BOOK RECORD EXCHANGE
WE BUY, SELL, EXCHANGE BOOKS, RECORDS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
PHONE M 5797
225 8TH AVE. E.
CALGARY
BACON'S ESSAYS.
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
C. F. CLAY, Manager.

London: FETTER LANE, E.C.
Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

[All Rights reserved.]
BACON'S ESSAYS

EDITED BY

ALFRED S. WEST, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1908
First Edition 1897.
Reprinted 1899, 1905, 1908
In preparing this edition of Bacon's *Essays*, I have had two objects in view. In the first place I have endeavoured to provide the general reader with information which shall enable him to understand the Essays, and in the second place I have endeavoured to convey the information in such a form that he may read them with enjoyment. It is only the advanced scholar who can understand Bacon without the aid of threefold explanations,—explanations of the language, of the thought, and of the allusions. With regard to Bacon's language, Mr Reynolds says that 'almost every page of the Essays bristles with difficulties, some of them the more likely to mislead because even a careful reader, not familiar with the language of Bacon's age, might fail to detect them for what they are.' I have therefore added footnotes which explain these verbal difficulties and furnish an English rendering of the numerous Latin quotations. From these footnotes the reader can obtain the interpretation of Bacon's language without repeatedly turning the pages to hunt for words in a Glossary. Interruptions of this sort inevitably rob a book of much of its charm, and one aim of this edition is to make it possible, as we said, for Bacon to be read with enjoyment.
But when the stumbling-blocks have been removed from the vocabulary, it happens now and then that the thought remains obscure. Sometimes the relevance of a remark is not obvious: sometimes the terseness of a sentence conceals its drift. In such cases an explanation or a paraphrase is given in the Notes.

Lastly, though obscurities of diction and of argument may have been cleared away, Bacon’s historical and mythological allusions cause perplexity. Of such allusions the number contained in the whole series of Essays exceeds three hundred. In the 19th Essay there are forty; in the 27th there are close upon thirty. An Index of Proper Names furnishes the necessary details respecting every person and place mentioned in Bacon’s text and a reference to the Essay in which the allusion occurs. As a means of making the Essays intelligible to the ordinary student, I believe that this Index will be found of far greater service than disquisitions upon Bacon’s politics, morals, or philosophy.

The student who understands Bacon’s language, the drift of his argument, and the point of his allusions, has attained the principal object with which, presumably, he read Bacon’s book. But there are some readers for whom questions of grammatical usage possess considerable interest, and a classified enumeration is therefore supplied in the Appendix of the differences between the English of the Essays and the English of our own day.

As we are concerned in the Essays with Bacon only as the man of letters, I have said nothing of his work in philosophy or of his political career. I have also abstained from quoting at length parallel passages from his other writings. Bacon was careful of his good things and when he had said them once he liked to say them again. \( \Delta \iota \iota \iota \iota \ \tau \iota \iota \iota \ \kappa \alpha \lambda \alpha \).
A repetition, from the *Advancement of Learning* or from the *History of Henry VII.*, of remarks which already figure in the Essays seems unnecessary. The desire to economise space has led me to supply, as a rule, merely the numbered reference to passages in other authors.

For the spelling I have generally followed Mr Aldis Wright's text, but I have modified the punctuation by removing some thousands of stops which, at the present day, are a source only of embarrassment. After a short acquaintance with the book, the reader will find no difficulty in the profusion of capital letters and the liberal disregard of orthographical conventions, but will probably like his old-world author all the better in the author's old-world dress.

To Mr Aldis Wright, Dr Abbott, and Mr S. H. Reynolds, among the many editors of Bacon's *Essays*, my indebtedness is very great. I have also made use occasionally of the Notes furnished by Mr Hunter, Mr Selby, and Messrs Storr and Gibson. An acknowledgment in this general form will, I trust, be accepted as covering particular instances in which I may have borrowed without making explicit reference to the source. My thanks are due to Mr John Sargeaunt, of University College, Oxford, for helpful suggestions on several points respecting which I have asked his advice.

A. S. WEST.

*January 1st, 1897.*
CONTENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Epistle Dedicatorie</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Table</td>
<td>xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Essays</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Proper Names</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works quoted in the Essays</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 1. Deviations from Modern Grammatical Usage</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 2. Chronology of Bacon’s Life and Works</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 3. Early Editions of Bacon’s Essays</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words and Phrases Explained in the Notes</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION.

What Bacon meant by the word 'Essay' he has told us himself. 'The want of leisure,' he says, 'hath made me choose to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called ESSAYS. The word is late, but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if one mark them well, are but Essays,—that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles.'

Montaigne's Essays had appeared in 1580. The first edition of Bacon's Essays was published in 1597. Bacon was acquainted with Montaigne's work, though he refers to Montaigne by name only once. In the Essay on Truth, which was a new contribution to the third edition of 1625, he quotes Montaigne, and quotes him with characteristic inaccuracy. 'Mountaigny saith prettily,' he writes; but the pretty saying is Plutarch's, not Montaigne's, and is mentioned by Montaigne as the remark of 'un ancien.' Between the Essays of Bacon and the Essays of Montaigne there is little in common, 'except their rare power of exciting interest, and the unmistakable mark of genius which is impressed on both.'

Short jottings on great subjects,—jottings thrown together without any serious attempt at elaboration, completeness, or methodical arrangement,—jottings 'of a nature whereof a man

1 Prof. T. Fowler.
shall find much in experience but little in books,'—jottings 'which come home to men's business and bosoms,'—such are Bacon's Essays, described pretty much in his own terms.

Compositions of this sort naturally suffer now and then from the lack of method and precision. Bacon sometimes employs a word in ambiguous senses. Thus, when he writes about Truth, the term 'Truth' stands at first for the correspondence of thought with fact, and afterwards for the virtue of truthfulness, which is quite a different matter. 'Envy' is used to denote, not only what we commonly understand by the name, but also malevolence and popular discontent. Within the limits of a short Essay, Beauty is variously analysed with curious inconsistency.

Bacon's strength appears to the best advantage in his speculations on character and conduct,—in the practical sagacity (not always wisdom of the highest order,) of his maxims for managing one's fellow men. Here we have the teaching of an expert whose career had familiarised him with the wiles and artifices of courtiers and officials,—the teaching of one who had himself been an 'actor upon the stage,' and who was also a shrewd observer of life.

In the history of English literature, Bacon ranks among the creators of our modern prose. His position as a classic is secure. With greater versatility than Ascham, or Sidney, or Hooker, he produced masterpieces in more styles than one. Yet it was almost an accident that he wrote in English at all. He felt no confidence in the enduring stability of his native tongue. If a book of his was to 'live and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not;' it must be translated into Latin. 'These modern languages,' he says, 'will at one time or another play the bank-rowte with books.'

Though his style, varying with the requirements of his

1 For the substance of the remarks contained in this paragraph and the next I am indebted to Mr Reynolds (Introduction to Bacon's Essays, pp. xxii—xxv). The whole of Mr Reynolds's Introduction deserves careful and repeated reading.

subject, is sometimes rich and ornate, sometimes solemn and majestic, sometimes penetrating and concise, the quality of superb self-confidence is seldom absent. What he conceives as a poet, he utters as a prophet, and as a prophet who delivers his message and disdains controversy. He speaks as one having authority: 'Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit. These are thoughts which have occurred to me; weigh them well, and take them or leave them.'

