript{5} Sometimes upon Erecting of an Order;\textsuperscript{6} Sometimes upon the Advancing of a Person; Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As \textit{Nero} for playing on the Harpe, \textit{Domitian} for Certainty of Hand with the Arrow, \textit{Commodus} for playing at Fence, \textit{Caracalla} for driving Chariots, and the like.\textsuperscript{7}

This seemeth incredible vnto those, that know not the Principle; \textit{That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great.} We see also that Kings, that haue beene fortunate Conquerors\textsuperscript{8} in their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must haue some Checke or Arreft in their Fortunes; turne in their latter yeares, to be Superflitious and Melancholy: As did \textit{Alexander the Great; Dioclesian; And in our memory, Charles the first; And others: For he that is vfed to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne fauour, and is not the Thing he was.}

\textsuperscript{7} And the like. Omitted in the Latin.

\textsuperscript{8} Fortunate Conquerors. \textit{In Victoriiis et provinciis subjungandis, maxime f\ae lices}, 'very fortunate in victories and in subduing provinces.'
A true temper of government is a rare thing; For both Temper, and Distemper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraryes, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent Instruction. Vespasian asked him, What was Neroes overthowe he aunswered; Nero could touch and tune the Harp well; But in government sometymes he vfed to wynde the pynnes to highe, and sometymes to let them downe to loue. And certaine it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the vnequall and vntymely interchaunge of pressing power and imbasin Maies-tie.

The wisdome of all these latter tymes in Princes affaires is rather fine Deliueryes, and shiftings of daungers and mischeifes when they are neere, then solid and grounded courses to

9 To Vespasian. Omitted in the Latin.
10 Vnequall. *Inaequalem, et quasi subsullioriam,* ‘unequal, and as it were, fitful (jumping).’
To speake now of the true Temper of Empire: It is a Thing rare, and hard to keep: For both Temper and Dif-temper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of Apollonius to Vespasian, is full of Excellent Instruction; Vespasian asked him; What was Neroes overthrow? He answered; Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Government, sometimes he used to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low. And certaine it is, that Nothing destroith Authority so much, as the vnequall and vntimely Enterchange of Power Pressed too farre, and Relaxed too much.

This is true: that the wisdome of all these latter Times in Princes Affaires, is rather fine Deliueries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare; then solid and grounded Courses to

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11 Deliueries and Shiftings. Ut conquiruntur magis et aptentur Remedia et subterfugia, 'rather to seek and apply remedies and subterfuges.'

12 Courses. Ut Prudentia solida et constanti, depellantur et summocvan-
tur, antiquam impendeant, 'to dispel and remove them by solid and cons-
sistent prudence before they are imminent.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

keepe them aloofe. But

let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; For noe Man can forbidd the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in Princes businesse are many tymes great, but the greatest difficultye is often in their owne minde. Ffor it is Common with Princes, (faith Tacitus) to will contradictories; Sunt plerunque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariae. For it is the Solœcisme of power, to thinke to commaunde the end, and yet not to endure the meane,

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keepe them aloofe. But

let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to bee prepared: for noe man can forbid the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficultnesse in Princes businesse are many times great, but the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne minde. For it is common with Princes (faith Tacitus) to will contradictories. Sunt plerunque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariae. For it is the Solocisme of power, to thinke to command the ende, and yet not to endure the meane.

13 Neglect . . . prepared. Obdormiscant circa Turbarum Materias primas, et Inchoamenta, 'slumber during the first matters and beginnings of troubles.'
14 Sparke. Scintillam, Incendium parituram, 'the spark, which will produce a conflagration.'
15 Tell. Regiones Metiri, 'judge the place.'
16 Difficulties. Difficultates et impedimenta, 'difficulties and hindrances.'
17 Great. Omitted in the Latin.
18 Minde. Affectus et mores, 'disposition and manners.'
19 Power. Potentiae nimia, 'too much power.'
keepe them aloofe. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared: ¹³ For no Man can forbid the Sparke,¹⁴ nor tell¹⁵ whence it may come. The difficulties¹⁶ in Princes Businesse, are many and great;¹⁷ But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde.¹⁸ For it is common with Princes, (faith Tacitusᵃ) to will Contradictories. Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se con- trariae. For it is the Soloccisme of Power,¹⁹ to thinke to Command²⁰ the End, and yet not to en- dure²¹ the Meane.

Kings haue to deale with their Neighbours; their Wives; their Children; their Prelates or Clergie; their Nobles; their Second-Nobles or Gentlemen; their Merchants; their Commons; and their Men of Warre; And from all these arife Dangers, if Care and Circum- fpection be not vfed.

First for their Neighbours; There can no generall Rule²² be giuen, (The Occasions are so variable,) faue

ᵃ Not Tacitus, but Sallust. Sed plerumque regio voluntates, ut vehe- mentes, sic nobiles, sive ipsae sibi adversae. ‘The wills of most kings, as they are violent, so are they fickle and often at variance with themselves.’ Jugurtha. cxiii.

²⁰ Command. Posse . . . pro arbitrio assequi, ‘to be able to attain at his desire.’
²¹ Endure. Procurare, ‘attend to.’
²² Rule. Regula aliqua certa Cautionis, ‘no certain rule of caution.’
III. 1607-12. Æt. 47-52.

IV. 1612. Æt. 52.

23 And this is generally . . . hinder it. This sentence is omitted in the Latin.
24 Emperour. Hispano, 'of Spain.'
25 Either by confederation, or if need were, by a Warre. Omitted in the Latin.
26 Lawfull. Competens et legitima, 'sufficient and lawful.'
one; which euer holdeth; which is, That Princes doe keepe due Centinell, that none of their Neighbours doe ouergrow so, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counfels to foresee, and to hinder it.23 During that Triumuirate of Kings, King Henry the 8. of England, Francis the 1. Kings of France, and Charles the 5. Emperour,24 there wag such a watch kept, that none of the Three, could win a Palme of Ground, but the other two, would straight- wales ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre:25 And would not, in any wise, take up Peace at Interefl. And the like was done by that League (which, Guicciardine faith, was the Security of Italy) made betwene Ferdinando King of Naples; Lorenzius Medices, and Ludouicus Sforza, Potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Millaine. Neither is the Opinion, of some of the Schoole-Men, to be re- ceived: That a warre cannot unjustly be made, but upon a precedent Inuiy, or Prouocation. For there is no Queftion, but a iuft Feare, of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow giuen, is a lawfull26 Cause of a Warre.

For their Wiones; There are Cruell27 Examples of them. Linia is infamed for the poysoning of her husband:28 Roxolana, Solymans Wife, was the destruction, of that renowned Prince, Sultan29 Mulfapha; And otherwise troubled his30 Houfe, and Succession: Edward the Second of England, his Queen, had the principall hand, in the Depofing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the Wiones haue Plots, for the Raifing of their owne Children.31 Or elfe that they be Aduoutrefles.

27 Cruell. Crudelia et atrocia, 'cruel and savage.'
28 Husband. Augusti, 'of Augustus.'
29 Sultan. Omitted in the Latin.
30 His. Marit sui, 'her husband's.'
31 Children. Liberos ex priore Marito, 'children by a former husband.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

32 Of dangers. Omitted in the Latin.
33 Turks. *Sultanorum,* 'of the Sultans.'
34 Strange. Omitted in the Latin.
35 Towardnesse. *Spēi,* 'hope.'
36 His other Sonne. *Qui ex filiis ejus superstitēt,* 'his son who survived.'
37 Did little better. Omitted in the Latin.
38 Repentance. *Mārore et pānitētīa,* 'grief and repentance.'
39 Bajazet. *Bajazetem patrem suum,* 'Bajazet, his father.'
For their *Children*: The Tragedies, likewise, of dangers from them, have been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha, (that we named before) was so fatal to Solymans Line, as the Succession of the Turks, from Solyman, until this day, is suspected to be untrue, and of strange Bloud; For that *Selymus* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young Prince, of rare Towardnesse, by Constantinus the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his House; For both Constantinus, and Constance, his Sons, died violent deaths; And Constantius his other Sonne, did little better; who died, indeed, of Sickness, but after that Iulianus had taken Armes against him. The destruction of Demetrius, Sonne to Philip the Second, of Macedon, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the Sons were vp, in open Armes against them; As was Selymus the first against Baiaszet; And the three Sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their Prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was, in the times of Anfelmus, and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who with their Cysters, did almost try it, with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deal with Stout and Haughty Kings; William Rufus, Henry the first, and Henry the second. The danger is not from that State, but where it hath a dependance of foraine Authority; Or where the Church-
Come in. Omitted in the Latin.

Collation. Omitted in the Latin.

Particular Patrons. *Patronis Ecclesiarum,* 'patrons of churches.'

Keep at a distance. *Suntilli certe cohibendi, et tanquam in justa dista- ncia a Solio Regali continendi,* 'they ought assuredly to be restrained, and kept as it were at a proper distance from the King's throne.'

Depressed. *Perpetuo deprimebat:* 'continually depressed.'

Loyall. *In Fide et Officio,* 'in faith and duty.'

Fain to doe. *Sustineret,* 'maintained.'
men come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their Nobles; To keepe them at a distance, it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I haue noted it, in my History of King Henry the Seuenth, of England, who depress’d his Nobility; Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; For the Nobility, though they continued loyall unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. So that in effect, he was faine to doe all things, himselfe.

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

For their Merchants; They are Vena portae. And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limes, but will have empty Veines, and nourish little. Taxes, and Impостs vpon them, doefeldome good to the Kings Reuenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leeseth in the Shire; The particular Rates being increafed, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their Commons; There is little danger from

The particular Rates being increased. Omitted in the Latin.
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

*Princes are like the heavenly bodyes which cause good, or evill tymes, and which have much veneration, but noe rest. All preceptes concernyng kinges are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances. Memento quod es Homo and Memento quod es Deus. The one to bridle their power and, The other their will.

Princes are like to the heauenly bodies, which cause good or euill times; and which haue much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances. Memento quod es homo, and Memento quod es Deus or Vice dei: The one to bridle their power, and the other their will.

* This passage is inserted in the margin in a different hand. ? Sir F. Bacon's.

59 Great. Populares, 'popular.'
60 Customs. Consuetudinibus antiquis; Vel in gravaminibus tributarum, 'ancient customs, or grievances of tribute.'
61 Means of Life. Vel in alis que victum eorum decurtant, 'or in anything which diminishes their means of life.'
62 In a Body. Si in Corpus unum cogantur, vel Exercitus, vel præsidiorum; 'if they are collected in a body either as an army or as garrisons.'
them, except it be, where they haue Great\textsuperscript{50} and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes,\textsuperscript{60} or Meanes of Life.\textsuperscript{61}

For their Men of warre; It is a dangerous State, where they liue and remaine in a Body,\textsuperscript{62} and are vsed to Donatiues; whereof we see Examples\textsuperscript{63} in the Janizaries, and Pretorian Bands of Rome:\textsuperscript{64} But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in feueral places, and vnder feueral Commanders, and without Donatiues, are Things of Defence,\textsuperscript{65} and no Danger.

Princes are like to Heavenly Bodies, which cause\textsuperscript{66} good or euill times; And which haue\textsuperscript{67} much Veneration, but no Rest. All precepts concerning Kings, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances: Memento quod es Homo;\textsuperscript{a} And Memento quod es Deus, or Vice\textsuperscript{b} Dei: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{a} Remember that thou art man.
\textsuperscript{b} Remember that thou art God, or, in the place of God.

\textsuperscript{50} Examples. Clarissima Exempla, 'most clear examples.'
\textsuperscript{51} Bands of Rome. Omitted in the Latin.
\textsuperscript{52} Defence. Utiles, et salubres, 'profitable and serviceable.'
\textsuperscript{53} Cause. In fluxu suo producunt, 'produce in their course.'
\textsuperscript{54} Haue. Gaudent, 'enjoy.'
\textsuperscript{55} Their will. Ad Voluntatem regendam, 'to rule their will.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.
Harleian MS. 5106.


The greatest trust betwenee Man, and man is the trust of giving Councell. For in other confidences Men commit the partes of their life, their landes, their goodes, their Childe, their Credit, some particular affair. But to such as they make their Counsellors, they commit the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith, and Integrity. The wisest Princes need not thinke it anie diminution to their greatnes, or derogation to their sufficiency, to relye vpon councell. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed sonne the Counsellor. Salomon hath pronounced that In Counfell is Stabilitie. Things will have their first, or second agita-

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

10. Of Counsell.

The greatest trust betwenee man, is the trust of giving counfell. For in other confidences men commit the partes of their life, their lands, their goods, their child, their credit; some particular affair. But to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith, and integrity. The wisest Princes need not thinke it any diminution to their greatnesse, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely vpon counfell. God himselfe is not without; but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son (the Counsellor.) Salomon hath pronounced, that In Counfell is stabilitie. Things will haue their first or second agita-

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**Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.**

1 They. *Qui partes Consiliatorum præstant,* 'those who perform the part of counsellors.'

2 Greatnesse. *Auctoritatis,* 'authority.'
He greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man, is the Trust of Giving Counsell. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affaire; But to such, as they make their Counsellors, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wifefl Princes, need not think it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely vpon Counsell. God himselfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; The Counsellor. Salomon hath pronounced, that In Counsell is Stability. Things will haue their first, or second Agita-

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3 Or derogation to their Sufficiency. Omitted in the Latin.
4 Counsell. Consilio Virorum selectorum, 'counsel of chosen men.'
5 Without. Consilio vacat, 'without counsel.'
6 Things. Res humanae, 'human things.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

cion; if they be not topp'd vpon the arguments of Councell, they willbe topp'd vpon the waves of fortune and be full of inconstancye, doing, and vndoeing, like the reeling of a drunken Man. Salomons sonnes found the force of Coun-
cell, as his father fawe the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill counsell, vpon which Councell there are sett for our In-
struction, the two markes whereby bad Counsell is forever best discerned, that it was young Coun-
cell for the persons, and violent Councell for the matter.

The auncient tymes doe sett fourth in figure both the incorporacion, and inseperable conjunc-
tion of Councell with Kings, and the wife and politique vse of Councell by kings; the one in that they say Jupiter did

V. 1612. æt. 52.
tion; if they bee not topp'd vpon the arguments of counsell, they will be topp'd vpon the waues of Fortune; and bee full of inconstancy, doing, and vndoeing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomons fonne found the force of coun-
fell, as his father faw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdome of God was first rent and broken by ill counsell; vpon which counfel there are fet for our in-
struction, the two markes, whereby bad counsell is for euer best discerned, that it was young coun-
fell for the persons, and violent counfell for the matter.

The ancient times doe set forth in figure both the incorporation, and inseperable conjunc-
tion of counsell with Kings; and the wife and politike vse of Counsell by Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did

7 Inconstancy. Inconstantiae, et Mutationum, 'inconstancy and changes
8 Necessity. Necessitatem et usum, 'necessity and use.'
OF COUNSEL.

1625.  313.5

If they be not tosied vpon the Argu-
ments of Counfell, they will be tosied vpon the
Waues of Fortune; And be full of Inconstancy,7
doing, and vndoing, like the Reeling of a drunken
Man. Salomons Sonne found the Force of Coun-
fell, as his Father saw the Necessity8 of it. For the
Beloued Kingdome of God was first rent, and
broken by ill Counsell; Vpon which Counfell,
there are set,9 for our Instruction, the two Markes,
whereby Bad Counsell is, for euer, best discerned:
That it was young Counfell, for the Perfons; And
Violent Counfell, for the Matter.

The Ancient Times10
doe set11 forth in Figure,
both the Incorporation,
and inseparable Coniunc-
tion of Counsell with
Kings; And the wise and
Politique use of Counsell
by Kings: The one, in
that they say, Jupiter did

9 Set. Inustæ, 'branded.'
10 Times. Sapientia, 'wisdom.'
11 Set. Adumbravit, 'shadowed.'
marrie Metis which signifieth Counsell; So as Soveraignetye, or Authoritie is married to Counsell; the other in that which followeth which was thus. They say after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him, and was with childe; But Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought fourth, but eate her vpp, whereby he became with childe, and was delivered of Pallas armed out of his head; which monstrous fable conteneth a secret of Empire, how kingses are to make vfe of their Counsell of State. That first they ought to referre matters to them which is the first begetting, or impregnacion; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the wombe of theirie Counsell, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought fourth, then that they suffer not theirie Coun-

IV. 1612. aet. 52.
marrie Metis (which signifieth Counsell.) So as Soveraignety or authority is married to counsel. The other in that which followeth; which was thus, They say after Jupiter was married to Metis, shee conceived by him, and was with childe, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till shee brought fourth, but eate her vp; whereby hee became with child and was deliuered of Pallas, armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of Empire: How Kings are to make vfe of their Counsell of State. That first they ought to referre matters to them, which is the first begetting or impregnacion; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the wombe of their counsell and growe ripe, and ready to be brought fourth; that then they suffer not their coun-

12 Was thus. Hujusmodi Commentum est, 'was a fable of this kind.'
marry Metis, which signifies Counsell: Whereby they intend, that Sovereignty is married to Counsell: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him, and was with Child; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay, till she brought forth, but eat her vp; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was delivered of Pallas Armed, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable, containeth a Secret of Empire; How Kings are to make use of their Counsell of State. That first, they ought to referre matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their Counsell, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their Coun-

13 Referre. Deliberandas committant, 'refer for deliberation.'
14 Begetting or Impregnation. Conceptio, 'conception.'
cell to goe throughe with the resolucion, and direc-
cion, as if it depended vponn them, but take the
matters backe into theire owne hand, and make it
appeare to the world that the decrees and finall
direcctions (which be-
cause they come forth with
prudence, and power, are
resembled to Pallas
armed) proceede from
themselves; and not onely
from theire authority, but
the more to add reputa-
tacion to themselves, from
their head, and de-
vise.

The inconveniences that
have beene noted in calling,
and vseing Councell are
three—Ffirst the reveal-
ing of affayres whereby
they become lesse secrett.
Secondly the weakening
of the authoritie of Princes,
as if they were lesse of
themselves; Thirdly the
daunger of being unfaith-
fullie counselle, and more
for the good of them that

The inconueniences that
have beene noted in calling
and vseing counsell, are
three. Ffirst, the reueal-
ing of affaires, whereby
they become lesse secret.
Secondly, the weakening
of the authoritie of Princes,
as if they were lesse of
themselves. Thirdly, the
danger of being unfaith-
fully counselle, and more
for the good of them that

15 Resolution and direction. *Decretum,* 'resolution.'
16 On them. *Ex corum Auctoritate,* 'upon their authority.'
cell to goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it depended on them; But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with Prudence, and Power, are resembled to Pallas Armed) proceeded from themselues: And not onely from their Authority, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselues) from their Head, and De-
vice.

Let vs now speake of the Inconueniences of Coun-
fell, and of the Remedies. The Inconueniences, that haue been noted in calling, and vsing Counsell, are three. First, the Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse Secret. Secondly, the Weakening of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of Themselues. Thirdly, the Danger of being unfaith-
fully counsell'd, and more for the good of them that

17 Deuice. Auctoritate, 'authority.'
18 Revealing. Omitted in the Latin.
19 Were lesse. Minus ex se fenderent, 'depended less upon themselves.'
councell, then of him that is councelled. For which inconveniences the doctrine of Italie, and practice of France hath introduced Cabanett Councelles, a remedy worfe than the diseas, which hath tourned Metis the wife, to Metis the Mistresse, that is the councelles of State to which Princes are solemnly married, to councells of gracious persons recommended cheifly by flattery and affection.

But for secrecie, Princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all councellours, but may extract, and select. Neither is it necessitye, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe; But lett Princes beware that the vnsecreting of their affaires come not from themselves; and as for Cabanett Councell It may be their Mot plenus rimarum sum; one

But the secrecy Princes, are not bound to communicate all matters with all Councellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessarie, that hee that consulteth what hee should doe; should declare what hee will doe. But let Princes beware that the vnsecreting of their affaires come not from themselues. And as for Cabanet Counfell, it may be their Mot, Plenus rimarum sum. One

* † The word ‘solemly’ has been struck out here; and the words ‘flattery and’ have been inserted below in a different hand; † Sir F. Bacon’s.
20 Counsellor. Principis ipsius, ‘the prince himself.’
21 Cabinet. Interiors, que vulgo vocantur Cabinetti, ‘inner councils, which are commonly called cabinets.’
counsel, then of him that is counselled. For which Inconveniences, the Doctrine of Italy, and Practice of France, in some Kings times, hath introduced Cabinet Councils; A Remedy worse then the Disease.

As to Secrecy, Princes are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all Counsellors; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let Princes beware, that the unsecreting of their Affaires, comes not from Themselves. And as for Cabinet Counsells, it may be their Motto; Plenusrimarumsum: One

\[a\] I am full of riffs. Terence. Eunuchus. i. 2.

\[22\] Secrecy. Occultationem Consiliorum, 'secrecy of councils.'

\[23\] After select. Tam Personas, quam Negotia, 'as well the persons as the business.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe more hurt, then manie, that knowe it theire dutie to keepe counsell.

For weakening of authority, The fable sheweth the remedy

Neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances by his Counsell, except where there hath been either an over-greatnesse in one, or an over-strict Combinacion in diuerse.

Forthelast inconvenience,

24 Tell. Arcana nosse et retexere, 'to know and disclose secrets.'
25 Beyond. Ultra notitiam, 'beyond the knowledge of.'
26 Hand-Mill. Proprio Marte validus, 'strong in his own strength.'
27 Inward. Omitted in the Latin.
28 True. Omitted in the Latin.
XXVI. OF COUNSEL.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

futile person, that maketh
it his glory to tell,24 will
doe more hurt, then many,
that know it their duty
to conceal. It is true, there be some Affairs,
which require extreme Secrecy, which will hardly go
beyond25 one or two persons, besides the King: Neither
are those Counsels unprosperous: For besides the
Secrecy, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit
of Direction, without distraction. But then it must
be a Prudent King, such as is able to Grinde with a
Hand-Mill;26 And those Inward27 Counsellours, had
need also, be Wise Men, and especially true28 and
truly to the Kings Ends; As it was with King Henry
the Seventh of England, who in his greatest Business,
impacted himselfe to none,29 except it were to Morton,
and Fox.

For Weakening of
Authority; The Fable
sheweth the Remedy. Nay the Maiefly of Kings, is
rather exalted, then diminished, when they are in the
Chair of Counsell:
Neither was there ever
Prince, bereaued of his
Dependancies,31 by his
Counsell; Except where
there hath beene, either
an Overgreatness in one Counsellour,
Or an Overstrict Combination in Diuers; which are Things32 foone found, and
holpen.

For the last Inconvenience,

24 His greatest Business. Arcana sua majoris momenti, 'his secrets
of greater importance.'
25 None. Duobus tantum modo Consiliariis, 'to two councillors alone.'
26 Dependances. Auctoritate, 'authority.'
27 Things. Mala, 'evils.'
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<th>III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.</th>
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<td>that Men will councell with an eye to themselves, Certainly <em>Non inveni fide super terram</em> is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful, and sincere and plausible, and direct, not crafty, and involved; lett Princes above all draw to themselves such natures; Besides Counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one keepeth Sentinell over another. But the best remedy is, if Princes know their Counsellors as well as their Counsellours knowe them. <em>Principiis est virtus maxima nofse fuos.</em> And on the other side, Counsellours should not be to Speculative into their Sovereignes person. The true Composition of a Counsellour is rather to be skilfull in their Masters businesse, then in his nature, for then he is like to advice that men will councell with an eye to themselves. Certainly, <em>Non inveni fide super terram</em> is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There bee that are in nature faithful, and sincere and plausible, and direct, not craftie and involved. Let Princes above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsels are not commonly so united, but that one keepeth Sentinell over another. But the best remedie is, if Princes know their counsellors, aswell as their Counsellors know them, <em>Principiis est virtus maxima nofse fuos.</em> And of the other side Counsellors should not be too speculative into their Soueraignes person. The true composition of a Counsellor, is rather to bee skilfull in their Masters businesse, then in his nature: For then he is like to advise</td>
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33 *Themselues. Sua rei...* non Domini, 'their own affairs, not their masters.'
34 *After Certainly. Scripturam illam,* 'that text.'
that Men will Counsell with an Eye to themselves;\(^3\)

Certainly,\(^4\) Non inueniet Fidem super terram,\(^5\) is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithful, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Involved: Let Princes, aboue all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, Counsellours are not Commonly so united, but that one Counsellour keepeth Centinell over Another; So that if any do Counsell out of Faction, or private Ends, it commonly comes to the Kings Eare. But the best Remedy is, if Princes know their Counsellours, as well as their Counsellours know them: Principis est virtus maxima noffe fuos.\(^6\) And on the other side, Counsellours should not be too Speculatiue, into their Soueraignes Person. The true Composition of a Counsellour, is rather to be skilful in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Advise

\(^3\) Luke viii. 8.
\(^4\) It is the greatest vertue of a Prince to know his own. Martial Epigr. viii. 15.
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

him, and not to feede his humor. It is of singuler use to Princes, if they take the opinions of theire Councell, both separetely, and togither. For private opinion is more free; but opinion before others is more reverent. In private, Men are more bold in there owne humours, and in confort, Men are more obnoxious to others humors. Therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferiour forte rather in private, of the greater rather in Companie.

It is in vaine for Princes to take Counsell concerning matters, if they take not Counsell likewyse concerning perfons. Ffor all matters are as dead Images, and the life of the execution of affayres refleth in the good choife of perfons. Neither is it enoughe to consulte concerning perfons Secundum generæ, as in an Idea, or

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

him, and not to feed his humor. It is of singuler use to Princes, if they take the opinions of their Councell, both seperately and together. For private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverent. In private, men are more bold in their own humors; and in comfort, men are more obnoxious to others humors. Therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferiour forte rather in private to preferue freedome, of the greater rather in confort, to preferue respect. It is in vain for Princes to take counfell concerning matters: if they take no counfell likewyse concerning perfons. For all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affaires refleth in the good choife of perfons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning perfons, secundum generæ, as in an Idea, or

35 Opinions. *Opiniones et Vota,* 'opinions and wishes.'
36 Are more bold. *Plus inseruit,* 'serve more.'
37 Obnoxious. *Obnoxius,* 'deferential.'
38 Humours. *Affectibus,* 'assumptions.'
him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular use to Princes, if they take the Opinions of their Counsell, both Separately, and Together. For Private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Confort, Men are more obnoxious to others Humours. Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in private, to preferue Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Confort, to preferue Respect. It is in vaine for Princes to take Counsell concerning Matters, if they take no Counsell likewise concerning Persons: For all Matters, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires, reflecth in the good Choice of Persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning Persons, Secundum genera,a as in an Idea, or

a According to classes.

39 Preserve Respect. Ut modestius Sententiam ferant, 'that they may give their opinions more moderately.'

40 Likewise. Diligenter quoque, 'diligently also.'

41 Good Choice. Delectu, 'choice.'
Mathematicall description, what kind of person should be, but in *individual* for the greatest errors, and the greatest judgement are shewed in the choice of *Individuals*.

It was truly said, *Optimi Consiliorum mortui*. Bookes will speake plaine, when Councillors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conueinfant in them, specially the books of such as themselues haue beene Actors vpon the Stage.

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*a The best counsellors are the dead.* "Alonso of Aragon was wont to say of himselfe; *That he was a great Necromancer, for that he used to ask Counsell of the Dead*: meaning Books," Lord Bacon. *Apophth. No. 105. Ed. 1625.*

*b In the night there is counsel.*

*c Mr. W. A. Wright quotes the following explanation of this phrase from North’s translation of Plutarch. *Coriolanus*, p. 249. *Ed. 1577*: “But hereby appeareth plainly, how king *Numa* did wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning devotion to the goddes, and specially this custome which he stablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishoppes, priestes, or other religious ministers goe about any deuine service, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age*: as to say, doe this, or mind this.”

*d Most Judgement is shewne. *Judicij Libra maxime versatur,* ‘the balance of judgment is most used.’

*43* Truly said. *Memoria tenendum,* ‘must be kept in the memory.’

*44* Blanch. *In Adulationem lapsuri,* ‘will slip into flattery.’
Mathematicall Description, what the Kinde and Character of the Person should be; For the greatest Errors are committed, and the most Judgement is shewn, in the choice of Individuals.

It was truly said, Optimi Consiliariij mortui; Books will speake plaine, when Counsellors Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them; specially the Bookes of such, as Themselves haue been Actors upon the Stage.

The Counsels, at this Day, in most Places, are but Familiar Meetings, where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of Counsell. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day; In Nocle Consilium. So was it done, in the Commission of Union, between England and Scotland; which was a Graue and Orderly Assembly. I commend for Petitions. For both it giues the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may Hoc agere.

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45 Be conversant in. Multum revolvere, 'turn over much.'
46 Actors upon the Stage. Gubernacula Rerum tractarunt, 'have managed the helm of affairs.'
47 Meetings. Congressus, et colloquia, 'meetings and conversation.'
48 Not spoken to. Tractaretur, 'treated.'
49 Petitions. Petitiones privatas, 'private petitions.'
50 Meetings for Matters of Estate. Solenniores Conventus, 'more solemn meetings.'
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51 Indifferent. *Qui æquì sint, et in neutram partem propendeant,* 'who are indifferent and lean to neither side.'

52 Standing. *Non tantum temporaneas, aut e re nata; sed etiam continuatas, et perpetuas,* 'not only temporary or for a certain thing, but also continual and perpetual.'

53 As. *Exempli gratia; Quæ current separatim,* 'as for example, which should be administered separately.'

54 Suits. *Gratias; Gravamina,* 'favours; complaints.'

55 Particular. *Subordinata,* 'subordinate.'

56 Of Estate. *Superius,* 'higher.'

57 Let. *Si Casus postulet,* 'if the case require.'

58 Professions. *Muneris aut professionis,* 'duty or profession.'

59 After Mint-men. *Mercatoribus, Artificiibus,* 'merchants, artisans.'

60 In a Tribunitious Manner. *More Tribunitio,* 'after the manner of a tribune [i.e. in a tumultuous, turbulent manner].' 

61 After en forme. *Ut decet,* 'as is proper.'
In choice of Committees, for ripening Business, for the Counsell, it is better to choose Indifferent persons, then to make an Indifference, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also standing Commissions; As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; for some Provinces: For where there be divers particular Counsels, and but one Counsell of Estate (as it is in Spain) they are in effect no more, then Standing Commissions; Saue that they have greater Authority. Let such, as are to informe Counsels, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard, before Committees; And then, as Occasion serues, before the Counsell. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner: For that is, to clamour Counsels, not to conforme them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect, swayne all the Business; But in the other Forme, there is more vse of the Counsellours Opinions, that fit lower. A King; when he presides in Counsell, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For else Counsellours will but take the Winde of him; And in stead of giuing Free Counsell, sing him a Song of Placebo.

62 After Walls. Camerae Consilii, 'of the council chamber.'
63 In that which he propoundeth. Omitted in the Latin.
27. Of Atheisme.

Had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Alcafon, then that this vniuerfall frame is without a minde. And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince Athieftes because his ordinary works convince them. Certainly a little Philosophie inclineth to Atheisme, but depth in Philosophie bringeth Men about to Religion; for when the minde of Man looketh upon seconde causes scattered, sometymes it resteth in them. But when it beholdeth them confede-rate, and knit togither, it flyes to providence, and deitye. Most of all that schoole which is most accused of Atheisme, doth demonstrate Religion, that is...


Had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Alcafon, then that this vniuerfall frame is without a minde. And therefore God never wrought myracle to convince Atheists, because his ordinary works convince them. Certainly, a little Philosophie inclineth mans minde to Atheisme, but depth in Philosophie bringeth men about to Religion. For when the minde of man looketh upon seconde causes scattered, sometymes it resteth in them; but when it beholdeth, them confede-rat, and knit together, it flyes to providence, and Deitie. Most of all, that schoole which is most accused of Atheisme, doth demonstrate Religion. That is,


1 Rather. Minus durum est, 'it is less hard.'
2 All the Fables. Portentosissimis Fabulis, 'the most monstrous fables'

Had rather\(^1\) believe all the Fables\(^2\) in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, then that this universal Frame, is without a Minde. And therefore, God neuer wrought Miracle, to convince Atheisme, because his Ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy\(^3\) inclineth Mans Minde to Atheisme; But depth in Philosophy bringeth Mens Mindes about to Religion: For while the Minde of Man, looketh vpon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no further: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of them, Confedrate and Linked together, it must needs flie to Providence, and Deitie. Nay eu'n that Schoole, which is most accused of Atheisme,\(^4\) doth most demonstrate Religion; That is,

\(^1\) Philosophy. *Philosophia Naturalis*, 'natural philosophy.'

\(^2\) Atheisme. *Atheismi, si quis vere rem intropsiciat*, 'atheism, if one truly consider the matter.'
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the Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus; for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable Elements and one immutable 5th essence duly and eternally placed neede noe God; then that an Armie of infinite female portions, vnplaced should have produc'd this order, and beautye without a divine Marshall. The Scripture faith The fool hath faied in his heart there is noe God. It is not faied The fool hath thought in his heart, so as hee rather faieth it by rote to himself, as that he would have, then that he can throughly beleev e it, or be perswaded of it. For none denie there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were noe God.

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the Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Essence, duly and eternally placed, neede no God: then that an Army of infinite small portions or seeds vnplaced, should haue produced this order, and beauty, without a divine Marshall. The Scripture faith, The fool hath faied in his heart, there is no God. It is not faied, The fool hath thought in his heart. So as he rather faith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue: then that hee can throughly beleev e it, or bee perswaded of it. For none denie there is a God, but those for whom it maketh, that there were no God.

5 Vnplaced. Sine Ordine fortuito vagantium, 'wandering by chance without order.'
6 Marshall. Ädili, 'superintendent.'
7 By rote. Omitted in the Latin.
the Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fifth Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite small Portions, or Seedes unplaced, should have produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Divine Marshall. The Scripture faith; The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God. It is not said; The Foole hath thought in his Heart: So as, he rather faith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue, then that he can throughly beleue it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those, for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that Atheisme is rather in the Lip, then in the Heart of Man, then by this; That Atheists will euer be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselves, and would be glad to be strengned, by the Consent of others: Nay more, you shall haue Atheists strives to

a Ps. xiv. 1.
8 Deny. Deos non esse credit, 'believe there are no gods.'
9 It maketh. Expedit, 'it is advantageous.'
10 Talking. Pradieant et defendant, 'preaching and defending.'
Epicurus is charged that he did but dissemble for his creditt fake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret, he thought there was noe God. But certainly, he is traduced. For his Wordes are noble, and divine Non deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum Plato could have saied noe more. And although he had the confidence to deny the administracion, he had not the power to deny that nature. The Indians of the West have names for their particuler Godes, though they have noe one

11 Suffer. Mortem et Cruciatas subiernunt, 'have undergone death and tortures.'
12 And not recant. Potius quam Opinionem suam retractare sustinerent, 'rather than bear to retract their opinion.'
get Disciples, as it fareth with other Sects: And, which is most of all, you shall have of them, that will suffer for Atheism, and not recant; Wheras, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as God, why should they trouble themselues?

Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake, when he affirmed; There were Blessed Natures, but such asenioyed themselues, without having respect to the Gouvernment of the World. Wherein, they say, he did temporize; though in secret, he thought, there was no God. But certainly, he is traduced; For his Words are Noble and Diuine: Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum. Plato could have saied no more. And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the Administration, he had not the Power to deny the Nature. The Indians of the West, have Names for their particular Gods, though they have no

[a] It is not profane to deny the gods of the people: but it is profane to attribute to the gods, the beliefs of the people. Diog. Laert. x. 123.

13 God, Deos, 'gods.' 14 More, Melius, 'better.' 15 Administration, Divinam rerum Administrationem, 'administration of divine things.'
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name for God, as if the Heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, Etc., but not the word Deus; which shewes they have the notion, though not the full extent. So that against Atheists the most barbarous Savages take part with the subtilest Philosophers.

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name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names, Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, etc., but not the word Deus: which shewes they have the notion, though not the full extent. So that against Atheists, the most barbarous Savages, take part with the subtillesst Philosophers.


They that deny a God, They that deny a God,

16 Extent. Omitted in the Latin.
17 Received Religion. Religionem aliquam, 'any religion.'
18 Name. Nomen et Nota, 'name and mark.'
19 Maine. Omitted in the Latin.
20 Scoffing. Ludendi et Jocandi, 'playing and joking.'
name for *God*: As if the 
*Heathens*, should haue had 
the Names *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, 
*Mars*, &c. But not the 
Word *Deus*: which shewes, that euen those Barbarous 
People, haue the Notion, 
though they haue not the Latitude, 
and Extent\(^{16}\) of it. So 
that against *Atheists*, the 
very Sauages 
take part, with the very 
subtillest Philosopher. The Contemplative *Atheist* is 
rare; A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some 
others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; 
For that, all that Impugne a receiued *Religion*,\(^{17}\) or 
*Superflition*, are by the aduerse Part, branded with the 
Name\(^{18}\) of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists*, indeed, 
are *Hypocrites*; which are euer Handling Holy Things, 
but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cau-
terized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheism* are; 
*Diuisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; For any one 
maine\(^{19}\) *Diuision*, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But 
many *Diuisions* introduce *Atheism*. Another is, 
*Scandum of Priest*; When it is come to that, which 
S. *Bernard* faith; *Non est iam dicere, vt Populus, sic 
Sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, vt Sacerdos*. A third is, 
*Custome of Profane Scoffing*\(^{20}\) in *Holy Matters*; which 
doeth, by little and little, deface the Reuereence of 
Religion. And laftly, *Learned Times*, specially with 
Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Aduersities 
doe more bow Mens Mindes to *Religion*.
They that deny a *God*,\(^{21}\)

\(^{a}\) *It cannot now be said, as are the people, so is the priest; because the people are not so bad as the priest.* S. *Bernard. Sermones ad Pastores. Opera. p. 1752. Ed. 1640.

\(^{21}\) *God. Deos, 'Gods.'*
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defroy mans nobilitye; For certainlie Man is of
kin to the beasts by his body, and if he be
not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and
ignoble Creature. It de-
stroyes likewise Magnani-
mity, and the rayfing of
humaine nature. For take
an Example of a dogg, and
marke what a gener-
ositye, and courage he will
putt on, when he findes
himself mainteyned by a
Man, which to him is in-
stead of a God, or melior
natura; which courage is
manifeftlie such, as that
Creature without that
Confidence of a better
nature then his owne,
could never attaine. So
man when he refleth and
affureth himselfe vpon
divine protection, and
favour, gathereth a force,
and faith, which humaine
nature in it self could
not obtayne. Therefore
as Atheifsme is in all re-
spects hatefull, So in this,
that it depriveth humaine
nature, of the means to
exalte it self above hu-

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defroy mans nobility. For certainly man is of
kinne to the beasts by his body; and if he bee
not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and
ignoble creature. It de-
stroyes likewise magnani-
mity, and the raising of
humane nature. For, take
an example of a dog, and
marke what a gener-
osity and courage he will
put on, when he findes
himselfe maintained by a
man, which to him is in-
stead of a god, or Melior
natura: Which courage is
manifeftlie such, as that
creature, without that
confidence of a better
nature then his owne,
could neuer attaine. So
man when he refleth and
affureth himselfe vpon
diueine protection and
fauour; gathereth a force,
and faith, which humane
nature in it selfe could
not obtayne. Therefore
as Atheifsme is in all re-
spects hatefull: So in this,
that it depriueth humane
nature of the means to
exalt it selfe, aboue hu-
OF A THEISM.