His expressions are often obscure. Perhaps the obscurity was sometimes intentional. At any rate the fault was of old standing. His mother forwards to her son Anthony one of his brother's letters. 'Construe the interpretation,' she says: 'I do not understand his enigmatical folded writing.' Usually however the want of clearness is due to the terseness of his utterance. Thoughts which a writer of our own day would distil over a page, Bacon condenses into a sentence. What he writes is meant, not 'to be swallowed' in a hurry, but 'to be chewed and digested' with deliberation. No man ever packed so much matter into smaller compass.

Dean Church says of Bacon's Essays that 'they are like chapters in Aristotle's Ethics and Rhetoric on virtues and characters; only Bacon takes Aristotle's broad marking lines as drawn, and proceeds with the subtler and more refined observations of a much longer and wider experience. But these short papers say what they have to say without preface, and in literary undress, without a superfluous word, without the joints and bands of structure: they say it in brief, rapid sentences, which come down, sentence after sentence, like the strokes of a great hammer.'

Bacon's fertility of imagination was immense. 'In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an

2 Quoted in Mr Reynolds's Introduction, p. xxii.
equal\textsuperscript{1}. Ingenious metaphors abound in his writings. Some of his expressions have obtained currency as quotations among people of education. Even the man in the street can speak of children as 'hostages to fortune,' though he might be puzzled to fix the phrase on its right author. Whatever the subject of discourse, Bacon has an illustration at hand.

Not only does he give us an illustration, but the chances are that he will throw in a quotation as well. He quotes with the copiousness and magnificent inaccuracy of many a modern journalist. His quotations fall into two classes,—Quotations and Misquotations, and one cannot decide off-hand which class is the more numerous. Sometimes he was inaccurate because his memory played him false and he was too indifferent about trifles to verify his quotations. Sometimes he deliberately tampered with an author to bring the quotation into harmony with its new context. In his quotations, as in his philosophy generally, exactness of detail was sacrificed to width of range.

\begin{footnote}
\end{footnote}
THE ESSAYES
OR COVNSELS, CIVILL AND MORALL,
OF FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,
VISCOVNT ST. ALBAN.

Newly enlarged.

LONDON,
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND for
HANNA BARRET, and RICHARD
WHITAKER, and are to be sold
at the signe of the Kings head in
Pauls Church-yard. 1625.
TO

THE RIGHT
HONORABLE MY
VERY GOOD Lo. THE DUKE
of Buckingham his Grace, Lo.

EXCELLENT Lo.

SALOMON saies, *A good Name is as a precious oytment*; And I assure my selfe, such wil your Grace’s Name bee with Posteritie. For your Fortune and Merit both have beeene Eminent. And you have planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes*; which of all my other workes have beeene most Currant; For that, as it seemes, they come home to Men’s Businesse and Bosomes. I have 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 conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Universall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration*, I dedicated to the King: My *Historie of HENRY the Seventh*, (which I have now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions of Naturall
THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

History, to the Prince: And these I dedicate to your Grace; Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the Hand.

Your Grace's most Obliged and
faithfull Servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.
### THE TABLE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Of Truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Of Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Of Unitie in Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Of Revenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Of Adversitie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Of Simulation and Dissimulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Of Parents and Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Of Marriage and Single Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Of Envie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Of Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Of Great Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Of Boldnesse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Of Goodnesse, and Goodnesse of Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Of Nobilitie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Of Seditious and Troubles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Of Atheisme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Of Superstition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Of Travaille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Of Empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Of Counsell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Of Delaies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Of Cunning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Of Wisdome for a Man's Selfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Of Innovations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Of Dispatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Of Seeming Wisc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Of Frendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Of Expence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Of Regiment of Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Of Suspicion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Of Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Of Plantations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Of Riches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Of Prophecies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Of Ambition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Of Maskes and Triumphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Of Nature in Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Of Custome and Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Of Fortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Of Usury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Of Youth and Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Of Beautie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Of Deformity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Of Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Of Gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Of Negotiating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Of Followers and Frends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Of Suitours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Of Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Of Faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Of Ceremonies and Respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Of Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Of Vain-Glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Of Honour and Reputation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Of Judicature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Of Anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Of Vicissitude of Things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of Fame, a fragment .......................... 176
OF TRUTH

WHAT 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 Freewill 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 those of the Ancients. But it is not onely the Difficultie and Labour which Men take in finding out of Truth; Nor againe that, when it is found, it imposeth upon men's Thoughts, that doth bring Lies in favour; But a naturall though corrupt Love of the Lie it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to thinke what should be in it, that men should love Lies; Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; Nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant; but for the Lie's sake. But I cannot tell: This same

1 said Pilate in derision
2 fickleness
3 aiming at
discursive minds
5 whose disposition is the same as that of the ancients, though their abilities are less
6 i.e. imposes restraint
7 into
8 at a loss
9 why it is
10 But somehow or other
OF TRUTH

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 ever adde Pleasure. Doth any man doubt that, if there were taken out of Men's 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 shrunkin Things, full of Melancholy and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great Severity, 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 men's depraved Judgementes and Affectiones, yet Truth, which onely doth iudge it selfe, teacheth that the Inquirie of Truth, which is the Love-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 Sovereigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason; And his Sabbath Worke, ever since, is the Illumination of his Spirit.

First he breathed Light upon 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 Chosen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well:

It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed

---

1 does not make the world's dramatic spectacles and farcical shows and public pageants appear
2 at pleasure
3 languor
4 the wine of devils
5 i.e. such a lie as
6 whatever the true cause may be why
7 human
8 created thing
9 i.e. of men's minds by the Holy Spirit
10 adorned
upon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaille, and the Adventures\(^1\) thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of Truth, (A hill not to be commanded\(^2\), and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene,) And to see the Erroours, and Wandring, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below: So alwaies, that\(^3\) this prospect be with Pitty, and not with Swelling or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Man's Minde Move in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne upon the Poles \(^60\) of Truth.

To passe from Theologicall and Philosophicall Truth to the Truth of civill Businesse\(^4\); It will be acknowledged, even by those that practize it not, that cleare and Round\(^5\) dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature; And that Mixture \(^65\) of Falshood is like Allay in Coyne of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth\(^6\) it. For these winding and crooked courses are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice\(^7\) that doth so cover a Man with Shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Mountaigny saith prettily, when he enquired the reason why the word of the Lie should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge, Saith he, If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say as that he is brave towards God and a Coward towards Men. For a Lie faces God, and shrinke from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood and Breach of Faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale\(^8\) to call the Judgements of God upon the Generations of Men; It being foretold that, when Christ commeth, He shall not finde Faith upon the Earth.

---

\(^1\) chances
\(^2\) not to be overlooked, or, perhaps, inaccessible to others
\(^3\) provided that
\(^4\) the habit of truthfulness in
\(^5\) plain and straightforward
\(^6\) debases
\(^7\) i.e. no other vice
\(^8\) summons
MEN feare Death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Natural 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 unto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes Mixture of Vanitie and of Superstition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars’ Books of Mortification, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the Paine is, if he have but his Finger’s end Pressed or Tortured, And thereby imagine, what the Paines of Death are, when the whole Body is corrupted and dissolved; when¹ many times Death passeth with lesse paine then the Torture of a Limme: For the most vitall parts are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake onely as a Philosopher and Naturall² Man, it was well said, *Pompa Mortis magis terret quæm Mors ipsa*.³ Groanes and Convulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes⁴, and Obsequies, and the like, shew Death⁵ Terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man so weake, but it Mates⁶ 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 him⁷. Revenge triumphs over Death; Love slights it; Honour aspireth to it; Griefe flieth to it; Feare pre-occupateth⁸ it; Nay, we reade, after Otho the Emperour had slaine himselfe, Pitty (which is the tenderest⁹ of Affections) provoked¹⁰ many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soveraigne, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay,

¹ whereas ¹² i.e. without the guidance of revelation ² i.e. from death ³ The trappings of death are more terrifying than death itself. ⁴ mourning garb
Seneca addes Nicenesse\(^1\) and Sactiety\(^2\); 
*Cogita quam diù eadem feceris; Mori velle, non tantùm Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiam Fastidiosus potest*\(^3\). A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, onely upon a wearinesse to doe the same thing so oft over and over. It is no lesse 35 worthy to observe, how little Alteration, in good Spirits\(^4\), the Approaches of Death make; For they appeare to be the same Men, till the last Instant. Augustus Caesar died in a Complement; *Livia, Coniugij nostri memor, vive et vale*\(^5\). Tiberius in dissimulation; As Tacitus saith of him; 49 *Iam Tiberium Vires et Corpus, non Dissimulatio, deser-bant*\(^6\). Vespasian in a Iest, Sitting upon the Stoole, *Ut puto Deus fio*\(^7\). Galba with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani*\(^8\); Holding forth his Necke. Septimius Severus in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*\(^9\). And the 45 like. Certainly, the Stoikes bestowed too much cost upon Death, and by their great preparations made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponat Natura*\(^10\). It is as Naturall to die as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one is as 50 painfull as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore a Minde, fixt and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the Dolors\(^11\) of Death: But above all, beleeeve it, the sweetest Canticle is *Nunc dimittis*\(^12\), when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends and Expectations. Death hath this also, That it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envie.

--- *Extinctus amabitur idem*\(^13\).

---

\(^1\) fastidiousness  
\(^2\) sactiety  
\(^3\) Consider how long you have been doing the same things! It is not only the brave man or the wretched man that may wish to die, but also the man who is consumed with ennui.  
\(^4\) in noble characters  
\(^5\) Goodbye, Livia! remember our married life while you live.  
\(^6\) Tiberius's vigour and vitality were failing him, but not his duplicity.  
\(^7\) I suppose I am just turning into a god.  
\(^8\) Strike, if it be for the good of the Roman people!  
\(^9\) Be ready, if there is anything remaining that I must do.  
\(^10\) Who reckons the close of his life among the boons of nature.  
\(^11\) pains  
\(^12\) Now lettest Thou.  
\(^13\) When his light is quenched his memory will be loved.
OF UNITY IN RELIGION

III

OF UNITY IN RELIGION

Religion being the chiefe Band\(^1\) of humane\(^2\) Society, it is a happy thing when it selfe is well contained within the true Band\(^1\) of Unity. The Quarrels and Divisions about Religion were Evils unknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the Religion of the Heathen consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies then in any constant Beliefe. For you may imagine what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctors\(^3\) and Fathers of their Church were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a Icalous God; 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?

The Fruits of Unity (next unto 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\(^4\) the Former; It is certaine that Heresies and Schisms are of all others the greatest Scandals; yea more then\(^5\) Corruption of Manners. For as, in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity\(^6\) is worse then a Corrupt Humor, So in the Spirituall. So that nothing doth so much keepe Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as Breach of Unity: And therefore, whensoever it commeth to that passe that one saith, Ecce in Deserto\(^7\), Another saith, Ecce in penetrailibus\(^8\); That is, when some Men seeke Christ in the Conventicles of Heretikes, and others in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to sound in Men's Eares, Nolite exire,—Goe not out. The Doctor\(^9\) of the Gentiles (the

---

1 bond  
2 human  
3 teachers  
4 As for  
5 than passim  
6 laceration  
7 Behold, he is in the desert:  
8 Behold, he is in the secret chambers.  
9 teacher
Propriety\(^1\) of whose Vocation drew him to have a speciall care of those without) saith, *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with severall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists and prophane Persons do heare of so many Discordant and Contrary Opinions in Religion. It doth avert\(^2\) them from the Church, and maketh them *To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners.* It is but a light Thing to be Vouched\(^3\) in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that in his Catalogue of Books of a faigned Library sets Downe this Title of a Booke, *The morris daunce of Heretikes.* For indeed every Sect of them hath a Divers\(^4\) Posture or Cringe\(^5\) by themselves, which cannot but Move Derision in Worldlings and Depraved Politickes\(^6\), who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the Fruit towards those that are within, It is Peace, which containeth infinite Blessings: It\(^7\) establisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controversies into Treaties\(^8\) of Mortification and Devotion.

Concerning the Bounds of Unity; The true Placing of them importeth exceedingly.\(^9\) There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine Zelants\(^10\) all Speech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me.* Peace is not the Matter\(^11\), but Following and Party. Contrariwise, certaine Laodiceans and Luke-warme Persons thinke they may accommodate Points of Religion by Middle Wayes, 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 avoyded; which will be

\(^{1}\) distinguishing property  
\(^{2}\) repel  
\(^{3}\) cited  
\(^{4}\) different  
\(^{5}\) extravagant gesture  
\(^{6}\) politicians  
\(^{7}\) *i.e.* Peace  
\(^{8}\) treatises  
\(^{9}\) is exceedingly important  
\(^{10}\) zealots  
\(^{11}\) *sc.* in which they are interested  
\(^{12}\) compromise  
\(^{13}\) ingenious
done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himselfe, were in the two crosse\(^1\) Clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with us is against us.* And againe, *He that is not against us is with us:* That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in Religion were truly discerned and distinguished from Points not meere\(^2\) 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\(^3\), it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give onely this Advice, according to my small Modell\(^4\). Men ought to take heede of rending God's Church by two kinds of Controversies. 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, *Christ's Coat, indeed, had no seame, But the Church's Vesture was of divers colours;* whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit\(^5\);* They be two Things, Unity and Uniformity. The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great Subtilty 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\(^6\), and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance of Judgement\(^7\) which is betweene Man and Man, Shall wee not thinke that God above, that knowes the Heart, doth not\(^8\) discerne that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth\(^9\) of both? The Nature of such Controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the Warning and Precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum*