For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to God, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It de-stroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raising of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generosity, and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in stead of a God, or Melior Natura: which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, than his owne, could never attaine. So Man, when he reflecteth and assureth himselfe, upon divine Protection, and Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as Atheisme is in all respects hatefull, so in this, that it depriueth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it selfe, aboue Hu-

*a A Better Nature. Ovid. Metamorphoses. i. 22.*
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maine frailtye. As it is in particular persons, so it is in Nacions. Never was there such a State for Magnanimitye, as Rome; of this State heare what Cicero saith, Quam volumus licet Patres Conscripti, nos amemus; tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditiae Poenos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis et terræ, domeslico, natuuoque fenfu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una Sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, Nationesque superauimus.

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maine frailtye. As it is in particular persons; so it is in Nations. Neuer was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state, heare what Cicero faith; Quam volumus licet, P. Conf. nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditiae Poenos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis et terræ domeslico, natuuoque fenfu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac vnâ sapientiâ quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, Nationesque superauimus.

22 Neuer was there. Nunquam Gens aliqua aquavit, 'never any State equalled.'
mane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Never was there such a State, for Magnanimity, as Rome: Of this State heare what Cicero faith; Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipfo huius Gentis et Terræ domesticæ nativoque fenfu Italos ipfos et Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hoc vna Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superaui mus.a

a Let us applaud ourselves as much as we please, O conscript fathers: yet it is not because we have surpassed the Spaniards in number, or the Gauls in strength, or the Carthaginians in cunning, or the Grecian in arts, or lastly the Italians and Latins themselves in that native inborn sense peculiar to this race and land: but that in piety and religion, and, in this especial wisdom, that we perceive that all things are governed by the divine power of the immortal gods, it is, that we have overcome all races and nations. Cicero. De Haruspicium Responsis. ix.
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Harleian MS. 5106.


It were better to have noe opinion of God at all, then such an opinion as is vnworthie of him; For the one is Vnbeliefe, the other is Contumelie; and certainlye supersticion is the reproach of the Deitie.

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15. Of Superstition.

It were better to haue no opinion of God at all; then such an opinion as is vnworthy of him; For the one is vnbeliefe, the other is Contumely; and certainlye superstition is the reproch of Deitie.

Atheism leaves a Man to fence, to Philosophie, to naturall piety, to Lawes, to reputacion, all which may be guides vnto Vertue though Religion were not, but Supersticion dismounts all theis, and erecteth an absolute Tyranny in the minde of Men. There-


1 No. Nullam aut incertam, 'none, or an uncertain.'
2 Vnworthy. Contumeliosam, et indignam, 'ignominious and unworthy.'
3 Contumely. Implicitatis et Opprobrii, 'impiety and contumely.'
4 Eat. Comedere et devorare, 'eat and devour.'
It were better to haueno\(^1\) Opinion of God at all; then such an Opinion, as is vnworthy\(^2\) of him: For the one is Unbeleefe, the other is Contumely\(^3\): And certainly Superflition is the Reproach of the Deity. Plutarch faie well to that purpose: Surely (faith he) I had rather, a great deale, Men should faie, there was no such Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they should faie, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat\(^4\) his Children, as soon as they were borne,\(^a\) as the Poets speake of Saturne. And, as the Contumely\(^5\) is greater towards God, so the Danger is greater towards Men.

Atheisme leaues\(^6\) a Man to Senfe; to Philofophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation;\(^7\) All which may be Guides to an outward Morallvertue, though Religion were not; But Superflition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy, in the Mindes of Men. There-

\(^a\) Plutarch. De Superstitione, x.

\(^5\) Contumely. Contumelia Superstitionis, 'contumely of superstition.'

\(^6\) Leaues. Non prorsus convellit Dictamina Sensus, 'does not entirely take away the dictates of sense.'

\(^7\) Reputation. Bona Fame Desiderium; 'desire of good reputation.'
fore Athenisme did never perturbe States, for it makes Men warie of themselves, as lookeing noe further. And wee fee the tymes inclined to Athenisme, as the tyme of Augustus Cæfar, and our owne tymes in some Countryes were and are civill tymes. But Superflition hath bene the Confusion, and desolacion of manie states, and bringes in a new primum mobile that rauisheth all the Spheres of governement. The Master of Superfligion is the People, and in all Superfligion, wise Men followe Fools, and Arguments are Fitted to practize, in a reversed order.

fore Athenisme did neuer perturbe states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to Athenisme, as the time of Augustus Cæfar, and our owne times in some Countries were, and are, civill times. But Superflition, hath beene the confusion and dissolucion of many states: and bringeth in a new Primum Mobile that rauisheth all the spheres of governement. The master of Superflition is the people: and in all superflition, wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order.

8 Neuer. Raro, 'rarely.'
9 As looking no further. Et securitati sua consultes, 'and regardful of their safety.'
fore Atheisme did neuer\(^8\) perturbe \textit{States}; For it makes Men wary of them-selves, as looking no further:\(^9\) And we see the times enclined to Atheisme (as the Time of \textit{Augustus Caesar})

were \textit{civil}\(^10\) Times. But \textit{Superstition}, hath beene the Confusion of many States;\(^11\) And bringeth in a new \textit{Primum Mobile}, that rau-iheth all the Spheres of Gouernment. The Master of \textit{Superstition} is the People; And in all \textit{Superstition}, Wife Men follow Fools; And Arguments are fitted to Practife, in a reverfed Order. It was grauely said, by some of the Prelates, in the \textit{Councell of Trent}, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; \textit{That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did fainie Eccentricks and Epicycles, and fuch Engines of Orbs, to faue the Pheno-omena; though they knew, there were no fuch Things:}\(^a\) And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed a Number of subtile and intricate \textit{Axiomes}, and \textit{Theorems}, to faue the pra\textit{c}tife of the Church.

\(^a\) P. Sarpi. \textit{Historia del Concilio Tridentino}. Bk. ii. p. 222. Ed. 1619. The passage is thus translated by N. Brent, "Some pleasant wits said, that if the Astrologers, not knowing the true causes of the celes\textit{t}ial motions, to salue the appearances, have inuented \textit{Eccentricques}, and \textit{Epicicles}, it was no wonder if the Council, desiring to salue the appearances of the super-celes\textit{t}ial motions, did fall into \textit{excentricitie} of opinions." p. 227. Ed. 1620.

\(^8\) Ci\textit{u}il. \textit{Tranquilla}, 'quiet.'

\(^9\) States. \textit{Regnis et Rebus-publicis}, 'Kingdoms and States.'
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There is noe such Atheist, as an Hypocrite, or Impostor, and it is not possible, but where the generality is Superstitious, manie of the Leaders are Hypocrites. The causes of Atheism are; divisions in Religion; scandall of Priests; and learned tymes; specially if prosperous; though for divisions, anie one mayne division addeth zeale to both sides, but manie divisions introduce Atheism.

The causes of Superstition are; the pleasing of Ceremonies, the excess of outward holiness, the Reverence of Traditions, the stratagems of Prelates for their owne ambition, and lucre,

and barbarous tymes; specially with calamities and disaffters. Superstition without his vaile is a deformed thing.

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There is no such Atheist, as an Hipocrize, or Impostor: and it is not possible, but where the generality is superstitious, many of the leaders are Hypocrizes. The causes of Atheism are, divisions in Religion; scandall of Priests; and learned times; specially if prosperous; though for divisions, any one maine division addeth zeale to both sides, but many divisions introduce Atheism.

The causes of Superstition are, the pleasing of Ceremonies; the excess of outward holiness; the reverence of traditions; the stratagems of Prelats for their owne ambition and lucre,

and barbarous times, specially with calamities, and disaffters. Superstition without his vaile is a deformed thing,

12 Taking an Aime . . . by Human. Exemplorum importuna et inepta petitio ab humanis, quæ in Divina transferrantur, 'the inopportune and foolish taking of examples from human things to transfer them to divine things.'
[Transferred in an expanded form to the Essay, Of Atheism: see p. 337.]

The Causes of Superstition are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies; Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Ouer-great Reuerence of Traditions, which cannot but load the The Stratagems of Prelates [Church; for their owne Ambition and Lucre: The Fauouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Nouelties; The taking an Aime\textsuperscript{12} at diuine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations;\textsuperscript{13} And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially ioyned with Calamities and Disasters. 
	Superstition, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing;

\textsuperscript{13} Imaginations. \textit{Fantasiarum male cohaerentiam, ‘disconnected imaginations.’}
III. 1607-12. Æt. 47-52.

For as it addes deformity to an Ape to be so like a Man, so the Similitude of Superficion to Religion makes it the more deformed; And as wholesome meate corrupteth to little wormes; so good formes, and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie observances.

IV. 1612. Æt. 52.

For as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a man: So the similitude of superstition to Religion, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meate corrupteth to little wormes; so good formes and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie observances.

14 Good. Bona et sana, ‘good and sound.’
15 Petty. Pusillas et superfluas, ‘petty and superfluous.’
16 Doe best. Saniorem et puriorum vias inire, ‘enter a sounder and purer way.’
17 After would be had. In Religione reformatione, ‘in reforming religion.’
For, as it addeth deformity
to an Ape, to be so like a
a Man; So the Similitude
of Superstition to Religion,
makes it the more de-
formed. And as whole-
some Meat corrupteth to
little Wormes; So good
Formes and Orders, corrupt
into a Number of petty
Obseruances. There is a Superstition, in avoiding
Superstition; when men thinke to doe best, if they
goe further from the Superstition formerly receiued:
Therefore, Care would be had that, (as it fareth in
ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away, with the
Bad, which commonly is done, when the People is
the Reformer.

18 Ill Purgings. In Corpore purgando, 'in purging.'
19 Bad. Corruptis, 'corrupt.'
20 Reformer. Reformatio regitur a Populo, 'reformation is directed by
the people.'
Of Praise.

Praise is the reflexion of vertue, but it is as the glasse, or body, is which giveth the reflexion; if it be from the Common People it is commonly false, and naught, and rather followeth vayne persons, then vertuous. For the Common People vnderstand not manie excellent vertues; The lowest vertues drawe praise from them, the middell vertues worke in them afensonishment, or admiration, but of the highest vertues they have noe fence, or perceiving att all. But shewes, and Species virtutibus similes serve best with them. Certainly Fame is like a River that bear-eth vp things light, and fwalne, and drownes thinges weightie, and solid: But if perions of quality and Judgement concurre,

35. Of Praise.

Praise is the reflexion of vertue: but it is as the glasse, or bodie is, which giueth the reflexion. If it be from the common people, it is commonly falle and naught; and rather followeth vaine persons, then vertuous: for the common people vnderstand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues draw praise from them, the middle vertues worke in them afotionishment, or admiration; but of the highest vertues they have no sense or perceiuing at all. But shewes, and Species virtutibus similes, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River that bear-eth vp things light, and fwalne; and drownes thinges weighty and solid: But if perions of quality and judgement concur,
Praise is the Reflection of Virtue. But it is as the Glass or Bodie,\(^1\) which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine\(^2\) Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People understand not many Excellent Virtues: The Lowest Virtues draw Praise from them; the middle Virtues worke in them Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Higheft Virtues, they haue no Sense, or Perceiving at all. But Shewes, and Species virtutibus similes, serue beft with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that beareth vp Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Iudgement concurre,\(^3\)

\(^1\) Qualities resembling virtues. Tacitus. Annales. xv. 48.
\(^2\) Vaine. Vanos et tumidos, 'vain and pompous.'
\(^3\) Concurre. Cum vulgo concurrent, 'concur with the common people.'
then it is as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis,* it filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odours of Oyntementes, are more durable then those of Flowers. There be so manie false pointes of praise, that a Man may justly hold it suspect. Some praises proceed meerly of flattery, and if hee be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common Attributes which may serve every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer he will followe the Archflatterer which is a Mans self, and wherein a Man thinketh best of himself therein the Flatterer will vphold him moft; But if he be an impudent Flatterer, looke wherein a Man is conscient to himself, that he is moft defective, and is moft out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer in-

4 Common. *Communibus...* not studied or appropriate.
5 A Man thinketh best. *Tibi places, aut teipsum excellere putas,* 'please yourself, or think that you excel.'
then it is, (as the Scripture faith) *Nomen bonum inflar vnguenti fragrantis.* It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Oyntments, are more Durable, then those of Flowers. There be so many Falsé Points of *Praise,* that a Man may justly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praisés* proceed meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common* Attributes, which may serve every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans felse; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will uphold* him most: But if he be an Impudent* Flatterer, look wherein a Man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defective, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer En-

*a Eccles. vii. 1.
6 Uphold. Iis inhæret, 'will keep to those.'
7 Impudent. Impudens, et perfictæ Frontis, 'impudent and of a shameless forehead.'
I. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

title him to perforce Spreta Conscientia. Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a forme due in Civility to Kings and great persons; laudando praecipere; when by telling Men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some Men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stirre envy and Jealousie towards them; Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

title him to perforce Spreta conscientia. Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a forme due in civility to Kings and great persons, Laudando praecipere; when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stirre envy and Jealousie towards them; Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium.

Certainly moderate praise versus, and not vulgar, but appropriate, is that which doth the good Salomon saith He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better then a Curse. To much magnifying of Man, or matter, doth irri-

Certainly moderate praise versus with opportunity, and not vulgar, but appropriate, is that which doth the good. Salomon faith, Hce that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better then a curfe. Too much magnifying of Man or matter, doth irri-

8 Entitle. Imputabit, et affiget, 'impute and attribute.'
9 Represent. Humiliter monetas, 'humbly warn.'
10 Nose. Nari, 'nostril.'
11 Is that which doth the Good. Honori vel maxime esse, 'is a very great honour.'
V. 1625. æt. 65.

title title him, to perforce, Spretâ Conscientia. Some Praisés come of good Wishes, and Respeéts, which is a Forme due in Civilitie to Kings, and Great Perfons, Laudando præcipere; When by telling Men, what they are, they represent to them, what they should be. Some Men are Praised Maliciously to their Hurt, thereby to stirre Eruie and Jealousie towards them; Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium; In so much as it was a Proverbe, amongst the Grecians; that, He that was praised to his Hurt, should have a Pushe rise upon his Nose. As we say; That a Blister will rise upon ones Tongue, that tell's a lye. Certainly Moderate Praife, vsed with Opportunity, and not Vulgar is that which doth the Good. Salomon faith, He that praiseth his Frened aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him, no better then a Curfe. Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irri-

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a In disdain of conscience.  
b To teach in praising.  
c The worst kind of enemies, eulogists. Tacitus. Agricola. 4.  
d Prov. xxvii. 14.
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-50

Contradiccion, and procure Envy and scorn.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

Contradiction, and procure enuie and scorne.

12 Enuie. Omitted in the Latin.
13 After Profession. *Aut studia quibus se addixit,* 'or the studies to which he is given.'
14 Sbirrerie. *Hispanico Vocabulo, Sbirrarias,* 'by the Spanish word, Sbirrerie,'
15 Which is Vnder-Sheriffries. Omitted in the Latin.'
16 Though many times . . Speculations. *Ac si Artes illæ memorata, magis ejusmodi Homines, quam in Fastigio Cardinalatus positos, decerent:*
tate Contradiction, and procure Enue and Scorne. To Praise a Mans selfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to Praise a Mans Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The Cardinals of Rome, which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, haue a phrafe of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Ciuill Business: For they call all Temporall Business, of Warres, Embassages, Judicature, and other Emploiments, Shirrerie, which is, Vnder Sheriffries. As if they were but matters for Vnder-Sheriffes and Catchpoles; Though many times, thofe VnderSherifferies doe more good, then their High Speculations. St. Paul, when he boafts of himselfe, he doth oft entrelace; I speake like a Foole; But speaking of his Calling, he faith, Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.

a 'Shirro' in Italian, means a bailiff, catchpole, constable.

b 2 Cor. xi. 23.

c Rom. xi. 13.

Et tamen (si Res rite ponderetur,) Speculativa cum Civilibus non male miscentur, as if the above-mentioned arts are more fitted for men of that kind than for those placed on the pinnacle of the Cardinalate; and yet (if it is rightly considered) speculation is not ill mixed with civil matters.

17 Saith. Nihil veretur dicere, is not afraid to say.
### III. 1607-12. Æt. 47-52.

**Harleian M.S. 5106.**


Nature is often hidden, sometymes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the retourne. Doctrine, and discourse maketh nature lesse importune. But Custome onely doth alter nature. Hee that seeketh victorie over his nature, lett him not set himselfe to great nor to smalle Taskes; For the First will make him deiected by often failes, and the second will make him a smalle proceeder though by often prevaylinges. And at the first lett him practise with helps, as Swymmers doe with bladders, or Rushes, but after a tyme, lett him practize with difadvantages, as dancers doe with thick shoes. Ffor it breeds great perfection if the practize be harder then the vfe. Where

### IV. 1612. Æt. 52.

#### 26. Of Nature in Men,

Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the retourne: doctrine and discourse maketh nature lesse importune; but custome onely doth alter and subdue nature. Hee that seeketh victorie over his nature, let him not set himselfe to great, nor to small taskes. For the first will make him dejected by often failes; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often preuailings. And at the first let him practise with helps as Swimmers doe with bladders, or rushes: but after a time let him practise with disadvaungates, as dauncers doe with thicke shooes. For it breeds great perfection, if the Practise bee harder then the vfe. Wher

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**Title.** *De Natura, et Indole Naturali in Hominibus,* "of nature and natural disposition in men."
Nature is often hidden; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh Nature more violent in the Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh Nature\(^2\) lese Importune:\(^3\) But Custome onely doth alter and subdue Nature. Hee that seeketh Victory ouer his Nature, let him not set Himselfe too great, nor too small Tasks: For the first, will make him dejected by often Faylings; And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Preualings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers\(^4\) doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him practise with disaduantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then the vse. Where

\(^2\) Nature. \textit{Affectus Naturales, 'the natural dispositions.'}

\(^3\) After Importune. \textit{Sed non tollunt, 'but do not remove them' [i.e. the natural dispositions].}

\(^4\) Swimmers. \textit{Natatores recentes. 'new swimmers.'}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III.  1607-12. aet. 47-52</th>
<th>IV.  1612. aet. 52</th>
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<tr>
<td>nature is mightie, and therefore the victorie hard, the degrees had neede be first to flay and arreft nature in tyme,</td>
<td>nature is mighty, and therefore the victorie hard; the degrees had need bee, first to flay and arreft nature in time: like to him that would fay ouer the foure and twenty letters when he was angry, then to go leffe in quantitie; as if one should in forbearing wine come from drinking healthes, to a draught a meale; and laftlie to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to infranchife himself at once, that is the beft;</td>
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<tr>
<td>then to goe leffe in quantitie and laftlie to discontynue altogether. But if a Man have the fortitude and resolucion to infranchife himself at once, that is the beft.</td>
<td>Neither is it amisse to bend nature to a contrary extreame, where it is noe vice. Lett not a man force a habitt vpnon</td>
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<td>$\text{Optimus ille animi vindex ledentia pecius}$ $\text{Vincula qui rupit de-doluitque femel.}$</td>
<td>$\text{Optimus ille animi vindex ledentia pecius}$ $\text{Vincula qui rupit, de-doluitq\text{ }e}$$\text{femel.}$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neither is it amisse to bend nature to a contrary extreame, where it is noe vice. Lett not a man force a habitt vpbon</td>
<td>Neither is it amisse to bend nature to a contrary extreame, whereby to fet it right; understanding it, where the contrary extreame is no vice. Lett not a man force a habitt vpbon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Arrest. Omitted in the Latin.
6 Foure and Twenty. Alphabeti, 'of the Alphabet.'
7 After Letters. Priusquam quicquam faceret, 'before he did anything.'
8 Before to Goe lesse. Naturam moderari, et, 'to moderate nature and.'
9 Drinking Healths. Majoribus Haustibus, 'greater draughts.'
10 A Draught at a Meale. Ad minores, 'to less draughts.'
V. 1625. æt. 65.

Nature is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be; Firtst to Stay and Arreft\(^5\) Nature in Time; Like to Him, that would say ouer the Foure and Twenty\(^6\) Letters,\(^7\) when he was Angry; Then \(^8\) to Goe leffe in Quantity; As if oneshould, in forbearing Wine, come from Drinking Healths,\(^9\) to a Draught at a Meale:\(^10\) And laflly, to Discontinue\(^11\) altogether. But if a Man haue the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchifie\(^12\) Himfelfe at once, that is the beft;

Optimus illi Animii Vindex, laedentia pellus
Winacula qui rupit, dedoluitque femel.\(^a\)

Neither is the Ancient Rule amiffe, to bend Nature as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to fet it right: Vnderstanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice.\(^13\) Let not a man force a Habit vpon

\(^a\) He is the best vindicator of his mind who breaks the chains that afflict his breast and ceases to grieve once for all. Ovid. Remedia Amoris. 1. 293, 4.

\(^11\) Discontinue. Naturam penitus sub jugum mittere, et domare, 'to put nature altogether under the yoke, and tame it.'

\(^12\) Enfranchise. Eximere et vindicare. 'free and deliver.'

\(^13\) Is no Vice. In Vitium non ducat. 'does not lead to vice.'
himself with a perpetuation, but with some intermission: For both the pause reinforceith the new Onset; and if a Man that is not perfit be ever in practice, he shall aswell practice his errors, as his abilities, and induce one habit of both, and there is noe means to helpe this, but by seasonable intermissions.

Mans nature is best perceived in priuatnesse, For there is noe affectacion, in passion for that putteth a Man out of his preceptes, and in a new Case, or experiment, for there custome leaveth him. They are happie Men whose natures fort with their vo-

14 Reinforceith. Redintegrat, et adanget, 'reinforceath and increaseth.'
15 That is not perfect. Dum Tyroneum agit, 'while he is a pupil.'
16 Practise. Imbibat, 'drinking.'
17 And induce one Habite of both. Omitted in the Latin.
18 Trust. Triumphum Accinas, 'sing a triumph.'
himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Paufe, reinforceth the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect, be ever in Practice, he shall as well practife his Errors, as his Abilities; And induce one Habite of both. And there is no Means to helpe this, but by SeASONABLE Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie ouer his Nature too farre; For Nature will lay buried a great Time, and yet reuie, vpon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with Aesopes Damofell, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who fate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either auoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe often to it, that hee may be little moued with it. A Mans Nature is best perceived in Privatenesse, for there is no Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there Cus-tome leaueth him. They are happie Men, whose Natures fort with their Vo-

19 Farre. Cito, 'soon.'
20 Temptation. Omitted in the Latin.
21 Precepts. Precepta et Regulas, 'precepts and rules.'
22 Experiment. Insolito, 'unaccustomed.'
cacions, otherwise they may say Multum incola fuit anima mea; when they converse in those things they do not affect. In Studies whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it: But whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times, For his thoughtes will flye to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other businesse, or studies will suffice.

IV. 1612. “et. 52.
cations, otherwise they may say, Multum incola fuit anima mea, when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it. But whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times: For his thoughtes will flye to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other businesse, or studies will suffice.

23 Vocations. Vita quae Genere, ‘kind of life.’
25 Commandeth upon himselfe. A Natura tua alienum repereris, ‘find foreign to your nature.’
26 Hours for it. Statu tempora ad ejusdem Exercitationes et Meditations, ‘set times for exercise and meditation upon it.’
Otherwise they may say, *Multum Incola fuit Animae meae.* when they converse in those Things, they do not Affect. In Studies, whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himself, let him set Hours for it: But whatsoever is agreeable to his *Nature,* let him take no Care, for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will fly to it of Themselues; So as the Spaces of other Business, or Studies, will suffice. A Mans *Nature* runnes either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably Water the One, and Destroy the Other.

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*a* Ps. cxix. 6. (Vulgate). In the Douay version of 1609 this verse is translated *My soul hath been long a sojourner:* and in the Authorized Version, it stands. *My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.*

27 So as the Spaces . . . suffice, *Prout Negotia et Studia cetera permittent,* 'as other business and studies will allow.'

28 Runnes. *Ex vi innata, producit,* 'produces from its inborn force.'

29 Seasonably. *Sedulo et tempestive,* 'carefully and seasonably.'
Enst thoughts are much according to theire naturall inclination, their speeches according to their learnings and infused opinions, But their deeds are after as they have bee accustomed. And therefore as Maciuell well noted (though in an Evill fauoured inflance), there is noe trusting to the force of Nature nor to the bravery of wordes, except it be corroborate by Custome. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate Conspiracie a Man should not rest vpon the fiercenes of any Mans nature, or his resolute Vndertakeinges, but take such a one as hath had his handes formerly in blood. But Maciuell knewe not of a Fryer Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor

III. 1607-12. expr. 47-52.
Harleian MS. 5106.
27. Of Custome and Education.

IV. 1612. expr. 52.
31. Of Custome and Education.

Ens thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning, and infused opinions; But their deedes are after as they have bee accustomed. And therefore as Maciuell wel noted, (though in an euil fauoured inflance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature; nor to the brauery of words; except it be corroborate by custome. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desparate conspiracie a man should not rest vpon the fiercenes of any mans nature, or his resolute vndertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Maciuell knewe not of a Fryer Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor


1 As they have bee accustomed. Ferme antiquum obtinent, 'mostly take the old course.'
2 Desperate Conspiracie. Facinore aliquo audaci et crudeli, 'some bold and cruel deed.'
Ens Thoughts are much according to their Inclination:

Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning, and Infused Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they haue beene Accustomed. And therefore, as Macciauel well noteth (though in an euill fauoured Instance) There is no Trusling to the Force of Nature, nor to the Brauery of Words; Except it be Corroborate by Cuslome. His Instance is, that for the Atchieuing of a desperate Conspiracie, a Man should not refle upon the Fiercenesse of any mans Nature, or his Resolute Undertakings; But take such an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But Macciauel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Rauillac, nor

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a Machiavelli. *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio. iii. 6.*

b Vndertakings. *Promissis, nedom Juramentis, 'promises, nor even oaths.'*

4 Hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. *Sanguinolentis, et jamdudum cardibus assuetis, 'bloody and long accustomed to slaughter.'*
a Jaureguy, nor a * 

yet his rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the engagement of word, are not so forcible as Cuftome. Onely Super-

fition is now so well ad-

vaunced that Men of the first bloud, are as firme 
as Butchers by occupacion, and votarie resolucion is 

made equipollent to Cuftome in matter of 

bloud. In other things 

the predominancye of Cuftome is every where visi-

ble, in soe much as a Man 

would wonder to heare Men professe, protest, in-

gage, give great wordes, and then doe iufl, as they 

have done before, as if they were dead Images, 

and Ingines moved onely by 

cuftome.

a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard. Yet his rule 

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fition is now so well ad-

uanced, that men of the 

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made equipollent to cu-

stome, even in matter of 

blood. In other things 

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stome is every where visi-

ble; in so much as a man 

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men professe, protest, in-

gage, giue great words, 

and then doe iufl, as they 

haue done before: as if 

they were dead Images 

and Engins moued only 

by the wheeles of cuftome.

* Blank in manuscript.
5 After Gerard. Aut Guidone Faulxio, 'or Guy Fawkes.'
6 After Words. Et ferociam, 'and ferocity.'
7 As they haue Done before. Istis omnibus posthabitis, pro more consueti 

agere, 'putting all these on one side, do according to their usual habit.'
XXXI. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION. 369

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a Tauregay, nor a Baltazar Gerard: yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible, as Custom. Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Blood, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to Custom, even in matter of Blood. In other Things, the Predominancy of Custom is nowhere Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Give Great Words, and then Doe just as they haue Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moued only by the wheeles of Custom.

We see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of Custom, what it is. The Indians (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men) lay Themselves quietly upon a Stacke of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the Wives strive to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of Sparta, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged upon the Altar of Diana, without

8 Mow'd. *Impulsæ et actæ,* 'impelled and driven.'
9 Raigne. Omitted in the Latin.
10 Sect of their Wise Men. *Gymnosophistis, et Veteribus et Modernis,* 'Gymnosophists, both ancient and modern.'
11 Burned. *In Rogum immitti,* 'put on the funeral pile.'
Therefore since Custom, is the principall Magistrate of Mans life, lett Men by all meanes endeavour to obteyne good Customes. Certainly Custom is most perfite when it beginneth in yong yeares. This wee call Education, which is nothing but an early Custom,

For it is true that late termes cannott so well take the ply, except it be in some mindes, that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have

Therefore since custome, is the principal Magistrate of mans life: let men by all meanes endeavour to obtaine good customes. Certainly custome is most perfect when it beginneth in young yeeres. This wee call Education: which is nothing but an early custom.

For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the plie; except it be in some mindes, that have not suffered themselves to fixe, but have

13 Queching. *Vix ejulatu, aut gemitu nilo emisso,* 'scarcey uttering a cry or groan.'
15 Penance. *Ad penitentiam complendam,* 'to perform penance.'
16 Will sit. *Non recusabunt sedere,* 'will not refuse to sit.'
17 Night. *Nocte hibernali,* 'winter's night.'
18 Hard. Omitted in the Latin.
19 Force. *Plane stupendas vires,* 'truly astounding force.'
so much as Queching. I remember in the beginning of Queene Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish Rebell Condemned, put vp a Petition to the Deputie, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in a Halter, because it had beene so vfed, with former Rebels. There be Monkes in Russia, for Penance, that will fit a whole Night, in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of Custom, both vpon Minde, and Body. Therefore, since Custom is the Principall Magistrate of Mans life; Let Men by all Meanes endeuour, to obtaine good Customes. Certainly, Custom is most perfect when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call Education; which is, in effect, but an Early Custom. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Actuuitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes, that have not suffered themselues to fixe, but have

20 Magistrate. Moderator et Magistratus, 'governor and magistrate.'
21 Perfect. Validissima, 'strongest.'
22 Early. A teneris annis imbibita, 'imbibed from tender years.'
23 Languages. Linguis ediscendis, 'learning languages.'
24 Supple. Agiles et flexiles, 'agile and flexible.'
25 Feats of Actuuitie. Posituras, 'postures.'
26 Youth. Puertita, aut Adolescentia, 'boyhood or youth.'
27 Plie. Novam plicam, 'new ply.'
III. 1607-12. at. 47-52.
kept themselves open, and prepared to receive continuall amendment; which is exceeding rare. But if the force of Custome simple, and separate be greater; the force of Custome copulate, and conjoin'd and in troupe is farre greater. For their example teacheth, Companie Comforteth, æmulacjon quickneth, Glorie raiseth; so as in such places the force of Custome is in his exaltacion. Certainly the great multiplication of vertues vpnon humaine nature refleth vpnon Societyes well ordayn'd, and disciplin'd. For Common wealthes, and good governementes doe nourishe vertue growne, but doe not mend the Seedes. But the miserie is, that the most effectuall meanes are nowe applied to the endes left to be defiered.

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kept themselves open and prepared to receive continuall amendment; which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custome simple, and separate be great; the force of custome copulate and conjoin'd, and in troupe, is far greater. For their example teacheth; companie comforteth; æmulation quickeneth; glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custome is in his exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of vertues upon humane nature reflecteth upon societies well ordained, and disciplin'd. For Common wealthes, and good governements, doe nourish vertue grown, but doe not mende the seeds. But the miserie is, that the most effectual meanes are now applied to the ends least to be defiered.

29 To receive. Ad omnia Præcepta, quo recipierent, 'to all instruction, so as to receive.'
30 Raiseth. Animos extollit, 'raiseth the spirits.'
31 Force. Vires et influxus, 'force and flow.'
32 Multiplication. Multiplicatio et (ut Chymicorum Vocabulo utar) Projectio, 'the multiplication and (to use a chemist's word) the projection.'
kept themselves open and prepared, to receive continually Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of Custom Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of Custom Copulate, and Conjoined, and Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raiseth. So as in such Places the Force of Custom is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Vertues upon Humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplined. For Commonwealths, and Good Governments, doe nourish Vertue Grown, but doe not much mend the seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be desired.

33 Of Vertues. Omitted in the Latin.
34 Disciplined. Disciplina salubri in formatis, 'fashioned by wholesome discipline.'
35 Commonwealths. Respublicae recte administratae, 'Commonwealths well administered.'
36 Gouernments. Leges, 'laws.'
37 Crowne. In Herba, 'in the blade.'
38 The Misery is. In felicitatis Orbis hoc habet, 'the world has t ignisery.
374 A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

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Harleian MS. 5106.

32. Of Fortune.

T cannot be denied but outward Accidents conduce much to a Mans fortune; favour; opportune death of others; occasion fitting vertue. But chiefly the mould of a Mans fortune is in himself.

And the most frequent of externall causes is, That the folly of one Man, is the fortune of another. For noe Man prosperes so suddeinly as by others errors. Serpens nifi Serpentem comedert non fit Draco. Overt and apparant vertues bring forth praise, but there be hidden and secret vertues that bring forth Fortune; Certain deliveryes of a Mans self, which have noe name; The Spanish word Desen-

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

23. Of Fortune.

T cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to a Mans fortune. Favour, Oportune death of others, occasion fitting vertue. But chiefly the mould of a Mans fortune is in himself.

And the most frequent of externall causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prosperes so suddenly, as by others errors. Serpens nifi serpentem comedert non fit Draco. Overt, and apparent vertues bring forth praise, but there bee hidden and secret vertues that bring forth fortune. Certain deliveries of a mans selfe which haue no name. The Spanish word Derem-

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1 Accidents. Accidentia et Casus, 'accidents and chances.'
2 Fortune. Ad Hominum Fortunas, vel promovendas, vel deprimendas, plurimum possint, 'have much power in promoting or depressing the fortunes of men.'
OF FORTUNE.

V. 1625. æt. 65.

British Museum Copy.

40. Of Fortune.

It cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents conduce much to Fortune: Favour, Opportunity, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans Fortune, is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortune fui:* a faith the Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the Fortune of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comedere non fit Draco,* Ouert, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praife; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth Fortune. Certaine Deliueries of a Mans Selfe, which haue no Name. The Spanish Name, Defem-

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*a Every one the architect of his own fortune.
*b A serpent, unless it has eaten a serpent, does not become a dragon.
*3 Favour. Gratia aliquis ex Magnatibus, 'favour of some great men.'
*4 Poet. Comicus, 'comic poet.'
*5 Is the Fortune. Fortunam promovere, 'promotes the fortune.'
*6 Deliueries. Facultates nonnullae se expedienti, 'certain means of delivering oneself.'
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

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boltura sheweth them best; when there be noe stondes, nor resliueneffe in a Mans nature;

For so faieth Linie well after he had described Cato Maior in these words In illo viro tantum robur corporis, et animi fuit, vt quocunque loco natus effet fortunam sibi faciurus videretur, he falleth vpon that, that he had, versatile ingenium. Certainly if a Man looke sharply and accentively hee shal fee Fortune; for though she be blinde, yet she is not invisible. The way of Fortune is like the Milken way in the Sky, which is a meeting or knott of a number of female Starres;

so are there a number of litle and scarce discerned vertues, or rather facultyes, and Customes, that make Men fortunate. The Italians have found out one of

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boltura partlie expresseth them, when there be no stonds nor resliueneffe in a mans nature.

For so faith Linie well, after he had described Cato Maior in these words. In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, vt quocunque loco natus effet fortuam sibi faciurus videretur. He falleth vpon that, that he had Versatile ingenium. Therefore if a man looke sharply and accentuilly, hee shal fee fortune; for though shee be blinde, yet shee is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the skie, which is a meeting, or knott of a number of small starres; not seene asunder, but giuing light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned vertues, or rather facultyes and customes, that make men fortunate. The Italians some of them, such as

7 Restiuenesse. Impedimenta, 'hindrances.'
8 Sharply. Limis Oculis, 'askance.'
boluntary, partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds, nor Re{fluene}ffe in a Mans Nature. But that the wheeles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheeles of his Fortune. For so Linie (after he had described Cato Maior, in these words; In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis et Animi fuit, et quocunque loco natus effet, Fortunam fibi facturus videretur;) falleth uppon that, that he had, Verfa-atile Ingenium. Therfore, if a Man looke Sharply, and Attentiuely, he shall see Fortune: For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Inuisible. The Way of Fortune, is like the Milkem Way in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars; Not Seene afunder, but Giuing Light together. So are there, a Number of Little, and scarf diserned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Cu\{t\}omes, that make Men Fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as

a Desemboluntary in Spanish means, airiness, impudence, confidence.

b In that man there was such strength of body and mind, that in whatever place he might have been born, it would seem that he would have made Fortune his own. Livy. xxxix. 40.
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

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them; Poco di Matto; when they speake of one that cannot doe amisse.

And certainly there be not two more fortunate properties, then to have a little of the foole, and not to much of the honest. Therefore extreme Lovers of their Countrye, or Maisters, were never fortunate, neither can they be; For when a Man placeth his thoughtes without himselfe, he goeth not his owne way. An hafty Fortune maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover (the French hath it better Entreprenant, or Remuant,) but the exercized fortune maketh the Able man; Fortune is to be honoured and respected and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and reputation, for those two felicity breedeth, the first in a Mans self, the later in

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a man would little thinke, when they speake of one that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath Poco di matto. And certainly, there beenot two more fortunate properties, then to have a little of the foole, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their Country, or Maisters, were never fortunate, neither can they bee. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himselfe, hee goeth not his owne way. An hafty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remouer; (the French hath it better Entreprenant, or Remuant,) but the exercized fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to bee honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two felicity breedeth: the first, within a mans selfe; the latter,

9 Cannot doe amisse. Cui prosperam Fortunam spondent, 'for whom they expect prosperous fortune.'
10 Masters. Principes, 'princes.'
11 Remouer. Non nihil turbulentos, 'somewhat restless.'
a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one, that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, Poco di Matto. And certainly, there be not two more Fortunate Properties; Then to haue a Little of the Foole; And not Too Much of the Honest. Therefore, Extreme Louers of their Countrey, or Masters, were never Fortunate, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An haftie Fortune maketh an Enterpriser, and Remouer, (The French hath it better: Entreprenant, or Remuant) But the Exercised Fortune maketh the Able Man. Fortune is to be Honoured, and Respected, and it bee but for her Daughters, Confidence, and Reputation. For those two Felicitie breedeth: The first within a Mans Selfe; the Latter,

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*a Poco di Matto in Italian means, a little out of his senses, a little mad.*

13 Able. Prudentes et Cordatos, 'wise and judicious.'

14 Honoured and Respected. Honorem meritum, 'deserves honour.'

15 Felicitie. Fortuna prospera, 'favourable fortune.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

Others.
All wise Men to declyne the envy of their owne vertues vse to ascribe them to providence, and Fortune, for so they may the better assume them, and besides it is greatnes in a Man to be the Care of the higher powers.