---

1. contradictory
2. not entirely
3. with less of party spirit
4. limited design
5. In the garment there may be divers colours, but let there be no rent.
6. the same thing
7. difference in intellectual capacity
8. *omit the redundant not*
9. approves
Novitates, et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiae. Men create Oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms, so fixed as, whereas the Meaning ought to govern the Terme, the Terme in effect governeth the Meaning. There be also two false Peaces, or Unities; The one, when the Peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke; The other, when it is peeced up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the Iron and Clay in the toes of Nabucadnezar’s Image; They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the Means of procuring Unity; Men must beware that, in the Procuring or Muniting of Religious Unity, they doe not Dissolve 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 up the Third sword, which is Mahomet’s Sword, or like unto it; That is, to propagate Religion by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions to force Consciences; except it be in cases of Overt Scandal, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practize against the State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the People’s Hands, And the like, Tending to the Subversion of all Government, 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 Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

---

1 Avoid profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science falsely so called.  
2 which have no existence  
3 that  
4 inherent  
5 patched  
6 fortifying  
7 human  
8 the propagation of  
9 plotting  
10 that  
11 So great were the evils to which religion could prompt.
What would he have said, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would have beene Seven times more Epicurean and Atheist then he was. For as the temporall Sword is to bee drawne with great circumspection in Cases of Religion, So it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left unto the Anabaptists and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devill said, I will ascend and be like the Highest; 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 Governments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Dove, in the Shape of a Vulture or Raven; And to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats and Assassins. Therfore 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 ever those Facts and Opinions tending to the Support of the same; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels Concerning Religion, that Counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed, Ira hominis non implet Justiciam Dei. And it was a notable Observation of a wise Father, And no lesse ingenuously confessed, That those, which held and perswaded pressure of Consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their owne ends.

1 Epicurean
2 assign a part in the drama to
3 on the stage
4 how
5 deeds
6 needs to be
7 The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.
8 inculcated
9 interested
OF REVENGE

IV

OF REVENGE

Revenge is a kinde of Wilde Justice, which the more Man's Nature runs to, the more ought Law 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. Certainly, in taking Revenge, A Man is but even with his Enemy; But in passing it over, he is Superiour: For it is a Prince's part to Pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.* That which is past, is gone and Irrevocable; And wise Men have Enough to doe with things present and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, But therby to purchase himselfe Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therfore why should I be angry with a Man, for loving himselfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meereely out of ill nature, why, yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick and scratch because they can doe no other. 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 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 reade (saith he) that we are*
commanded to forgive our Enemies; But you never read that wee are commanded to forgive our Friends. But yet the Spirit of Iob was in a better tune; Shall wee (saith he) take good at God's Hands, and not be content to take evill also? And so of Friends in a proportion¹. This is certaine, That a Man that studieth Revenge keepes his owne Wounds greene², which otherwise would heale and doe well. Publique Revenges³ are, for the most part, Fortunate⁴; 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 Revenges it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons live the Life of Witches, who, as they are Mischievous, So end they Infortunate.

V

OF ADVERSITIE

It was an high speech⁵ 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. 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 greatness, to have in one⁶ the Frailty of a Man and the Security⁷ of a God. Verè magnum habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei. This would have done better in Poesy, where Transcendences⁸ are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have beene busy with it; For it is, in effect⁹, the thing which is figured in that Strange Fiction of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery¹⁰; Nay, and to have some approach

¹ to a proportionate extent ² open ³ Acts of vengeance undertaken on behalf of the state ⁴ successful in their issue ⁵ a proud saying ⁶ at once ⁷ freedom from care ⁸ exaggerations ⁹ in fact ¹⁰ a hidden meaning
to the State of a Christian: That Hercules, when hee went to unbinde Prometheus, (by whom Humane Nature is represented) sailed the length of the great Ocean in an Earthen Pot or Pitcher; Lively\(^1\) describing Christian Resolution, that saileth in the fraile Barke of the Flesh thorow the Waves of the World. But to speake in a Meane\(^2\). The Vertue of Prosperitie is Temperance; 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 God's Favour. Yet even in the old Testament, if you Listen to David's Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike\(^3\) Ayres as Carols\(^4\); And the Pencill of the holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the Afflictions of Iob then the Felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many Feares and Distastes\(^5\); And Adversity is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes and Imbroiderides, It is more pleasing to have a Lively\(^6\) Worke upon a Sad\(^7\) and Solemne Ground then to have a Darke and Melancholy Worke upon a Lightsome Ground: Judge, therfore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed\(^8\), or crushed: For Prosperity doth best discover\(^9\) Vice; but Adversity doth best discover Vertue. 40

VI

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

Dissimilation is but a faint\(^10\) kind of Policy, or Wisdome; For it asketh\(^11\) a strong Wit\(^12\) and a strong Heart, to

\(^1\) vividly  \(^2\) without exaggeration  \(^3\) funereal  \(^4\) lively strains  \(^5\) annoyances  \(^6\) bright  \(^7\) dark  \(^8\) burnt  \(^9\) bring to light  \(^10\) feeble  \(^11\) requires  \(^12\) understanding
know when to tell Truth and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks\(^1\) that are the great Dissemblers.

5 Tacitus saith; Livia sorted\(^2\) well with the Arts\(^3\) of her Husband and Dissimulation of her Sonne; Attributing Arts or Policy to Augustus, and Dissimulation to Tiberius. And againe, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take Arms against Vitellius, he saith; We rise not against the Piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closeness of Tiberius. These Properties of Arts or Policy, and Dissimulation or Closeness, are indeed Habits and Faculties several\(^4\) and to be distinguished. For if a Man have that\(^5\) Penetration of Judgement as\(^6\) he can discerne what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted,\(^7\) and what to be shewed at Halfe lights\(^8\), and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a Habit of Dissimulation is a Hindrance and a Poorenesse\(^9\). But if a Man cannot obtaine\(^10\) to that Judgment, then it is left to him, generally\(^11\), to be Close\(^12\), and a Dissembler. For where a Man cannot choose or vary in Particulars\(^13\), there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall; Like the Going softly\(^14\) by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men that ever were, have had all an Openness and Francknesse of dealing, And a name of\(^15\) Certainty, and Veracity; But then they were like Horses well mannaged\(^16\), For they could tell passing\(^17\) well when to stop or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed required Dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to passe that the former Opinion, spread abroad, of their good Faith and Clearnesse\(^18\) of dealing, made them almost Invisible\(^19\).

There be three degrees of this Hiding and Vailing of

\(^1\) politicians  
\(^2\) agreed  
\(^3\) diplomacy  
\(^4\) different  
\(^5\) such  
\(^6\) that  
\(^7\) kept secret  
\(^8\) by twilight  
\(^9\) drawback  
\(^10\) attain  
\(^11\) as a general rule  
\(^12\) reserved  
\(^13\) adapt his conduct to particular cases  
\(^14\) slowly  
\(^15\) reputation for  
\(^16\) broken in  
\(^17\) exceedingly  
\(^18\) openness  
\(^19\) incapable of detection
a Man’s Selfe. The first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a Man leaveth himselfe without Observation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second, Dissimulation, in the Negative; when a man lets fall Signes and Arguments that he is not that he is. And the third, Simulation, in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously and expressly faigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy; It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour; 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 inviteth Discoverie; 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 Man’s Heart, so Secret Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to Secrecy. Besides (to say Truth) Nakednesse is uncomely, as well in Minde as Body; and it addeth no small Reverence to Men’s Manners and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine and Credulous withall. For He that talketh what he knoweth, will also talke what he knoweth not. Therfore set it downe, That an Habit of Secrecy is both Politick and Morall. And in this Part, it is good that a Man’s Face give his Tongue leave to Speake. For the Discovery of a Man’s Selfe, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weaknesse and Betraying, By how much it is many times more marked and beleived then a Man’s words.