And it hath beene noted, that those that ascribe openly to much to their owne wisedom and policy, end unfortunate. It it written, that Timotheus the Athenian, after hee had in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interleashed this speach. And in this, fortune had no part; never prospered in any thing he undertooke afterwards.

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in others towards him. All wise men to decline the Enuie of their owne vertues, vse to ascribe them to providence, and fortune, For so they may the better assume them. And besides, it is greatnesse in a man to bee the care of the higher powers.

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16 After Towards Him. Eaque vicissim variunt Animos et Auctoritatem, 'and these in turn produce courage and influence.'
17 Better. Decentius et libertus, 'more fittingly and freely.'
18 Greatnesse. Majestatem quandam addit, 'adds a sort of greatness.'
19 Be the Care. Si videtur Care esse, 'if he seems to be the care.'
20 To the State. Omitted in the Latin.
21 Often. Ad ravinum usque, 'to hoarseness.'
22 Slide, and Easinesse. Majore cum facilitate fluunt, 'flow with more easiness.'
in Others towards Him.  
All Wife Men, to decline the Enuy of their owne vertues, vse to ascribe them to Prouidence and Fortune; For so they may the better asume them: And besides, it is Greatness in a Man, to be the Care, of the Higher Powers. So Cæsar said to the Pilot in the Tempest, Cæfarem portas, et Fortunam eius. So Sylla chose the Name of Felix, and not of Magnus. And it hath bee ne noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wifdome, and Policie, end Infortunate. It is written, that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the Account he gaue to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech; And in this Fortune had no Part, neuer prospered in any Thing he undertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose Fortunes are like Homers Verfes, that haue a Slide, and Eafineffe, more then the Verfes of other Poets: As Plutarch faith of Timoleon's Fortune, in reفاءt of that of Agesilaus, or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.

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a Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes. Plutarch. Cæsar. xxxviii.
b Plutarch. Sylla. xxxiv.
c Plutarch. Sylla, vi. 5.
d Plutarch. Timoleon. xxxv. 1.
En feare death, as Children feare to goe in the darke; and as that naturall feare in Children is encreased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly the feare of death in contemplation of the cause of it, and the yssue of it is religious, but the feare of it for it self is weake. Yet in religious meditations there is mixture of vanitye and of Superstition. You shall reade in some of the Ffryers Bookes of Mortification, that a Man shou’d thinke with himself what the payne is, if he have but his fingers end pressed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the paynes of death are, when the whole body is corrupted, and dissolved; when manie tymes death paffeth with lesse payne then the tor-

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2. Of Death. En feare death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: and as that naturall feare in Children is encreased with tales; so is the other. Certainly the feare of death in contemplation of the cause of it, and the issue of it, is religious: but the fear of it, for it selfe, is weake. Yet in religious meditations there is mixture of vanitye, and of superstitition. You shall reade in some of the Friers Bookes of Mortification, that a man shou’d thinke with himselfe, what the paine is, if he have but his fingers end pressed, or tortured; and thereby imagine what the paines of Death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved: when many times, Death paffeth with lesse paine, then the tor-

*EE. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.*

1 Tales. *Fabulosis quibusdam Terriculamentis,* ‘by fictitious terrors.’
En feare Death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Naturall Feare in Children, is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of Death, as the wages of sinne, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due vnto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superflition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars Books of Mortification, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the Paine is, if he haue but his Fingers end Pressed, or Tortured; And thereby imagine, what the Paines of Death are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and dissolued; when many times, Death passeth with leffe paine, then the Tor-

2 Weake. *In firma et inanis,* 'weak and empty.'
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ture of a limme. For the most vitall partes are not the quickefl of fence. And to speake as a Philosopher, or naturall Man it was well saide Pompa Mortis, magis terret, quam mors ipsa; Grones, and convulsions, and a discolorcd face, and frendes weeping, and Blackes, and obsequies, and the like shew death terrible. It is worthie the observing that there is noe passion in the minde of Man so weake, but masters the feare of death; and therefore death is noe such enimye when a Man hath so manie follow-ers about him, that can wynne the Combate of it. Revenge triumphes over death, love esteemes it not, Honour aspireth to it, delivery from ignomnie chufeth it, greif flyeth to it, feare preoccupateth it, Nay wee fee after Otho had slaine himself, pitty which is the tender-

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ture of a limme. For the most vitall partes are not the quickefl of fence. And to speake as a Philosopher or naturall man, it was well saied, Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa. Grones, and Convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and Blackes and obsequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthie the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man so weake, but masters the feare of death; and therefore death is no such enemy, when a man hath so many followers about him, that can winne the combat of him. Revenge triumphes over death, Loue esteemes it not, Honour aspireth to it, delivery from Ignominy chufeth it, Griefe flieth to it: Feare preoccupateth it; nay we see after Otho had slaine himselfe, pitty (which is the tendr-

"Groanes. Gemitus et Singultus, 'groans and sighs.'"
ture of a Limme: For the most vital parts, are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake only as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipsa.* Groanes\(^3\) and Conuulfions, and a discoloured Face,\(^4\) and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* Terrible. It is worthy the obseruing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of *Death*: And therefore Death, is no such terrible Enemie, when a man hath so many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs ouer *Death*; *Louve* flights it; *Honour* aspireth to it;

*Griefe* flieth to it; *Feare* pre-occupateth it; Nay we reade, after *Otho* the Empeour had flaine himselsfe, *Pitty* (which is the tender-

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\(^a\) The pomps of death frighten more than Death itself.

\(^4\) Discoloured Face. *Oris pallor,* 'paleness of the face.'
rem of affections provoked manie to dye.

Seneca speaketh of niceness: **Cogita quam dìu cadem feceris, Mori velle non tantum fortis aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.**

It is no lesse worthie to observe how litle alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make, but they are the same till the last. *Augustus Caesar* dyed in a Complement, *Tiberius* in dissimulation, *Vespasian* in a iest, *Galba* with a sentence,

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eft of affections) prouoked many to die.

Seneca speaketh of niceness: **Cogita quam dìu cadem feceris; Mori velle non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.**

It is no lesse worthy to obserue how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make: but they are the same till the last. *Augustus Caesar* died in a comple-


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5 Good Spirits. *Animo generoso et fortì, 'a noble and brave mind.'*

6 The same Men. *Eosdem enim gerunt Homines illi Spiritus, 'for those men bear the same spirits.'*
est of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soueraigne, and as the truest fort of Followers. Nay Seneca addes Niceneffe and Society; Cogita quam diu cadem secetis; Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Mifer, sed etiam Fasidiosus potest. A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miserable, onely vpon a wearinesse to doe the same thing, so oft ouer and ouer.

It is no leffe worthy to obserue, how little Alteration, in good Spirits, the Approaches of Death make; For they appeare, to be the same Men, till the laft Instant. Augustus Caesar died in a Complement; Livia, Coniugis nostri memor, viue et vale. Tiberius in dissimulation; As Tacitus faith of him; Iam Tiberium Vires, et Corpus, non Dissimulatio, deserviant. Vespasian in a left; Sitting vpon the Stoole, Vt puto Deus fio. Galba with a Sentence; Feri, si ex re fit populi Romani; Holding forth his Necke. Septimius Severus in dispatch; Adele, si quid mihi reslat agendum!

a Consider how often thou dost the same thing. Not only a strong man or an avaricious man, but also a fastidious man is able to wish for death. Seneca. Epistles. x. 1. (6).


c At length: strength and his body failed Tiberius, not his dissimulation. Tacitus. Annals. vi. 50.

d As I think [The play is on the double sense of puto: to cleanse, and to think], I am becoming a God. Suetonius. Vespasian. c. 23.

e Strike, if it be for the benefit of the Roman People. Tacitus. History. i. 41.

f Come here, if anything remains for me to do. Dion Cassius. lxxvi. 17.
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

and the like. Certainly the Stoikes bestowed too much Cost vpon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearefull. Better faieth he Qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat, naturae. It is as natural to dye, as to be borne, and to a little Infant perhaps, the one as painefull, as the other.

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and the like. Certainly the Stoikes bestowed too much cost vpon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearefull. Better faith he, Qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat naturae. It is as natural to die, as to bee borne; and to a little Infant perhaps, the one as painefull, as the other.

7 Cost vpon Death. In Solatia Mortis, 'on the consolations of death.'
XXXIII. OF DEATH.

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And the like. Certainly, the Stoikes beflowed too much cost upon Death, and by their great preparations, made it appeare more fearfull. Better faith he, Qui Finem Vite extremum inter Munera ponit Nature. a It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeleth the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent vpon somewhat, that is good, doth auert the Dolors of Death: But aboue all, beleevue it, the sweeteft Canticle is, Nunc dimittis; b when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. Death hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Enuie.

—Extinctus amabitur idem. c

a Or rather; Qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponit Nature. Juvenal, Satires. x. 357.

b Luke ii. 29.

b The same [i.e. the envied one] being dead will be loved. Horace. Epistles. ii. 1. 15.
Heapardes of people had neede knowe the Kalenders of Tempestes in State, which are commonlye greatest when thinges growe to equalitie, as naturall Tempestes are greatest about the æquinoctia; And as there are certaine hollowe blastes, and secrett swellinges of Seas before Tempestes, so are there in States.

are amongst the signes of troubles, Virgile giveinge the pedegree of fame, sainth shee was fitter to the Gyantes.


1 After Winde. *Et veluti e longinquo, 'and as if from afar off.'*

2 In States. *Ingruentibus Procellis politicis, 'when political storms ar. approaching.'*

3 Licentious Discourses. *Licentiosi et mordaces Sermones in Status Scandatum, 'licentious and calumnious discourses to the scandal of the State.'*
Hephecards of People, had need know the Kalenders of Tempefts in State; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempefts are greatest about the Æquinoctia. And as there are certaine hollow Blafts of Winde,¹ and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempeft, fo are there in States:²

—Ille etiam æcos inflare Tumultus
Sæpe monte, Fraudesque,
etopertatum secrece Bella.ᵃ

Libels, and licentious Discourfes³ against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like fort, falfe Newes, often running vp and downe,⁴ to the disaduantage of the State,⁵ and haftily embraced;⁶ are amongst the Signes of Troubles. Virgil giuing the Pedegre of Fame, faith She was fister to the Giants.

ᵃ He [i.e. The Sun] also often warns of threatening hidden tumults; and treacheries, and of secret wars swelling to a head. Virgil. Georgics. i. 465.

⁴ Often running vp and downe. Omitted in the Latin.
⁵ After State. Undique jactati, 'cast about everywhere.'
⁶ After Embraced. A Popule, 'by the people.'
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*Illam terra parens ira irritata deorum
Extremam vt perhibent Caeo Enceladoque fororem
Progenuit.*

As if names and Rumours were the Reliques of Seditions past, but they are no leffe the preludes of Seditions to come. But he notes it right, that seditions, tumultes, and seditious names, differ noe more, but as Masculine, and feminine.

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

Also that kinde of obedience (which Tacitus describeth in an Army) is to be

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7 If it come. *Ingravescat Malum,* 'the evil grows worse.'
8 Checks them. *Evanescent,* 'they vanish.'
9 Going about. *Conatus sedulus,* 'diligent endeavours.'
10 Wonder. Omitted in the Latin.
OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES. 393

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Illam Terra Prens irâ irritata Deorum, Extremam (vt perhibent) Caeo Enceladoque foro- rem

Propaguit—

As if Fames were the Reliques of Seditious past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of Seditions to come. Howfoever, he noteth it right, that Seditious Tumults, and Seditious Fames, differ no more, but as Brother and Sister, masculine and Feminine; Especially, if it come7 to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as Tacitus faith; Consdata magna Inuidia, feu bene, feu malle, gela premunt.6 Neither doth it follow, that because these Fames, are a signe of Troubles, that the suppressing of them, with too much Severity, should be a Remedy of Troubles. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them8 beft; and the Going about9 to stop them, doth but make a Wonder10 Long-liued. Also that kind of Obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be

a Her, Parent Earth, furious with the vengeance of the Gods, brought forth; the youngest sister of Caus and Enceladus. Virgil. Æneid. iv. 179. "In He- then Poesie, wee see the exposition of Fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicite, as in the Fable that the Gyants beeing ouerthrowne in their warre against the Gods, the Earth their mother in revenge thereof brought forth Fame. Illum terra Prens &c.

Expounded that when Princes & Monarches haue suppressed actual and open Rebels, then the malignitie of people, (which is the mother of Rebellion,) doth bring forth Libels & slanders, and taxationes of the states, which is of the same kind with Rebellion, but more Feminine." Adv. of Learning. ii. fol. 19. Ed. 1605.

b Great envy was excited, whether affairs went well or ill. Tacitus. History i. 7.
held suspected Erant in officio, sed tamen qui malent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi. When Mandates fall to be disputed and distinguished and new fences given to them, it is the first Essay of disobeying.

Also as Machauuell well notes When Princes that ought to bee common Fathers make themselves as a partie, and lean to a side in the estate, it is as a boate that tiltes aside before it overthrowes.

Also when discordes, and quarrells, and factions are carryed openly and audaciosly, it is a signe

This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.

11 Directions. Omitted in the Latin.
12 After Disputings. Circa Mandata, 'concerning mandates.'
13 Audaciously. Audaci5 et contumaci5, 'too boldly and obstinately.'
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held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui malent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quem exequi;* a Disputing, Excusing, Caulling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as Maccianel noteth well; b when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselues as a Party, and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrown, by vnneuen weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of Henry the third of France: For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the Proteijants; and presently after, the same League was turned vpon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Caufe; And that there be other Bands, that tie fater, then the Band of Soueraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession. c

Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are Carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe,

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a They were in office, but yet would rather question the orders of the commanders, than perform them. Tacitus. History. ii. 30.

b Macchiavelli. Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca de Tito Livio. iii. 27.

c Leane to a side. Omitted in the Latin.

d Entred. *Se recipi voluit,* ' wished to be received into.'

e Possession. *Possessione Auctoritatis,* 'possession of authority.'
the reverence of government is lost.

And reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof, as one of his great Judgments.

_Soluum cingula Regum._

So when anie of the fower Pillars of government aremainelyshakened, or weakened, which are Religion, Justice, Counsell and Treafure, Men had neede to pray for faier weather. But let vs leave the part of predictions,

and speake of the Materialls,

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

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17 Government. _Erga Principem_, 'toward the sovereign.'
18 Highest Motion. _Motum primi Mobilis_, 'the motion of the _primum mobile_.'
19 Great Ones. _Vivi Primaiores et Nobiles_, 'chiefs and noble men.'
the Reuerence of Gouernment\textsuperscript{17} is loft. For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Gouernment, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, under \textit{Primum Mobile}; (according to the old Opinion: which is, That Euerie of them, is carried swiftly, by the Higheft Motion,\textsuperscript{18} and softly in their owne Motion. And therefore, when great Ones,\textsuperscript{19} in their owne particular Motion, moue violently, and, as \textit{Tacitus} expresseth it well, \textit{Liberius, quam \textit{et Imperantium} meminissent};\textsuperscript{a} It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reuerence is that, wherewith Princes are girt from God; Who threateneth the dissoluing thereof;

\textit{Soluam cingula Regum}.\textsuperscript{b}

So when any of the foure Pillars of Gouernment, are mainly shaken, or weakned (which are \textit{Religion, Iustice, Counfell,} and \textit{Treasure},) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let vs pafs from this Part of Predications,\textsuperscript{20} Concerning which,\textsuperscript{21} neuertheless, more light may be taken, from that which followeth;) And let vs speake first of the Materials of Seditions;

\textsuperscript{a} More freely than was grateful to the rulers. Incorrectly quoted from \textit{Tacitus, Annals. iii. 4.}\textsuperscript{b} Is. xlv. 1.

\textsuperscript{20} Predictions. \textit{Prognostica Seditionum}, 'predictions of sedition.'

\textsuperscript{21} Concerning which. \textit{Circa quae nihilominus interveniunt nonnulla, quae is tractandis maiorum Lucem praebere possint, 'concerning which, nevertheless, several things will occur which will afford greater light in treating of them.'
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.

and the causes,

and the remedyes.

The matter of seditions is of two kindes, Much povertye and much discontent

Certainly, so manie overthowerne estates, so manie votes for troubles; 
Lucan, noteth well the state of the tymes before the Civill Warre,

Hinc ufura vorax, Rapid- 

umque in tempore fœnus, 

Hinc concussa - fides, et 

multis vile bellum.

This same Multis vile 

bellum, is an assured, and 

infallible signe of a 

State disposed to troubles, 

and seditions.

For discontentes, 

they are the verie humours

22 Motives. Caussis et Flabellis, 'causes and motives: (lit. fans.)'
23 After Prepared. Flamma, 'for the flame.'
24 Come. Eunicare possint, 'can shine.'
25 Overthrown Estates. Hominum res attritae, et decoctae Fortune, 
'impaired estates of men, and bankrupt fortunes.'
Then of the Motives of them; And thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materialls of Seditions. It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to preuent Seditions, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the Matter of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire.

The Matter of Seditions is of two kindes; Much Poverty, and Much Discontentment. It is certaine, so many Ouerthrowne Estates, fo many Votes for Troubles.

Lucan noteth well the State of Rome, before the Ciuill Warre.

_Hinc Vfura vorax, rapid-unique in tempore Fenus,
Hinc concusxia Fides, et multis vile Bellum._

This same Multis vile Bellum, is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to Seditions, and Troubles. And if this Poverty, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be ioyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst.

As for Discontentments, they are

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a Hence devouring usury, and interest greedy of time,
Hence credit shaken, and war profitable to many.

Lucan. Pharsalia. i. 181, 2.

26 Infallible. Omitted in the Latin.
27 Of the Belly. Quae a Ventre ortum habent, 'which rise from the belly.'
28 Discontentments. Alienationes Animorum, et Tedium Kerun prae-entium; 'the alienation of minds, and discontent with the present state.'
in the politique body

apt to
gather a preternatural
heate, and to inflame;
And let not Princes measure
the danger of them by
this whether they are iuft,
or vniuift, For that were
to imagine people
to reasonable;

nor

yet by this, whether the
greifes Wherevponn they
arrise be in true proporcion
great, or fmale; for they
are the moft dangerous
kindes of discontentes,
where the feare is greater,
then the feelinge.

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

29 Humours. Humorum Maligniorum, 'malignant humours.'
30 Them. Illa que Animos Populi alienant, 'what alienates the minds
of the people.'
31 Be secure. Minus pendat, 'consider of less account.'
32 Concerning Discontentments. Alienationem Animorum, et Invidiae
grassantem, 'the alienation of minds and the increase of envy.'
in the Politique Body, like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them by this; whether they be Iust, or Vniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reaonable; who doe often spurne at their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous Discontentments, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item. Befides, in great Oppressions, the same Things, that prouoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure concerning Discontentments because they haue been often, or haue been long and yet no Perill hath ensued; For as it is true, that euery Vapor, or Fume, doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, neuerthelesse, true, that Stormes, though they blow ouer diuers times, yet may fall at laft; And as the

33 They. Ila fastidia Animorum, 'these dislikes.'
34 Perill. Detrimenti Respublica cepit, 'the State has received no damage.'
35 Or Fume. Omitted in the Latin.
36 Fall. Clomerantur et ruunt, 'collect and fall.'
The causes and motives of Sedition, are Religion, Taxes, alteracions of lawes and Cuftomes, breakeing priuiledges, generall oppreffion, Advancement of vnworthie perfons, Straungers, Dearthes. And whatsoever in offending people ioyneth them in a Common Caufe.

for the remedyes there maie be some generall preservatives, the Cure muft aunsweare to the particular diseafe.

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

37 And Motives. Omitted in the Latin.
38 'Taxes. Tributa et Census, 'tributes and taxes.'
39 Priuiledges. Immunitatum et Privilegiorum, 'immunities and privi-
   leges.'
40 After Advancement. Ad honores et Magistratus, 'to honours and offices.'
41 Dearth. Caritas Annonae, 'dearth of provisions.'
42 Disbanded Incuriose dimissi, 'carelessly disbanded.'
Spanish Proverb noteth well; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The Causes and Motives of Seditions are;
Innovation in Religion;
Taxes; Alteration of Laws and Customs;
Breaking of Priviledges; General Oppression;
Advancement of unworthy persons; Strangers;
Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions growne severe;
And whatsoever in offending People, joineth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.

For the Remedies; There may be some general Preferatuiues, whereof wee will speake; As for the just Cure, it must answer to the Particular Diseafe: And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule.

The first Remedy or preuention, is to remoue by all meanes possible, that materiall Cause of Sedition, wherof we spake; which is Want and Poverty in the Estate. To which purpose, serueth the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; the Cherishing of Man

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43 Knitteth. *Conspirare facit, makes them conspire.*
44 Generall. *Confusa, et in genere, possunt assignari, may be assigned confusedly and generally.*
45 *After Preuention. Contra seditiones, against seditions.*
46 *Means. Opera et diligentia, means and diligence.*
47 *Trade. Commerci rationes, the conduct of trade.*
48 *Cherishing. Introducere, et fovere, introducing and cherishing.*
III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

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

49 Manufactures. Artificis et Manufacturas, ‘artisans and manufactures.’
50 Idleness. Desidiam et Otium, ‘idleness and ease.’
51 Improvement and Husbanding. Cultura lucrosissima subigere, ‘to work with the most profitable cultivation.’
52 Soyle. Solum et agros, ‘the soil and the fields.’
53 Reckoned. Utrum superflua sit, necne, ‘whether it is too abundant or not.’
54 More. Pecunias, ‘money.’
55 Stocke. Sorti Reipublica, ‘to the stock of the State.’
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ufactures;\textsuperscript{40} the Banishing of Idlenesse;\textsuperscript{50} the Repref-
sing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the
Improvement and Husbanding\textsuperscript{51} of the Soyle;\textsuperscript{52} the
Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Mode-
rating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like.
Generally, it is to be foreseen, that the Population of
a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by
warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome,
which should maintaine them. Neither is the Popu-
lation, to be reckoned,\textsuperscript{53} onely by number: For a
smaller Number, that spend more,\textsuperscript{54} and earne leffe,
doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Num-
ber, that liue lower, and gather more. Therefore the
Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Quali-
tie, in an ouer Proportion, to the Common People,
dothe speedily bring a State to Neceffitie: And so
doeth likewise an ouergrown Clergie; For they bring
nothing to the Stocke;\textsuperscript{55} And in like manner, when more
are bred Schollers, then Preferments\textsuperscript{56} can take off.\textsuperscript{57}

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as
the increafe of any Estate,\textsuperscript{58} must be\textsuperscript{59} vpon the For-
rainer, (for whatfoeuer is fome where gotten, is fome
where loft) There be but three Things, which one
Nation felleth vono another; The Commoditie\textsuperscript{60} as
Nature yeeldeth it;\textsuperscript{61} The Manufacture; and the Vecture
or Carriage. So that if these three wheeles goe,
Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth
many times to passe, that\textsuperscript{62} Materiam superabit Opus;\textsuperscript{a}
That the Worke, and Carriage, is more worth, then

\textsuperscript{a} The work will surpass the material. Ovid. Metamorphoses. ii. 5.

\textsuperscript{40} Preferments. Vocationis Civiles, 'civil duties.'
\textsuperscript{50} Take off. Victum suppeditare, 'supply living to.'
\textsuperscript{55} Preference. Vocationis Civilis, 'civil duties.'
\textsuperscript{56} Estate. Publice Opulentiae, 'public wealth.'
\textsuperscript{60} Be. Lucriferi, 'be gained.'
\textsuperscript{61} Commoditie. Materiam Mercium, 'the material of merchandise.'
\textsuperscript{62} As Nature yeeldeth it. Omitted in the Latin.
\textsuperscript{62} Opus. De quo loquitur poeta, 'of which the poet speaks.'
II. 1607-12. æt. 47-52. IV. 1612. æt. 52.

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

To give moderate liberty for greises

63 Mines. *Fodinas, non subterraneas illas,* ‘mines not underground.’

64 Good Policie . . . vsed. *Nihil autem prius debet esse aut consultius quam ut videat Magistratum Prudentia,* ‘nothing, moreover, ought to be sooner or more thought of than that the foresight of the magistrates should see.’

65 In a State. Omitted in the Latin.

66 Spread. *Per Terram dispersatur,* ‘spread on the earth.’
the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably seene in the Low-Country-Men, who haue the best Mines,\(^{63}\) aboue ground, in the World.

Aboue all things, good Policie is to be vfed,\(^{64}\) that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State,\(^{65}\) be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may haue a great Stock, and yet starue. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread.\(^{66}\) This is done, chiefly, by suppresseing, or at the leaft, keeping a ftrait Hand, vpon the Deuouring Trades of Vfurie, Ngrofsing, great Pasturages,\(^{67}\) and the like.

For, Remouing Discontentments, or at leaft, the danger of them;\(^{68}\) There is in euery State (as we know) two Portions of Subieicts; The Nobleffe, and the Commonaltie. When one of these is Discontent, the danger is not great; For Common People, are of flow Motion, if they be not excited, by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small ftrength, except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to moue of themselves. Then is\(^{69}\) the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongft the Meauer, that then they may declare themfelves.\(^{70}\)

The Poets faigne, that the rest of the Gods, would haue\(^{71}\) bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the Counfell of Pallas, fent for Briareus, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to fhow, how safe\(^{72}\) it is for Monarchs, to make fure\(^{73}\) of the good Will of Common People.

Toguie moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and Discon-

\(^{67}\) Great Pasturages. Latifundiorum in Pascua conversorum, 'changing farms into pasturages.'

\(^{63}\) Of them. Que ab iis proveniant, 'which come from them.'

\(^{64}\) Is. Revera ingrunt, 'truly approaches.'

\(^{65}\) Themfelves. Animos exulceratos, 'their wounded minds.'

\(^{66}\) Would haue. Conjurasse, 'conspired.'

\(^{67}\) Safe. Tutum et salutare, 'safe and wholesome.'

\(^{68}\) Make sure. Conciliare et retnire, 'gain and keep.'
to evaporate, fo it be without bravery or importunity, is a safe way, for hee that tourneth the humour, or makes the wound bleede inwarde, endaungereth maligne vlcers and pernicious impostumacions; Also the part of Epime-theus may become Prometheus in this Case;

Hee when greifes and evills flewe abroade, yet kept hope in the bottome of the Vessell. The politike, and artificiall nourishing of some degree of hopes, is one of the best Antidotes against the poyson of discontentes; and it is a certaine signe of a Wife governement, if it can hold by hope, where it

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74 Discontentments. Animis gravate affectis et malevolis, indulgere, ut ebulliant corum Dolores, et in fumos abeant, 'to indulge ill affected and malevolent minds, that their griefs may evaporate and go off in smoke.'
75 Safe Way. Utile, 'useful.'
76 Inwards. In viscera, 'into the bowels.'
tentsments⁷⁴ to evaporate, (fo it be without too great Insolency or Brauery) is a safe Way.⁷⁵ For he that turneth the Humors backe, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards,⁷⁶ endangereth maligne ⁷⁷ Vlcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of Epimetheus, mought well become Prometheus, in the case of Discontentments;⁷⁸ For there is not a better prouision against them. Epimetheus, when Griefes and EuiIs flew abroad, at last⁷⁹ shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Botomme of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of Hopes, and Carrying men from Hopes to Hopes; is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of Discontentments. And it is a certaine Signe, of a wise Government, and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts⁸⁰ by Hopes, when it

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⁷⁷ Maligne. Mortifera, 'deadly.'
⁷⁸ In the case of Discontentments. _Ad mollientes exacerbatos et malevolos Animos_, 'to soothe embittered and evil-disposed minds.'
⁷⁹ At last. _Festinus_, 'in haste.'
⁸⁰ Hearts. Omitted in the Latin.
Also the foresight and prevencion, that there be noe likely or fitt head wherevnto discontents may resort, and under whom they may ioyne, is a knowne, but an excellent pointe of caution. I understand a fitt head to be one that hath greatnesse and reputation, that hath Confidence with the discontented partie, and upon whom they tourne their eyes, and that is thought discontent in his particular.

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

81 Also, the foresight ... Preuention. *Trita sane est, sed praecelestis Periculorum, que Malevolentia minantur, Caution, ut praevideatur*, 'it is known but an excellent caution against the dangers threatened by discontent to take care.'
82 Likely or fit. Omitted in the Latin.
83 Discontented. *In sensus et exacerbatus*, 'hostile and embittered.'
84 Under whom. *Sub ejus præsidio*, 'under whose protection.'
85 Ioyne. *In Corpus aliquod coire*, 'join into a body.'
86 Head. *Caput ... et Ducem idoneum*, 'head and suitable leader.'
cannot by Satisfaction: And when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Evill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Out-let of Hope: Which is the leafe hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to braue that, which they beleue not.

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

57 Hath. Celebratur, 'is known for.'
58 Confidence. Acceptus est et gratiosus, 'is acceptable and influential with.'
59 Eyes. Ora et Oculos, 'faces and eyes.'
60 Wonne. Omitted in the Latin.
61 Fast and true. Non perfunctorie, sed solide; 'not slightly, but firmly.'
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<th>III. 1607-12. æt. 47-52.</th>
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<td>Also the deviding and breaking of anie Combinacion, that is adverfe to the State is none of the worst Remedies. For it is a deperate case if the true parte of the State be full of discord and faction, and the false, entyer and vnyted.</td>
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[This Essay does not occur in the 1612 Edition.]

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92 Divide. *In diversa trahat et secet*, 'divide and cut.'
93 Reputation. *Gratiam popularem*, 'popular favour.'
94 Generally. *Ubique hoc obtinet*, 'wherever this obtains.'
95 Breaking. Omitted in the Latin.
96 Factions. *Factionas Potentias*, 'factions powers.'
97 Adverse to the State. *Quae contra Gubernationem Imperii Frontem contrahunt*, 'which frown at the government of the State.'
98 Setting them at distance. Omitted in the Latin.
99 Distrust. *Dissidentiam seminare*, 'sow discord.'
100 Worst. *Haud conternmendum*, 'not to be despaired.'
so diuide the reputation.

Generally, the Diuiding and Breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are aduerse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst themselues, is not one of the worst Remedies. For it is a desparate Case, if those, that hold with the Proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; And those that are against it, be entire and united.

I haue noted, that some witty and sharpe Speeches, which haue fallen from Princes, haue giuen fire to Seditions. Cæsar did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; Sylla nesciuit Literas, non potuit diclare: For it did, utterly, cut off that Hope, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, giue ouer his Dictatorship. Galba vndid himselfe by that Speech; Legi a je Militem, non emi: For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donatiue. Probus likewise, by that Speech; Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus. A Speech of great Despaire, for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, Princes had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these

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\[a\] Sylla knew not letters, he was not able to dictate. Suetonius. Julius Cæsar. 77.

"Cæsar would say of Sylla, for that hee did resigne his Dictatorship: That hee was ignorant of letters, he could not dictate." Lord Bacon’s Apothth. No. 135. Ed. 1625.

\[b\] The soldiery was leevied by him, not bought. Tacitus. History. i. 5.

\[c\] If I live, there shall be no longer need for soldiers to the Roman Empire. Flavius Vopiscus. Probus. 20.

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101 Faction. Omitted in the Latin.

102 Against. Infensi, et maligni, ‘hostile and evil disposed.’

103 Entire and united. Arcte conjungantur, ‘be strictly united.’

104 After Fallen. Improviso, ‘at random.’

105 Likewise. Item interiit, ‘likewise perished.’
Laftlie lett Princes againft all eventes not be without some great person of Militarye valew neare vnto them for the repref- fing of seditions in their begininges. For without that, there vseth to be more trepidacion in Courtes vpom the breaking out of troubles then were fitt, and the State runneth the daunger of that which Tacitus faieth Atque is habitus animorum fuit vt pefsum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes pat- erentur. But lett fuch one, be an affured one, and not popular, and holding good Correspondence with the gowne Men; orels the remedy is worfe then the difeafe.

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

106 Large. Longiores et productiores, 'longer and more protracted.'
107 Military Valour. Militia et Fortitudo sectatas, 'tried in war and valour.'
108 Court. Aulis Principum, 'the courts of princes.'
short Speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour neere vnto them, for the Repressing of Seditions, in their beginnings. For without that, there seeth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first Breaking out of Troubles, then were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that, which Tacitus faith; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, vt pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes patrentur.* But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factious, and Popular; Holding also good Correspondence, with the other Great Men in the State; Or else the Remedie, is worse then the Disease.

*And this was the disposition of their minds, that a few dared to attempt the greatest villany, that more desired it, and that all tolerated in it.* Tacitus. *History,* i. 28.
A HARMONY

OF THE

THIRD GROUP

OF

SIX

ESSAYS.

35. Of Religion.
   The title was afterwards changed to
   Of Unity in Religion.
36. Of Cunning.
37. Of Love.
38. Of Judicature.
40. Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms.

First Published in 1612.

Collated with subsequent editions.
2d
THE ESSAIES OF Sr FRANCIS BACON Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall.

Imprinted at London by JOHN BEALE, 1612
The Epistle Dedicatarie.

TO MY LOVING BROTHER,

Sr. John Constable Knight.

My last Effaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the fame Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studie. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine.

Your loving brother and friend,

Fra. Bacon.
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[* These Essays—if ever any were separately written, under these titles—are not found in the Text, nor in any other of Bacon's known writings. The Titles are most probably but sub-titles of No. 38. Of greatnes of Kingdomes.]*

"Two Essays, which were at this time in existence, were not included in this Edition, viz.: Of Honour and Reputation, and Of Seditions and Troubles."
He quarrels, and diuiions for Religion, were euils vnknowne to the Heathen: and no maruell;

for it is the true God that is the iealous God; and the gods of the Heathen were good fellowes. But yet the bonds of religious vnity, are fo to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane society be not dissolued.
XXXIX. OF UNITY IN RELIGION. 423

V. 1625. ae 65.
British Museum Copy.

3. Of Unity in Religion.1

Religion being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing,2 when it selfe, is well contained, within the true Band of Unity.3 The Quarrels,4 and Divisions about Religion, were Euils vnknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because5 the Religion of the Heathen, consifted rather in Rites and Ceremonies;6 then in any constant Beleeue.7 For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctrors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a Jealous God;a And therefore, his worship and Religion, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner.

We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the Unity of the Church; What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; And what the Meanes?8

The Fruits9 of Unity (next vnto the well Pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are without the Church; The Other, towards those, that are within. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schisms, are of all others, the greatest Scandals;10 yea more then Corruption of Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall.11 So that nothing, doth fo much keepe Men out of the Church,12 and13 driue Men out of the Church, as Breach of Unity; And therefore,

a Exodus xx. 5.
11 So in the Spirituall. Similis est Corporis Spiritualis ratio, 'the natur of the spiritual body is similar.'
12 Keepe Men out of the Church. Hominis, ab ingressu in Ecclesiam absterreat, 'frighten men from entering the church.'
13 After And. Jam receptos, 'when already receiv'd.'
The Propriety of whose Vocation. Cujus Vocatio et Missio, propria et demandata, 'whose peculiar vocation and mission, entrusted to him.'

Without. Extra Ecclesiæ, 'without the church.'

Discordant and Contrary Opinions. Lites, et Opinionum Dimicatioes, 'disputes and contests of opinion.'

Morris daunce. Saltationes Florales et Gesticulationes, 'floral dances and gestures.'

Diuers Posture. Peculiarem quendam motum Corporis ridiculum, 'some peculiar ridiculous motion of the body.'
whencesoeuer it commeth to that passe, that one faith, *Ecce in Deserto*; another faith, *Ecce in penetralibus*. That is, when some men seek Christ, in the Conventicles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to found in Mens Eares, *Nolite exire, Goe not out*. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation, drew him to have a speciall care of those without) drew him to haue a speciall care of those without)

And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and profligate Persons, do hear of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions in Religion; It doth auert them from the Church, and maketh them, *To fit downe in the chaire of the Scorners*. It is but a light Thing, to be Vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a fain'd Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; *The morris daunce* of Heretikes.

For, indeed, every Sect of them, hath a Diuers Posture, or Cringe by themselves, which cannot but Move Derision, in Worldlings, and Depraued Politickes, who are apt to contenme Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit* towards those that are within; It is *Peace*; which containeth infinite Blessings: It establiseth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church, Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours, of Writing, and Reading of Controuersies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Devotion.

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a Matthew xxvi. 26. (Vulgate).
b 1 Cor. xiv. 23.
c Ps. i. 1.
e *Cringe*. *Gestus Deformitatatem*, 'deformity of carriage.'

f *Fruit*. *Fructus Unitatis*, 'fruit of unity.'