For the Second, which is Dissimulation. It followeth many times upon Secrecy by a necessity; So that he that will be Secret must be a Dissembler in some degree. For

---

1 purposely
2 encourages disclosures
3 in the same fashion
4 disburden
5 In short, other people’s secrets may be claimed as his due by the man who can keep a secret.
6 chattering
7 silly
8 in this connexion
9 disclosure
10 traits
11 inasmuch as it is often
Men are too cunning to suffer a Man to keepe an indifferent carriage betweene both, and to be Secret, without Swaying the Ballance on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that, without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give 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 false Profession; That I hold more culpable and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of Simulation (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising either of a naturall Falsenesse or Fearfulness, Or of a Minde that hath some maine Faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise Simulation in other things, lest his Hand should be out of ure.

The great Advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Man’s Intentions are published, it is an Alarum, to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Man’s Selfe a faire Retreat; For if a man engage himselfe by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverbe of the Spaniard, Tell a lye and finde a Troth. As if there were no way of Discovery, but by Simulation.

There be also three Disadvantages, to set it even. The first, That Simulation and Dissimulation commonly carry

---

1 to carry himself impartially between openness and dissimulation
2 unreasonable
3 ambiguous
4 from
5 practice
6 suffer defeat
7 simply
8 counterbalance
with them a Shew of Fearfulness, which in any Business doth spoile the Feathers\(^1\) of round\(^2\) flying up to the Mark. The second, that it pusleth and perplexeth the Conceits\(^3\) of many that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a Man walke almost alone to his owne Ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man of one of the most principall Instruments for Action, which is Trust and Beleefe. The best Composition and Temperature\(^4\) is, to have Opennesse in Fame and Opinion\(^5\); Secrecy in Habit; Dissimulation in seasonable use; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.

VII

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The Ioyes of Parents are Secret, And so are their Griefes and Feares: They cannot utter the one, Nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten Labours, But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life, but they mitigate the Remembrance\(^6\) of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory\(^7\), Merit, and Noble workes, are proper\(^8\) to Men: And surely a Man shall see the Noblest workes and Foundations\(^9\) have proceeded from Childlesse Men, which have sought 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 are most Indulgent towards their Children, Beholding them as the Continuance not only of their kinde\(^10\) but of their Worke; And so both Children, and Creatures\(^11\).

The difference in Affection of Parents towards their severall Children is many times unequall, And sometimes

---

\(^1\) sc. of the arrow  
\(^2\) direct  
\(^3\) thoughts  
\(^4\) combination and temperament  
\(^5\) a reputation for frankness  
\(^6\) thought  
\(^7\) being kept in memory  
\(^8\) peculiar  
\(^9\) institutions  
\(^10\) family  
\(^11\) created objects
unworthy, Especially in the mother; As Salomon saith, *A wise sonne reioyceth the Father, but an ungracious sonne shames the Mother.* A Man shall see, where there is a House full of Children, one or two of the Eldest respected, and the Youngest made wantons; But in the middest, some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The Illiberallitie of Parents, in allowance towards their Children, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proofe is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their Children, but not their Purse. Men have a foolish manner (both Parents, and Schoolemasters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers during Childhood, which many times sorteth to Discord when they are Men, And disturbeth Families. The Italians make little difference betweene Children and Nephewes or neere Kinsfolkes; 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 Kinsman 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 themselves to theDisposition 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 to crosse it; But generally, the Precept is good, *Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet Consuetudo.* Younger Brothers are commonly Fortunate, but seldom or never where the Elder are disinherited.

1 unreasonable 8 provided  
2 favoured 9 same stock  
3 spoil 10 pay attention  
4 associate 11 liking for a particular vocation  
5 become more gluttonous 12 Choose what is best: habit  
6 result will make it easy and pleasant.  
7 results in
OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

He that hath Wife and Children hath given Hostages to Fortune; For they are Impediments to great Enterprises, either of Vertue, or Mischief. Certainly, the best workes, and of greatest Merit for the Publike, have proceeded from the unmarried or Childlesse Men, which, both in Affection and Meanes, have married and endowed the Publike. Yet it were great Reason that those that have Children should have greatest care of future times, unto which, they know, they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are who, though they lead a Single Life, yet their Thoughts do end with themselves, 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 Men that take a pride in having no Children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For, perhaps, they have heard some talke, Such an one is a great rich Man; And another except to it, Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children; As if it were an Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a Single Life is Liberty; especially in certaine Selfe-pleasing and humorous Mindes, which are so sensible of every restraint as they will goe neare to think their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. Unmarried Men are best Friends, best Masters, best Servants, but not alwayes best Subiects; For they are light to runne away, And almost all Fugitives are of that Condition. A Single Life doth well with Church men; For Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole. It is indifferent for Iudges and Magistrates; For if they be

---

1 it would be reasonable to think
2 no concern of theirs
3 items of expense
4 in order that
5 take exception
6 eccentric
7 that they will almost think
8 ready and unencumbered
9 clergymen
10 a matter of no consequence either way
facile\(^1\) and corrupt, you shall have a Servant five times worse than a Wife. For\(^2\) Souldiers, I finde the Generall\(^s\) commonly, in their Hortatives\(^3\), put Men in minde of their Wives and Children: And I thinke the Despising of Marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar\(^4\) souldier more base. Certainly, Wife and Children are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity; And single Men, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Meanes are lesse exhaust\(^5\), yet, on the other side, they are more cruell and hard hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors), be-cause their Tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave Natures, led by Custome and therfore constant, are commonly loving Husbands; As was said of Ulysses, \textit{Vetulam suam prætulit Immortalitati}\(^6\). Chast Women are often Proud and froward\(^7\), as Presuming upon the Merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the Wife, if She thinke her Husband Wise; which She will never doe, if She finde him Jealous. Wives are young Men’s Mistresses, Companions for middle Age, and old Men’s Nurses: So as\(^8\) a Man may have a Quarrell\(^9\) to marry, when he will. But yet, he was reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the Question, When a Man should marry? \textit{A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all.} It is often seen that bad Husbands have very good Wives; whether it be that it\(^10\) rayseth\(^a\) the Price of their Husbands’ Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the Wives take a Pride in their Patience. But this\(^11\) never failes, if the bad Husbands were of their owne choosing, against their Friends’ consent; For then they will be sure to make good\(^12\) their owne Folly.