20 Towards those. *Qui ad cos ... redundat*, 'which abounds towards those.'
IV. 1612. æt. 52.

22 Bounds. *Terminos et Limites*, 'bounds and limits.'
23 True. *Vera procul dubio et justa*, 'doubtless the true and right.'
24 Importeth. *Ad omnia in Religione*, 'to every thing connected with religion.'
25 Extremes. *In iis statuendis videntur fieri*, 'seem to be made in fixing them.'
27 The two crosse Clauses. *Clausulis illis, qua primo intuitu, inter se opponi videntur*, 'those clauses, which at first sight, seem to be opposed.'
Concerning the Bounds of Unity; The true Placing of them, importeth exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine Zelants all Speech of Pacification is odious. Is it peace, Ichthus? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behind me. Peace is not the Matter, but Following and Party. Contrariwise, certaine Laodiccans, and Luke-warme Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of Religion, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both; And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be auoyded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Sauior himselfe, were in the two crosse Clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with vs, is against vs:* And againe; *He that is not against vs, is with vs.* That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in Religion, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not merelie of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter triviall, and done already: But if it were done lesse partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may giue onely this Advize, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heed, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of Controuersies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controverted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat, and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers; Chrifts

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2 Kings ix. 18.  
Matt. xii. 30.  
Mark ix. 40.  
29 Points ... good Intention. *Quae non sunt ex Fide, sed ex Opinionis probabili, et Intentione sanctae, propter ordinem, et Ecclesiae politiam, sanctitate, which are not of faith, but of probable opinion, and ratified by a holy intention, for the sake of order and the government of the church.*  
32 Noted. *Acute, et elegantem, acutely and elegantly.'
428 A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

33 Of Judgement. *Doctus,* 'learned.'

34 Differ. *De aliqua Questione, inter se litigantes,* 'disputing about some question.'

35 Meane one thing. *Idem re ipsa sentire, et in unum convenire,* 'really think the same, and meet in one point.'

36 Distance. *Exigna illa Judicii disparitate,* 'in that little disparity of judgment.'

37 Knowes. *Scutatur et novit,* 'searches and knows.'

38 Nature. *Natura et Character,* 'nature and character.'

39 Put. *Effingunt et cudunt,* 'fashion and stamp.'

40 Fixed. *Fixa et invariabilia,* 'fixed and unvarying.'

41 There be also. *Sunt etiam, ut Controversiarum,* 'there be also, as o controversies.'
XXXV. OF UNITY IN RELIGION. 429

V. 1625. xvi. 65.

Coat, indeed, had no name: But the Churches Vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he faith, In vesle varietas fit, Scissura non fit: They be two Things, Unity, and Uniformity. The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controuerted is great; but it is druen to an ouer-great Subtily, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A man that is of Judgement and understanding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himselfe, that those which so differ, meane one thing, and yet they themselues would neuer agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance of Judgement, which is betweene Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God aboue, that knowes the Heart, doth not discoerne, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and acceptheth of both? The Nature of such Controversies, is excellently expressed, by St. Paul, in the Warning and Precept, that he giueth, concerning the same, Deuitas profanas vocum Nouitatas, et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiae. Men create Oppositions, which are not; And put them into new termes, so fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to gouerne the Terme, the Terme in effect gouerneth the Meaning. There be also two false Peace, or Unities; The one, when the Peace is grounded but vpon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is peeced vp, vpon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the Iron

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a The allusion is to Ps. xlv. 14, where, instead of 'in raiment of needlework,' the Vulgate has circumvamseta varietatibus, 'enveloped with varieties.'


c 1 Tim. vi. 20.

d Peaces, or. Omitted in the Latin.

e Unities. Vnitas Species, 'kinds of unity.'

f Peeced vp. Consita et sarella, 'sewn together and patched.'

g Admission of Contraries Ex pointsentias et diametro inter se contrarvris, 'from positions directly contradictory.'
Lucretius the Poet, when hee beheld the act of Agamemnon, induring and assisting at the sacrifice of his daughter, concludes with this verse;

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

But what would hee haue done, if he had knowne the massacre of France, or the powder treason of England? Certainly he would haue beene feuen times more Epicure and Atheist then he was. Nay, hee would rather haue chosen to be one of the Mad men of

46 Be, *Recipiuntur,* 'are received.'
47 In the maintenance of Religion. *In Religione Christiana propaganda, et protegenda,* 'in defending and protecting the Christian religion.'
48 Overt. *Aperti, et insolentis,* 'overt and insolent.'
49 Intermixture. Omitted in the Latin.
50 Subversion of all Government. *Ad Majestatem Imperii minuendum, et Auctoritatem Magistratum labefactandam,* 'to diminish the majesty of government, and subvert the authority of magistrates.'
and, Clay, in the toes of Nabucadnezar's Image; a They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the Meanes of procuring Unity; Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of Religious Unity, they doe not Dissolue and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both have their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of Religion. But we may not take vp the Third sword, which is Mahomets Sword, or like vnfo into it; That is, to propagate Religion, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciencies; except it be in the cases of Ouert Scandal, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practice, against the State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And the like; Tending to the Subuerion of all Gouernment, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is, but to dash the first Table against the Second; And so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. Lucretius the Poet, when he beheld the Act of Agamemnon, that could endure the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he haue said, if he had knowne of the Maffacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would haue beene, Seuen times more Epicure and Atheist, than he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, with great circum-

a Daniel, ii. 33.
b Exodus, xxxii. 19.
c To such a degree is Religion capable of occasioning evils. Lucretius. De rerum Natura. i. 102.

51 Ordinance of God. Cum tamen omnis Legitima potestas sit a Deo ordinata, 'since all lawful power is ordained by God.'
52 Table. Tabulis legis, 'tables of the law.'
53 Endure. Omitted in the Latin.
54 After Drawne. Non temere, sed, 'not rashly, but.'
Munster, then to haue beene a partaker of those Counsels. For it is better that Religion shoud deface mens understanding, then their piety and charitie; retaining reason onely but as an Engine, and Charriot driver of cruelty, and malice.

It was a great blaspemie, when the Diuell said; *I will ascend, and be like the highest:* but it is a greater blaspemie, if they make God to say; *I will descend, and bee like the Prince of Darkness:* and it is no better, when they make the cause of Religion descend, to the execrable accions of murthering of Princes, butcherie of people, and firing of States. Neither is there such a finne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in flead of the likenes of a *Done,* to bring him downe in the likenesse of a *Vulture,* or *Rauen;* nor such a scandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of Saint Peter; to set forth the flagge of a Barge of *Pirats* and *Assaifins.* Therefore since these things are the common enemies of humane society; *Princes* by their power: *Churches* by their Decrees; and all learning, Christian, morall, of what foever sect, or opinion, by their *Mercurie* rod; ought to ioyne in the damning to Hell for euer, these facts, and their supports:

and in all Counsels concerning Religion, that Counsell of the Apostle, would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei.*

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55 Personate. Omitted in the Latin.
56 Descend. *Descendat, et precipitetur,* 'descend and be cast down.'
57 States. Omitted in the Latin.
58 Most necessary. *Justum est, et id ipsum necessitas Temporum flagitat,* 'it is just, and the necessity of the times demands it.'
59 Christian. *Religiosa,* 'religious.'
60 Prefixed. *Ante oculos Hominum,* 'before the eyes of men.'
61 And it was. *Ut vero dicanus,* 'to speak the truth.'
62 Notable Observation. *Optime, et prudentissime observatum,* 'verv well and wisely observed.'
63 A one Father. *Ad uno ex Patribus, profundæ sapientiæ viro;* 'by one of the Fathers, a man of deep wisdom.'
speckion, in Cases of Religion; So it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left vnto the Anabaptists, and other Furies.

It was great Blasphemy, when the Deuill said; I will ascend, and be like the Higheft; But it is greater Blasphemy, to personate God, and bring him in saying; I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darkness; And what is it better, to make the cause of Religion, to descend, to the cruell and execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States, and Gouernments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Doue, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Rauen: And to fet, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and Assafsins. Therefore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for euer, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the fame; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels, Concerning Religion, that Counfel of the Apoftle would be prefixed; Ira hominis non implct Iusticiam Dei. And it was a notable Obfervation, of a wise Father, And no leffe ingenuoufly confessed; That those, which held and perfwaded, pressure of Consciences, were commonly interested therin, themselves, for their owne ends.

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1625. aet. 65.

XXXV. OF UNITY IN RELIGION. 433

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a Isaiah xiv. 14.
b James i. 20.
64 Ingenuously. Ingenuus, et sincere, 'ingenuously and sincerely.'
65 Confessed. Prolatum, et evulgatum, 'uttered and published.'
66 Interested therin . . . owne ends. Sub illo Dogmate, Cupiditates suas subscripte, illamque rem sua interesse, putare, 'cover their desires with this doctrine, and consider themselves interested therein.'
4. Of Cunning.

EE take Cunning for a finifter or crooked Wisdome: and certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man, and a wise man: not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards and yet cannot play well. So there are some, that are good in canuasses and factions, that are otherwise weake men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand persons, and another thing to vnderstand matters: for many are perfect in mens humors, that are not greatly capable of the reall part of businesse; which is the constitution of one, that hath studied men more then bookes. Such men are fitter for practise, then for counsell, and they are good but in their owne Alley; turne them to new men, and they haue loft their aime. So as the old rule to know a foole from a wife man; Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos et videbis; doth scarce hold for them.


1 Factions. Factionibus regendis, 'ruling factions.'
2 Persons. Personarum Naturas et Mores, 'the natures and manners of persons.'
3 Humours. Aditibus, et Temporibus, 'accessibilities and time.'
4 Alley. Vias, quas sope contriverunt, 'the ways which they have often trod.'
E take Cunning for a Sinister or Crooked Wifedom. And certainly, there is great difference, between a Cunning Man, and a Wife Man; Not only in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canuasses, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to understand Perfons, and another thing to understand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Business; Which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more than Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practice, then for Counsell; And they are good but in their own Alley: Turne them to New Men, and they haue loft their Ayme; So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wife Man; Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis; doth scarce hold for them. And becaufe these Cunning Men, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop.

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

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5 Ayme. Artibus, 'skill.'
6 Nudos. Omitted in the Latin.
Dispatch. Aliquid propere, et facile obtinere et expedire cupias, 'you desire to obtain and despatch any thing speedily and easily.'

Objections. Objectiones et Scrupulos, 'objections and scruples.'

Estate. Rebus Status gravioribus, 'about weightier matters of state.'

One was about to say. Sermonis, 'talk.'

Tooke himselfe vp. Deprehenderet, et contineret, 'took himself up and restrained himself.'
of present dispatch,⁷ you entertaine, and amuse the party, with whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Objections.⁸ I knew a Counsellor and Secretary, that never came to Queene Elizabeth of England, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate,⁹ that she mought the leffe mind the Bills.

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

If a man would crosse a Businesse, that he doubts some other would handomely and eellctually moue, let him pretend to with it well, and moue it himselfe, in such fort, as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to say,¹⁰ as if he tooke himself vp,¹¹ breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth¹² to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Village and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to giue Occasion, for the party to aske, what the Matter is of the Change?¹³ As Nehemias did; And I had not before that time been sad before the King.ᵃ

In Things, that are tender and vnpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice,¹⁴ by some whole Words are of leffe weight, and to referue¹⁵ the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the

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ᵃ Nehemiah. ii. 1.
¹² Seemeth. Omitted in the Latin.
¹³ Change. Oris mutatio, 'change of [your] face.'
¹⁴ Breake the Ice. Initia, deiis Sermonem inferendi, alicui alteri deputare, 'to entrust the beginning of the talk about them to some other.'
¹⁵ Reserve. In Subsidiis reservare, 'reserve as a support.'
HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

16 Others. *Qui ab altero injectus est*, 'which was thrown out by the other.'
17 Seen in, himselfe. *Quas a se amoliri quis cupiat*, 'which a person wishes to be removed from him.'
18 A point of Cunning. *Non inutile*, 'not useless.'
19 Point. *Species satis vafra*, 'subtle enough kind.'
20 Take Advantage. *Alterum irretiat et subruit*, 'ensnare and undermine the other.'
21 Good Quarter betweene. *Invicem amice*, 'friendly together.'
22 It. *Idud Genus Honoris*, 'that kind of honour.'
38 Caught vp. *Bona fide arripuit*, 'caught up in good faith.'
Questioun vpon the others\textsuperscript{16} Speech. As Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius, the Marriage of Messalina and Silius.\textsuperscript{a}

In things, that a Man would not be seen in, himselfe;\textsuperscript{17} It is a Point of Cunning,\textsuperscript{18} to borrow the Name of the World; As to say; The World fayes, Or, There is a speech abroad.

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

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

Some procure themselues, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they work vpon, will suddenly come vpon them: And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; To the end, they may be appos'd of those things, which of themselues they are desirous to utter.

It is a Point\textsuperscript{10} of Cunning, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would have another Man learne, and vfe,\textsuperscript{9} and thereupon take Advantage.\textsuperscript{20}

I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in Queene Elizabeths time, and yet kept good Quarter betwee'\textsuperscript{21} themselues; And would conferre, one with another, vpon the Busineffe; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the Declination of a Monarchy, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it:\textsuperscript{22} The other, straight caught vp\textsuperscript{23} those

\textsuperscript{a} By first employing the Emperor's two chief mistresses, 'Calpurnia, therefore, for that was the name of the courtesan, upon the first occasion of privacy, falling at the emperor's feet, exclaimed 'that Messalina had married Silius;' and at the same time asked Cleopatra [the other mistress], who purposely attended to attest it, 'whether she had not found it to be true?' Claudius, upon a confirmation from Cleopatra, ordered Narcissus to be called," 

\textsuperscript{9} Tacitus. 

\textit{Annals.} xi. 30.
Those Words. *Verba illa, callide prolata*, 'those words, craftily uttered.'

After the Queene. *Tanquam scilicet ab altero prolata*, 'as if they had been uttered by the other.'

After Monarchy. *Cum ipsa se vigetem reputaret*, 'since she considered herself flourishing.'

Cunning. *Astitiae Genus*, 'kind of cunning.'

Call. *Satis absurde dicitur*, 'is called, absurdly enough.'

Cat (cate). *Felem*, 'cat.'

Make it appeare. *Probare et verificare*, 'prove and verify.'

A way. *Artificium in usu*, 'an artifice in use.'
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Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the Declination of a Monarchy. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the Queen; 25 Who hearing of a Declination of a Monarchy, 26 tooke it so ill, as she would never after heare of the others Suit.

There is a Cunning, 27 which we in England call, 28 The Turning of the Cat 29 in the Pan; which is, when that which a Man fayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, 30 from which of them, it first moued and began.

It is a way, 31 that some men haue, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Iuififying themselfes, by Negatiues; As to say, This I doe not: As Tigillinus did towards Burrhus; 32 Se non diuerfas fpes, fed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simplicitiâ spectare. 8

Some haue in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would inflnuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keepe themselfes more in Guard, 33 and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of Cunning, for a Man, to shap the Answer he would haue, in his owne Words, and Propositions; 35 For it makes the other Party tlicke the leffe.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to fay; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters

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a He entertained not different hopes [hinting that Burrhus did] but simply consulted the safety of the Emperor. Tacitus. Annals. xiv. 57.

25 After Burrhus. Sugillando, 'suggesting.'

32 After Guard. Quasi nihil diserte affirmantes, 'as saying nothing expressly.'

34 Carry it. Rem ipsam majore cum voluptate spargi, 'make the thing be spread with more pleasure.'

35 Words, and Propositions. Conceptis verbis, 'in words conceived by himself.'
Euen in businesse there are some that know the reforts and fals of busineses, that cannot finke into the maine of it: like a house that hath convenient flaires and entries, but neuer a faire roome. Therefore you shall see them finde out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no waies able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon abusing others, and as wee now say, putting trickes upon them, then upon foundneffe of their owne proceedings. But Salomon faith, Prudens aduertit ad greffus fuos: flultus divertit ad dolos.

Very many are the differences betweenee cunning and wisdome: and it were a good deed to fet them downe: for that nothing doth more hurte in flate then that cunning men passe for wife.
they will beat over, to come near it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprize a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in Paul's, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaiies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of Cunning, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a Lift37 of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, then that Cunning Men passe for Wife.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Reforts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine38 of it: Like a House, that hath convenient Staires, and Entries, but never a faire Roome. Therefore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion,39 but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction.40 Some build rather upon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say:) Putting Tricks upon them;41 Then upon Soundnesse of their own proceedings.42 But Salomon faith: Prudens averted ad Gressus suos: Stultus divertit ad Dolos.a

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a Prov. xiv. 15.

40 After Direction. Potuis quam Disputandum, 'rather than of discussion.'
41 Some build . . . upon them. Sunt qui magis inmituntur Dois, quos aliis struunt, 'some rather lean upon snares which they lay for others.'
42 Proceedings. Quam Consiliis solidis et sanis, 'than upon solid and sound counsels.'
12. Of Love.

One is the argument always of Comedies, and many times of Tragedies. Which sheweth well, that it is a passion generally light, and sometimes extreme.

Extremo it may well bee, since the speaking in a perpetuall Hyperbole, is comely in nothing but Love. Neither is it meerely in the phrase. For whereas it


1 Law-giver. Legislatorum inter Romanos Principem, 'the chief of Roman law-givers.'
HE Stage is more beholding to Love, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, Love is euer matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much mischiefe: Sometimes like a Syren; Sometimes like a Fury. You may obserue, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beeene transported, to the mad degree of Love: which shewes, that great Spirits, and great Businesses, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except, neuerthelesse, Marcus Antonius the halfe Partner of the Empire of Rome; and Appius Claudius the Decemvir, and Law-giuer: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Auftere, and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that Love can finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore\(^1\) Saying of Epicurus; Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum summus:\(^2\) As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heauen, and all Noble Objec\(\text{c}\)ts,\(^3\) should doe nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subiect, though not of the Mouth (as Beafs are) yet of the Eye; which was giuen him for higher Purpofes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Exceffe of this Passion; And how it braues, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a Perpetuall Hyperbole, is comely in nothing, but in Love. Neither is it meerely in the Phrafe; For whereas it

\(^1\) We are a sufficiently great theater, the one to the other. Seneca. Epistles. i. 7.

\(^2\) Poore. Abiectum, et pusillanimum, 'mean and small-minded.'

\(^3\) Noble Objec\(\text{c}\)ts. Caelestium, 'heavenly things.'
hath beene well said, that the Arch-flatterer with whom all the petty-flatterers haue intelligence, is a Mans felfe, certainely the louer is more. For there was neuer proud Man thought so absurdly well of himfelfe, as the louer doth of the person loued: and therefore it was well said, that it is impossible to loue, and to bee wise. Neither doth this weakenes appeare to others only, and not to the party loued, but to the loued moft of all, except the loue bee reciproque, For it is a true rule, that loue is euer rewarded either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt. But how much the more, men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not onely other things, but it felfe. As for the other losses, the Poets relation doth wel figure them: That hee that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Iuno and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdome. This passion hath his flouds in the verie times of weakenesfe; Which are great prosperity, and great aduerfitie. (though this latter hath beene lesse obserued) Both which times kindle loue and make it more feruent, and therefore fhewe it to be the childe of folly. They doe beft that make this affection keepe quarter, and feuer it wholly from their serious affaires and actions of their life. For if it checke once with businesse, it troubleth Mens fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can no waies be true to their own endes.

* Well said. Recte itaque receptum est illud Diverbium, 'rightly therefore, has that saying been received.'

* Instead of 'That it is impossible to loue, and to be wise. Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur, 'to love and be wise is scarcely allowed to a God.'
hath beene well said,\(^4\) that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers haue Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe; Certainly, the Louer is more. For there was neuer Proud Man, thought fo absurdly well of himselfe, as the Louer doth of the Person loved: And therefore, it was well said; That it is imposible to loue, and to be wise.\(^5\) Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party Loued: But to the Loued, most of all: except the Loue be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that Loue is ever rewarded, either with the Reciproque, or with an inward, and secret Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them; That he that preferred Helena, quitted the Gifts of Iuno, and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both Riches, and Wifedome. This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great Prosperitie; and great Adversitie; though this latter hath beene lesse obserued. Both which times kindle Loue, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit Loue, yet make it keepe Quarter: And feuer it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes,\(^6\) and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends.

I know not how,\(^7\) but Martiall Men, are giuen to Loue: I thinke it is, but as they are giuen to Wine;
A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

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Friars. Monachis, 'Monks.'
For Perils, commonly aske, to be paid in Plea-

sures. There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards love of others; which, if it be not spent, upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; As it is seene sometime in Friars. Nuptiall love maketh Mankinde; Friendly love perfecteth it; but Wanton love Corrupteth, and Imbafeth it.
Vdges ought to remember that their office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare*; to interprete law, and not to make law, or giue Law; Else will it be like the presumption of the Church of *Rome*, which vnder pretext of exposition of Scripture, vsurpeth and practiseth an authority to adde and alter; and to pronounce that which they doe not finde, and by colour of Antiquity to introduce nouelty. Judges ought to be more learned men then wittie; more reuerend then plausible, and more aduized then confident, Aboue all things integrity is their portion and proper vertue. *Curfed (faith the Law) is hee that remoueth the Land-marke.* The mislaier of a Meereflone is too blame. But it is the vnjuist Judge that is the capitall remouer of Land-markes, when hee defineth amisse of lands and property. One foule sentence doth more hurt, then many foule examples; for they doe but corrupt the streame; the other corrupteth the fountaine. So faith *Salomon*; *Fons turbatus et vena corrupta et iuus casens in causâ suâ coram aduerfario*; The office of Judges may haue reference vnto the parties that fue; vnto the Aduocates that pleade; vnto the Clerkes and Minifters of Iuflice vnderneth them; and to the Soueraigne or State aboue them.

There be (faith the Scripture) *that turne judgement into wormewood*; and surelie there be also that turne it into vinegar: For iniuistice maketh it bitter, and delaies

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1 Title. *De Officio Iudiciis,* 'of the judge's office.'
2 Or Giue Law. Omitted in the Latin.
3 Meere Stone. *Lapidem, Fines distinguentem,* 'a stone marking boundaries.'
V. 1625.

British Museum Copy.

56. Of Judicature.¹

Judges ought to remember, that their Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare*; *To Interpret Law*, and not to *Make Law*, or *Give Law*.² Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the *Church of Rome*; which vnder pretext of *Exposition of Scripture*, doth not stick to

Adde and Alter; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde; And by *Shew of Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noveltie*. *Judges* ought to be more *Learned*, then Wittie; More Reuerend, then Planifie; And more Aduised, then Confident. Above all Things, *Integritie* is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. *Curfed* (faith the Law) *is hee that remoueth the Land-marke*,³ The Mislajer of a *Meere Stone⁴* is to blame. But it is the *Vniufl Judge*, that is the Capitall Remouer of Landmarks, when he Defineth amiffe of lands and Propretie. One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, than many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So faith *Salomon*: *Fons turbatus, et Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causã suã coram Aduerfario*.⁵ The Office of *Judges*, may haue Reference, Vnto the *Particles that Sue*; Vnto the *Advocates that Plead*; Vnto the *Clerkes and Ministers of Justice* vnderneath them; And to the *Soueraigne or State* aboue them.

First, for the *Causés or Parties that Sue*. *There be* (faith the Scripture) *that turne Iudgement into Wormewood*;⁶ Andurrely, there be also, that turne it into *Vinegar*; For *Injuñice* maketh it Bitter, and Delaies

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¹ Deut. xxvii. 17.
² Prov. xxv. 26.
³ Amos v. 7.
make it fowre. The principall duty of a Judge, is to suppress force and fraude; wherof force is the more pernicious, the more open; and fraud the more close and disguised. Adde thereto contentious suites, which ought to be spewed out as theeturfet of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God vseth to prepare his way, by raising valleis and taking downe hils: So when their appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, running advantages taken, combination, power, great counsell, then is the vertue of a Judge seene, to make inequality equall; that he may plant his judgement as upon an even ground. Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem; And where the winepress is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh wine that tastes of the grapestone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture then the torture of lawes: specially in case of Lawes penall; they ought to haue care that that which was meant for terror, be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not vpon the people that shouer whereof the Scripture speaketh; Pluet super eos laqueos: For penall lawes pressed, are a shoure of snares vpon the people.

In causes of life and death, Judges ought as farre (as the law permitteth) in iustice to remember mercy;

4 Judge. *Judex strenuus, 'an active judge.'*
5 There appeareth. *Videt judex, 'the judge sees.'*
6 Power. *Patrocinio potentium, 'patronage of powerful men.'*
7 Great Counsel. *Advocatorum Disparitate, et Similibus, 'disparity of counsel, and the like.'*
8 Constructions. *Interpretationibus Legum, 'constructions of the laws.'*
make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a Judge, is to suppressfe Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare his Way to a just Sentence, as God vseth to prepare his Way, by Raising Valleys, and Taking downe Hills: So when there appeareth on either side, an High Hand; Violent Prosecution. Cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the Vertue of a Judge seene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he may plant his Judgement, as vpon an Euen Ground. Qui fortiter emungit, elicet fanguinem; And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. Judges must beware of Hard Constructions, and Strained Inferences; For there is no worse Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to haue Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not vpon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh; Pluct fuper cos Laqueos: For Penall Lawes Pressed, are a Shower of Snares vpon the People. Therefore, let Penall Lawes, if they haue beene Sleepers of long, or if they be growne vnfit for the present Time, be by Wise Judges confined in the Execution;

Judicis Officiun est, vt Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c. In Causes of Life and Death; Judges ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy;

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a Isaiah. xl. 4.
b Prov. xxx. 33.
c Ps. xi. 6.
d It is a duty of a judge to enquire not only as to the fact, but also as to the circumstances. Ovid. Tristia. i. 1. 37.
e Pressed. Si severe Executioni demandentur, 'if severely put in execution.'
and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice, and an over-speaking Judge is no well-tuned Cymbal. It is no grace to a Judge, first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the Barre; or to shew quickness of conceit in cutting off counsel or evidence too short; or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The partes of a Judge are four; to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much; and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speake, or of impatience to heare, or of shortnesse of memory, or of want of a fluid or equal attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldnesse of Advocates should preuaile with Judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose feate they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giueth grace to the modest. But it is more strange, that the suffrums of the time doth warrant Judges to have noted fauourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-waies. There is due from the Judge to the Advocate, some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and faire pleaded; speciallie towards the side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds in

10 Finde. *In Causa inveniat, et arripiat,* 'find and lay hold of in the cause.'
11 Heard. *Melius audire,* 'better heard.'
12 Length. *Advocatorum, et Testium, Prolixitatem,* 'length of advocates and witnesses.'
14 Giueth Grace. *Erigere,* 'raise.'
15 Noted Favourites. *Advocatis quibusdam præ ceteris immoderate et
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And to Cast a Seuere Eye vpon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye vpon the Person.

Secondly, for the Advocates and Counsell that Plead: Patience and Grauitie of Hearing, is an Essentiaall Part of Iustice; And an Ouer-speaking Judge is no well tuned Cymball. It is no Grace to a Judge, firft to finde that, which hee might haue heard, in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit in Cutting off Euidence or Counsell too short; Or to preuent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a Judge in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Euidence; To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath beene saied; And to Give the Rule or Sentence. Whatfoeuer is aboue these, is too much; And proceedeth, Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare, Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the Boldnesse of Advocates, should preuaile with Judges; Whereas they shoulde imitate God, in whose Seat they fit; who repreffeth the Presumptuous, and giveth Grace to the Modest. But it is more Strange, that Judges should haue Noted Fauourites; Which cannot but Cause Multipli- cation of Fees, and Suspicion of By-waies. There is due from the Judge, to the Advocate, some Commendation and Gracing, where Causes are well Handled, and faire Pleaded; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds, in

a  Ps. cl. 5. (Prayer Book version).

b  James. iv. 6.

aperte favere, 'should immoderately and openly favour some advocates above the others.'

16  Multiplication of Fees. Merces Advocatorum augeat et multiplicet, 'increases and multiplies the fees of advocates.'

17  By-waies. Corruptionis et obliqui ad Judices aditus, 'of corruption and byways to the judges.'
the Client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the publike a ciuill reprehension of Aduocates, where there appeareth cunning counf ell, grosse neglect, flight information, indiscreet pressling, or an ouerbold defence.

The place of Iuftice is an hallowed place; and therefore not onely the bench, but the footpace and precinc ts and purprife thereof ought to bee preferred without scandall and corruption. For certainly Grapes (as the Scripture faith) will not be gathered of thornes or thistles; neither can Iuftice yeeld her fruit with sweetnesse, amongft the briers and brambles of chatching and poling Clearkes and Minifters. The attendance of Courts is subiect to foure bad instruments; Firft, certaine persons that are fowers of suits, which make the Court swel, and the Country pine. The second fort is of those that ingage Courts in quarrels of Jurifdiction, and are not truly, Amici Curiae, but Parasiti Curiae, in puffing a Court vp beyond her bounds for their own scrappes and aduantage. The third fort is of those that may bee accounted the left hands of Courts, persons that are full of nimble and finifter trickes and shiftes, whereby they peruert the plaine and direct courses of Courts, and

18 Let not the Counsel. Advocatus autem illud tribuat Judici, 'let the advocate moreover allow this to the judge.'
19 Halfe-Way. Media, et nullatenus peroratae, 'half-way and not heard throughout.'
20 Say. Conqueratur, 'complain.'
21 Heard. Ad plenum non auditas, 'not fully heard.'
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the Client, the Reputation of his Counsell, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his Cause. There is likewise due to the Publique, a Civil Reprehension of Advocates, where there appeareth Cunning Counsell, Groffe Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Ouer-bold Defence. And let not the Counsell at the Barre, chop with the Judge, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the Cause anew, after the Judge hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the Judge meet the Cause halfe Way; Nor giue Occasion to the Partie to say; His Counsell or Proofes were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns Clerks, and Ministers. The Place of Justice, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandal and Corruption. For certainly, Grapes, (as the Scripture faith) will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles: Neither can Justice yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling Clerkes and Ministers. The Attendance of Courts is subject to Four bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarrells of Jurisdiction, and are not truly Amici Curiae, but Parasiti Curiae; in puffing vp a Court beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they pervert the Plaine and Direct Courses of Courts, and

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a Matt. vii. 16.
b Not friends but parasites of the Court.
22 Purprise. Omitted in the Latin.
23 Poling. Lucris inhiantium, 'gaping for gain.'
24 Nimble and sinister. Omitted in the Latin.
25 Plaine and Direct. Legitimes, 'lawful.'
IV. \hspace{1cm} 1612. \hspace{1cm} æt. 52.

bring iustice into oblike lines and labirinthes. And the fourth is the Poler and exacter of fees, which iustifies the common resemblance of the Courts of iustice, to the bush, wherunto while the sheepe flies for defence in weather, hee is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side an ancient Clearke, skilfull in presidents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the businesse of the Court, is an excellent finger of a Court, and doth many times point the way to the Judge himselfe.

Lastly,

Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelue Tables; Salus populi suprema lex, and to know that Lawes, except they bee in order to that ende are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often consult with Judges; and againe, when Judges doe often consult with the King and State: the one, when there is matter of Law interuenient in businesse of State; the other when there is some consideration of State interuenient in matter of Lawe. For many times the thing deduced to Judgement, may bee meum et tuum, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of eslate; I call matter of estate not only the parts of Soueraignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous president or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakely conceiue that iust lawes, and true pollicy, haue any antipathy. For they are like the spirits, and finewes

26 Parts of Soueraignty. Quid ad Jura Regalia impetenda spectet, 'what tends to attack royal rights.'
OF JUDICATURE.

V. 1625. 

bring Justice into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which justifies the Common Resemblance of the Courts of Justice, to the Bush, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an Ancient Clerke, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Understanding in the Businesse of the Court, is an excellent Finger of a Court; And doth many times point the way to the Judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the Soueraigne and Estate. Judges ought aboue all to remember the Conclusion of the Roman Twelue Tables; Salus Populi Suprema Lex; and To know, that Laws, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often Consult with Judges; And againe, when Judges doe often Consult with the King and State: The one, when there is Matter of Law, intervenient in Businesse of State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State, intervenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to Judgement, may bee Meum and Tuum, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of Soueraigne, but whatsoever introduceth any Great Alteration, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive, that Just Laws, and True Policie, haue any Antipathie: For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes,

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*a* Not the laws of the Twelve Tables, but Cicero. *De Legibus. iii.* 3. *The welfare of the people is the highest law.*

27 Great. *Minus tutam, 'unsafe.'*
that one moves with the other.

Neither ought Judges to be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of Lawes. For they may remember what the Apostle faith of a greater law then theirs, *Nos scimus, quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*

that One moves with the Other. Let Judges also remember, that Salomons Throne, was supported by Lions, on both Sides; a Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of Soueraignty. Let not Judges also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wife Vse, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the Apostle faith, of a Greater Law, then theirs; Nos solumus quia Lex bona est. modò quis cà etatur Legitimer. 

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a 1 Kings. x. 20.
b 1 Tim. i. 8 (Vulgate.)
37. Of Daine-glory.

It was pretily deuifed of Aesop, The Flie fate vpon the Axletree of the Chariot wheele, and faid, What a dust doe I raife? So there are some vaine persons, that whatfoeuer goeth alone, or moues vpon greater meanes, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all brauery stands vpon comparisons. They must needes be violent to make good their owne vaunts. Neither can they bee secret, and therefore not effectuall; but according to the French prouerb, Beaucoup de bruit et peu de fruit, Much bruit, little fruit. Yet certainly there is vfe of this quality in ciuill affaires. Where there is an opinion and fame to bee created, either of Vertue or Greatneffe: thefe men are good Trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Aetolians, There are sometimes greate effects of croffe lies; as if a man that should interpole himselfe to negotiate between two, should to either of them feueraly pretend, more interest then he hath in the other. And in this and the like kind, it often fals out, that somewhat is produced of nothing. For lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on

*Footnotes*

1 Vaine. *Futilis et Vani, 'worthless and vain.'*
2 Carry it. *Machinam totam vertere, 'turn the whole machine.'*
3 Created. *Fama excitanda sit, vel Opinio late spargenda, 'fame to be raised or opinion to be widely spread.'*
T was prettily Denised of Æfope; The Fly fate vpon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raife? So there are some Vaine¹ Perfons, that whatsoeuer goeth alone, or moueth vpon greater Means, if they haue neuer fo little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it.² They that are Glorious, muft needs be Fālious; For all Brauery stands vpon Comparifons. They muft needs be Violent, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be Secret, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the French Prouerb; Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit. Yet certainly there is Vfe of this Qualitie, in Ciuill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created,³ either of Vertue, or Greatneffe, thse Men are good Trumpetters. Againe, as Titus Luuius noteth, in the Cafe of Antiochus, and the Ætolians; There are fometimes great Effets of Crosse⁴ Lies:⁵ As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to ioyne in a Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, aboue Measurę,⁶ the One to the Other: And fometimes, he that deales between Man and Man, raifeth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interett, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that Somewhat is produced of Nothing: For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on

¹ Livy. xxxvii. 48.
² Crosse. Reciproca, et ex utraque parte, 'reciprocal and on both sides.'
³ Measure. Motum, et Veritatem, 'measure and truth.'
But principally cases of great enterprize, vpon charge and adventure such composition of glorious natures doth put life into busines, and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast, then of the faile.

Certainly *Vaine-glory* helpeth to perpetuate a mans memory, and *Vertue* was neuer so beholding to humane nature, as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus*, borne her age so well, if it had not beene joined with some vanity in themselves; like vnto varnish, that makes feelings not onely shine, but laft. But all this while, when I spake of *Vaine-glory*, I meant not of that property that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus, Omnium quae dixerat feeratque arte quadam ostentator*. For that proceeds not of vanity, but of a natural magnanimity and discretion; and in some persons is not onely comely, but gracious. For exusations, cessions, modestly it selfe well go-

7 Sharpeneth. *Acutantur, et excitantur*, ‘sharpen and stir up.’
8 Learning. *Doctrinae et Literarum*, ‘learning and literature.’
9 The Flight will be slow. *Non volabit Fama illius per Ora Virum, nec bene Alata erit*, ‘the fame thereof will not fly through the mouths of men, nor will it be well winged.’
10 After Galen. *(Magna Nomina,)* ‘(great names.)’
11 Perpetuate. *Propagandum et perpetuandum*, ‘spread and perpetuate.’
12 And Vertue . . . Second Hand. *Neque Virtus ipsa, tantum Humane Nature debet, propter Nomini sui Celebrationem, quantum sibiipsi*, ‘nor does virtue itself owe as much to human nature for the celebration of its name as to itself.’
13 Borne her Age. *Ad hunc usque diem vix durasset, aut saltem non tam vegeta*, ‘would not have lasted till this time, or at least, not so fresh.’
OF VAIN-GLORY.

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Substance. In Militar[y] Commanders and Soldiers, Vaine-Glory is an Essentlal Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by Glory one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprife, {upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of Glorious Natures, doth put life into Business; And those that are of Solide and Sober Natures, haue more of the Ballaft, then of the Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be flow, without some Feathers of Ostlentation. Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen juun inscribunt. a Socrates, Ariflole, Galen,10 were Men full of Ostlentation. Certainly Vaine-Glory helpeth to Perpetuate11 a Mans Memory; And Vertue was neuer so Beholding to Humane Nature, as it receiued his due at the Second Hand.12 Neither had the Fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her Age13 so well, if it had not been ioyned, with some Vanity,14 in themselues: Like vnto Varnish, that makes Seelings15 not onely Shine, but Laft. But all this while, when I speake of Vaine-Glory, I meane not of that Property, that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus; Omnium, quâ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostlentator.8 For that proceeds not of Vanity, but of Natural16 Magnanimity, and discretion.17 And in some Persons,18 is not onely Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations,19 Cessions,20 Modesty it selfe well Go-

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a Those who write books in contemt of glory, wrote their own names.
Cicero. Tusculanum Disputationes. i. 15.
b The manifestor, by a certain art, of all things that he had said and done. Tacitus. History. ii. 86.
14 Vanity. Vanitate et factantia, 'vanity and boastfulness.'
15 Seelings. Ligna, 'wood-work.'
16 Natural. Omitted in the Latin.
17 Discretion. Arte et prudentia, 'art and wisdom.'
18 After Persons. Qui natura veluti comparati ad eam sunt, 'who are fitted for this by nature.'
19 Excusations. Excusationes decorae, 'comely excusations.'
20 Cessions. Concessiones tempestive, 'timely cessions.'
uerned are but arts of ostentation: and amongst those Arts there is none better, then that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberall of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a mans selfe hath any perfection. For faith Plinie very wittily; In commending another, you do your selfe right; for hee that you commend, is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior if he be to be commended; you much more: if he be superiour if hee be not commended; you much lesse.

21 Liberall. Liberaliter et copiosè, 'liberally and abundantly."
22 Commendation. Omitted in the Latin.
23 In that you Commend. Omitted in the Latin.
24 Idols. Præda et Esca, 'booty and baits.'
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nurned, are but Arts of Oflentation. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of; which is to be Liberall of Praise and Commendation to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Perfection. For faith Pliny very Wittily; In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, or that you Commend; or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse. Glorious Men are the Scorne of Wife Men; the Admiracion of Fooles; The Idols of Parasites; And the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

* Pliny. *Epist. *vi. 15

38. Of the greatnesse of Kingdomes.

He speech of Themistocles, which was arrogant in challenge, is profitable in cenfure. Desired at a banquet to touch a Lute, hee said, *He could not fiddle; but he could make a small Towne to become a great Citie.* This speech at a time of solace, and not serious, was vnciuill, and at no time could be decent of a mans selfe. But it may haue a pretie application: For to speake truly of politikes and Statesmen, there are sometimes, though rarely, those that can make a small estate great, and cannot fiddell. And there bee many that can fiddell very cunningly, and yet the procedure of their Art is to make a flourishing estate ruinous and distressed.

For certainly those degenerate Arts, whereby diuers politikes and Gouernors doe gaine both satisfaction with their Masters, and admiration with the vulgar, desperue no better name then fidling;

if they adde nothing to the safetie, strength, and amplitude of the States they gouerne.

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1 Title. *De Proferendis Finibus Imperii,* 'of extending the bounds of empire.'
2 Metaphore. *Ad Sensum politicam translata,* 'transferred to a political meaning.'
3 Expresse. *Optime describunt, et distinguunt,* 'well describe and define.'
4 Estate. *Rerum Gubernacuia tractant,* 'who manage the helm of affairs.'
29. Of the true Greatness of Kingdomes and Estates.

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

For if a true Suruey be taken, of Counsellours and Statefmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make an Small State Great, and yet cannot Fiddle: As on the other side, there will be found a great many, that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able, to make a Small State Great, as their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay.

And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellours and Gouernours, gaine both Favour with their Masters, and Esteimation with the Vulgar, deferue no better Name then Fidling; Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull to themselves onely, then tending to the Weale and Advancement of the State, which they serue. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Gouernours, which may be held sufficient, (Negotijs pares,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from Precipices,

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1 Plutarch. Themistocles, ii. Cimon. 7.

5 Counsellours. Regum Consiliarios, Senatores, aliosque ad Negotia publica adnotos, qui usquam fuerunt, 'councillors of kings, senators, and others applied to public business, who have lived anywhere.'

6 State. Regnum aut Civitatem, 'kingdom or state.'

7 Cunningly. In Cythara, aut Lyra (hoc est Aulicis tricis) miri Artifices, 'wonderful players on the lute or lyre (that is, in court tricks).