1 easily influenced  
2 As for  
3 exhortations  
4 common  
5 exhausted  
6 He preferred his old wife to immortality.  
7 perverse  
8 so that  
9 pretext  
10 \textit{i.e.} this badness  
11 \textit{viz.}, the pride of the wives in their patience  
12 justify
IX

OF ENVY

There be none of the Affections\(^1\), which have beene noted\(^2\) to fascinate or bewitch, but Love and Envy. They both have vehement wishes; They frame themselves readily into Imaginations and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye, especially upon the presence of the Object; which are the Points that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth Envy, An Evill Eye; And the Astrologers call the evil Influences of the Starrs, Evill Aspects; So that still\(^3\) there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of Envy, an Ejaculation\(^4\), or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some have beene so curious\(^5\) as to note that the Times when the Stroke or Percussion of an Envious Eye doth most hurt are when the Party envied is beheld in Glory or Triumph; For that sets an Edge upon Envy; And besides, at such times, the Spirits\(^6\) of the person Envied doe come forth most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities\(^7\), (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) wee will handle\(^8\) what Persons are apt to envy others; What persons are most Subiect to be Envied themselves; And, What is the Difference between Publique and private Envy.

A man that hath no vertue in himselfe ever envieth Vertue in others. For Men's Mindes will either feed upon their owne Good or upon others' Evill; And who wanteth the one wil prey upon the other; And whoso is out of Hope to attaine to another's Vertue will seeke to come at even hand\(^9\) by Depressing another's Fortune\(^10\).

A man that is Busy\(^11\) and Inquisitive is commonly Envious; For to know much of other Men's Matters cannot
be because all that Adoe\textsuperscript{1} may concerne his owne Estate\textsuperscript{2}; Therfore it must needs be that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure\textsuperscript{3} in looking upon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he that mindeth but his own Businesse finde much matter for Envy. For Envy is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of Noble birth are noted to be envious towards New Men when they rise. For the distance is altered; And it is like a deceipt\textsuperscript{4} of the Eye, that when others come on they thinke themselves goe backe.

Deformed Persons and Eunuches and Old Men and Bastards are Envious: For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case will doe what he can to impaire another’s; Except these Defects light upon a very brave and Heroicall Nature, which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants\textsuperscript{6} part of his Honour: In that it should be said that an Eunuch or a Lame Man did such great Matters, Affecting\textsuperscript{7} the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in Narses the Eunuch, and Agesilaus, and Tamberlanes, that were Lame men. The same is the Case of Men that rise after Calamities and Misfortunes; For they are as Men fallen out with\textsuperscript{8} the times, And thinke other Men’s Harmes a Redemption of their owne Sufferings.

They that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Levity\textsuperscript{9} and Vaine glory, are ever Envious, For they cannot want worke\textsuperscript{10}; It being impossible but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them: Which was the Character of Adrian the Emperour, that mortally Envied Poets and Painters and Artificers in Works wherein he had a veine\textsuperscript{11} to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that have beene bred together, are more apt to Envy

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} fuss
  \item \textsuperscript{2} affairs
  \item \textsuperscript{3} pleasure such as one feels in watching a play
  \item \textsuperscript{4} No one is a busybody without at the same time being spiteful.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} deception
  \item \textsuperscript{6} defects
  \item \textsuperscript{7} aiming at
  \item \textsuperscript{8} on bad terms with
  \item \textsuperscript{9} fickleness
  \item \textsuperscript{10} lack opportunities for exercis-
  \item \textsuperscript{11} in inclination
their Equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their owne Fortunes, And pointeth\(^1\) at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others\(^2\); And Envy ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. Cain's 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 those that are apt to Envy.

Concerning those that are more or lesse subject to Envy: First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are advanced, are lesse envied. For their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man Envieth the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards and Liberality rather. Againe, Envy is ever ioyned with the Comparing of a Man's Selfe; And where there is no Comparison, no Envy; And therfore Kings are not envied, but by Kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that unworthy Persons are most envied at their first comming in, and afterwards overcome it better; wheras, contrariwise, Persons of Worth and Merit are most envied, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the same Lustre; For fresh Men grow up that darken it\(^4\).

Persons of Noble Bloud are lesse envied in their Rising; For it seemeth but Right done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And Envy is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter upon a Bank or steepe rising Ground then upon a Flat. And, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are lesse envied then those that are advanced suddainly and per saltum\(^5\).

Those that have ioyned 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 ever healeth Envy: Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deepe and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; Chanting a Quantâ

---

1. *sc.* the finger of scorn
2. *obtrudes itself more upon the observation of others*
3. *undeserving*
4. *throw it into the shade*
5. *at a bound*
6. *travails, labours*
7. *politicians*
Not that they feele it so, but onely to abate\(^9\) the Edge of Envy. But this is to be understood of Busi-
ness that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto themselves\(^8\). For Nothing increaseth Envy more then an
unnecessary and Ambitious Ingrossing\(^4\) of Business. And
nothing doth extinguish Envy more then for a great Person
to preserve all other inferiour Officers in their full Rights
and Preheminences of their Places. For by that means
there be so many Skreenes betweene him and Envy.

Above all, those are most subject to Envy which carry
the Greatnesse of their Fortunes in an insolent and proud
Manner; Being never well\(^5\) but while they are shewing how
great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphing
over all Opposition or Competition; whereas Wise men
will rather doe sacrifice\(^6\) to Envy, in suffering themselves,
sometimes of purpose\(^7\), to be crost\(^8\) and overborne in
things that doe not much concerne them\(^9\). Notwithstanding,
so much is true, That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a
plaine and open manner (so\(^10\) it be without Arrogancy and
Vaine glory) doth draw lesse Envy then if it be in a more
crafty and cunning fashion. For, in that course, a Man
doeth but disavow Fortune, And seemeth to be conscious
of his owne want in worth, And doth but teach others to
Envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the begin-
ing that the Act of Envy had somewhat in it of Witchcraft,
so there is no other Cure of Envy but the cure of Witchcraft ;
And that is, to remove the Lot\(^11\) (as they call it) and to
lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort
of great Persons bring in ever upon the Stage somebody
upon whom to derive\(^12\) the Envie that would come upon
themselves; Sometimes upon Ministers and Servants;
Sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates, and the like; And,
for that turne, there are never wanting some Persons

---

1. How much we suffer!
2. blunt
3. voluntarily undertake
4. monopolizing
5. content
6. sacrifice something
7. purposely
8. thwarted
9. are unimportant to them
10. provided that
11. spell
12. turn aside
of violent and undertaking Natures, who, so they may have Power and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.

Now to speake of Publique Envy. There is yet some good in Publique Envy; whereas in Private there is none. For Publique Envy 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 Envy⁴, 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 upon that which is sound and tainteth it, So, when Envy is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best Actions thereof and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won⁵ by intermingling or plausible Actions. For that doth argue but a Weaknesse and Feare of Envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usuall in Infections, which, if you feare them, you call them upon you.

This publique Envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principall Officers or Ministers rather then upon Kings and Estates⁴ themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the Envy upon the Minister be great, when the cause of it in him is smal; or if the Envy be generall, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the Envy (though hidden) is truly upon the State itselfe. And so much of publike envy or discontentment, and the difference therof from Private Envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of Envy, that of all other Affections it is the most importune⁵ and continuall. For of other Affections there is occasion given but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit*⁶. For it is ever working upon some or other. 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

---

¹ *viz.* Public envy ⁴ governments  
² gained ⁵ importunate  
³ deserving applause, praise-worthy ⁶ Envy takes no holiday.
Of Envy

170 Affection and the most depraved; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute of the Devill, who is called The Envious Man that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night. As it always commeth to passe that Envy worketh subtilly, and in the darke, And to the preiudice of good things, such as is the Wheat.