8 Tending. Utiles, aut Accommodae, 'profitable or fit.'
The greatnes of a State in bulke or territory, doth fall vncler meausure; and the greatnes of finances and reueneu, doth fall vncler computation: the population may appeare by Musters, and the number and greatnesse of Cities and Townes by Carts and Mappes: but yet there is nothing among ciuill affaires more subiect to error, then the right valuacion and true judgement concerning the greatnes of an estate. Certainly there is a kind of re- semblance betweene the Kingdome of heauuen, and the Kingdomes vpon the earth. The Kingdome of heauuen is compared not to any great kernell, or nut; but to a graine of Musterd; which is one of the leaft of graines, but hath in it a propertie and spirit haftily to get vp and spread. So are there States that are great in Terri- tory, and yet not apt to conquer or inlarge: and others that haue but a small dimention or stemme, and yet apt to be the foundation of great Monarchies.

10 Meanes. Quibus Artibus obtineri possit, 'by what means it can be obtained.'
11 Great and Mightie. Omitted in the Latin.
12 After Hand. Et diligenter meditentur, 'and carefully to consider.'
13 Leese. Implicent, 'involve,'
14 Vaine. Vanis et nimis Arduis, 'vain and too difficult.'
15 Finances. Omitted in the Latin.
17 Nut. Nuci alicui grandiori, 'any large nut.'
18 Spread. Latins diffundat, 'spread widely.'
and manifest Inconueniences; which neverthelesse, are farre from the Abilitie, to raiſe and Amplifie an Eſtate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune. But be the worke-
men what they may be, let vs speake of the Worke; That is; The true Greatneſſe of Kingdoms and Estates; and the Meanes thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie Princes, to haue in their hand; To the end, that neither by Over-meauering their Forces, they leefe themselues in vaine Enter-
prifes; Nor on the other side, by vndervaluing them, they descend to Fearefull and Puſillanimous Counſells.

The Greatneſſe of an Eſtate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall vnder Meauure; And the Greatneſſe of Fin-
ances and Reuenew doth fall vnder Computation. The Population may appeare by Muſters: And the Number and Greatneſſe of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongſt Ciuill Affaires, more subieçt to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Judgement, concerning the Power and Forces of an Eſtate.

The Kingdome of Heauen is compared, not to any great Kermell or Nut, but to a Graine of Mustard-feed; which is one of the leafl Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, haſtily to get vp and ſpread. So are there States, great in Territori,
and yet not apt to Enlarge, or Command; And some, that haue but a small Dimenſion of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

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a Matt. xiii. 31.
19 States. Regna et status, 'kingdoms and states.'
20 Territorie. Ambitus quidem et Regionum Tractu, 'in circumference and extent of country.'
21 Enlarge. Ad Fines ulterius præferendos, 'to extend their boundaries further.'
22 Command. Latius imperandum, 'command more widely.'
24 Of Great Monarchies. In quibus maxime Monarchiae inadiscenetur, 'on which great monarchies can be built.'
Walled Towns, flored Arcenals and Armories, goodly Stables, Elephants (if you wil) Maffe of treasure, Number in Armies, Ordinance, and Artillerie, they are all but a Sheep in a Lions skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be militarie.
Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as Virgil faith) It never troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be. The Armie of the Persians, in the Plaines of Arbela, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in Alexanders Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to set vp them by Night; But hee answered, He would not pilfer the Victory. And the Defeat was Easie. When Tigranes the Armenian, being incamped vpon a Hill, with 400000. Men, discouered the Armie of the Romans, being not aboue 14000. Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight. But before the Sunne fett, he found them enough, to giue him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Judgement; That the Principal Point of Greatnesse in any State, is to haue a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is truially said) where the Sinewes of Mens Armes, in Base and Effeminate People, are failing. For Solon said well to Cragius (when in Oftentation he shewed him his Gold) Sir, if

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a Virgil. Bucolics. vii. 52.
b Plutarch. Alexander. xxxi.

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30 So that a Man ... a Judgement. Pro re certissima, et exploratissima decernatur, et statisticur; 'it may be determined and set down as a most certain and ascertained fact.'

31 Of Greatnesse. Omnim, quae ad Magnitudinem Regni aut status spectent, 'of all things which belong to the greatness of a kingdom or state.'

32 Race of Military Men. Ut populus ipsi sit stirpe et Ingenio bellicosus, 'that the people themselves should be warlike in race and disposition.'

33 Neither is ... (as it is truially said). Atque illud magis tritum, quam verum, 'and that is more trite than true.'
The helpe is mercenary aides. But a Prince or State that refleth vpon waged Companies of forraine Armes, and not of his owne Natiues, may fpread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them foone after.

The blessing of Iudah and Issachar will neuer meet, to be both the Lions whelpe, and the Affe laid betwenee burthens: Neither will a people ouer charged with tributes, bee euer fit for Empire.

Nobilitie and Gentlemen multiplying in too great a proportion, maketh the common subiect grow to bee a

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34 Except his Militia of Natiues. Causus subditi Nativi et Indigene, non sunt, ' whose natural and native subjects are not.'
35 In this Case. Causus Copiae Nativae desint, ' when native forces fail.'
36 Or Prince. Omitted in the Latin.
37 Feathers. Pennas, Nido majores, ' wings beyond his nest.'
38 Abate. Dejicere, et deprimere, quam que ex Imperio mero indicuntur, ' cast down and depress less than those which are imposed by a mere command.'
any Other come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold." Therfore let any Prince or State, thinke soberly of his Forces, except his Militia34 of Natives, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that haue Subjectts of Martiiall disposition, know their owne Strength; vn-leffe they be otherwife wanting vnto Themselues. As for Mercenary Forces, (which is the Helpe in this Case)35 all Examples shew; That whatsoeuer Estate or Prince36 doth reft vpon them; HEE may spread his Feathers37 for a time, but he will mevv them soone after.

The Blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; That the same People or Nation, should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Asse betweene Burthens.6 Neither will it be, that a People ouer-laid with Taxes, should euer become Valiant, and Martiiall. It is true, that Taxes leaved by Consent of the Estate, doe abate38 Mens Courage leffe; As it hath beene seene notably, in the Excifes of the Low Countries; And in some degree, in the Subsidies of England. For you must note, that we speake now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same Tribute and Tax,39 laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse,40 yet it workes diversely vpon the Courage.41 So that you may conclude; That no People, ouer-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire;

Let States42 that aime at Greatnesse, take heed how their Nobility43 and Gentlemen, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject, grow to be a

4 Lucian. Chren.
6 Gen. xl. 9, 14.
39 The same Tribute and Tax. Tributa, 'tributes.'
40 To the Purse. Qvod Opes exhauriendas, 'as to the exhaustion of wealth.'
41 Courage. Animos Subditorum, 'courage of the subjects.'
42 States. Regni et Statibus, 'kingdoms and states.'
43 Nobility. Nobiles et Patricii, atque (quos vocamus) Generosi, 'nobles and patricians, and those we call gentlemen.'
pesant and base swaine driuen out of heart, and
but the Gentlemans laborer:
like as it is in copices, where if you leave your fladdels
too thick, you shall neuer haue cleane vnderwood, but
shrubbes and bushes.

And take away the middle
people, and you take away the infantry, which is the
nerue of an Armie: and you bring it to this, that not
the hundreth pole will be fit for a helmet, and so
great population and little strength.

Certainly Virgil coupled Armes and the Plough to-
gether well in the constitution of ancient Italy;

*Terra potens armis atque vberc glebe:
For it is the Plough that yeeldeth the best foundier;

44 A Peasant and base Swaine. *Humilis et abjecta, 'low and base.'
45 Driuen out of Heart. Omitted in the Latin.
46 Labourer. *Nobilium Mancipia et Operarii, 'the nobles' slaves and
labourers.'
47 Staddles. *Caudicum, sive Arborum majorum, 'trunks or greater trees.'
48 Cleane. *Sincera et pura, 'sound and clean.'
49 But Shrubbs and Bushes. *Sed major pars in Vepres et Dunos degene-
  rabit, 'but the greater part will degenerate into shrubs and bushes.'
50 Base. *Villis and ignava, 'base and sluggish.'
51 Poll. *Caput, 'head.'
52 Nerue. *Rerum pricipum, 'chief strength.'
53 After Querematch. *Fere semper in Bellis, 'almost always in war.'
54 Middle People. *Colonii, et inferioris Ordines Homines, 'farmers and
men of the lower order.'
Peasant, and Base Swaine, driven out of Heart, and in effect but the Gentlemen’s Labourer. Euen as you may see in Coppice Woods; If you leave your saddles too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes. So in Countries, if the Gentlemen be too many, the Commons will be base; And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll, will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the Infantry, which is the Nerve of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (neuerthelesse) an Ouermatch. In regard, the Middle People of England, make good Souldiers, which the Peasants of France doe not. And herein, the device of King Henry the Seuenth, (whereof I haue spoken largely in the History of his Life) was Profound, and Admirable; In making Farmes, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land vnto them, as may breed a Subiecit, to liue in Conuenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you shall attaine to Virgils Character, which he giues to Ancient Italy.

—Terra potens Armis atque ubere Gleba.

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is

a A land powerful in arms and fruitful of soil. Æneid. i. 531.
55 Profound. Profunda prudentia excogitatum, ‘devised with profound wisdom.’
56 Farmes. Prædia minora, ‘smaller farms.’
57 Standard. Seraule Condition. Quæ habeat certum, cunque Mediocrem Agri Modum annexum, qui distrahi non posset: Ec fines, ut ad Victum liberaliorem sufiicat, ‘which should have a certain and moderate amount of land annexed to them, which might not be divided, that it might suffice for liberal living.’
58 And to keepe . . . Hirelings. Utque Agricultura ab iis exerceretur, qui Dominii fuerint Fundi, aut saltem Usi-fructuarii, non Conductitiis, aut Mercenariis, ‘so that husbandry might be exercised by the owners, or at least holders of the farm, and not by hired or paid men.’
but how? maintained in plentie and in the hand of owners, and not of meere laborers.

[The germ of the entire paragraph on the opposite page, —from By all meanes down to published, appeareth. on p. 481—will be found on p. 492.]

50 Free Servants . . . Noblemen and Gentlemen. Famuli scilicet Nobilium, 'I mean the servants of noblemen.'
60 Armes. Peditatum, 'infantry.'
61 After Hospitality. Atque Famulitiae, 'and household servants.'
62 Close. Obscura, et magis privata, 'obscure and more private.'
63 Liberall of. Facile et liberter largiuntur, 'easily and freely bestow.'
64 Empire. Imperii Magnitudinem, 'greatness of empire.'
65 Embrace. Imperii Jugo cohibere and frenare, 'hold and govern by the yoke of empire.'
66 It will faile suddainly. Diuturnitatem hac res non assequitur, 'this will not have long duration.'
almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I mean the State of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*; which are no waies inferior, vnto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitability of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, received into Custom, doth much conduce, vnto Martial Greatnesse. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close* and Referued living, of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, causeth a Penury of Military Forces.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the *Trunk* of *Nebuchadnezzars* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the *Naturall Subjectis* of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient Proportion, to the *Stranger Subjectis*, that they gourne. Therfore all States, that are liberall of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to thinke, that an Handfull of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will faile suddainly. The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compasse, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they became a Windfall vpon the suddaine. Neuer

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67 Nice. *Parci and dificiles, ‘sparing and difficult.’*
68 Naturalization. *In cooptandis novis Civibus, ‘in receiving new citizens.’*
69 Compasse. *Intra parvos Limites dominati sunt, ‘ruled within small boundaries.’*
70 Firme. *Res eorum firmae fuerunt, et stabiles, ‘their affairs were firm and stable.’*
71 But when they did spread . . . suddaine. *At postquam Limites suos coepissent proferre, et latius dominari, quam ut Stirps Spartanorum, Turbam Exterorum, Imperio commode coercere posset, Potentia eorum corruit, ‘but when they began to extend their bounds, and to rule so widely, that the Spartan race could not easily govern the crowd of foreigners, their power fell to pieces.’*
IV. 1612.  at 52.

[The germ of the passage on the opposite page will be found at p. 492.]

Sedentary and within-doores

72 Romans. Respublica Romana, 'the Roman Republic.
73 If sorted with them accordingly. Par crat, Instituto tam prudenti, Fortuna, 'their fortune sorted with this wise ordinance.'
74 Greatest. Toto Orbe amplissimum, 'greatest in the whole world.'
75 Honorum. Petitionis sive Honorum, 'right of holding office.'
76 Nations. Integris Nationibus, 'entire nations.'
77 Greatnesse. Proferendi imperii, 'extending empire.'
78 Dominions. Regna et Provincias, 'kingdoms and provinces.'
79 Whole Compasse of Spaine. Hispania ipsa, 'Spain itself.'
any State was, in this Point, so open to receive Strangers, into their Body, as were the Romans.\(^7\)

Therefore it sorted with them accordingly;\(^7\) For they grew to the greatest\(^7\) Monarchy. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Ius Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely *Ius Commercij, Ius Connubij, Ius Hæreditatis*; But also, *Ius Suffragij*, and *Ius Honorum*.\(^7\)

And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations.\(^7\)

Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation of Colonies*; whereby the Roman Plant, was remoued into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that fpred vpon the World: But it was the World, that fpred vpon the Romans: And that was the sure Way of Greatnesse.\(^7\)

I haue maruiled sometimes at Spaine, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions,\(^8\) with so few Naturall Spaniards: But sure, the whole Compass of Spaine,\(^9\) is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre aboue Rome, Sparta, at the first. And besides, though they haue not had that viage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they haue that, which is next to it; That is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*.\(^9\) Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are fensible of this want of Natiues;\(^9\) as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that *Sedentary, and Within-doore*\(^9\)

\(^7\) Far aboue. Cun longe ampiorem continent Regium Tactum quam, *as it contains a much larger extent of countries, than.*

\(^8\) And ... commands. Quinetiam, summum Belli Imperium, haud raro, ad Duces, Nationen non Hispanos, deferunt, *nay also, they not seldom entrusted the chief command of a war to generals not Spaniards by birth.*

\(^9\) After Natiues. Eique succurrere cupiisse, *and desire to remedy it.*

\(^9\) Now. Hoc anno, *in this year.*

\(^9\) Within-doore. Quæ non sub Dio, sed sub Tecto exercentur, *which are practised not in the open air, but in a house.*
Arts, and nice manufactures, that require rather the finger then the hand or arme, have in their nature a contrariety to a disposition militar[y]: and generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better then pain: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preferued in vigor.
XL. OF THE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS, &c. 483

V. 1625. art. 65.

Arts, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, than the Arme) have, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle; And love Danger better than Trauaile; Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preferued in vigour. Therefore, it was great Aduantage, in the Ancient States of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the vfe of Slaves, which commonly did rid those Manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian Law. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be receiued) and to containe, the principall Bulke of the vulgar Natiues, within those three kinds, Tillers of the Ground; Free Servants; and Handy-Crafts-Men, of Strong, and Manly Arts, as Smiths, Mafons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But above all, for Empire and Greatnesse, it importeth most; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly haue spoken of, are but Habilitations towards Armes: And what is Habilitation without Intention and Act? Romulus, after his death (as they report, or faigne) sent a Present to the Romans; That, above all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should proue the greatest Empire of the World. The Fabrick of the State

93. Principall Bulke. Plebs, 'commonalty.'
94. Manly Arts. Quorum Opera Robur et Lacertos viriles postulant, 'whose work demands strength and manly arms.'
95. Empire and Greatnesse. Imperii magnitudinem, 'greatness of Empire.'
96. Study and Occupation. Institutione Vitae primarium, et in pracipuo Honore habitum, 'their principal mode of life and held in the highest honour.'
97. Greatest Empire. In Caput Orbis Terrarum Urbs corum insurget, 'their city should rise to the head of the world.'
98. Fabrick. Fabrica universa, 'the whole fabric.'
484 A HARMONY OF THE ESSAYS.

IV. 1612. æt. 52.

29 After End. Ut Cives sui Belligeratores essent, 'that their citizens should be warriors.'

100 Flesh. Idem erat Institutum, sed non tam constans aut diuturnum, 'had the same custom, but not so constantly nor so long.'

101 Turks. Leges sua paululum extimulati, 'urged on a little by their law.'

102 Hanc it. Illud adhuc retinet at proficitur, 'still retain and profess it.'

103 Plaine. Liquida, et manifesta, 'clear and plain.'

104 Intendeth. In quo plurimum impendit Studii, 'in the study which he most considers.'

105 It needeth not to be Stood vpon. Verbis non indiget, 'does not need words.'
of Sparta, was wholly (though not wisely) framed, and composed, to that Scope and End. The Persians and Macedonians, had it for a flash. The Galls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a Time. The Turks haue it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian Europe, they that haue it, are, in effect, onely the Spaniards. But it is so plaine, That every Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth, that it needeth not to be flood vpon. It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly profess Armes, may looke to haue Greatneffe fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the Romans and Turks principally haue done) do wonders. And those, that haue professed Armes but for an Age, haue notwithstanding, commonly, attained that Greatneffe in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to haue those Lawes or Cuftomes, which may reach forth vnto them, iuft Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Justice imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not vpon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but vpon some, at the leaft Specious, Grounds and Quarells. The Turke, hath

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Armes. *Arma et Militiam, iisque præcipue studet et incumbat, arms and warfare, and principally studies and pays attention thereto.*

Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. *Insignem aliqum Imperii Magnitudinem, any remarkable greatness of empire.*

Profession. *Professione et studii, profession and study.*

Wonders. *Miros in Imperio amplificandi facere Progressus, make wonderful progress in increasing their empire.*

Professed Armes. *Bellica Gloria floruer, flourished by warlike glory.*

Profession and Exercise. *Disciplina, training.*

Justice. *Justitiae Apprehensio, understanding of justice.*

At the least Specious. *Graevem ob Caussam, saltem speciosam, for a serious ground or at least a specious one.*
No body can be healthfull without exercise, neither naturall body, nor politike; and to the politike body of a Kingdome or estate,

a ciuill warre is as the heate of a feuer; but an honourable forraine warre is like

114 Sit. Tarpeat, aut tardet, 'be sluggish or slow.'
115 Aids. Omitted in the Latin.
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at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The Romans, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be Great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they neuer refled upon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to Greatnesse, haue this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Minifters; And that they fit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be preft, and ready, to giue Aids and Succours, to their Confederates: As it euer was with the Romans: In so much, as if the Confederate, had Leagues Defenfive with diuers other States, and upon Invasion offered, did implore their Aides feuera-ly, yet the Romans would euer bee the formofl, and leave it to none Other to haue the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformite of Eflate, I doe not fee how they may be well iustified: As when the Romans made a Warre for the Libertie of Grecia: Or when the Lacedemonians, and Athenians, made Warres, to fet vp or pull downe Democracies, and Oligarchies: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, vnder the pretence of Iustice, or Protection, to deliuer the Subiects of others, from Tyranie, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Eflate expect to be Great, that is not awake, vpon any iust Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without Exercife, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre, is the true Exercife. A Ciuill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feauer; But a Forraine Warre, is like

116 Forrainers. Rebus publicis aut Principibus, 'states or princes.'
117 Iustice. Omitted in the Latin.
118 Oppression; And the like. Omitted in the Latin.
the heate of exercise. At leaft, discoueries, navigations, honourable succours of other States may keepe health: For in a slothfull peace, both courages will effeminate, and maners corrupt.
the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to keep the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for Greatnesse, it maketh, to be still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaises on Foot, is that, which commonly giueth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in Spaine; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the Sea, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. Cicero writing to Atticus, of Pompey his Preparation against Cæsar, faith; Consilium Pompeij planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, cum Rerum potiri. a And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if vpon vaine Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battailes by Sea. The Battaile of Actium decided the Empire of the World. The Battaile of Lepanto arrested the Greatnesse of the Turke. b There be many Examples, where Sea-Fights haue beeene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States, c haue set vp their Rest, vpon the Battailes. d But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the Sea, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land, are many times neuerthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with vs of Europe, the Vantage of Strength at Sea (which is one

a The counsel of Pompey is evidently that of Themistocles: for he thinks that he who is master of the sea will rule all things. Cicero. Ad Atticum. x. 8.

b 124 Set vp their Rest, vpon the Battailes. Aleæ hujusmodi Praeliorum, totius Belli Fortuna commissa est, 'the whole fortune of war is set upon battles of this kind.'
Great. *Summi, ad Rerum Fastigia, momenti,* 'of great importance for attaining the highest place;'

125 Wealth. *Thesauri et Opes,* 'treasures and wealth.'

126 Martial Encouragement. *Ad Animos faciendos,* 'to give courage.'

127 Some Degrees, and Orders of Chivalry. *Ordines quosdam Honorificos Militiae,* 'some honourable orders of knighthood.'

128 Conferred promiscuously. *Communes,* 'common to.'

129 Soldiers, and no Soldiers. *Armis et Togae,* 'arms and the gown.'

130 Maimed. *Emeritis et Mutilatis,* 'worn out and maimed.'

131 Monuments. *Monumenta magnifica,* 'magnificent monuments.'

132 Crowns and Garlands Personal. *Corona Civica, Miliare, singulis concessa,* 'civic crowns; military crowns conferred on individuals.'
of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of Great Britaine) is Great:125 Both because, Most of the Kingdomes of Europe, are not meerely Inland, but girt with the Sea, moft part of their Compaffe; And because, the Wealth126 of both Indies, seemes in great Part, but an Accesiary, to the Command of the Seas.

The Warres of Latter Ages, feeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected vpon Men, from the Warres in Ancient Time. There be now, for Martiaall Encouragement,127 fome Degrees and Orders of Chialtry,128 which neverthelesse, are conferred promiscuously,129 vpon Soldiers, and no Soldiers,130 And fome Remembrance perhaps vpon the Scutchion; And fome Hospitals for Maimed131 Soldiers; And fuch like Things. But in Ancient Times; The Trophies erected vpon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatiues and Monuments132 for thofe that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal,133 The Stile of Emperour, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed;134 The Triumphes135 of the Generalls vpon their Returne;136 The great Donatiues and Largeffes vpon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages.137 But above all, That of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not Pageants or Gauderie, but one of the Wifefl and Noblefl Instituitions, that euer was. For it contained three Things; Honour138 to the Generall; Riches to the Treafury out of the Spoiles;

124 After Borrowed. A Belli Ducibus, 'from commanders in war.'
125 Triumphes. Celebres Triumphi, 'crowded triumphs.'
126 Of Generalls vpon their Returne. Redeuntium Ducum, Bellis prosper conspicit, 'of generals returning after successfully finishing a war.'
127 Enflame all Mens Courages. Hec (inquam) tot et tanta fuerunt, et taw insigni splendore coruscantia, ut Pectoribus Mortaliwm etiam maxime conglacialis, Iigniculis subdere, eaque ad Bellum inflamare potuerint. 'these, I say, were so many and so great, and shone with so much splendour, that they could set fire to the minds of mortals, however frozen, and inflame them to war.'
128 Honour. Deos et gloriam, 'honour and glory.'
States liberall of naturalization, are capable of great
nessse; and the iealous states that rest upon the first
tribe and firpe, quickly want body to carrie the
boughes and branches.

Many are the ingredients into the receit for great-
nessse. No man can by care taking adde a cubit to
his flature, in the little modell of a mans body. But
certainly in the great frame of Kingdomes and Com-
monwealths, it is in the power of Princes or Estates by
ordinances and constitutions, and manners which they
may introduce, to fowe greatnesse to their posteritie
and succession. But these things are commonly left
to chance.

139 Actuall Triumphs. Honorem ipsius Triumphi, 'the honour of an
actual triumph.'
And Donatiues to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for Monarchies; Except it be in the Person of the Monarch himselfe, or his Sonnes; As it came to passe, in the Times of the Roman Emperours, who did impropriate the Actuall Triumphs to Themselfes, and their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did atchieue in Perfon: And left onely, for Wars atchieued by Subiects, some Triumphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the Generall.

To conclude; No Man can, by Care taking (as the Scripture faith) adde a Cubite to his Stature; in this little Modell of a Mans Body: But in the Great Frame of Kingdomes, and Common Wealths, it is in the Power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and Greatnesse to their Kingdomes. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customs, as we have now touched, they may sow Greatnesse, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to take their Chance.

140 After Observed. Apud Principes, 'by princes.'
A HARMONY
OF THE
FOURTH GROUP
OF
EIGHTEEN
ESSAYS.

41. Of Truth.
42. Of Revenge.
43. Of Adversity.
44. Of Simulation and Dissimulation.
45. Of Envy.
46. Of Boldness.
47. Of Travel.
48. Of Delays.
49. Of Innovations.
50. Of Suspicion.

51. Of Plantations.
52. Of Prophecies.
53. Of Masques and Triumphs.
54. Of Usury.
55. Of Building.
56. Of Gardens.
57. Of Anger.
58. Of Vicissitudes of Things.

First published in 1625.
Collated with the posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

To which is added
A Fragment of an Essay,
Of Fame.
First published in Resuscitatio, in 1657.
THE ESSAYES OR COVNSELS, CIVILL AND MORALL, OF FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN. Newly written.

LONDON, Printed by JOHN HAVILAND for HANNA BARRET. 1625.
The Epistle Dedicatory.

To
The Right Honorable
My Very Good Lo. The Duke
of Buckingham his Grace, Lo.
High Admiral of England.

Excellent Lo.

Alomon faies; A good Name is as
a precious ointment; And I assure
my selfe, such will your Graces
Name bee, with Posteritie. For
your Fortune, and Merit both, haue
beene Eminent. And you haue
planted Things, that are like to
last. I doe now publish my Effayes;
which, of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens
Business, and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them, both
in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a
New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my
Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix
your Name before them, both in English, and in
Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine
Volume of them, (being in the Universal Language)
may last, as long as Bookes last. My Inflation, I
dedicated to the King: My Historie of Henry the
Seventh, (which I haue now also translated into Latine)
and my Portions of Natural History, to the Prince:
And these I dedicate to your Grace; Being of the best
Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which God giues to
my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your
Grace by the Hand.

Your Graces most obliged and faithfull Servant,
FR. ST. ALBAN.
Hat is Truth; said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddinesse; And count it a Bondage, to fix" a Beleefe; Affecting Free-will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, yet there remaine certaine discoursing Wits, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in thofe of the Ancients. But it is not onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of Truth; Nor againe, that when it is found, it imposeth vpon mens Thoughts; that doth bring Lies in favour: But a naturall, though corrupt Loue, of the Lie it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a fland, to thinke what should be in it, that men shoulde loue Lies; Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant; but for the Lies fake. But I cannot tell: This same Truth, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a Lie doth euer adde Pleasure. Doth

\[a \text{ John xviii. 38.} \]

1. Of Truth.


1 Fix. *Fixa fixa aut Axiomatibus Constantibus, constringi,* 'to be restrained by a fixed faith or constant axioms.'

2 Discoursing. *Ventosae et Discursantiae,* 'windy and discoursing.'

3 Imposeth. *Quae . . . . . imponitur Captivitas,* 'the captivity that it imposeth.'

4 Triumphs. Omitted in the Latin.

5 Candlelights *Tæde, Lucernæque Nocturnæ,* 'torches and nocturnal lamps.'
any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunk en Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and vnpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great Seuerity, called Poesie, *Vinum Daemonum;* because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a Lie. But it is not the Lie, that passeth through the Minde, but the Lie that sinketh in, and setleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus, in mens depraued Judgements, and Affections, yet Truth, which onely doth judge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of Truth, which is the Loue-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of Truth, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleefe of Truth, which is the Enjoying of it; is the Soueraigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Daves, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason; And his Sabbath Worke, euer since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, vpon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chofen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, faith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand vpon the shore, and to see ships tost vpon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaille, and the Adventures thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, vpon the vantage ground of Truth:* (A hill not to be

* It is not certain to whom Bacon alludes; probably either Jerome, *Letters to Damosus,* 146; or Augustine, *Confessio,* i. 16.—See Mr. W. A. Wright's note at length at p. 289 of his edition.

* Sinketh in. Quod a Mente imbibitur, 'which is drunk in by the mind.'

* Beleefe. *Veritatis Receptio nem cum Assensu,* 'the receiving of truth with

* Enjoying. *Fruitio et Amplexus,* 'enjoying and embrace of it.' [assent.]

* Suave est, &c. This is given merely in paraphrase, not as a literal quotation from Lucretius, *De rerum Natura,* ii. 1.
commanded, and where the Ayre is alwayes cleare and serene;) And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mifts, and Tempefts, in the vale below: So alwayes, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heauen vpon Earth, to haue a Mans Minde Moue in Charitie, Rest in Prouidence, and Turne vpon the Poles of Truth.

To passe from Theologicall, and Philosophicall Truth, to the Truth\(^{10}\) of civil Business; It will be acknowledged, euen by thofe, that practize it not, that cleare and Round\(^{11}\) dealing, is the Honour\(^{12}\) of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falfliood, is like Allay\(^{13}\) in Coyne of Gold and Siluer;\(^{14}\) which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embafeth it. For these winding, and crooked courfes, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely\(^{15}\) vpon the belly, and not vpon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth fo couer a Man with Shame, as to be found falfe, and perfidious. And therefore Mountaigyn faith prettily,\(^{16}\) when he enquired the reafon, why the word of the Lie, fhould be fuch a Disgrace, and fuch an Odious Charge? Saith he, If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is braue towards God, and a Coward towards men.\(^{a}\) For a Lie faces God, and shrinkes from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falſliood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be fo highly expressed, as in that it fhall be the laſt Peale, to call the Judgements of God, vpon the Generations of Men, It being foretold that when Christ commeth, He fhall not finde Faith vpon the Earth.\(^{b}\)

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\(^{a}\) Montaigne, Essais, ii. 18. p.  
\(^{b}\) Luke xviii. 8.

10 Truth of civil business). Veritatem, aut potius Veracitatem, 'truth, or rather truthfulness.'

11 Round. Minime sicutam, 'not painted (counterfeit).'

12 Honour. Præcipium Deiuns, 'chief honour.'

13 Allay. Plumbæ Materie, 'leaden matter.'

14 Coin of Gold and Siluer. Omitted in the Latin.

15 Basely. Omitted in the Latin

16 Prettily. Acutissime, 'most acutely.'
4. Of Revenge.

Revenge is a kinde of Wilde Justice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law\(^1\) to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the Revenge of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office.\(^2\) Certainly, in taking Revenge, A Man is but even with his Enemy; But in passing it ouer, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, faith, It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.\(^a\) That which is past, is gone, and Irreucocable;\(^3\) And wise Men haue Enough to doe, with things present, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselues,\(^4\) that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs fake; But therby to purchafe himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like.\(^5\) Therefor why shoule I be angry with a Man, for louing himselfe better then mee? And if any Man shoule doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no other.\(^6\) The most Tolerable Sort of Revenge, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the Revenge be such, as there is no law to

\(^a\) Prov. xix. 11.

\(^1\) Law. Legibus severis, 'severe laws.'

\(^2\) Putteth out of Office. Auctoritate sua plane spoliat, 'clearly strips it of its authority.'

\(^3\) Gone and irreucocable. In integrum restitui non potest, 'cannot be restored entirely.'

\(^4\) Therefore, they doe ... with themselves. Navigantur igitur, et se frustra conturbant 'they trifle therefore, and disturb themselves to no purpose.'

\(^5\) Or the like. Omitted in the Latin.

\(^6\) Because they can do no other. Quia natura sua utuntur, 'because they act according to their nature.'
punish: Else, a Man's Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one. Some, when they take Revenge, are Desirous the party should know, whence it commeth: This is the more Generous. For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base and Crafty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. Cosmus Duke of Florence, had a Desperate Saying, against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: You shall read (faith he) that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; But you never read, that we are commanded, to forgive our Friends. But yet the Spirit of Job, was in a better tune; Shall wee (faith he) take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take evil also? And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine; That a Man that studieth Revenge, keepes his owne Wounds greene, which otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique Reuenges, are, for the most part, Fortunate; As that for the Death of Cæsar; For the Death of Pertinax; for the Death of Henry the Third of France; And many more. But in private Reuenges it is not so. Nay rather, Vindictiue Persons liue the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischieuous, So end they Infortuniate.

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\[\text{Job ii. 10.}\]

7 Two for one. \textit{Ipse sibi Panam conduplicat}, 'he doubles the punishment for himself.'

8 This. \textit{Iste affectus}, 'this disposition.'

9 Had a Desperate Saying. \textit{Acutissimum telum vibravit}, 'brandished a very sharp weapon.'

10 As if those wrongs were unpardonable. Omitted in Latin.

11 Was in a better tune. \textit{Liquit tur meliora}, 'says what is better.'

12 Keep green. \textit{Respircare}, 'rub open again.'

13 Henry the Third. \textit{Quarti}, 'fourth.'

14 After End. \textit{Plerunque}, 'generally.'
was an high speech\(^1\) of Seneca, (after the manner of the Stoickes) *That the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Adversity, are to be admired.* *Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia; Adversarum, Mirabilia.*\(^a\) Certainly if Miracles, be the Command over Nature, they appeare most in Adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatnesse, to have in one, the Frailty of a Man, and the Security of a God.* *Verè magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.*\(^b\) This would haue done better in Poefy; where Transcendences are more allowed. And the Poets indeed, haue beene busie with it;\(^2\) For it is, in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction, of the Ancient Poets, which feemeth not to be without mystery; Nay, and to have some approach, to\(^3\) the State of a Chriftian: That *Hercules, when hee went to enbinde Prometheus, (by whom Human Nature is reprefented) failed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher:* Liuely describing Chriftian Resolution; that faileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waues\(^4\) of the World. But to speake in a Meane.\(^5\) The Vertue of *Prosperitie, is Temper-

\(^a\) Seneca, Epiftles, lxvi.  

\(^b\) Seneca, Epiftles, liii. 

\(^1\) High speech. *Grande prorsus sonabat . . . cum diceret, ‘struck a high note . . . when he said.’*  

\(^2\) Beeue busy with it. *Intactum non reliquerunt, ‘have not left this untouched.’*  

\(^3\) Approach, to. *Non obscure referre, ‘refers to not obscurely.’*  

\(^4\) Waves. *Fluctus, undique circumfusos, ‘waves surrounding it on every side.’*  

\(^5\) Speake in a Meane. *Ut a Granditate verborum, ad Mediocritatem descendamus, ‘to descend from grandeur of words to a mean.’*
XLIII. OF ADVERSITY

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ance; The Vertue of Adversity, is Fortitude: which in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. Prosperity is the Blessing of the Old Testament; Adversity is the Blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the Clearer Revelation of Gods Favour. Yet, even in the old Testament, if you Listen to Davids Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols: And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of Job, than the Felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many Feares and Distaffes; And Adversity is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needleworkes, and Embroiderries, It is more pleasing, to haue a Lively Worke, vpon a Sad and Solemne Grounde; then to haue a Darke and Melancholy Worke, vpon a Lightsome Ground: Judge therfore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like preitious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed: For Prosperity doth best discouer Vice; But Adversity doth best discouer Vertue.

6 Is the Blessing. Ad Benedictiones pertinent, 'belongs to the blessings.'
7 Blessings of the New. Novi beatitudines, 'beatitudes of the New.'
8 Which carrieth the greater Benediction. Quae, et reipsa majores sunt, 'which [the beatitudes] are in themselves greater.'
9 As many Herselike ayres, as. Plures inventias Threnos, quam, 'you will find more dirges than.'
10 Embroiderries. Omitted in the Latin.
11 Sad and Solemne. Coloris magis opaci, 'of a darker colour.'
12 Ground. Stamen telae, 'the warp of the web.'
13 Worke. Imagines, 'figures.'
Of Simulation and Dissimilation.

Simulation is but a faint kind\(^1\) of Policy, or Wisdome;\(^2\) For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it.\(^3\) Therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Difsemblers.

Tacitus\(^4\) faith; Livia forset well, with the Arts of her Husband, and Dissimilation of her Sonne:\(^a\) Attributing Arts or Policy\(^5\) to Augustus, and Dissimilation to Tiberius.\(^a\) And againe, when Mucianus encourageth\(^6\) Vespasian, to take Arms against Vitellius, he faith; We rife not, against the Piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Clofenesse\(^7\) of Tiberius.\(^\) These Properties of Arts or Policy,\(^8\) and Dissimilation or Clofenesse,\(^9\) are indeed Habits and Faculties, feuerall,\(^10\) and to be distinguised. For if a Man, haue that Penetration of Judgment,\(^11\) as he can discerne, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom,  

\(a\) Tacitus. Annals. v. r.  
\(b\) Tacitus. History. ii. 76.

\(^1\) Faint kind. *Compendium quoddam, et Pars insfirmior,* ‘a kind of shortening and weaker part of.’  
\(^2\) Policy or Wisdome. *Artium Civilium,* ‘of political arts.’  
\(^3\) Doe it. *Id facere audeat,* ‘to dare to do it.’  
\(^4\) Tacitus. *Quod Discrimen, bene apud Tacitum, Casarem Augustum inter, et Tiberium, adnotatum est.* Etrnium de Livia sic ait, ‘The difference between Caesar Augustus, and Tiberius is well marked in Tacitus, for he says thus of Livia.’  
\(^5\) Arts or Policy. *Artis imperii,* ‘arts of government.’  
\(^6\) When Mucianus encourageth. *Mucianum inducit . . . . hortantem,* ‘he brings in Mucianus, encouraging.’  
\(^7\) Extreme Caution or Closenesse. *Cautissimam senectutem,* ‘extremely cautious old age.’  
\(^8\) Arts or Policy. *Artium Civilium,* ‘political arts.’  
\(^9\) Dissimilation or Closenesse. *Simulationum,* ‘simulation.’  
\(^10\) Habits and Faculties. seuerall. Omitted in the Latin.  
\(^11\) Penetration of Judgment. *Politis Acuminis, tantaeque Perspicacia,* ‘of such happy sharpness and penetration.’
and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life,\textsuperscript{12} as Tacitus\textsuperscript{a} well calleth them) to him, A Habit of \textit{Dissimulation}, is a Hinderance, and a Poorenesse.\textsuperscript{13} But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Judgment,\textsuperscript{14} then it is left to him,\textsuperscript{15} generally, to be Close, and a \textit{Difsembler}. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary\textsuperscript{16} in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way\textsuperscript{17} in generall; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that euer were, haue had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name of Certainty,\textsuperscript{18} and Veracity; But then they were like Horses, well man-naged; For they could tell passing well, when to flop, or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed, required \textit{Dissimulation},\textsuperscript{19} if then they vsed it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearnesse of dealing, made them almost Inuisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe.\textsuperscript{20} The first \textit{Clofenesse, Reservation,} and \textit{Secrecy};\textsuperscript{21} when a Man leaueth himselfe without Obseruation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is.\textsuperscript{22} The second \textit{Dissimulation,} in the \textit{Negativae}; when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not,

\textsuperscript{a} Mr. W. A. Wright in his edition states, 'It is difficult to say whether Bacon had in his mind the \textit{egregium publicum et bonos domi artes of Tac. Ann. iii. 70, or the studia fori et civilium artius de decus of Agr. c. 39.'

\textsuperscript{12} Arts of State, and Arts of Life. \textit{Artes Politice, et Civiles.}

\textsuperscript{13} Poorenesse. Omitted in the Latin.

\textsuperscript{14} That Judgment. \textit{Hunc Judicium et Discretionis Gradum, 'to this degree of judgment and discretion.'}

\textsuperscript{15} Left to him. \textit{Tanquam tutissimum, 'as the safest course.'}

\textsuperscript{16} Or vary. Omitted in the Latin.

\textsuperscript{17} Take the safest and wariest Way. \textit{Caute insistere tutissimum est, 'it is safest to proceed cautiously.'}

\textsuperscript{18} Name of Certainty. Omitted in the Latin.

\textsuperscript{19} Dissimulation. \textit{Dissimulationem Profundam, 'profound dissimulation.'}

\textsuperscript{20} Mans Selfe. \textit{Consilii et Mentem, 'plans and mind.'}

\textsuperscript{21} Reservation and Secrecy. Omitted in the Latin.

\textsuperscript{22} When a Man leaueth himselfe. . . what he is. \textit{Cum quis sensus Animi sui premitt, adeoque reliquit in equilibrio, ut in quam partem profendeat, nempe facie deconcerit, 'When a man represses his opinions, and leaves it so evenly balanced that no one can easily guess to which side he is inclined.'}
that he is. And the third Simulation, in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously, and expressly,\textsuperscript{23} figns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy: It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confession; And assuredly, the Secret Man, heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought Secret, it inuiteth Discouerie;\textsuperscript{24} As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession, the Revealing is not for worldly use, but for the Ease of a Mans heart, so Secret Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to Secrecy. Besides (to say Truth) Nakedneffe is vncomely,\textsuperscript{25} as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no small Reuerence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and F十足e Perfons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke, what he knoweth not. Therfore set it downe; That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall. And in this Part,\textsuperscript{26} it is good, that a Mans Face, giue his Tongue, leave to Speake. For the Discouery, of a Mans Selfe,\textsuperscript{27} by the Tracts of his Countenance,\textsuperscript{28} is a great Weaknesse, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleueed, then a Mans words.

For the Second, which is Disclosure. It followeth many times upon Secrecy, by a necessity: So that, he

\textsuperscript{23} Industriously, and expressly. \textit{Aperte, 'openly.}

\textsuperscript{24} Inviteteth Discouerie. \textit{Facile alterium Animos reseerabit, 'He will easily unlock the minds of others.'}

\textsuperscript{25} Vncomely. \textit{Deformis et invensta, 'shapeless and uncomely.'}

\textsuperscript{26} And in this Part. \textit{Illud addendum est, 'it must be added.'}

\textsuperscript{27} Mans Selfe. \textit{Anini, 'mind.'}

\textsuperscript{28} Tracts of his Countenance. \textit{Ex Vultu, ant Gestu 'by his countenance or gesture.'}
that will be Secret, must be\(^29\) a Dissembler; in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be Secret\(^30\) without Swaying the Ballance,\(^31\) on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions,\(^32\) and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination,\(^34\) one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equiuocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he giue himselfe a little Scope of Dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Traine of Secrecy.

But for the third Degree, which is Simulation, and falfe Profession; That I hold more culpable, and leffe politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters.\(^35\) And therefore a generall Custome of Simulation (which is this last Degree)\(^36\) is a Vice, rising either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearfulnesse; Or of a Minde, that hath some maine Faults;\(^37\) which because a man muft needs difguise, it maketh him practise\(^33\) Simulation, in other things, left his Hand should be out of vre.\(^39\)

The great Advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. Firft to lay asleepe\(^40\) Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call vp, all that are against

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\(^{29}\) *After Must be. Vel volens, 'even if unwilling.'*

\(^{30}\) *And to be Secret. Omitted in the Lat in.*

\(^{31}\) *Swaying the Ballance. Inclinationis sua declamatione, 'any declaration of his inclining.'*

\(^{32}\) *Questions. Questionibus subtilibus, 'subtle questions.'*

\(^{33}\) *Absurd. Offensus et absurdo, 'obstinate and absurd.'*

\(^{34}\) *Shewan Inclination, one way. Seu non nihil proderit, betray himself a little.'*

\(^{35}\) *Great and rare Matters. Visi forte sigillum vindice Nodus inciderit, 'Unless perchance a difficulty happens worthy of the c’leverer.'*

\(^{36}\) *Which is this last Degree. Omitted in the Latin.*

\(^{37}\) *Minde, ... maine Faults. Anini Constitutione, quae vito aliquo mag-no imputa est, 'constitution of mind, which is tainted with some great fault.'*

\(^{38}\) *Practise. Addiderc et exercere, 'apply and practise.'*

\(^{39}\) *Hand should be out of vre. Habitus ipsi intercidat, 'lest the habit be lost.'*

\(^{40}\) *Lay asleepe. Amelitur, 'remove.'*
them. The second is, to referue to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat:41 For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration,42 he must goe through, or take a Fall.43 The third is, the better to44 discouer the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselues aduerse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Prouerbe of the Spanyard; Tell a ly, and finde a Troth. As if there were no way of Discouery, but45 by Simulation. There be also three Disadvantages, to set it eu'en. The first, That Simulation and Difsimulation, commonly carry with them, a Shew of Fearfulness, which in any Businesse, doth spoile the Feathers, of round flying vp to the Mark.46 The second, that it pufleth and perplexeth the Conceits of many;47 that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him;48 and makes a Man walke, almost alone,49 to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriueth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruements for Action; which is Trust and Beleeue.50 The best Composition, and Temperature is, to haue Openesse in Fame and Opinion;51 Secrecy in Habit; Difsimulation in seafonable use; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.

41 Faire Retreat. Ut pedem referat, et se absque Existantionis sua jactura de Negostio subducat, 'to retreat and retire from the business without loss of reputation.'
42 After Manifest Declaration. Is cuneis quasi impulsis includitur, 'he is shut in, as if by wedges driven home.'
43 'Take a Fall. Turpiter desistendum, 'leave off with disgrace.'
44 'The better to. Qnod viam aperit, 'because it opens the way to.'
45 'No way of Discouery, but. Clavis ad Secreta reseranda, 'a key to unlock secrets.'
46 Round. Perniciter, 'swiftly.'
47 Pusleth and perplexeth ... many. In aneipites Cognitiones Animos conjiciant, 'casts minds into doubtful thought.'
48 After Co-operate with him. Et studio suo rem promoturi, 'and promote the matter by their zeal.'
49 Alone. Sine sociis et amicis opera ... solus, 'without the help of companions and friends-alone.'
50 Trust and Beleeue Fide, 'faith.'
51 Opinion. Omitted in the Latin.
Here be none of the Affections, which haue beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch,\(^1\) but Love, and Envy. They both have\(^2\) vehement willes; They frame themselves readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye; especially upon the presence of the Obiects; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination. If any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth Envy. An Euill Eye: And the Astrologers, call the euill Influences of the Stars. Euill Aspects; So that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of Envy, an Ejacula- tion, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some haue beene so curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion of an Envious Eye doth most hurt, are, when the Party enuied is beheld in Glory, or Triumph: For that sets an Edge vpon Envy; And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the person Enuied, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and to meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not unworthy, to be thought on, in fit place), wee will handle,\(^3\) what Persons are apt to Envy others; What persons are most Subject to be Enuied themselves; And, What is the Difference between Publique, and private Envy.

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever enuieth Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed vpon\(^4\) their owne Good, or vpon others Euill; And who

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\(^1\) Bewitch. Omitted in the Latin.
\(^2\) Have. Propr. Sic, prae- serve.
\(^3\) Wee will handle. Transtendemus habe tria. 'we shall handle these three points.'
\(^4\) Feed vpon. Se petuimus, et delectan tur. 'feed upon and delights in.'
wanteth the one,\(^5\) wil prey vpon the other; And who so is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at euen hand, by Depressing an others Fortune.

A man that is Busie, and Inquisitive, is commonly *Enuious*: For to know much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, because all that Adoe may concerne his owne Eflate: Therfore it mufl needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleaſure, in looking vpon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Businesse, finde much matter for *Enui*.\(^6\) For *Enui* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem fit malevolent.*

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *enuius* towards New Men, when they rise. For the distance is altered; And it is like a deceit of the Eye, that when others come on, they thinke themselues goe backe.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Baſtards, are *Enuious*: For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers; Except these Defects light, vpon a very braue, and Heroicall Nature; which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants, part of his Honour: In that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in *Narſes* the Eunuch, and *Ageſilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame men.

The fame, is the Case of Men, that rise after Calami- ties, and Misfortunes; For they are, as Men fallen out with the times; And thinke other Mens Harmes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that desire to excell in too many Matters, out

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\(^5\) The one. *Primo Alimento*, 'the former nourishment.'

\(^6\) Matter for Enui. *Segotem Invidie*, 'crop of envy.'
of Leuity, and Vaine glory, are euery Enuious; For they
cannot want worke;" It being impossible, but many,
in some one of those Things, shou'd surpass them.
Which was the Character of Adrian the Emperor,
that mortally Enuied Poets, and Painters, and Artificers,
in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and
those that haue beene bred together, are more apt to
Envy their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth
vpbraid vnto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth
at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance,
and incurrith likewise more into the note of others:
And Envy euery redoubleth from Speech and Fame.
Cains Envy, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards
his brother Abel; Because, when his Sacrifice was better
accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much
for tho'se that are apt to Envy.

Concerning tho'se that are more or lesse subject to
Envy: First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are
advanc'd, are lesse envied. For their Fortune seemeth
but due vnto them; and no man Enuieth the Payment
of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality rather.
Againe, Envy is euery ioyned, with the Comparing of a
Mans Selle; And where there is no Comparifon, no
Envy; And threfore Kings, are not envied, but by
Kings. Neuerthelesse, it is to be noted, that vnworthy
Persons, are moft envied, at their first comming in, and
afterwards overcame it better; wheras contrariwise,
Persons of Worth, and Merit, are moft envied, when
their Fortune continueth long. For by that time,
though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the

7 For they cannot want worke. Ubique enim occurrunt Objecta Invidiae,
for objects of envy everywhere meet them.'
8 Redoubleth .Reflectitur, et conduplicatur, 'is reflected and redoubled.'
9 Rewards, and Liberality. Largitioni supra Meritum, 'liberality above
desert.'
10 Of a Mans Selle. Omitted in the Latin.
11 Overcome it better. Postea vero minus, 'but afterwards less.'
the same Lustre; For fresh Men grow vp, that darken it.

Persons of Noble Blood, are lesse envied, in their Rising: ¹² For it seemeth, but Right, done to their Birth. ¹³ Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And Envy is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, vpon a Bank or steepe rising Ground; ¹⁴ then vpon a Flat. ² And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, are lesse envied, then those that are advanced suddeainly, ¹⁵ and per faltum. ²

Those that haue joyned with their Honour, great Travels, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subject to Envy. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pitty them sometimes; And Pitty, euer healeth Envy: Wherefore, you shall obserue that the more deepe, and sober fort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are euer bemoaning themselues, what a Life they lead; Chanting a Quanta patimur. ³ Not that they seele it so, but onely to abate the Edge of Envy. But this is to be vnderstood, of Business, that is laid vpon Men, and not such as they call vnto themselfes. For Nothing increaseth Envy more, then an vnecessary, and Ambitious Ingrossing of Business. And nothing doth extinguish Envy more, then for a great Person, to preferue all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. ¹⁶ For by that meanes, there be so many ¹⁷ Skreenes betweene him, and Envy.

¹² This passage is transferred from the Essay Of Nobility in the 1612 edition.—See pp. 190, 191, 194. ¹³ At a bound. ¹⁴ How great things do we suffer.

¹² Rising. Cum Honoribus cumulantur, 'when they are laden with honours.' ¹³ Birth. Majoribus suis, 'to their forefathers.' ¹⁴ Steepe rising Ground. Omitted in the Latin. ¹⁵ Suddeainly. Omitted in the Latin. ¹⁶ Preserve . . . in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. Nihil detrahat, 'detract nothing from.' ¹⁷ So many. Quot illi Ministri sunt, tot, 'as many as there are officers, so many.'
Aboute all, those are most subject to\(^{18}\) Envy, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: Being neuer well,\(^{19}\) but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphant over all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to Envy; in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose to be crost, and ouerborne\(^{20}\) in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a plaine and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw leffe Envy, then if it be\(^{21}\) in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that course, a Man doth but disauow Fortune; And seemeth to be conscious, of his owne want in worth; And doth but teach\(^{22}\) others to Envy him.

Laflly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of Envy, had somewhat in it, of Witchcraft; so there is no other Cure of Envy, but the cure of Witchcraft:\(^{23}\) And that is, to remoue the Lot (as they call it) and to lay it vpon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons, bring in euery vpon the Stage, some Body, vpon whom to derive\(^{24}\) the Enuie, that would come vpon themselves; Sometimes\(^{25}\) vpon Minifters and Servants; Sometimes vpon Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne, there are never wanting, some Persons of violent and undertaiking Natures, who so they may haue Power, and Business, will take it at any Cost.\(^{26}\)

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\(^{18}\) Subject to. *In se concitant, 'excite against themselves.'*

\(^{19}\) Well. *Sibi placentes, 'pleasing to themselves.'*

\(^{20}\) Crost, ard ouerborne. *Vinci, 'overcome.'*

\(^{21}\) Then if it be. *Quam si se note subtrahat, 'than if it withdraws itself from notice.'*

\(^{22}\) Teach. *Stimulat, 'provoke.'*

\(^{23}\) Cure of Witchcraft. *Vencifii, et Incantationis, 'witchcraft and charming.'*

\(^{24}\) Deriue. *Derivent, 'turn off.'*

\(^{25}\) Sometimes. *Quandisque . . . eam reficientes, 'sometimes casting it off.'*

\(^{26}\) Take it at any cost. *Quovis periculo mercari, 'buy it for any danger.'*
Now to speake of Publique Enuy. There is yet some good in Publique Enuy; whereas in Private, there is none. For Publique Enuy is as an Ostracisme, that eclipseth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds.

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

This publique Enuy, seemeth to beat chiefly, vpon principall Officers, or Ministers, rather then vpon Kings, and Estates themselues. But this is a sure Rule, that if the Enuy vpon the Minister, be great, when the caufe of it, in him, is small; or if the Enuy be generall, in a manner, vpon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the Enuy (though hidden) is truly vpon the State it selfe. And so much of publique enuy or discontentment, and the difference therof from Private Enuy, which was handled in the first place.

27 Ostracisme. *Salubris Otracismi,* 'a salutary ostracism.'
28 State. *Regnis et Rebuspublicis,* 'kingdoms and states.'
29 Actions. *Mandata et Instituta,* 'laws and ordinances.'
30 Plausible. *Actiones gratas et populares, odio sis,* 'pleasing and popular actions with disagreeable ones.'
31 Call them vpon you. *Facilius irruunt,* 'they attack you more easily.'
32 Seemeth to beat. *Involut,* 'flies at.'
33 And Estates. Omitted in the Latin.
34 State it selfe. *Regem, aut Statum ipsum,* 'the king or state itself.'
We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of Envy; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continuall. For of other Affections, there is occasion giuen, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, \textit{Invidia festos dies non agit.}\textsuperscript{a} For it is euer working vpon some, or other.\textsuperscript{35} And it is also noted, that Love and Envy, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the moft depraued; For which caufe, it is the proper Attribute, of the Devill, who is called; \textit{The Envious Man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night.}\textsuperscript{b} As it alwayes commeth to passe, that Envy worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the preiudice of good things, such as is the \textit{Wheat.}

\textsuperscript{a} Jealousy keeps not holidays.\textsuperscript{35}
\textsuperscript{b} Matt. xiii. 25.

\textsuperscript{35} For of other Affections. \textit{Aliis Affectibus excitandis, ‘of exciting other affections.’}

\textsuperscript{36} For it is euer working vpon some or other. \textit{Quia semper Materiam se exercendi reperit, ‘for it always finds material on which to work.’}
It is a triuiall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wife Mans Consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes; What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour? He answered, Action; what next? Action; what next again? Action. He said it, that knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Advantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player; should be placed so high, aboue those other Noble Parts, of Invention, Elocution, and the rest: Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wife; And therefore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case\(^1\) of Boldnesse, in Ciuill Businesse; What first? Boldnesse; What Second, and Third? Boldnesse. And yet Boldnesse is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre inferior to other Parts.\(^2\) But neveretheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot, those, that are either shallow\(^3\) in Judgment; or weake\(^4\) in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea and preuaileth with wise men, at weake times.\(^5\) Therfore, we see it hath done wonders,\(^6\) in Popular States; but with Senates

\(^{a}\) Cicero, Brutus, xxxviii.

\(^{1}\) Wonderfull like is the Case. Mire convenit, et quasi parallela est, 'agrees wonderfully, and is as it were parallel.'

\(^{2}\) Other parts. Civlis Scientiae Partibus, 'parts of political science.'

\(^{3}\) Shallow. Infirmi, 'weak.'

\(^{4}\) Weake. Timidiores, 'more timid.'

\(^{5}\) At weake times. Cum Animis vacilleni, 'when they waver in their minds.'

\(^{6}\) Done wonders. Plurimum valuisse, 'has been most strong.'
and Princes lesse; And more euer vpon the first entrance of Bold Persons into Action, then soone after; For Boldnesse is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are Mountebanques for the Naturall Body: so are there Mountebanques for the Politique Body: Men that undertake great Cures; And perhaps have been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And threfore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a Bold Fellow, many times, doe Mahomet's Miracle. Mahomet made the People beleue, that he would call an Hill to him; And from the Top of it, offer vp his Praiers, for the Obseruers of his Law. The People assembled; Mahomet cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe; And when the Hill stood still, he was neuer a whit abashed, but said; If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil. So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of Boldnesse) they will but flight it ouer, and make a turne, and no more ado. Certainly, to Men of great Judgment, Bold Persons, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, Boldnesse hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subiect of Laughter, doubt you not, but great Boldnesse is seldom without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a Bold Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a most Shruncken, and woodeen Posture; As needes it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with Bold Men, vpon like occasion, they fland at a stay; Like a Stale at Chesse, where

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7 For the Naturall Body. Qui Corpori Naturali mederi profitentur,
8 Cannot hold out. Serpis excidunt, 'often fail.'
9 Shruncken and woodeen Posture. In se reductum, sed deformiter,
10 Stand at a stay. Attoniti herent, 'they stick, astounded.'

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it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot sliirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serios Observation. This is well to be weighed; That Boldness is ever blinde: For it seeeth not dangers, and Inconueniences. Therfore, it is ill in Counfell, good in Execution: So that the right Use of Bold persons is, that they never Command in Chief, but be Seconds, and vnder the Direction of others. For in Counfell, it is good to see dangers; And in Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.
18. Of Trauaile.¹

Trauaile, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that traualieh into a Country,² before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to Schoole, and not to Trauaile. That Young Men traualie under some Tutor, or graue³ Servant, I allow well; So that he be such a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seene⁴ in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances⁵ they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seene, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in Land-Trauaile, wherin so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Observation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The Things to be seene and observed are: The Courts of Princes, specially when they giue Audience⁶ to Ambassadours.⁷ The Courts of Justice, while they fit⁸ and heare Caufes; And so of Consiftories Ecclesiaflicke: The Churches, and Monafteries, with the Monuments which are there-

¹ Title. De Peregrinatione in Partes Exteras, 'of travel into foreign parts.'
² Country. Partes Exteras, 'foreign parts.'
³ Graue. Experto, 'experienced.'
⁴ Seene. Spectatu et cognitui, 'seen and noticed.'
⁵ Acquaintances. Amicitiae et Familiares, 'friendships and acquaintances.'
⁶ Giue Audience. Admittunt, 'admit.'
⁷ Ambassadours. Legatos Exteros, 'foreign ambassadors.'
⁸ While they sit. Omitted in the Latin.
in extant: The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And so the Hauens and Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruines: Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Nauies: Houfes, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armories: Arfenals: Magazens:9 Exchanges: Burfes: Ware-houfes: Exercises of Horfeman-hip; Fencing; Trayning10 of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies; Such wherunto the better Sort of perfons doe resort; Treasures of Jewels, and Robes; Cabinets,11 and Rarities: And to conclude, whatfoever is memorable12 in the Places; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Servants, ought to make diligent Enquirie. As for Triumphs; Maques; Feafts, Weddings; Funeralls; Capitall Executions; and fuch Shewes; Men need not to be put in minde of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will haue a Young Man, to put his Trauaile,13 into a little Roome, and in short time, to gather much, this you mufl doe. Firft, as was faid, he mufl haue fome Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he mufl haue fuch a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise faid. Let him carry with him also fome Card or Booke defcribing the Country, where he traveileth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe alfo a Diary. Let him not flay long in one City, or Towne; More or leffe as the place deferueth, but not long: Nay, when he flayeth in one City or Towne, let him change14 his Lodging, from one End15 and Part of the Towne, to another; which

9 Magazens. Cella et Horrea publica, 'public stores and granaries.'
10 Trayning. Delectus et Instructio, 'levying and training.'
11 Cabinets. Curiositates, 'curiosities.'
12 Memorable. Celebre aut memorabile, 'remarkable or memorable.'
13 Trauaile. Fructum Peregrinationis, 'the fruit of his travel.'
14 Change. Mutel seftus, 'change often.'
15 End. Omitted in the Latin.
is a great Adamant\textsuperscript{16} of Acquaintance. Let him sequefler himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he travaileth. Let him vpon his Remoues, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some perfon of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he remoueth; that he may vse his Favoure,\textsuperscript{17} in thofe things, he defireth to fee or know. Thus he may abridge\textsuperscript{18} his Travel, with much profit. As for the acquaintance,\textsuperscript{19} which is to be sought in Travel; That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambaffadours; For fo in Travailing in one Country he fhall sucke\textsuperscript{20} the Experience\textsuperscript{21} of many. Let him also fee and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life\textsuperscript{22} agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels,\textsuperscript{23} they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses;\textsuperscript{24} Healths;\textsuperscript{25} Place; and Words.\textsuperscript{26} And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarelfome\textsuperscript{27} Persons; for they will engage him into their owne Quarels. When a Traveler returneth home, let him not leaue the Countries, where he hath Travelled, altogether behinde him;

\textsuperscript{16} After Adamant. Attrahendi Familiaritates, et Consuetudines Hominum comflirium, 'for attracting acquaintances and friendships with many men.'
\textsuperscript{17} Favoure. Favore et opera, 'favour and help.'
\textsuperscript{18} Abridge. Utilitatem accelerare, 'hasten the profit.'
\textsuperscript{19} Acquaintance. Familiaritates et Amicitias, 'acquaintances and friendships.'
\textsuperscript{20} Sucke. Ad se attrahet, et suget, 'draw to himself and suck.'
\textsuperscript{21} Experience. Notitiam et Experientiam, 'knowledge and experience.'
\textsuperscript{22} Life. Os, vultus, et Corporis Lineamenta et Motus, 'face, countenance, and lineaments and movements of the body.'
\textsuperscript{23} Quarels. Rixas et Simulatites, 'quarrels and disputes.'
\textsuperscript{24} Mistresses. Amores, 'loves.'
\textsuperscript{25} Healths. Comptationes, 'drinking bouts.'
\textsuperscript{26} Words. Verba contumeliosa, 'insulting words.'
\textsuperscript{27} Quarelsome. Qui facile Intimicitias suscipiunt, 'who easily take up enmities.'
But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth. And let his Trauaile appeare rather in his Discourse, then in his Apparrell, or Gestyle: And in his Discourse, let him be rather aduised in his Answers, then forwards to tell Stories; And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Cuftomes of his owne Country.

28 Maintaine. *Conservet. et colat,* 'maintain and cultivate.'
29 Forwards. *Facilis et pronus,* 'easy and disposed.'
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holdeth vp the Price. For Occasion (as it is in the Common verse) turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken: Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle, first to be receiued, and after the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is surely no greater Wisedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seeme light: And more dangers have deceived Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing neare,\(^2\) then to keepe too long a watch;\(^3\) vpon their Approaches;\(^4\) For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceived, with too long Shadowes, (As some have beene, when the Moone was low, and shone on their Enemies backe) And so to shoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on, by our early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripeness, or Unripeness, of the Occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to Argos with his hundred Eyes; And the Ends to Briareus with his hundred Hands: First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the Helmet of Pluto, which maketh the Politicke Man goe Inuisible, is, Secrecy in the Counsell, and Celerity in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no Secrecy comparable to Celerity; Like the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

\(^2\) Though they come nothing neare. Omitted in the Latin.

\(^3\) Watch. *Perpetuo inquirere, et observare, 'continually to seek out and watch.'*

\(^4\) Approaches. *Motus, et Appropinuationem, 'movements and approach.'*
24. Of Innovations.

As the Births of Living Creatures, at first, are ill shapen: So are all Innovations, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed: So the first President (if it be good) is seldom attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands perverted, hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance: But Good, as a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely every Medicine is an Innovation; And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Evils: For Time is the greatest Innovation: And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and Wisedome, and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? It is true, that what is settled by Custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those Things, which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves: Whereas New Things peece not so well; But though they helpe by their vtility, yet


1 Births of Living Creatures. Partus recens editi, 'recent births.'
2 First President. Exemplaria, et Primordia, 'precedents and beginnings.'
3 Seldom attained. Plurimum, superant, 'mostly surpass.'
4 Imitation. Imitationem & Etatis sequentis, 'imitation of the succeeding age.'
5 As it stands perverted. Omitted in the Latin.
6 As. Ut fieri amat, 'as is usually done.'
7 End. Finis Mali, 'end of the evil.'
8 True. Concedi prorsus debet, 'must be granted.'
9 Fit. Aperi. Temporibus, 'fit for the times.'
10 Gone together. Uno quasi Alloco fluxerunt, 'have flowed as it were in one bed.'
11 Pecce. Veteribus... cohercant, 'cohere with the old.'
12 Inconformity. Novitate tamen et Inconformitate, 'by their newness and inconformity.'
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they trouble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like Strangers, more Admired, and lesse Fauoured. All this is true, if Time flood still; which contrariwise moueth so round, that a Froward Retention of Cus-tome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an Innovation: And they that Reverence too much Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their Innovations, would follow the Example of Time it selfe; which indeed Innovation greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceiued: For other-wise, whatsoever is New, is vnlooked for; And euer it mends Some, and paires Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good alfo, not to try Experiments in States; Except the Necessity be Vrgent, or the utility Evident: And well to beware, that it be the Reformation, that draweth on the Change; And not the desire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And laftly, that the Nouelty, though it be not reieched, yet be held for a Suspecit; And, as the Scripture faith; That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discouer, what is the straight, and right way, and fo to walke in it.  

12 They. Novitates, 'novelties.'
13 Strangers. Advene aut peregriini, 'newcomers or foreigners.'
14 Froward. Infortuna et Morosa, 'unsuitable and froward.'
15 After Perceiued. Illud enim pro certo habeas, 'be assured of this.'
16 Vnlooked for. Proter Spem et Expectationem accedere, 'comes, contrary to hope and expectation.'
17 Paires. Eriperere, 'takes away from.'
18 Experiments. Experimentis Novis, 'new experiments.'
19 States. In Corporibus Politicis medendis, 'in reforming political bodies.'
20 Reformation. Reformationis studium, 'desire of reformation.'
21 The Nouelty. Omnis Novitas, 'every novelty.'
Of Suspicion.

Suspicious amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be represed, or, at the least, well guarded: For they cloud the Mind; they leese Frends; and they checke with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wife Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of Henry the Seuenth of England: There was not a more Suspicious Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition, they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man Suspect much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy Suspicion, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their Suspicions in Smother. What would Men have? Doe they thinke, those they employ and deal with, are Saints? Doe they not thinke, they will hauve their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselves, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate Suspicions, then to account vpon such Suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a


1 Procuring to know more. Ut quis Inquisitionem urgeat, 'to press inquiry.'
2 And not to keep their Suspicions in smother. Fumo enim et Tenebris aluntur Suspiciones, 'for suspicions are nourished by smoke and darkness.'
3 Saints. Angelos esse, aut Sanatos? 'are angels or saints?'
4 Account vpon. Remedia parare, 'prepare remedies.'
Man ought to make use of Suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true, that he Suspicts, yet it may doe him no Hurt. Suspicions, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes; But Suspicions, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads, by the Tales, and Whispers of others, haue Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this fame Wood of Suspicions, is franckly to communicate them, with the Partie, that he Suspicts: For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect, not to giue further Cause of Suspcion. But this would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they finde themselues once suspected, will never be true. The Italian faies: Sospetto licentia fede. As if Suspicion did giue a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selie.

\[a\] Suspcion gives a passport to trust.

Buzzes. Inanes Bombi, 'empty buzzes.'

Heads. Animis, 'minds.'

Others. Famigeratorum, 'talebearers.'

Same Wood. Impetita Sylva, 'tangled wood.'

Franckly to communicate them. Libera quadam et aperta illarum Declaratio, 'a free and open declaration of them.'

Circumspect. Cautum magis et circumspectum, 'more careful and circumspect.'

Base. Prava, et Degeneris, 'bad and base.'
Plantations are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may justly account new Plantations, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a Plantation in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not Displanted, to the end, to Plant in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a Plantation. Planting of Countries, is like Planting of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence, in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beeene the Destruction of most Plantations, hath beeene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may fland, with the Good of the Plantation, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Unblessed Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you Plant: And not only so, but it spoileth the Plantation; For they will euer liue like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe

### Notes

1. **Title.** *De Plantationibus Populorum, et Coloniiis,* ‘of plantations of peoples and colonies.’
3. Are. *Eminent,* ‘are prominent.’
6. Make account to leese almost . . . Profit. *De Utilitate capienda nihil cogitandum ante,* ‘there must be no thought of getting profit before.’
7. Recompence. *Fructus uber et locuples,* ‘abundant and rich fruit.’
8. Plantations. *Coloniias, alias bene successuras,* ‘plantations, which otherwise would have succeeded well.’
L. OF PLANTATIONS.  

V.  

1625.  æt. 65.

Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie over to their Country, to the Discredit of the Plantation. The People wherewith you Plant, ought to be Gardners, Ploughmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of Plantation, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall, the Countrie yeelds of it selfe, to Hand: As Chestnuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make vse of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serue for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Aboue all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such, as are least Subiect to Diseases, and Multiply faslest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geefe, Houfe doues, and the like. The Victuall in Plantations, ought to be expended, almost as in a Belieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed

12 Weary. *Colonia Fastidio, 'weary of the colony.'
13 Certifie. *Novios et Literas mittit, 'will send messengers and letters.'
14 Dis-credit. *Prejudicium et didecus, 'prejudice and discredit.'
15 Before Gardners. *Proculia Artifices generum sequentium, 'chiefly artisans of the following kinds.'
16 With some few. Omitted in the Latin.
17 After Bakers. *Cerevisiarii, et hydromodi, 'brewers and the like.'
18 Victuall. *Esculentorum et poesulentorum, 'eatables and drinkables.'
19 To Hand. *Sine cultura, 'without tilling.'
20 After Radish. *Melones, Pepones, Cucumeres, 'melons, pumpkins, cucumbers.'
21 After Wheat. *Siliquam, 'pulse.'
22 After House-doues. *Cuniculi, 'rabbits.'
to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke;\(^23\)
And to be Laid in, and Stored vp,\(^24\) and then Deliuered
out in Proportion; Besides some Spots of Ground, that
any Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne
Priuate.\(^25\) Consider likewise, what Commodities the
Soile, where the \textit{Plantation} is,\(^26\) doth naturally yeeld.
that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of
the \textit{Plantation}:\(^27\) So it be not, as was said, to the
vntimely Prejudice, of the maine Businesse:\(^28\) As it
hath fared with \textit{Tobacco in Virginia}.\(^a\) Wood\(^29\) commonly
aboundeth but too much; And therefore, Timber\(^30\) is
fit to be one.\(^31\) If there be Iron Vre, and Streames
whereupon to set the Milles; Iron is a braue\(^32\) Com-
moditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making\(^33\) of Bay
Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in
Experience. Growing Silke\(^34\) likewise, if any be, is a
likely\(^35\) Commodity. Pitch and Tarre,\(^36\) where flore
of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and
Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great
Profit. Soape Ashes\(^37\) likewise, and other Things, that

\(a\) In the Latin this clause precedes the one before it in the text, and reads
thus:—‘Charge of the \textit{Plantation}, As it hath fared with \textit{Tobacco in Virginia},
So it be not, as was said, to the vntimely Prejudice of the maine Businesse,
Wood, commonly,’ &c.

\(23\) Common Stocke. \textit{Horreis publicis}, ‘public granaries.’
\(24\) Stored vp. Omitted in the Latin.
\(25\) That any Particular Person \ldots\ owne priuate. \textit{In quibus Industria
singulorum se exercet}, ‘on which the industry of individuals may be
\(26\) Soile, where the \textit{Plantation} is. \textit{Regio illa}, ‘that district,’ \ldots\ (exercised.)
\(27\) That they may \ldots\ \textit{Plantation}. \textit{Vi Exportatio carum in loca
ubi maxime in pretio sunt, sumptus levet}, ‘that their exportation to places
where they are of most value, may lessen the expense.’
\(28\) Maine Businesse. \textit{Colonie ipsius}, ‘the plantation itself.’
\(29\) After Wood. \textit{In Regionibus desertis}, ‘in uninhabited countries.’
\(30\) Timber. \textit{Ligna, ad Edificia, Naves, et ejusmodi usus apta}, ‘timber,
fit for building houses and ships or similar purposes.’
\(31\) To be one. \textit{Inter praecluras Merces muneraunda}, ‘to be counted among
the chief articles of traffic.’
\(32\) Braue. \textit{Questuosus}, ‘profitable.’
\(33\) Making. \textit{Confectio per Calorem Solis}, ‘making by the heat of the sun.’
\(34\) Silke. \textit{Sericitum vegetable}, ‘vegetable silk.’
\(35\) Likely. \textit{Lucrosa}, ‘profitable.’
\(36\) Pitch and Tarre. \textit{Plix cujuscumque generis}, ‘pitch of all kinds.’
\(37\) Soape Ashes. \textit{Cineres quibusad Sapum nutuntur, non medicum Utilitatis
offert}, ‘ashes, which are used for soap, will bring no little advantage.’
may be thought of. But moile not too much vnder
Ground.' For the Hope of Mines is very Vnctertaine, and
weth to make the Planters Lazie, in other Things.
For Gouernment, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted
with some Counsell: And let them haue Commision,
to exercise Martian Lawes, with some limitation. And
above all, let Men make that Profitt of being in the
Wildernesse, as they have God alwaies, and his Servise
before their Eyes. Let not the Gouernment of the
Plantation, depend vpon too many Counsellours, and
Vndertakers, in the Countrie that Planteth, but vpon
a temperate Number; And let those be, rather Noble-
men, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke
euer to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes
from Custome, till the Plantation be of Strength:
And not only Freedome from Custome, but Fre-
dome to carry their Commodities, where they may
make their Best of them, except there be some speciall
Cause of Caution. Cramme not in People, by send-
ing too faft, Company, after Company; But rather
hearken how they waffe, and send Supplies propor-
tionably; But so, as the Number may live well, in the

38 Moile not . . ground. Verum folidis ne confidas niummum preser-
tim a principio, 'but trust not too much to mines, especially in the beginning.'
39 Hope. Omitted in the Latin.
40 Vnctertaine. Fallaces et sumptuosae, 'deceiving and expensive.'
41 Weth to make the Planters. Spe pulchra lactantes, Colonos reddunt,
and alluring the planters with fair hopes, make them.'
42 Let not the Gouernment . . Number. Rursus, Colonia, a nu-
merosiore Concilio (Intelligo in Regione, Matre Colonie, residente) non pen-
deat; Nec ob Contribuciones exigas Multitudini nimic subjiciatur; Sed sit
Numerus corum, qui Negotia Colonie procurant et ordinant, moderatus:
again let not the colony depend on a too numerous council, residing in the
mother country, nor let it be subject to too great a multitude on account of
small contributions, but let the number of those who manage and order the
business of the colony be moderate.'
43 Custome. Vestigalibus et Portoriis, 'taxes and customes.'
44 Custome. Solutionibus Pecuniarum, 'payment of money.'
45 Cramme. Farcias aut superoneris, cram or overload.'
46 Waste. Quot Capita de tempore in tempus minuantur, 'how the num-
ber is diminished from time to time.'
Plantation, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some Plantations, that they haue built along the Sea, and Rivers, in Marish and vnwholesome Grounds Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather upwards, from the Streames, then along. It concerneth likewise, the Health of the Plantation, that they haue good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. If you Plant, where Sauages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But use them iustly, and gratiously, with sufficient Guard neuerthelesse: And doe not winne their favour, by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amisse. And send oft of them, ouer to the Country, that Plants, that they may see a better Condition then their owne, and commend it when they returne. When the Plantation grows to Strength, then it is time, to Plant with Women, as well as with Men; That the Plantation may spred into Generations, and not be euer peeced from without. It is the sinfullest Thing in the world, to forfake or defitute a Plantation, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable Persons.

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47 Surcharge. Omitted in the Latin.
48 Unwholesome. Aqutosis, ‘watery.’
49 Then along. Omitted in the Latin.
50 Necessary. Quos verisimile est putridos aliter sape futuros, ‘which (the victuals) will probably otherwise be often putrid.’
51 Defence. Sed Auxiliis Defensivis non incommodum est subvenire, but to help them by aid for their defence will not be amiss.
52 Condition. Conditiones hominum, ‘condition of men.’
53 Command. Divinitat, ‘publish.’
54 Plant with Women . . . Men. Mulieres summittere, ‘send women also.’
55 Be . . . peeced. Pendet, ‘depend.’
56 Guiltiness of Bloud. Proditio mera Profustioque Sanguinis, ‘simple betrayal and shedding of blood.’
Meane not to speake of Divine Prophecies; Nor of Heathen Oracles; Nor of Naturall Predictions; But only of Prophecies, that haue beene of certaine Memory, and from Halden Caufes. Saith the Pythoniffa to Saul; To Morrow thou and thy fonne shall be with me. Homer hath these Verfes.

At Domus Æneas cunælis dominabitur Oris, 
Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:}

A Prophecie, as it feemes, of the Roman Empire. Seneca the Tragadian hath these Verfes.

——— Venient Annis
Secula feris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhis que nouos
Detegat Orbes; nec fit Terris
Ultima Thule. 

A Prophecie of the Discovery of America. The Daughter of Polyocrates dreamed, that Jupiter bathed her Father, and Apollo annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine wash'd it. Philip of Macedon dreamed, He fealed vp his Wife's Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But Aris-

\[a\] 1 Sam. xxviiii. 19.
\[b\] But the family of Æneas shall rule over all lands. And his children's children and those that shall be born of them. Virgil. Æneid. iii. 97. which are adapted from Homer. Iliad. xx. 307, 8.
\[c\] There shall come a time in the series of years, in which the Ocean shall unloose the bounds of things and a vast earth shall appear; also another Typhys shall disclose new worlds, neither shall Thule be the farthest land. Seneca. Mete. ii. 375-380.
\[d\] Herodotus. iii.