X

Of Love

The Stage is more beholding\(^1\) to Love then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, Love is ever 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 observe that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent), there is not One that hath beene transported to the mad degree of Love; which shewes that great Spirits\(^2\) and great Businesse doe keepe out this weake Passion.

You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius the halfe Partner of the Empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius the Decemvir and Law-giver; Whereof the former was indeed a Voluptuous Man and Inordinate\(^3\); but the latter was an Austere 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 Saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus*\(^4\): As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven and all Noble Obiects, should doe nothing but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye, which was given him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing to note the Excesse of this Passion, And how it braves\(^5\) the Nature and value of things, by this, that the Speaking in a perpetuall Hyperbole is comely in

---

1 beholden, indebted
2 noble natures
3 without self-control
4 We are a large enough theatre for one another.
5 insults, disregards
nothing but in Love. Neither is it meerely in the Phrase;  
For whereas it hath beene well said that the Arch-flatterer,  
with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a  
Man's Selfe, Certainly the Lover is more. For there was  
ever Proud Man thought so absurdly well of himselfe as the Lover doth of the Person loved: And therefore it was  
well said, That it is impossible to love and to be wise.  
Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and  
not to the Party Loved, But to the Loved most of all,  
except the Love be reciproque. For it is a true Rule, that  
Love 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 itselfe. As for the other losses,  
the Poet's 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 Wisedome. This Passion hath  
his Flouds in the very times of Weaknesse, which are  
great Prosperitie and great Adversitie, though this latter hath beene lesse observed: Both which times kindle Love,  
and make it more tervent, and therefore shew it to be the  
Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but  
admit Love, yet make it keepe Quarter, And sever it wholly from their serious Affaires and Actions of life; For if it checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Men's Fortunes, and maketh Men that they can no wayes be true to their owne Ends. I know not how, but Martiall Men are given to Love: I thinke it is but as they are given to Wine, For Perils commonly aske to be paid in Pleasures.  
There is in Man's 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 seen sometime in Friars. Nuptiall love maketh Mankinde;
OF LOVE

Friendly love perfecteth it; but Wanton love Corrupteth and Imbaseth it.

XI

OF GREAT PLACE

Men in Great Place are thrice Servants: Servants of the Soveraigne or State; Servants of Fame; and Servants 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 Libertie; Or to seeke Power over others and to lose Power over a Man’s Selfe. The Rising unto Place is Laborious, And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base, And by Indignities Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the Regresse is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere. Nay, retire Men cannot when they would; neither will they when it were Reason: But are impatient of privatenesse even in Age and Sickness, 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 Men’s 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 Griefs, though they be the last that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in

---

1 debases
2 high office
3 reputation
4 so that
5 (‘Tis an old saying that) when you are no longer what you once were, there is no reason why you should wish to live.
6 reasonable
7 private life
8 a life of indoor retirement
9 always
Great Fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puse\(^1\) of businesse, they have no time to tend their Health either of Body or Minde. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui, notus nimiris omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi*\(^2\). In Place, There is License to doe Good and Evill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Evill the best condition is not to will, The Second, not to Can\(^3\). But Power to doe good is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men are little better then good Dreames, Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power and Place, As the Vantage and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works is the End of Man’s Motion\(^4\); And Conscience\(^5\) of the same is the Accomplishment of Man’s Rest. For if a Man can be Partaker of God’s Theater\(^6\), he shall like-wise be Partaker of God’s Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret Opera que fecerunt manus suae, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimiris*\(^7\); And then the Sabbath\(^8\).

In the Discharge of thy Place, set before thee the best Examples; For Imitation is a Globe\(^9\) of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee thine owne Example; And examine thy selfe 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\(^10\) their Memory, but to direct thy selfe what to avoid. Reforme, therfore, without Braverie\(^11\) or Scandall\(^12\) of former Times and Persons; but yet set it downe\(^13\) to thy selfe, as well to create good Precedents as to follow them. Reduce\(^14\) things to the first Institution, and

---

1. entanglement  
2. Death comes heavily upon him who dies known only too well to everybody else, but a stranger to himself.  
3. be able  
4. the object of man’s action  
5. consciousness  
6. For if a man can contemplate, as God did, the spectacle of good works done by himself.  
7. And God turned to behold the works which His hands had made, and He saw that they were all very good.  
8. *i.e.* rest  
9. compact collection  
10. censuring  
11. ostentation  
12. defamation  
13. propose  
14. Trace up
55 observe wherin and how they have degenerate⁴; 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 Regular⁵, that Men may know before hand what they may expect; But be not too positive⁶ and peremtortie; And expresse thy selfe well⁷, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the Right of thy Place; but stirre not questions of Iurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right in Silence and de facto⁸ then voice it⁹ with Claimes and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Rights of Inferiour Places; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe then to be busie in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices touching the Execution of thy Place⁷; 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 Facilitie⁸. For⁹ Delaies, Give easie Access; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse¹⁰ but¹¹ of necessitie. For⁹ Corruption, Doe not onely binde thine owne Hands, or thy Servants' hands, from taking, but binde the hands of Sutours also from offring. For Integritie used¹² doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of Corruption. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion or Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that move thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it¹³. A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward¹⁴, and no other apparent Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way to

---

¹ degenerated ⁸ weakness
² according to fixed rules ⁹ As regards
³ rigid ¹⁰ do not mix up business
⁴ explain your reasons clearly ¹¹ except
⁵ in fact ¹² the practice of integrity
⁶ assert it ¹³ that you can do it by stealth
⁷ the administration of your ¹⁴ intimate
office.
close\(^1\) Corruption. For Roughnesse, It is a needlesse cause of Discontent: Severitie breedeth Feare, but Roughnesse breedeth Hate. Even Reprooves from Authoritie ought to be Grave and not Taunting. As for Facilitie\(^8\), It is worse then Bribery\(^9\). For Bribes come but now and then; But if Importunitie or Idle Respects\(^4\) lead a Man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith, *To respect Persons is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a pece of Bread.*

It is most true, that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the Man:* And it sheweth some to the better and some to the worse: *Omniun consensu capax Imperij, nisi imperasset*\(^5\), saith Tacitus of Galba: but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius*\(^6\); Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie\(^7\), the other of Manners and Affection\(^8\). 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 move violently to their Place, and calmly in their Place, So Vertue in Ambition\(^9\) is violent, in Authoritie setled and calme. All Rising to Great Place is by a winding Staire; And if there be Factions, it is good to side a Man's selfe\(^10\), whilst hee is in the Rising, and to ballance Himselie\(^11\), when hee is placed. Use the Memory of thy Predecessour fairly and tenderly; For if thou dost not, it is a Debt will sure be paid, when thou art gone\(^12\). If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them\(^13\) when they looke not for it then exclude them when they have reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible\(^14\) or too rememning\(^15\) of thy Place, in Conversation and private

---

1 secret  
2 pliancy  
3 receiving bribes  
4 personal preferences  
5 By common consent he would have been deemed fit for empire had he never been emperor.  
6 Vespasian was the only emperor that was changed for the better by empire.  
7 administrative capacity  
8 morals and disposition  
9 in seeking office  
10 to take a side  
11 to be neutral  
12 *i.e.* your successor will pay the same meagre tribute to your own memory.  
13 call them in to your assistance  
14 sensitive  
15 obtrusively mindful
OF GREAT PLACE

Answers to Sutours; But let it rather be said, *When he sits in Place*, he is another Man.