This Essay is not included in the posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.
tander the Soothfayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not vse to Seale Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasm, that appeared to M. Brutus in his Tent, said to him; Philippis iterum me videbis. Tiberius said to Galba. Tu quoque Galba degusstabis Imperium. In Vespasians Time, there went a Prophecie in the East; That those that should come forth of Iudea, should reigne over the World: which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the Night before he was slaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. Henry the Sixt of England, said of Henry the Seuenth, when he was a Lad, and gaue him Water; This is the Lad, that shall enjoy the Crowne, for which we strive. When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Q. Mother, who was giuen to Curious Arts, caused the King her Husbands Natuuitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gaue a Judgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband, to be aboue Challenges and Duels: but he was slaine, vpon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of Mongemery, going in at his Beuer. The triuiall Prophecie, which I heard, when I was a Childe, and Queene Elizabeth was in the Flower of her Yeares, was;

When Hempt is sponne;

England's done.

\(^a\) Plutarch. Alexander. ii.
\(^b\) Thou shalt see me again at Philipp. Appian. De Bellis Civilibus.
\(^c\) Thou also wilt taste of Empire. Suetonius. Galba. iv. tells it of Augustus.
\(^d\) Tacitus. History. v. 13.
\(^e\) Suetonius. Domitian. xxiii.
\(^f\) Holinshed. iii. 678. b. Ed. 1587.
LII. OF PROPHECIES.

Whereby, it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the Principall Letters, of that Word Hempe, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, Elizabeth) England should come to utter Confusion: Which, thankes be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of England, but of Britaine. There was also another Prophecie, before the year of 88. which I doe not well understand.

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

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

Ologefsimus oclauus mirabilis Annus;

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that euer swamme vpon the Sea. As for Cleons Dreame, I thinke it was a left. It was, that he was deuoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like kinde; Especially if you include Dreams, and Predictions of Astrologie. But I haue set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Judgement is, that they ought all to be Despised; And ought to serue, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say Despised, I meane it as for Beleefe: For other-

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*a* Eighty Eight, a year of wonders.

wife, the Spreading or Publishing of them, is in no fort to be *Depfifed*. For they haue done much Mischiefe: And I fee many feuere Lawes made to suppreffe them. That, that hath giuen them Grace, and some Credit, confifteth in three Things. Firft, that Men marke, when they hit, and never marke, when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of *Dreames*. The second is, that Probable Coniectures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne themselues into *Prophecies*: While the Nature of Man, which coueteth *Divination*, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of *Seneca's Verse*. For so much was then subiect to Demonftration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlantick; which mought be Probably conceiued, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlantick*, it mought en-courage One, to turne it to a *Prediction*. The third, and Laft (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, haue beene Impof-tures, and by Idle and craftie Braines, meerely con-triued and faigned, after the Euent Paft.
These Things are but Toys, to come amongst such Serious Obseruations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Cost. Dancing to Song, is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick: And the Ditty fitted to the Devise. Acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace: I say Acting, not Dancing, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the Voices of the Dialogue, would be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treble;) And the Ditty High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. Several Quires, placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, Antheme wife, give great Pleasure. Turning Dances into Figure, is a childish Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set downe, are such, as doe naturally take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonders.

It is true, the Alterations of Scenes, so it be quietly, and without Noife, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and relieue the Eye, before it be full of the same Obiect. Let the Scenes abound with Light, specially Coloured and Varied: And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the Scene, have some Motions, uppon the Scene it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discerne. Let the Songs be Loud, and Cheerefull, and

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not Chirpings, or Pulings. Let the Musicke likewise, be Sharpe, and Loud, and Well Placed. The Colours, that shew best by Candlelight, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And Oes, or Spangs, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for Rich Embroidery, it is lost, and not Discerned. Let the Sutes of the Masquers, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person, when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let Anti-masques not be long: They have been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua’s Mouing, and the like. As for Angels, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in Anti-Masques; And any Thing that is hideous, as Deuils, Giants, is on the other side as vnfit. But chiefly, let the Musicke of them, be Recreatiue, and with some strange Changes. Some Sweet Odours, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure; and Refreshment. Double Masques, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the Roome be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For Jousts, and Tourneys, and Barriers; The Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; Especially if they be drawne with Strange Beasts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the Deuices of their Entrance; Or in the Brauery of their Liueries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horfes, and Armour. But enough of these Toyes.
ny haue made Wittie Inuec&iues against Vfurie. They say, that it is Pitie, the Deuill should haue Gods part, which is the Tithe. That the Vfurer is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday. That the Vfurer is the Droane, that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignauum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent. That the Vfurer breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, In judore Vultus tui comedes Ponem tuum; Not, In judore Vultus alieni. That Vfurers should haue Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe Judaize. That it is against Nature, for Money to beget Money; And the like. I say this onely, that Vfurie is a Conceffium propter Duritiem Cordis: For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, Vfurie must be permitted. Some Others haue made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Difcouery of Mens Estates, and other Inuentions. But few haue spoken of Vfurie usefully. It is good to set before vs, the Incommodities, and Commodities of Vfurie; That the Good may be,

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* They drive away the drones, a slothful race, from the hives. Virgil. Georgics. iv. 168.
* In the sweat of thy face, shalt thou eat thy bread [Gen. iii. 18], not in the sweat of another's face.
* A concession on account of the hardness of the heart.

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1 Title. De Vsuris sine Fumore, 'of us-ury or interest.'
2 Vsurie. Usuratiors, 'usurers.'
3 Every Sunday. Sabbaths, 'on Sabbaths.'
4 Borrowing and Lending. Ut pecunias mutuo dent, et accipiant, 'that men should give and receive money on loan.'
5 Bankes. Argentaritis, et Excan&cts publicis, 'banks and public exchanges.'
6 Usefully. Solute et utiliter, 'solidly and usefully.'
either Weighed out, or Culled out; And warily to provide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with\(^7\) that which is worse.

The \textit{Discommodities of V fury} are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of \textit{V fury},\(^8\) Money would not lie still,\(^9\) but would, in great Part, be Employed upon Merchandizing; Which is the \textit{Vena Porta} of Wealth\(^10\) in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well\(^10\) if he sit at\(^12\) a great Rent; So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well,\(^13\) if he sit at\(^14\) great \textit{V fury}. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Cuftomes of Kings or States,\(^15\) which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure\(^16\) of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the \textit{V fury}\(^17\) being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game;\(^18\) Most of the Money will be in the Boxe;\(^19\) And euer a State flourifheth, when Wealth is more equally\(^20\) spread.\(^21\) The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land:\(^22\) For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either

\(^7\) Meet not with. \textit{Intercipiamur et incidamus}, ‘are intercepted by and fall into.’

\(^8\) Trade of \textit{V fury}. \textit{Pecuniae in Funus Erogatio}, ‘giving out of money at interest.’

\(^9\) Lie still. \textit{Delitescerent proe Socordia}, ‘be hidden away from idleness.’

\(^10\) Of Wealth. \textit{Ad Opes introducendas}, ‘for bringing in wealth.’

\(^11\) So well. \textit{Ita fructuose}, ‘so fruitfully.’

\(^12\) Sit at. \textit{Solvat}, ‘pay.’

\(^13\) So well. \textit{Tant commode et lucrose}, ‘so conveniently and profitably.’

\(^14\) If he sit at. \textit{Si Pecunias Funore sumptis, negotiatur}, ‘if he do business with money taken up at interest.’

\(^15\) Cuftomes of Kings or States. \textit{Portoriorum et Vectigalium publicorum}, ‘public customs and taxes.’

\(^16\) Treasure. \textit{Thesaurum, et Pecunias}, ‘treasure and money.’

\(^17\) Usurer. \textit{Fauceratoris Lucrum}, ‘the usurer’s gain.’

\(^18\) After Game. \textit{Prout fit sepe in Alea}, ‘as often happens at dice.’

\(^19\) The Boxe. \textit{Prima}, ‘the keeper.’

\(^20\) Equally. Omitted in the Latin.

\(^21\) Spread. \textit{Disfargantur, non concerventur}, ‘spread not heaped up.’

\(^22\) Land. \textit{Terre et Prediorum}, ‘land and farms.’
Merchandizing, or Purchasing;\textsuperscript{23} And \textit{Usury} Way-layes both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in proceffe of Time breeds a Publike Pouertie.

On the other side, the \textit{Commodities} of \textit{Usury} are. First, that howsoever \textit{Usury} in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is druen by Young Merchants, vpon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the \textit{Usurer}, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand\textsuperscript{24} of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing vpon \textit{Interest}, Mens necessityes would draw vpon them, a most sudden vndoing; In that they would be forced to sell their Meane (be it Lands or Goods) farre vnder Foot;\textsuperscript{25} and so, whereas \textit{Usury} doth but Gnaw vpon them, Bad Markets\textsuperscript{26} would Swallow them quite vp. As for Mortgaging,\textsuperscript{27} or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without \textit{Usue}; Or if they doe, they will looke precifely for the Forfeiture.\textsuperscript{28} I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man, in the Country, that would say: The Deuill take this \textit{Usury}, it keepes vs from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceive, that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit:

\textsuperscript{23} Purchasing. \textit{Pradiorum Coemptiones, 'purchasing farms.'}
\textsuperscript{24} Stand. \textit{Clades, 'destruction.'}
\textsuperscript{25} Farre vnder Foot. \textit{Nimis vili pretio, 'at too low a price.'}
\textsuperscript{26} Bad Markets. \textit{Distractiones, 'selling piecemeal.'}
\textsuperscript{27} Mortgaging. \textit{La que a Jureconsuittis appellantur Mortua vadia, 'what are called by lawyers mortgages.'}
\textsuperscript{28} Forfeiture. \textit{Solutione ad diem minime prestita, summo jure agent, 'if payment is not made at the day, they will act according to the extremity of the law.'}
And it is impossible to conceive, the Number of Inconveniences, that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of V fury is Idle. All States haue ever had it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speake now, of the Reformation and Reiglement of V fury; How the Discommodities of it may be beft auidoed, and the Commodities retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of Commodities, and Discommodities of V fury, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the Tooth of Vfurie be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to inuite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two feuerall Sorts of V fury; A Leffe, and a Greater. For if you reduce V fury, to one Low Rate, it will eafe the common Borrower, but the Merchant wil be to feeke for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucrative, may beare V fury at a good Rate; Other Contracts not fo.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be Two Rates of V fury, The one Free, and Generall for All; The other vnder Licence only, to Certaine Persons, and in Certaine Places of Merchandizing. First therefore, let V fury, in generall, be reduced to Fine in the Hundred; And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the

22 Had. Tolerarunt, 'have tolerated.'
20 Continuing and Quickning. Ne Commercium intercidat aut languescat, 'that trade may not be interrupted or grow slack.'
31 Common. Omitted in the Latin.
32 Free, and Generall. Permittatur, 'be permitted.'
33 Certaine Places of Merchandizing. Reipublice locis, ubi Mercatura servet, 'places of the State, where commerce is brisk.'
34 Fine in the Hundred. Partem vicesimam . . . in Annum, 'the twentieth part for a year.'
35 Free and Current. Libera omnibus, 'free to all.'
State shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the fame. This will preferue Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinſfe. This will eafe infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part, raife the Price of Land, because Land purchafed at Sixteene yeares Purchafe, wil yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Intereſt, Yeelds but Fiue. This, by like reaſon, will Encourage and edge, Induſtrious and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde, then take Fiue in the Hundred, especially hauing beene vsed to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be Certaine Persons licenſed to Lend, to knowne Merchants, vpon Vſury at a Higher Rate; and let it be with the Caution following. Let the Rate be, euен with the Merchant himſelfe, somewhat eafe, then that he vsed formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers shall haue some eafe, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whoſoeuer. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but euery Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions.

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36 State. Princeps sive Respublica, ‘prince or state.’
37 Shut it selfe . . . . same. Multae omni renunciet, ‘renounce all fines.’
38 Drinſſe. Difficulitate majore, ‘greater difficulty.’
39 Because Land . . . but Fiue. Quandoquidem annuus Valor praediorum, hic apud Nos in Anglia, exceedet illum Fœorris, ad hanc Proportionem redacti; Quantum annuus Valor sex Libranum, excidit illum quinque tantum, ‘since the yearly value of land, with us here in England, will exceed that of interest, reduced to this rate: as the yearly value of £6 exceeds that of £5.’
40 Industrious and Profitable Improvements. Industrias Hominum, ad utilia et lucrosa Inventa, ‘the industries of men to useful and profitable inventions.’
41 Fiue in the Hundred. Lucro tam exili, quale diximus, ex Vſuri, ‘such a small profit, as we have said, from usury.’
42 After knowne Merchants. Et non aliis quibuscunque Hominibus, ‘and to no other men.’
43 Euen with the Merchant himſelfe. Omitted in the Latin.
44 Borrowers. Omitted in the Latin.
45 Let it be no Banke . . . certain suspicions. Omitted in the Latin.
Let the State be answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then give over his Trade of V fury; And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Let these Licensed Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principal Cities and Townes of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneys, in the Country: So as the Licence of Nine, will not sucke away the current Rate of Fine: For no Man will send his Moneys farre off, nor put them into Vnknown Hands.

If it be Obieeted, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize V fury, which before was, in some places, but Permi suffe: The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate V fury by Declaration, then to suffer it to Rage by Connivance.

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46 State. Princeps sive Republica, 'prince or state.'
47 The rest. Reliquum Lucri, 'the rest of the profit.'
48 Abatement be but small. Lucrum Fœneratoris leviter tantum minuatur, 'the gain of the lender be only slightly lessened.'
49 Tooke. Quotannis accipere solebat, 'was wont to take yearly.'
50 Goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Certa cum Incertis commutabit, 'change certainties for uncertainties.'
51 Colour other Mens Moneys. Prætextu Licentiarium, Opportunitatem non habebunt pecunias aliorum pro suis commodandi, 'will not have opportunity, under the pretext of their licence, of lending other men's money as their own.'
52 Nine. Novem aut octo Librarum Proportio, Licentia munita, 'the rate of £9 or £8 fortified by a licence.'
53 If it be Obieeted . . Conniuance. Omitted in the Latin.
Outes are built to live in, and not to look on: Therefore let these be preferred before Uniformitie; Except where both may be had. Leave the Goodly Fabrickes of Houses, for Beautie only, to the Enchanted Pallaces of the Poets: Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire House, vpon an ill Seat, commiteth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an ill Seat, only, where the Aire is vnwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is vnequall; As you shall see many fine Seats, set vpon a knap of Ground, Enuironed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as you shall haue as great Diversitie of Heat and Cold, as if you Dwelt in feueral Places. Neither is it ill Aire onely, that maketh an ill Seat, but Ill wayes, Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with Momus, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of feueral Natures; Want of Profpect; Want of Leuell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote; Hauing the Commo-

**V. 1625.**

British Museum Copy.

45. Of Building.¹

¹ Title. De Edificiis, 'of buildings.'
² Uniformitie. Pulchritudini, 'beauty.'
³ For Beautie only. Que Admirationem incutiant, 'which strike us with admiration.'
⁴ Seats. Aedes, 'house.'
⁵ Enuironed. Circulo undique, more Theatri, 'girt on all sides like a theatre.'
⁶ Gathereth. Varis astibus reciprocantur, 'are moved backwards and forwards in various tides.'
⁷ Wayes. Viarum et Aditusam Incummoditas, 'inconvenience of roads and approaches.'
⁸ Shelter. Focum, 'fuel.'
⁹ Leuell. Planæ et aquabilis, 'level and even.'
ditie\textsuperscript{10} of Navigable Rivers, or the discommodity of their Overflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Prauisions, and maketh every Thing deare; Where a Man hath a great Living laid together,\textsuperscript{11} and where he is scanted:\textsuperscript{12} All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he can:\textsuperscript{13} And if he haue seuerall Dwellings,\textsuperscript{14} that he fort them so, that what he wanteth in the One, hee may finde in the Other. Lucullus anfwered Pompey well; Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his Houfes, said; Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter? Lucullus anfwered: Why, doe you not think me as Wife, as some Fowle are, that euery thing change their Aboad towards the Winter?

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

First therefore, I fay, you cannot haue a Perfect

\textsuperscript{10} Hauing the Commoditie. \textit{Nulla commoditas, `no commodity.'}
\textsuperscript{11} Great Living laid together. \textit{Latifundia ampla possideat, \textit{ant acquire possit, `possesses or can acquire large estates.'}}
\textsuperscript{12} Scanted. \textit{Pennis extendere nequemat, `cannot extend his wings.'}
\textsuperscript{13} All which, as it is impossible ... many as he can. \textit{Qua singula minime co animo enumeramus, acsi Domus aliqua his incommodis omnis vacare possit verum ut tot ex illis eviternus, quot evitari concedatur, `which we have not enumerated, as if any house could be without all these disadvantages, but that we should avoid as many of them as possible.'}
\textsuperscript{14} Haue seuerall Dwellings. \textit{Domos plurres edificet, `build several houses.'}
Pallace, except you have two seuerall Sides; A Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Booke of Hefler; And a Side; for the Householder: The One for Feasts and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides, to be not onely Returns, but Parts of the Front; And to be uneforme without, though seuerally Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and Stately Tower, in the Middeft of the Front; That as it were, ioyneth them together, on either Hand. I would have on the Side of the Banquet, in Front, one only Goodly Roome, aboue Staires, of some Fortie Foot high; And vnder it, a Roome, for a Dressing or Preparing Place, at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the Household Side, I wish it diuided at the firft, into a Hall, and a Chappell, (with a Partition betweene;) Both of good State, and Bigneffe: And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the further end, a Winter, and a Summer Parler, both Faire. And vnder these Roomes, A Faire and Large Cellar, funcke vnder Ground: And likewise, some Privie Kitchins, with Butteries, and Pantries, and the like. As for the Tower, I would have it two Stories, of Eighteene Foot High a piece, aboue the two Wings;

15 Householder. *Mansionis sive familiae,* ‘dwelling or household.’
16 Feasts. *Magnificentias et Celebritates,* ‘splendours and celebrations.’
17 Returns. *Latra Domus,* ‘sides of the house.’
18 Seuerally Partitioned. *Longe diversas,* ‘far different.’
19 Fortie. *Quinquaginta pedes ad minus,* ‘fifty feet at least.’
20 A Roome. *Cameram item alteram, similis longitudinis et latitudinis,* ‘another room of the same length and width.’
21 Times of Triumphs. *Festa, Ludos, et ejusmodi Magnificentias; Actores etiam dum se orant et parent, commodae recipiat,* ‘feasts, plays, and such magnificences, and to receive conveniently the actors while dressing and preparing.’
22 (With a Partition betweene;) Omitted in the Latin.
23 Both Faire. Omitted in the Latin.
24 After Vnder these Roomes. *Excepto sacello,* ‘except the chapel.’
25 Faire and Large Cellar. *Amplas Cellas,* ‘large cellars.’
26 And likewise. *Quae inserviant,* ‘which may serve for.’
27 Eighteene. *Quindecim,* ‘fifteen.’
And a Goodly leads upon the Top, railed with Statua's interposed; And the same Tower to bee divided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise, to the upper Roomes, let them bee upon a Faire open Newell, and finely railed in, with Images of Wood, cast into a Brass Colour: And a very faire Landing Place at the Top. But this is to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Servants. For otherwise, you shall haue the Servants Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come vp as in a Tunnell. And so much for the Front. Only, I understand the Height of the firft Staires, to be Sixteene Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this Front, is there to be a Faire Court, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower building, then the Front. And in all the four Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Caces, cast into Turrets, on the Outside, and not within the Row of Buildings themselues. But those Towers, are not to be of the Height of the Front; But rather Proportionable to the Lower Building. Let the Court not be paued, for that striketh vp a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter.

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28 Goodly. Æquabili, 'even.'
29 Railed with. Per fulcra Laterum, 'by the rails of the sides.'
30 As shall be thought fit. Omitted in the Latin.
31 A Faire open Newell. Apertos esse, et in se revertentes, et per Senos subinde divisos, 'open, turning back, and divided into sixes.'
32 Brasse. Inauratis, vel saltem aeci coloris, 'gilded, or at least of a brass colour.'
33 Very faire. Spatiosa et lata, 'roomy and wide.'
34 For otherwise ... your owne. Omitted in the Latin.
35 Sixteene. Viginti, 'twenty.'
36 Faire. Spatiosam, 'roomy.'
37 Faire Staire ... Buildings. Turres extranuar, Altitudinem Laterum Predictorum nonnulli superantes, ad Gradus, quius in superiora ascendatur, captiendos: Que Turres non recipiantur in Planam edifici: Sed extra prominent at, 'towers should be built, not exceeding the height of the said sides, to hold staircases to ascend to the upper rooms; which towers must not be received into the level of the building but stand beyond it.'
38 Paued. Lapidibus latis quadrangulis substernatur, 'be paved with broad square stones.'
But onely some Side Alleys, with a Croffe, and the
Quarters to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too
neare Shorne. The Row of Returne, on the Banquet
Side, Let it be all Stately Galleries; In which Gal-
leries, Let there be three, or fiue, fine Cupola's, in
the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine
Coloured Windowes of feuerall workes. On the
Houfhold Side, Chambers of Prefence, and Ordinary
Entertainments, with some Bed-chambers; And let all
three Sides, be a double House, without Thorow
Lights, on the Sides, that you may haue Roomes
from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone, and After-
noone. Caft it also, that you may haue Roomes,
both for Summer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer,
and Warme for Winter. You shall haue sometimes
Faire Houfes, so full of Glaffe, that one cannot
tell, where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold:
For Inbowed Windowes, I hold them of good Vfe;
(In Cities indeed, Vpright doe better, in respect of
the Vniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee
Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides,
they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that

39 Alleys. Ambulacra, ex ejusmodi Lapidibus, 'walks of this kind of stone.'
40 The Row of Returne. Latus universum Areae, 'the whole side of the
court.'
41 Stately. spatiosae et speciosae, 'roomy and fair.'
42 Let there be. Sint in Languaribus, 'let there be in the ceilings.'
43 Of seuerall workes. Ubi pingantur Columnae, Imagines omnigenea,
Flores et similia, 'where columns, images of all kinds, flowers and the like
are painted.'
44 After Household Side. Simul cum Latere tertio e regione Frontis,
'together with the third side towards the front.'
45 Without Thorow Lights, on the Sides. Non transiucida, sed ex altera
tantum parte fenestrata, 'without through lights, but windowed only on
one side.'
46 From the Sunne. In quas sol non intret, 'in which the sun may not
enter.'
47 Roomes. Cubicula et Camerae, 'bedrooms and chambers.'
48 Warme. Ad frigus arcendum, 'to keep out the cold.'
49 Glasse. Vitro et Fenestris, 'glass and windows.'
50 Inbowed. Promineutes sive arcuatias, 'projecting or embowed.'
51 Vpright. Ad Planum Aedificii, et minime protuberantes, 'in the
plane of the buildings and not projecting.'
V. 1625. æt. 65.

which would strike almost thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the Window. But let them be but few, Foure in the Court, On the Sides onely. 52

Beyond this Court, let there be an Inward Court of the fame Square, and Height; Which is to be enuironed, with the Garden, on all Sides: And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides, vpon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the firft Story. On the Vnder Story, 53 towards the Garden, Let it be turned 54 to a Grotta, 55 or Place of Shade, or Efluation. And onely have opening and Windowes towards the Garden; And be Leuell vpon the Floare, no whit funke vnder Ground, to auoid all Dampiflineffe. 56 And let there be a Fountaine, 57 or some faire Worke of Statua's, in the Middeft of this Court; And to be Paued as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for Priuie Lodgings, 58 on both Sides; And the End, 59 for Priuie Galleries. Whereof, you muft fore-fee, that one of them, 60 be for an Infirmary, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person shoule be Sicke, with Chambers, 61 Bed-chamber, Anticamera, and Recamera, ioyning to it. This vpon the Second Story. Vpon the Ground

52 On the Sides onely. Duae scilicet, ex utroque Latere Areae, 'two, that is, on each side of the court.'
53 Vnder Story. Pars autem exterior Solarii inferioris, 'the external part of the lower story.'
54 Turned. Qua tenes ad duo Latera, convertatur, 'turned, as to two sides.'
55 Grotta. Specium sive Cavernam, (grottam Moderni vocant), 'cave or cavern (grotto, the moderns call it).'
56 To auoid all Dampiflineffe. Et elegantius Pavimento strata, ad Terræ Vapores excludendos, 'and paved with a fair pavement to keep off the vapours of the earth.'
57 Fountaine. Fons splendidus, 'splendid fountain.'
58 Lodgings. Cameris, et Conclavibus, 'chambers and closets.'
59 End. Latus transversum, 'cross side.'
60 One of them. Alrique, tam ex Cameris et Conclavibus, quam ex Porticibus, 'some, as well of the chambers and closets, as of the galleries.'
61 With Chambers. Habeant autem Portiones singulae agris destinatae (at moderni loquentur), 'let also each portion, intended for the sick, have what the moderns call.'
V. 1625. aet. 65.

Story,\(^62\) a Faire Gallery, Open, vpon Pillars: And vpon the Third Storey\(^63\) likewise, an Open Gallery vpon Pillars, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the Garden. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Returne,\(^64\) Let there be\(^65\) two Delicate or Rich Cabinets,\(^66\) Daintily Paued, Richly Hanged, Glased with Crystalline Glasse, and a Rich Cupola in the Middeft; And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon.\(^67\) In the Vpper Gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some Fountaines\(^68\) Running, in diuers Places, from the Wall, with some fine Auoidances.\(^69\) \(^70\) And thus much, for the Modell of the Pallace:\(^71\) Saue that, you must haue, before you come to the Front, three Courts. A Greene\(^72\) Court Plain, with a Wall about it: A Second Court\(^73\) of the fame,\(^74\) but more Garnished, with Little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, vpon the Wall: And a Third

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\(^62\) Vpon the Ground Story. At Latus transversum Solarii inferioris, versus Hortum convertatur in Porticum, 'but let the transverse side of the ground story towards the garden be converted into a gallery.'

\(^63\) Third Storey. Supra Solarium tertium, ex omnibus tribus Lateribus, 'on the third story on all three sides.'

\(^64\) By way of Returne. In Solario secundo, 'on the second story.'

\(^65\) Let there be. Accommodentur et ornentur, 'let there be fitted and furnished.'

\(^66\) Cabinets. Conclavia (Cabinetos Moderni vocant); 'closets (the moderns call them cabinets).'

\(^67\) And all other Elegancie that may be thought vpon. Sint autem Conclavia illa, robust curiosis anniginis, et spectatu dignis, referata, 'let those closets be filled with curious things of all kinds worth looking at.'

\(^68\) Fountaines. Fonticullos quosdam aquam emitentes, 'some fountains discharging water.'

\(^69\) With some fine Auoidances. Qui per secretos Tubos iterum transeant, 'which may cross again by secret tubes.'

\(^70\) After Auoidances. Interior autem pars, in Solario superiore, versus Arcam, formetur in Porticus et Ambulacra, bene munita et obducta, ad usum Convalescentium, 'let the inner part, in the upper story, towards the area, be formed into galleries and walls, well walled and covered, for the use of convalescents.'

\(^71\) After Of the Pallace. Nam de Balneis, et Piscinis non, loquor, 'for I say nothing of the baths and ponds.'

\(^72\) Greene. Viridis, granime vestita. 'green, clothed with grass.'

\(^73\) Second Court. Et juxta Parietem Arboribus, ordine positis, sata area altera, 'and another area with trees planted in order near the wall.'

\(^74\) Of the same. Ejusdem amplitudinis, 'of the same size.'
Court, to make a Square with the Front, but not to be built, but nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with Tarrasses, Leaded aloft, and fairely garnished, on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for Offices, let them stand at Distance, with some Low Galleries, to passe from them to the Pallace it Selfe.

75 Built. *Ædificio aliquo circumdatam, 'surrounded with a building.'*
76 Leaded. *Plumbo, vel Lapide Quadrato, coopertis, 'covered with lead or square stones.'*
77 Garnished. *Elegantibus Statuis parvis, aeci coloris, munitis, 'garnished with fair small statues of a brazen colour.'*
78 Offices. *Ad Ædificia omnia, quæ usibus familiaribus inserviunt, 'all the buildings which serve for household purposes.'*
79 Distance. *Distantiam, a Palatio ipso, 'distance from the palace itself.'*
80 Low. *Humiliores et obtectae, 'low and concealed.'*
Of Gardens.

OD Almighty, first Planted a Garden. And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane Pleasure. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which, Buildings and Pallaces are but Groffe Handy-works: And a Man shall ever fee, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegance, Men come to Build Stately, sooner then to Garden Finely. As if Gardening were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of Gardens, there ought to be Gardens, for all the Moneths in the Yeare: In which, feuerally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. For December, and January, and the Latter Part of November, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Iuy; Bayes; Juniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lauander; Periwinkle, the White, the Purple, and the Blene; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stirred; And Sweet Marioram warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of January, and February, the Mezerion. Variations in posthumous Latin Edition of 1638.

1 God Almighty. Deus ipse, 'God himself.'
2 Is the greatest Refreshment. Restit et oblectat, 'restores and delights.'
3 Grose. Nec sapiunt Naturam, 'and have no savour of nature.'
4 Garden Finely. Ad Hortorum Elegantium et Amoentatem, 'to elegance and pleasantness of gardens.'
5 Gardening. Elegantia illa Hortorum, 'that elegance of gardens.'
6 Ordering of. Omitted in the Latin.
7 Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. Plantae, quae illo Mense florent et vigint, product sunt, 'plants, which flourish and bloom in that month, may be grown.'
8 After Eugh. Buxus, 'box.'
9 Blene. [A misprint for blue.] Cornuca, 'blue.'
10 Flagges. Irides quoad Foliis, 'flags for the leaves.'
11 If they be stirred. Si Caridariis conservantur, 'if they be stoved.'
12 Warme set. Fuxia Parieiem et versus Solen satus, 'set near the wall and towards the sun.'
13 Mezerion. Arbustum Chamaeleo Germanico, sive Mezerontis. [John Gerard, M.D., in his Herball, p. 1216. Ed. 1597, fol. calls this "The Spurge Flaxe, or the Dwarffe Bay. . . . Which the Dutch men call Mezeron, is a small shrub about two cubits high."]
Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiaacynthus Orientalis; Camaïris; Frettellaria. For *March*, there come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In *April* follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Coustip; Flower-De-licies, and Lillies of Natures; Rosemary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Blossome; The Dammasin, and Plum Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne in Leaf; The Lelacke Tree. In *May*, and *June*, come Pincks of all sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Bugloss; Columbine; The French Mary-gold; Flos Africanus; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raspes; Vine Flowers; Lauender in Flowers; The Sweet Sautyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Mucaria; Lilium Conuallium; The Apple-tree in Blossome. In *July*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muske Roses; The Lime-Tree in blossom; Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit; Ginnitings; Quadlins. In *August*, come Plummes of all sorts in Fruit; Apricockes; Berberries; Filberds; Muske-Melons;

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14 Wall-flower. *Parietaria lutea*, 'yellow wallflower.'
15 Stock-Gilly-Flower. *Leucoium*, 'white violet.'
16 Pale. *Venus*, 'true.'
17 French. *Subaudieum*, 'of Savoy.'
18 Plum. *Prunus diversi generis*, 'plums of various kinds.'
19 White-Thorne. *Acanthus*.
22 In Fruit. *Flos Cynneus*, 'corn-flower.'
23 Ginnitings; Quadlins. *Poma*, 'apples.'
24 In Fruit. Omitted in the Latin.
Monks Hoods, of all colours. In September, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens; Quinces. In October, and the beginning of November, come Services; Medlars; Bullifes; Roses Cut or Remoued to come late; and such like. These Particulars are for the Climate of London; But my meaning is Perceived, that you may have Wer Perpetuum, as the Place affords.

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

a A perpetual spring.

26 Monks Hoods. Delphinum, sive Consolida Regalis, 'wolf's bane.'
27 Cut or Remoued to come late. Serve, 'late.'
28 Hollyokes. Malvae arborescentes flave Roseo, 'hollyoaks with rose-coloured flowers.'
29 In the hand. Eos decerpas manum, 'you pluck them with your hand.'
30 Delight. Delectationem illam, qua ex Odore Florum percipitur, 'that delight which is received from the scent of flowers.'
31 Plants. Plantas, quae adhuc crescentes, nec avulsae, 'plants which are still growing and not plucked.'
32 Perfume. Maxime emitunt Auras suaves, et Aerem Odore perfundunt, 'mostly emit sweet breath and perfume the air.'
33 After Red. Dum crescenti, 'while they grow.'
34 After Smell. Nee Aerem tingunt, 'and do not affect the air.'
35 No Smell. Odoris parum, 'little smell.'
36 Comes. Floret, 'flowers'
37 Bartholomew-tide. Finem Augusti, 'end of August.'
Strawberry Leaues dying, which [yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little duft, like the duft of a Bent, which growes upon the Clufter, in the Firſt coming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be set under a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, specially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, fo they be somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which Perfume the Aire most delightfully, not passe by as the rest, but being Troden vpon and Crushed, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Allies of them, to haue the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For Gardens, (Speaking of those, which are indeed Prince-like, as we haue done of Buildings) the Contents, ought not well to be, vnder Thirty Acres of Ground; And to be diuided into three Parts: A Greene in the Entrance; A Heath or Defart in the Going forth; And the Garden in the middeſt; besides Alleys, on both Sides. And I like well, that Four Acres of Ground, be assigned to the Greene; Six to the Heath; Four and Four to either Side; And Twelue to the Maine Garden. The Greene hath two pleasures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then Greene Graffe kept finelly florne; The other, because it will giue you a faire Alley in the midſt, by which you may go in front vpon a Stately Hedge, which is to...

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38 Bent. *In caule Plantaginis, 'on the stalk of a plantain.'*
39 Specially the Matted Pinck, and Cloue Gilly-flower. *Tum minores, quam majores, 'both small and large.'*
40 After A farre off. *Tum flores lavendule, 'the lavender flowers.'*
41 Not passed by as the rest. Omitted in the Latin.
42 Tread. *Vt Odorem corum calcando exprimas, 'that you may press out their smell by treading on them.'*
43 Heath. *Fruicicetum, 'thicket.'*
44 After to either Side. *Ad Ambulacra, 'for walks planted with trees.'*
inclose the Garden. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the Garden, by Going in the Sunne thorow the Greene, therefore you are, of either Side the Greene, to Plant a Couert Alley, vpon Carpenters Worke, about Twelue Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the Garden, As for the Making of Knots, or Figures, with Divers Coloured Earths, that they may lie vnder the Windowes of the House, on that Side, which the Garden stands, they be but Toyes: You may see as good Sights, many times, in Tarts. The Garden is best to be Square; Incompaffed, on all the Foure Sides, with a Stately Arched Hedge. The Arches to be vpon Pillars, of Carpenters Worke, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the Spaces between, of the fame Dimenfion, with the Breadth of the Arch. Over the Arches, let there bee an Entire Hedge, of some Foure Foot High, framed also vpon Carpenters Worke: And vpon the Upper Hedge, over every Arch, a little Turret, with a Belly, enough to receiue a Cage of Birds: And over every Space, betweene the Arches, some other little Figure, with Broad Plates of Round Coloured Glaffe, gilt, for the Sunne, to Play vpon. But this Hedge I intend to be, raifed vpon a Bancke, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of some Six Foot, set all with Flowers. Also I vnderstand, that this Square of the Garden, should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leauue, on either Side, Ground enough, for diuersity of Side Alleys: Vnto which, the Two Couert Alleys of the Greene, may deliuer you. But there must be, no Alleys with Hedges, at either End,

45 As good Sights. *Talia, 'such things.'
46 Framed. Omitted in the Latin.
47 Little Figure. *Figure insaurata, 'gilt figures.'
48 Gilt. Omitted in the Latin.
of this great Inclosure: \(^{49}\) Not at the Hither End, \(^{50}\) for letting your Prospect upon this Faire Hedge from the Greene; Nor at the Further End, \(^{51}\) for letting your Prospect from the Hedge, \(^{52}\) through the Arches, upon the Heath.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the Great Hedge, \(^{53}\) I leave it to Variety of Device; Admiring neverthelesse, that whatsoever forme you cast it into, first be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, do not like Images Cut out in Juniper, or other Garden stuffe: They be for Children. Little low Hedges, Round, like VVelts, \(^{54}\) with some Pretty Pyramids, I like well: And in some Places, Faire Columnes \(^{55}\) vpon Frames of Carpenters VWorke. \(^{56}\) I would also, have the Alleys, Spacious and Faire. You may have Closer \(^{57}\) Alleys vpon the Side Grounds, but none in the Maine Garden. \(^{58}\) I wish also, in the very Middle, a Faire Mount, with three Ascents, and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breaft; Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes, \(^{59}\) or Imbosments; \(^{60}\) And the Whole Mount, to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine Banquettting House, with some Chimneys neatly cast, and without too much Glasse.

For Fountains, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But Pooles marre all, and make the Garden

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\(^{49}\) Either end, of this great Inclosure. *Ad Introitum et Exitum Porti,* 'at the entrance and outlet of the garden.'

\(^{50}\) Hither End. *Introitus,* 'entrance.'

\(^{51}\) Further End. *Exitus,* 'outlet.'

\(^{52}\) From the Hedge. Omitted in the Latin.

\(^{53}\) Great Hedge. *Claustrum sepis,* 'boundary of the hedge.'

\(^{54}\) Welts. *Fimbriarum,* 'a fringe [or border].'

\(^{55}\) Faire Columnes. *Columnas etiam, et Pyramides alta,* 'high columns also and pyramids.'

\(^{56}\) After Carpenters Worke. *In aliqibus locis sparsas, Sepibus vestitas,* 'set apart in places covered with hedges.'

\(^{57}\) Closer. *Angustiora et obtectiora,* 'narrow and more concealed.'

\(^{58}\) Maine Garden. *In Pomerio Hortii precipit,* 'in the outside of the main garden.'

\(^{59}\) Bulwarkes. *Figuris Propignaculorum,* 'figures of bulwarks.'

\(^{60}\) Imbosments. Omitted in the Latin.
v whole, and full of Flies, and Frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that Sprineckleth or Spouteth Water; The Other a Faire Receipt of Water, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the Ornaments of Images Gilt, or of Marble, which are in use, doe well: But the maine Matter is so to Conuey the Water, as it neuer Stay, either in the Bowles, or in the Ceferne; That the Water be neuer by Rest Discoloured, Greene, or Red, or the like; Or gather any Mossiness or Putrefacion. Besides that, it is to be cleansed euery day by the Hand. Also some Steps vp to it, and some Fine Pauement about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of Fountaine, which we may call a Bathing Poole, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selues: As, that the Bottome be finely Paued, And with Images: The fides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasfe, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point, is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde of Fountaine; which is, that the Water be in Perpetuall Motion, Fed by a Water higher then the Poole, and Delivered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away vnder Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it play little. And for fine Deuices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rife in feuerall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,)

61 After Spouteth Water. Cum Crateribus suis, 'with its basins.'
62 Water. Aqae pura, 'pure water.'
63 Neuer Stay. Perpetuo fluat, Nec consistat, 'flows continuously and does not stay.'
64 Euery day. Quotidie, ut maneat limpida, 'every day, that it may remain clear.'
65 Finely Paued. Decoratum, 'adorned with.'
66 Fine Railes. Clausura, 'enclosure.'
67 And the like. Campanarum et similia; Etiam rupes artificiosas, et hujusmodi, 'bells and the like; also, artificial rock and the like.'
they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetneffe.

For the Heath, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a Naturall wildnesse. Trees I would haue none in it;\(^68\) But some Thickets, made onely of Sweet-Briar, and Honny-fuckle, and some Wilde Vine amongst; And the Ground set with Violets, Strawberries, and Prime-Roses. For these are Sweet,\(^69\) and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the Heath, here and there, not in any Order.\(^70\) I like also little Heaps, in the Nature of Mole-hils, (such as are in Wilde Heathes) to be set, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that giues a good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinckle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couflips; Some with Daifies; Some with Red-Roses; Some with Lilium Conuallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beares-Foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which Heapes, to be with Standards, of little Bushes,\(^71\) prickt upon their Top, and Part without. The Standards to be Roses; Juniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;\(^72\) Red

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\(^{68}\) After None in it. Nisi quod in aliquibus locis, erigi precipitio Arborum series, que in Vertice Ambulacra continent, Ramis Arborum cooerpera, cum Fenestris. Subjaceat autem Pars Soli Floribus Odoris suavis abunde con-sita, qui Auras in superius exhalent; Alias Fruticeum apertura esse sine Arboribus velim, 'except that in some places I should direct rows of trees to be planted, which may cover the paths with their top branches, leaving openings; a part, moreover, should be exposed to the sun, and plentifully planted with flowers of sweet odours, to exhale their breath above.' Otherwise, I should have the heath open without trees.'

\(^{69}\) Sweet. Jucundum spirant Odorem, 'breathe a pleasant smell.'

\(^{70}\) And these are to be in the Heath, here and there, not in any Order. Dumeta autem, et Ambulacra super Arborum, spargi columnas ad placitum, non ordine aliquo collocati, 'thickets and the walks without the trees, I would have scattered according to pleasure, not placed in any order.'

\(^{71}\) Standards, of little Bushes. Frutices, 'shrubs.'

\(^{72}\) Smell of their Blossome. Odoris gravitatem, 'strength of their smell.'
OF GARDENS.

V. 1625. aet. 65.

Currians; Goose-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these Standards, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the Side Grounds, you are to fill them with Varietie of Alleys, Private, to give a full Shade; Some of them, wheresoeuer the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these Closer Alleys, must bee very finely Gravelled, and no Grass, because of Going wet. In many of these Alleys likewise, you are to set Fruit-Trees of all Sorts; As well upon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally obserued, that the Borders, wherein you plant your Fruit-Trees, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with Fine Flowers, but thin and sparingly, left they Deceiue the Trees. At the End of both the Side Grounds, I would have a Mount of some Pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclofure, Brest high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the Maine Garden, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire Alleys, ranged on both Sides, with Fruit Trees; And some Pretty Tufts of Fruit Trees, And Arbours with Seats, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by no Meanes, set too thicke; But to leave the Maine Garden, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for Shade, I would haue you ref, upon the Alleys of the Side Grounds, there to walke, if you be Dispos'd, in the Heat of the Year, or day; But to make Account,

73 Borders. Terra elevata, 'raised ground.'
74 Faire. Omitted in the Latin.
75 Sparing. Omitted in the Latin.
76 Deceiue. Smecco defrundent, 'rob of moisture.'
77 Faire. Minime angusta, 'not narrow.'
78 After Of the Year. Vernalis et autumnales, 'spring and autumn.'
that the Maine Garden, is for the more Temperate 
Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for 
the Morning, and the Euening, or Ouer-caft Dayes.
For Auiaries, I like them not, except they be of that 
Largenesse, as they may be Turffed, and haue Liuing 
Plants, and Bushes, set in them; That the Birds may 
haue more Scope, and Natural Nestling, and that 
no Foulenesse appeare, in the Floare of the Auiary.
So I haue made a Platform of a Princely Garden, 
Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, 
but some generall Lines of it; And in this I haue 
spared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for Great 
Princes, that for the moft Part, taking Aduice with 
Workmen, with no Lefse Cost, fet their Things 
together; And sometimes adde Statu'ds, and fuch 
Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to 
the true Pleasure of a Garden.

73 Scope. Liberius volitent, et se per diversa oblectare, 'fly about freely 
and enjoy themselves in divers ways.'
70 Naturall Nestling. Componere, 'settle.'
81 This paragraph follows after Auiary. Quantum vero ad Ambulaeira 
in Clivis, et variis Ascensibus amennis conficienda, illa nature Dona sunt, 
nec ubique extru possunt: Nos autem ea posuimus, que omni loco con-
venient, 'as to walks to be made on a slope, and with various pleasing 
ascents, these are the gifts of nature, and cannot be made everywhere. We, 
however, have mentioned what suits every place.'
82 By Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it. Partim 
modulo generali, sed minime accurato, 'partly by a general model but not 
a detailed one.'
83 Workmen. Hortulanos, 'gardeners.'
84 Cost. Sumptu, parum cum Judicio, 'cost, with little judgment.'
85 Pleasure. Voluptatem et Amabilitatem, 'pleasure and delight.'
57. Of Anger.

O seeke to extinguish Anger utterly, is but a Bravery of the Stoicks. We haue better Oracles: Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe down vpon your Anger. Anger must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, To be Angry, may be attempred, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of Anger, may be represed, or at leaft refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raife Anger, or appease Anger in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminate well, vpon the Effects of Anger, how it troubles Mans life. And the best Time, to doe this, is, to looke backe vpon Anger, when the Fitt is throughly ouer. Seneca faith well; That Anger is like Ruine, which breaks it Selfe, upon that it fall's. The Scripture exhorteth vs; To poiffe our Soules in Patience. Whosoeuer is out of Patience, is out of Possession of his Soule. Men mufl not turne Bees;

--- Animasque in vulnere ponunt.\(^d\)

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse? As it appears well, in the Weaknesse of those Subiects, in


1 Limited, and confined. *Limites Ira apponendi sunt,* 'limits must be set to anger.'
2 Meditate and Ruminate. *Serio in animo revolvas,* 'turn over seriously in your mind.'
3 Effects. *Mala et Calamitates,* 'evils and disasters.'
4 Troubles. *Vehementer perturbat et infestat,* 'violently troubles and attacks.'
5 Breaks. *Commuit et frangit,* 'splits and breaks.'
6 Turne. *Imitari,* 'imitate.'
7 Basenesse. *Res humilis est, et infra Dignitatem Hominis,* 'is a base thing and beneath the dignity of man.'

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\(^a\) Ephes. iv. 26.
\(^b\) Seneca. *De Ira.* i. 1.
\(^c\) Luke. xxii. 19.
\(^d\) *And lay down their lives in the wound.* Virgil. *Georgies.* iv. 238.
whom it reignes: Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware, that they carry their Anger, rather with Scorne, then with Feare: So that they may seeme rather, to be aboue the Injury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will giue Law to himselfe in it.

For the Second Point: The Caufes and Motives of Anger, are chiefly three. First, to be too Sensible of Hurt: For no Man is Angry, that Feele not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft Angry: They haue so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robuft Natures haue little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Injury offered, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of Contempt. For Contempt is that which putteth an Edge vpon Anger, as much, or more, then the Hurt it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of Contempt, they doe kindle their Anger much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans Reputation, doth multiply and sharpen Anger. Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man shoulde haue, as

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8 As it appeares ... reignes. *Hoc liquebit, si illos intueamur, in quibus Ira regnat*: *Qui plerumque ex Infirmitibus sunt*, 'this will be plain, if we look at those in whom anger reigns, who are generally of the weaker sort.'

9 Beware. *Cum irasci contigerit, caveant Homines (si modo Dignitatis sue velint esse memoris)*, 'men must beware, when they happen to be angry, if at least they wish to remember their dignity.'

10 Feare. *Meu eorum quibus irascentur*, 'fear of those with whom they are angry.'

11 Giue Law to himselfe in it. *Iram suam, paullum regat, et deflectat*, 'will gradually rule and bend his anger.'

12 Apprehension and Construction, of the Injury offered. *Si quis Curiousus et perspicax sit, in Interpretatione Injurie illa*, 'if one is particular and sharp-sighted in the interpretation of an injury offered to him.'

13 Full of. *Spiraret*, 'breathe.'

14 Contempt. *Opinio contempsit*, 'opinion of contempt.'

15 Putteth an Edge vpon. *Excitit et acuit*, 'rouses and sharpens.'

16 As much. Omitted in the Latin.

17 In picking out Circumstances of Contempt. *Ad ista*, 'in that.'

18 Opinion ... Reputation. *Opinio Contumeliam, sicque Existimatio Hominis per consequemiam dedatur et ferstringatur*, 'opinion of insult, or that the reputation of the man will be in consequence hurt and dulled.'

19 remedy. *Remedium praeventum*, 'prevention.'
LVII. OF ANGER.

1625. act. 65.

Confaluo was wont to say, Telam Honoris crasfiorum.

But in all Refrainings of Anger, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleuee, that the Opportunity of his Renenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, and referue it.

To containe Anger from Mischiefe, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must haue speciall Caution. The one, of extreme Bitternesse of Words; Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper: For Communia Maleficia are nothing so much: And againe, that in Anger, a Man reueale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not peremptorily break off, in any Buisinesse, in a Fit of Anger: But howsoeuer you shew Bitternes, do not Act any thing, that is not Renoucable.

For Raising and Appeasing Anger in Another; It is done chiefly, by Choosing of Times. When Men are frowardest and worft disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggravate the Contempt. And the two Remedies are by the Con-

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a A thicker web of honour.

b Common revilings.

20 Foresees a Time. Sed instare, quasi ad manum, Opportunitatem aliquam majorem, 'but that a greater opportunity is just at hand.'

21 Himselfe. Motum animi, 'the working of his mind.'

22 Reserve it. Se in Tempus aliquid servare, 'reserve himself for another time.'

23 Containe Anger from Mischief. Ut citra noxam erumpat, 'that it may break out without doing mischief.'

24 Aculeate and Proper. Aculeatorum et ei, quem ferimus, propriorum, 'stinging and appropriate to him whom we attack.'

25 Are nothing so much. Mordent minus, 'bite less.'

26 Shew Bitternes. Ira frenum laxet, 'loose the bridle of anger.'

27 Choosing. Electionem prudentem, 'wise choosing.'

28 To incense them. Tempus est iram incendendi, 'is the time to kindle anger.'

29 Gatherine. Ut antea diximus, decerpendo et inculcando, 'as we have said before by gathering and insisting on.'

30 Aggrauate. Arguerent aut aggravare, 'prove or aggravate.'

31 The two Remedies. Ira sedatur, 'anger is calmed.'
V. 1625. æt. 65.

The Former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a Man, an Angry Businesse: For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to feuer, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury, from the Point of Contempt: Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.

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32 Good. *Serena, et ad Hilaritatem prona,* 'calm and disposed to cheerfulness.'
33 Angry. *Ingratum, et ad Ircundiam provocans,* 'unpleasant and provocative of anger.'
34 The Construction of. Omitted in the Latin.
35 The Point of. Omitted in the Latin.
36 Passion. *Animi Concussioni repentina,* 'sudden excitement of the mind.'
ALOMON faith; There is no New Thing upon the Earth.\(^a\) So that as Plato had an Imagination; That all Knowledge was but Rememberance: So Salomon gieuth his Sentence; That all Noueltie is but Oblivion.\(^b\) Whereby you may see, that the River of Lethe, runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an abstru\(^1\) Astrologer that faith; If it were not, for two things, that are Constant; (The one is, that the Fixed Starres ever stand at like distance, one from another, and never come nearer together, nor goe further asunder; The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time.\(^2\) No Individual would last one Moment. Certain it is, that the Matter, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and never at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Oblivion, are two; Deluges, and Earth-quakes. As for Conflagrations, and great Droughts, they doe not meerely dispeople, and destroy.\(^3\) Phaetons Carre went but a day.\(^4\) And the Three yeares Drought, in the time of Elias, was but Particular, and left People\(^5\) Aliue. As for the great Burnings by Lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow.\(^6\) But in the other two Destructions, by Deluge, and Earth-quake, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be refered, are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can

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\(^a\) Eccles. i. 9.
\(^b\) Phaedrus. 72 c. Menæ. 81 d.
\(^1\) Abstruse. Abstrusus, et parum notus, ‘abstruse and little known.’
\(^2\) Perpetually keepeth Time. Non variet. ‘does not vary.’
\(^3\) And destroy. Aut destruunt, ‘or destroy.’
\(^4\) Phaetons Carre went but a day. Fabula Phaetonis, Brevisatem Conflagrationis, ad unum tantum Dici spatium, representavit, ‘the fable of Phaeton represented the shortness of a conflagration, lasting only for one day.’
\(^5\) People. Multos, ‘many.’
\(^6\) After Narrow. Nec magna spatia occupant. Pestilentias etiam prætereo, quia nec illæ totaliter absorbent, ‘nor occupy a great space. Pestilences also I pass over, as they do not totally destroy.’
give no Account,\(^7\) of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you consider well, of the People of the \textit{West Indies},\(^8\) it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by Earth-quakes, (As the \textit{Egyptian} Priest told Solon, concerning the Island of \textit{Atlantis}; \textit{That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake;}\) But rather, that it was desolated,\(^9\) by a Particular \textit{Deluge}. For Earth-quakes are seldom in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such \textit{Powring}\(^10\) Rivers, as the \textit{Rivers} of \textit{Asia}, and \textit{Affrick}, and \textit{Europe}, are but Brookes to them. Their \textit{Andes} likewise, or Mountains, are farre higher, then those with us; Whereby it feemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a Particular \textit{Deluge}, faued. As for the Observation, that Macchiavel hath, that the \textit{Jealousie}\(^11\) of \textit{Seers}, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things;\(^a\) Traducing \textit{Gregory} the \textit{Great}, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not finde, that those Zeales, doe any great \textit{Effects}, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of \textit{Sabinian}, who did reuine the former Antiquities.\(^12\)

The \textit{Vicissitude} or \textit{Mutations}, in the \textit{Superiour Globe}, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, \textit{Plato's great Year}, if the World should laft so long,\(^13\) would have some \textit{Effect}; Not in renew-

\(^a\) Macchiavelli. \textit{Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio}. ii. 5.

\(^7\) Giue no Account. \textit{Memoriam Posteris tradere}, 'hand down the re-collection to their descendants.'

\(^8\) Of the People of the West Indies. \textit{Indorum Occidentalium Conditionem}, 'condition of the West Indians.'

\(^9\) Desolated. Omitted in the Latin.

\(^10\) Powring. \textit{Immania et vasta}, 'strong and great.'

\(^11\) Jealousie. \textit{Zelotypian et Aemulationem}, 'jealousy and rivalry.'

\(^12\) After Former Antiquities. \textit{Tum vero prohibita, licet Tenebris coeperta, obreput tamen, et suas nasciscantur Periodos}, 'then, indeed, what is forbidden, even if covered in darkness, creeps out and has its time.'

\(^13\) Last so long. \textit{Nisi Mundus ante Dissolutioni esset destinatus}, 'unless the world is destined to dissolution before that.'
OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

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ing the State of like Individualls (for that is the Fume of those, that conceiue the Celestiall Bodies, haue more accurate Influences, vpon these Things below, then indeed they haue) but in grosse. Comets, out of question, haue likewise Power and Effect, ouer the Groffe and Massie of Things: But they are rather gazd vpon, and waited vpon in their Journey, then wisely observerd in their Effects; Specially in their Respectiuæ Effects; That is, what Kinde of Comet, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heauen, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I haue heard, and I would not haue it giuen ouer, but waited vpon a little. They say, it is observerd, in the Low Countries (I know not in what Part) that Every Fiue and Thirtie years, The same Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet. Great Droughts, Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the Prime. It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I haue found some Concurrence.

But to leaue these Points of Nature, and to come to Men. The greatest Vicissitude of Things amongst

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14 Fume. Fumus et Vanitas, 'fume and vanity.'
15 Groffe. Summis et massis rerum, 'the sum and mass of things.'
16 Power and Effect. Aliquid operatur, 'work something.'
17 After Masse of Things. Verum Hominæ, ut nun est, diligenter, et curiosi, circa eos sunt, 'but men at present are not careful or curious about them.'
18 But they are rather ... in their Effects. Eosque potius mirabundæ spectant; Atque Itineraria corundem conficiunt, quam effectus corum prudenter et sobrie notant, 'and they rather gaze at them with wonder and make records of their path, than wisely and soberly observe their effects.'
19 Colour. Coloris et Lúsæ, 'colour and light.'
20 After Heauen. Tempestatis Anni; Semitiæ aut Cursus, 'the season of the year; the path or course.'
21 I know not in what Part. Omitted in the Latin.
22 It the Prime. Hujusmodi Circum Annorum, Primam, 'this kind of circle of the years—the prime.'
23 Concurrence. Congruentiam; haud exactam sane, sed non multum discrepantem, 'concurrence; not really exact, but not very different.'
Men, is the Vicissitude of Sects, and Religions. For thofe Orbs rule in Mens Minds moft. The True Religion is built upon a Rocke; The Rest are toft upon the Waues of Time. To speake therefore, of the Causes of New Sects; And to giue some Counsell concerning them; As farre, as the Weaknesse of Humane Judgement, can giue stay to fo great Reuolutions.

When the Religion formerly received, is rent by Discords; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of Religion is decayed, and full of Scandall; And withall the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt the Springing vp of a New Sect; If then also there should arise, any Extravagant and Strange Spirit, to make himselfe Author thereof.

All which Points held, when Mahomet publish'd his Law. If a New Sect haue not two Properties, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the oppofing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giuing Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for Speculative Heresies (fuch as were in Ancient Times the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they worke mightily vpon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States: except it be by the Helpe of Ciuill Occafions. There be three Manner of Plantations of New Sects. By the Power of Signes and Miracles: By the Eloquence and Wisedome of Speech and Perswasion: And by

\[\text{24} \text{ Give stay. Moras inicere, ant Remedia exhibere, 'give stay or apply remedies.'}\]
\[\text{25} \text{ Formerly. Omitted in the Latin.}\]
\[\text{26} \text{ Doubt. Metuendum, 'fear.'}\]
\[\text{27} \text{ Strange. Paradoxa spirans, 'breathing paradoxes.'}\]
\[\text{28} \text{ To make himselfe Author thereof. Omitted in the Latin.}\]
\[\text{29} \text{ New Sect. Secta nova, licet pullulet, 'a new sect though it is produced.'}\]
\[\text{30} \text{ Supplanting. Omitted in the Latin.}\]
\[\text{31} \text{ Then that. Quam Principatus, et Politias, convellere, 'than to attack sovereignties and governments.'}\]
\[\text{32} \text{ Giuing Licence. Porta aperta, 'an open gate.'}\]
\[\text{33} \text{ Signes. Omitted in the Latin.}\]
\[\text{34} \text{ And Wisedome of Speech and Perswasion. Omitted in the Latin.}\]
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the Sword. For Martyrdomes, I reckon them amongst Miracles; Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe the like of Superlatine and Admirable Holiness of Life. Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the Rising of New Sects, and Schismes; then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off the Principall Authours, by Winning and Advancing them, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The Changes and Vicissitude in Warres are many: But chiefly in three Things; In the Seats or Stages\(^35\) of the Warre; In the Weapons; And in the Manner of the Conduelt. Warres in ancient Time, seemd more to move from East to West. For the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the Invaders) were all Eastern People. It is true, the Gaules were Western: But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to Gallo-Grecia, the other to Rome. But East and West haue no certaine Points of Heauen: And no more haue the Warres, either from the East, or West, any Certainty of Observation. But North and South are fixed: And it hath seldome or neuer been seene, that the farre Southern People haue invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the Northern Tract of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are upon the North, whereas the South Part, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the Northern Parts, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline,\(^40\)

\(^35\) Proceed. *A principio procedere, 'proceed from the beginning.'

\(^36\) Take off. *Molleare atque allecere, 'soothe and entice.'

\(^37\) Or Stages. Omitted in the Latin.

\(^38\) Manner of the Conduct. *Disciplina militari, 'military training.'

\(^39\) Fixed. *Natura fixi, 'fixed by nature.'

\(^40\) Without Aid of Discipline. *Absque alia Caussa quaecunque, 'without any other cause.'
doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest. 41

Upon the Breaking and Shinering of a great State 42 and Empire, you may be sure to have Warres. For great Empires, while they stand, doe eneruate and destroy the Forces of the Natives, which they have subdued, resting upon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. 43 So was it, in the Decay of the Roman Empire; And likewise, in the Empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every Bird taking a Fether; And were not unlike to befall to Spaine, if it should break. 44 The great Accessions 45 and Unions of Kingdomes, doe likewise stirre vp Warres. For when a State growes to an Ouer-power, it is like a great Floud, 46 that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seene, in the States of Rome, Turky, Spaine, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest Barbarous Peoples, 47 but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live; 48 (As it is almost euer where at this day, except Tartary) there is no Danger of Inundations 49 of People: But when there be great Shoales of People, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing 50 Means of Life 51 and Sustentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or

41 After Warmest. Ut liquet in populo Araucensi; qui ad ulteriora Austri positi, omnibus Peruvianisibus Fortitudine longe precellunt, 'as is seen in the people of Arauco, who seated at the farthest east, far surpass all the Peruvians in courage.'
42 State. Omitted in the Latin.
43 Prey. Alis Gentibus in preadem, 'a prey to other nations.'
44 Break. Viribus decideret, 'fail in strength.'
45 Accessions. Accessiones Ditionum, 'accessions of dominion.'
46 Great Floud. Fluvio intumescenti, 'a swelling flood.'
47 After Barbarous Peoples. Sed Civiliores fere sunt, 'but are mostly more civilized.'
48 Liue. Familiam alendi, aut saltem Victum parandi, 'raise a family or at least get food.'
49 Inundations. Inundationibus aut Migrationibus, 'inundations or migrations.'
50 Without foreseeing. In futurum minime solliciti, 'not careful for the future.'
51 Means of Life. Fortunis, 'fortunes.'
two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations: Which the ancient Northern People, were wont to doe by Lot: casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a Warre-like State growes Soft and Effeminate, they may be sure of a Warre. For commonly such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inuiteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the Weapons, hardly falleth under Rule and Observaion: yet we see, euyn they haue Returnes and Vicissitudes. For certain it is, that Ordnance was known in the Citty of the Oxidrakes in India; And was that, which the Macedonians called Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne, that the use of Ordnance hath been in China, above 2000. yeares. The Conditions of Weapons, and their Improuement are; Firft, the Fetching a farre of. For that outruns the Danger. As it is seen in Ordnance and Muskets. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherin likewise Ordnance doe exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inuentions. The third is, the commodious vse of them: As that they may

52 Discharge . . . nations. Exonere.cnt, et novas Sedes querunt; et sic alias Nationes invadant, 'discharge, and seek new settlements, and so invade other nations.'
53 Seekes their Fortunes. Alio migraret, 'migrate elsewhere.'
54 A Warre. Gentes alias, ad eosdem invadendos, 'other nations to invade them.'
55 Weapons. Armorum et telorum genus, 'the kind of arms and missile weapons.'
56 It. Ilorum mutationes, 'their changes.'
57 Ordnance. Tormenta Ænea, 'brass ordnance.'
58 Known. Tempore Alexandri Magni cognita, 'known in the time of Alexander the Great.'
59 Called. Habita et appellata, 'considered and called.'
60 Ordnance. Pulveris Pyrii, et Tormentorum igneorum, 'gunpowder and fire-arms.'
61 Fetching a farre off. Ad Distantiam majorem feriant, 'striking at a greater distance.'
62 Danger. Periculum, ab Hostili parte, 'danger from the enemy.'
63 Arietations. Arietationes.
64 Commodious. Commodior et facilior sit; Id quod etiam Tormentis Ignis Majoribus competit, 'more commodious and easy; which also belongs to ordnance.'
in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

For the Conduct of the Warre: At the first, Men rested extremely upon Number: They did put the Warres likewise upon Maine Force, and Valour; Pointing Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, upon an euen Match: And they were more ignorant in Ranging and Arraying their Battalies. After they grew to rest upon Number, rather Competent, then Vaft: They grew to Advantages of Place, Cunning Diversions, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the Ordering of their Battalies.

In the Youth of a State, Armes doe flourish: In the Middle Age of a State, Learning; And then both of them together, for a time: In the Declining Age of a State, Mechanical Arts and Merchandize. Learning hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile; Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhausit. But it is not good, to looke too long, upon these turning Wheeles of Vicissitude, lest we become Giddy. As for the Philology of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

65 Pointing Dayes. Dies et loca constituebant, 'appointing days and places.'
66 Beginning. Leviuscula, 'trifling.'
67 After Exhausit. Manente etiam Garrulitate, 'the loquaciousness also remaining.'
68 Turning. Omitted in the Latin.
69 Of them. Que in hoc Argumento, ut plurimum, versatur, 'which is much used on this subject.'
70 Circle of Tales. Narratiuncularum et Observationum futilium Congeries quaedam, 'a mass of tales and useless observations.'
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Of Fame, a fragment. [579]
A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY, OF FAME.

He Poets make Fame a Monster. They describe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, grauely, and sententiously. They say, look how many Feathers she hath, so many Eyes she hath vnderneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a flourish: There follow excellent Parables; As that, she gathereth firength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a Watch Tower, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terrour to great Citties: But that, which passeth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the Earth, Mother of the Gyants, that made War against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth Fame: For certain it is, That Rebels, figured by the Gyants, and Seditious Fames, and Libels, are but Brothers, and SiIiers; Masculine, and Feminine. But now, if a Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected, with the flile of the Poets. To speak now, in a sad, and serious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a Place, lesse handled, and
more worthy to be handled, then this of Fame. We will, therefore, speak of these points. What are false Fames; And what are true Fames; And how they may be best discerned; How Fames, may be fown, and raised; How they may be spread, and multiplied; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the Nature of Fame. Fame, is of that force, as there is, scarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a Fame, that he scattered; That Vitellius had in purpose, to remove the Legions of Syria, into Germany; And the Legions of Germany, into Syria: whereupon the Legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Caesar, took Pompey unprovided, and layed asleep his industry, and preparations, by a Fame that he cunningly gave out; How Caesar's own Soldiery loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the spoiles of Gaul, would forlorn him, as soon as he came into Italy. Livia, setled all things, for the Succession, of her Son Tiberius, by continuall giving out, that her husband Augustus, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing, with the Basflawes, to conceive the Death of the Great Turk from the Fannizaries, and men of War, to save the Sacking of Constantinople, and other Towns, as their Manner is. Themistocles, made Zerxes, king of Persia poach apace out of Gracia, by giving out, that the Greeks, had a purpose, to break his Bridge, of Ships, which he had made athwart Hellepsont. There be a thousand such like Examples; And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wise Governors, have as great a watch, and care, over Fames, as they have, of the Actions, and Designes themselves.

The rest was not Finished.
**ADDITIONAL NOTES**

**LORD BACON AND HIS WRITINGS.**

We fairly despair of giving any adequate representation of either the Author or his Works. Some vital contemporary testimony has been adduced at pp. xi.-xxi.; and the few following notes, which are all our space will admit, may be taken simply as a handful of gleanings out of a vast harvest.

**1558.** Nov. 17. Elizabeth succeeds to the throne.

**1560.** Jan. 22. Francis Bacon is born at York House.


**1579.** He becomes a Student of his Inn. Harl. MS. 1912.

**1582.** June 27. He becomes an 'Utter Barrister.' Harl. MS. 1912.

**1586.** He becomes a Bencher of Gray's Inn. Harleian MS. 1912.

**1588.** He is appointed a 'Reader' of his Inn. Harleian MS. 1912.

**1592.** Mr. Spedding edited, in 1870, for his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, *A Conference of Pleasure*, composed for some festive occasion about the year 1592. The original title of the partially burnt MS. is *Mr. fr. Bacon of tribute or giving that which is due*. 1. The praise of the worthiest vertue [Fortitude]. 2. The praise of the worthiest affection [Love]. 3. The praise of the worthiest power [Knowledge]. 4. The praise of the worthiest person [Queen Elizabeth]. The first two are quite new.

**1596.** June 2. *Remedies against Discontent, &c.* is registered at Stationers' Hall: see p. xi.

**1596.** July 31. The Earl of Lincoln and suite were away from England on Oct. 7. an embassy to the Landgrave of Hesse. An account of the journey was immediately written by one of the suite, Edward Monings, and published in October or November, under the title of *The Landgrave of Hesse, his pryncelye receavinge of her Maiesties Embassador.* [There is a copy in the Grenville Collection, No. 2938.]

Oct. 26. It is thus entered in the Stationers' Register C. fol. 15.

26 October.

Robert Robinson Entred for his copie in th[e] and of Mr. Hartwell and the Wardens a booke intituled *The langraue of Hessen his pryncelye Receavinge of her maie’s ambassadors.*

This work is connected with the Essays, through the following undoubt-able plagiarism from the Essay on 'Studies,' at pp. 6-10; as yet in MS. "His education prince-like, generally known in all things, and excellent in many, seasoning his graine and mor[e] important studies for ability in judgment, with studies of pastime for retiring, as in poetrice, musike, and the *Mathematikes*, and for ornament in discourse in the languages, French, Italian, and English, wherein he is expert reading much, conferring and writing much he is a full man, a readie man, an exact man, and so excellent a Prince that a man may say of him without flatterie as *Tullie* did of Pompey, *omnia in quo summa sunt omnia*, and for my private opinion I think there are but fewe such men in the world." p. 21.

It was such 'garnishment' as this, that induced Bacon to publish his Essays, as he states in his dedicatory letter to his brother Anthony, *see p. 4.*

**1597.** Jan. 30. Date of Bacon's dedication to his brother Anthony, *see p. 4.*

**1597.** Feb. 5. The first Edition of the *Essays* is registered at Stationers' Hall. The entry at the top of fol. 18. of Register C. [1595–1620 A.D.] is as follows.
1596. Anno Reginæ. Eliz. xxxix°.

5 FEB.

Henry Hooper. Entered for his copy under the hands of Mr Fr. Bacon Mr D. Stanhope Mr Barlow, and Mr Warden Dawson, a booke intituled Essaies Religious Meditations, Places of perswasion and disswasion by Mr Fr. Bacon.

We haue here given the entry as it stands: because the regnal year corrects the date. The 5th of February in 39. Eliz. was the 5 Feb. 1597: or as it is more technically written 1596/7.

Feb. 7. The "Essaies" thus registered were published immediately. At the top of the title-page of the Museum copy (C. 21. a) is written Septimo die Feburarii 39. E. k. pretium xiv. [The seventh day of February in the 39th of Queen Elizabeth: price Twenty pence.] It is interesting thus to learn from this early purchaser, the price of the first publication of the great English Philosopher.

1600. Bacon is appointed a "Double Reader" of his Inn. Harl. 1912.

1600. This year appeared Essaies by Sir W. Cornwallis.

1601. There appeared this year, a small book by Robert Johnson, gent. entitled Essaies, or rather Imperfect Offers. A work reprinted in 1604, 1621, and 1630.


1603. July 23. Bacon is knighted by King James.

1604. Aug. 25. Sir F. Bacon is made King's Counsel.

1605. Sept. 19. The Two Booke of the Proficiencie and Advancement are thus registered in the Stationers' Register B. [1595-1630] fol. 129.

Mr Ockold. "Entered for his copie under the hande of my Lo.

[This work was printed for]

Henry Tomes.

This work was registered by the Bishop of London and the Wardens a booke as-well in Latyn as in English called The Second [two] booke of francis Bacon of the proficiencie and advancement of learninge Divine and humaine."

This was simply a license to publish it in Latin: into which language it was not as yet translated.


1608. This year appeared Essaies Politieke and Morall by D. T[eowell] gent.

1610. A second part of Sir W. Cornwallis' Essaies appeared.

1612. Oct. 12. At fol. 227 of Stationers' Registers, is the following register in the year 1612. 10 James. of Text V in this Reprint.

12 October.

William Hall. Entered for their copy under the hande of my Lo.


For this edition, he wrote the dedication on p. 158 to Prince Henry: but on

1612. Nov. 3. Prince Henry died.

Nov. Bacon then wrote a fresh dedication to his brother-in-law Sir John Constable, see p. 420, beginning thus—"My last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon." It is therefore clear that he himself looked on this edition, as a second and revised Text.

1612. Dec. 17. Nicolas Chamberlain writing on this day to Sir Dudley Carleton says, 'Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new Essays, where, in a chapter of Deformity, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin [Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury] to the life.' Court and Times of James 1. 1. 214. Ed. 1848.
ADDITIONAL NOTES, &c. 583

1613. Oct. 27. Sir F. Bacon is made Attorney General.

1615. Nicholas Breton published his "Characters upon Essays" of Morrall and Diuine, and dedicates them to Sir Francis Bacon.


1617. Mar. 3. Sir F. Bacon is promoted to be Lord Keeper.

1619. Jan. 4. Sir F. Bacon is made Lord Chancellor.

1620. July 11. Sir F. Bacon is made Baron Verulam.

Bacon publishes his great work Instauratio Magna.

The geniuses laughed at it, and men of talent and acquirement, whose studies had narrowed their minds into particular channels, incapable of understanding its reasonings, and appreciating its originality, turned wits for the purpose of ridiculing the new publication of the philosophic Lord Chancellor. Dr. Andrews, a forgotten wit of those days, perpetrated a vile pun upon the town and title of St. Alban's, by saying, some doggerel verses that it was on the high road to Dunce table, i.e. Dunstable, and therefore appropriate to the author of such a book. Mr. Secretary Cuffe said it was "a book which a fool could have written, and a wise man would not." King James declared it was like the Peace of God—"it passeth all understanding." Coke wrote, under a device on the title page, of a ship passing through the pillars of Hercules.

"It deserveth not to be read in schools,
But to be freighted in the ship of fools."


His patent was drawn in the most flattering terms, and the Prince of Wales signed it as a witness. The ceremony of investiture was performed with great state at Theobalds, and Buckingham condescended to be one of the chief actors.


1621. May 3. He is sentenced by the House of Lords.

1623. Mar. 23. Bacon writing at this day to Conway, the Secretary of State, thus finishes his letter, which is now in the State Paper Office.

"I was looking over some short papers of mine touching usury, how to grind the teeth of it, and yet to make it grind to his Majesty's mill in good sort, without discontent or perturbation: if you think good I will perfect it, as I send it to his Majesty as some fruits of my leisure. But yet I would not have it come from me, not from any tenderness in the thing, but because I know well in the courts of princes it is usual non res sed disprict Auctor. Fr. St. Alban." Quoted by Mr. Dixon in Personal History of Lord Bacon, p. 256. Ed. 1861.

About this time then, Bacon wrote the Essay on Usury, see pp. 541-6.

1625. [1624 Dec. 15] Bacon published The translation of Certaine Psalme into English verse. 410. It is thus dedicated:

To his very good friend, Mr George Herbert.

The paines, that it pleased you to take, about some of my Writings, I cannot forget; which did put mee in minde, to dedicate to you, this poore Exercise of my sicknesse. Besides, it being my manner for Dedications, to choose those that I hold most fit for the Argument, I thought in respect of Divinitie and Poesie, met, (whereof the one is the Matter, the other the Stile of this little Writing) I could not make better choice. So, with signification of my Loue and Acknowledgement I ever rest.

Your affectionate Friend, Fr. St. Alban.

1625. [1624 Dec.] There appeared this year, Lord Bacon's 'Apophthegmes New and Old' with the following preface.

Iulius Cosar, did write a Collection of Apophthegmes, as appears in an Epistle of Cicero. I need say no more, for the worth, of a Writing, of that nature. It is pitie his booke is lost: for I imagine, they were collected, with Judgement, and Choice: whereas that of Plutarch, and Stobaurus, and much more, the Moderne ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly, they are of excellent vse. They are, Mucrones Verborn, Pointed Speeches. Cicero prettily calls them, Salinas, Salt Pits: that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it, where you will. They serene, to be interlaced, in continued Speech.
They serve, to be recited, upon occasion of themselves. They serve, if you take out the kernell of them, and make them your owne. I have, in recreation, in my sicknesse, fann’d the Old; Not omitting, are vulgar; (for many vulgar ones are excellent good;) Christian Ayres and minnes of the Person; but because they are dull, and flat: Accordingly, a number more, that otherwise would have died.

1625. Mar. 13. The final English edition of the Essays was thus registered on fol. 97 of the Stationers Register, D. [1620-1645] on 13 Mar. 1624, 22 James I. [i.e. 13 March 1625].

Mr. Whitacre. Entered for their copie under the hande of the Lo. Hanna Barrett. B. of London and Mr. Iownes warden The Essayes and Counsell morral and Civill of Francis lo. Verulam vicount st. Alban.

Two title pages are found to this Edition. The first corresponding to the above entry. The Essayes or Counsels, civil and morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. New enlarged. London, Printed by Mr. Hoviland for Hanna Barrett, and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the Kinqs head in Paul's Church-yard. 1625.

On a copy with this title in Cambridge Univ. Library (xvii. 36. 14.) Mr. W. A. Wright states the memorandum for: Finch 30th Mar. 1625 ex dono Authoris. From which it is clear that the final English edition was issued between 13-30 March 1625. The second title page is reprinted at p. 497: the first in Mr. Wright's Edition.

1625. Mar. The dedication on p. 498 was clearly written in the reign of James.

1625. Mar. 27. Charles I. became King.

1626. Apr. 9 (Easter Sunday). Lord St. Alban dies.

1644. [i.e. 1645. On this day appeared in London: Memorials of Godliness and Christianity. Part I. Of making Religion one's Business. This was written by the Rev. Herbert Palmer, B.D. [b. 1601] at this time President of Queen's College, Cambridge, [which office he held till his death on 13. August 1647.]


1645. July 25. The next day is the date of Mr Palmer's Address To the Christian Reader in Part II of the Memorials, &c. in which occurs the following passage.

"There is offered thee a second part of Memorials of Godliness and Christianity: small indeed for bulk but more suitable for that to the title and the lesse burthensose to thee. Withall I must needs say, I meant thee somewhat more: but whilst (in the midst of many employments) I was getting it ready, a strange hand was liked to have robbed me of the greatest part of this, by putting to the presse (unknown to me) an imperfect copy of the Paradoxes. This made me hasten to tender a true one, and to content myself for the present with the addition of the other lesser pieces, which here accompany them."


1648. In this year was published Remaines, being Essaies and several Letters of Lord Bacon; of unknown and almost valueless Editionship; in which The Paradoxes of Herbert Palmer appear as a writing of Lord Bacon: and as such, have been repeated in many later editions of his Works. It is to Rev. A. B. Grosart in his privately printed 'Lord Bacon, not the author of The Christian Paradoxes,' 1865, that we are indebted to the rectification of this 'two-century-old literary error, if not fraud.'
This book is due on the last date stamped below, or on the date to which renewed. Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

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