XII

OF BOLDNESSE

It is a trivialGrammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise Man’s 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 superficial, and rather the vertue of a Player, should be placed so high above 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 Wise; And thersfore those faculties by which the Foolish part of Men’s Mindes is taken are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case of Boldnesse in Civill Businesse; What first? Boldnesse; What Second, and Third? Boldnesse. And yet Boldnesse is a Child of Ignorance and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts. But, nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot those that are either shallow in JUDG-

ment or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weake times. Therfore, we see it hath done wonders in Popular States, but with Senates and Princes lesse; And more ever upon 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

---

1 When he is performing his official duties
2 *viz.* the story which follows
3 well-known
4 quotation
5 qualification
6 wonderfully
7 democratic
8 political
undertake great Cures, And perhaps have been Lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science, And therfore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a Bold Fellow, many times, doe Mahomet's Miracle. Mahomet made the People beleeve that he would call an Hill to him, And from the Top of it offer up his Praiers for the Observers 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 never a whit abashed, but said, If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the Hill. So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of Boldnesse) they will but slight it over, 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 seldome without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a Bold Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face into a most Shruncken and woorden Posture; As needes it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with Bold Men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; Like a Stale at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last were fitter for a Satyre then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed, That Boldnesse is ever blinde; For it seeth not dangers and Inconveniences. Therfore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Use of Bold persons is, that they never Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds and under the Direction of others. For in Counsell it is good to see dangers, And in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

1 are without the principles
2 make light of it
3 take a new tack
4 i.e. in the case of a bashful
5 the vital spirits
6 they come to a standstill
OF GOODNESSE AND GOODNESSE OF NATURE

I take Goodnesse in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; And the word Humanitie (as it is used) is a little too light to expresse it. Goodnesse I call the Habit, and Goodnesse 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. Goodnesse answers to the Theologicall Vertue Charitie, and admits no Excesse but Errour. 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 Goodnesse is imprinted deeply in the Nature of Man; In so much that, if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living Creatures; As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People who, nevertheless, are kinde to Beasts and give Almes to Dogs and Birds; In so much as Busbechius reporteth, A Christian Boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of Goodnesse or Charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious Proverb; Tanto buon che val niente: So good that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macciavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes, That the Christian Faith had given up Good Men in prey to those that are Tyrannicall and uniust. Which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie Goodnesse as the Christian Religion doth.

1 aiming at
2 Kindliness
3 mark
4 restless
5 corresponds
6 love
7 that
8 for fun
Therfore, to avoid the Scandall and the Danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the Errours of an Habit so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage to their Faces or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, upon the Just and Uniust; But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour and Vertues upon Men equally. Common Benefits are to be communicate with all, But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware how, in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Pattern; For Divinitie maketh the Love of our Selves the Pattern; The Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and follow mee: But sell 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 meanes as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a Habit of Goodnesse, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As, on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be that, in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie turneth but to a Crosnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficultnesse, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Envy and meere Mischief. Such Men, in other men's Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked Lazarus' Sores, but like Flies that are still buzzing upon any Thing that is raw; Misanthropi, that make it their Practise to bring Men to

---

1 notice  
2 weakness  
3 nor cause honour and virtues to shine  
4 divine teaching  
5 perversity  
6 waywardness  
7 intractability  
8 sheer injury  
9 in their element  
10 always aggravate calamities  
11 always  
12 misanthropes
the Bough¹, And yet have never a Tree for the purpose in
65 their Gardens, as Timon had. Such Dispositions are the
very Errours of Humane Nature; And yet they are the
fittest Timber to make great Politiques² of; Like to knee³
Timber, that is good for Ships that are ordained to be
tossed, But not for Building houses that shall stand firme.
70 The Parts and Signes of Goodnesse 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,
75 it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is
wounded it selfe when it gives the Balme. If he easily
Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews that his Minde is
planted above Injuries⁴, So that he cannot be shot. If he
be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes that he weighs
80 Men’s Mindes, and not their Trash⁵. But above all, if he
have St. Paul’s Perfection, that he would wish to be an
Anathema from Christ⁶, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it
shewes much of a Divine Nature, and a kinde of Conformity
with Christ himselfe.

XIV

OF NOBILITY

We will speake of Nobility, first as a Portion of an
Estate⁷; Then as a Condition of Particular Persons⁸. A
Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever a pure
and absolute Tyranny; As that of the Turkes. For Nobi-
5 lity attempers⁹ Soveraignty, and draws the Eyes of the
People somewhat aside from the Line Royall. But for¹⁰
Democracies, they need it not; And they are commonly

¹ to induce people to hang themselves
² politicians
³ crooked
⁴ above the reach of injuries
⁵ rubbish, used contemptuously
⁶ accursed from Christ
⁷ a state
⁸ of individuals
⁹ moderates
¹⁰ as regards
more quiet, and lesse subject to Sedition then where there are Stirps\(^1\) of Nobles. For Men's Eyes are upon the Businesse, and not upon the Persons; Or if upon the 10 Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags\(^2\) and Pedegree. Wee see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their Diversitie of Religion and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects\(^3\). The United Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Government, 15 excell; For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent\(^4\), and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent Nobility addeth Maiestie to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth\(^5\) their Fortune. It is 20 well, when Nobles are not too great for Soveraignty, nor for Justice; And yet maintained in that heigth as\(^6\) the Insolencie of Inferiours may be broken upon them\(^7\), before it come on too fast\(^8\) upon the Maiesty of Kings. A Numerous Nobility causeth Poverty and Inconvenience in a 25 State: For it is a Surcharge of Expence\(^9\); 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 betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for Nobility in particular Persons; It is a Reverend 30 Thing to see an Ancient Castle or Building not in decay, Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient Noble Family, which hath stood against the Waves and weathers of Time. For new Nobility is but the Act of Power, But Ancient Nobility 35 is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to Nobility are commonly more Vertuous\(^10\) but lesse Innocent then their Descendants; For there is rarely any Rising, but by a Commixture of good and evill Arts\(^11\). But it is Reason\(^12\) the Memory of their vertues remaine to their Posterity, 40

---

1 families
2 insignia, armorial bearings
3 respect for rank
4 impartial
5 depresses
6 at such a height that
7 may spend its force upon the
8 close
9 an excessive expense
10 more highly endowed with great qualities
11 practices
12 reasonable that
OF NOBILITY

And their Faults die with themselves. Nobility of Birth commonly abateth Industry; And he that is not industrious envieth 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. Certainly Kings, that have 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 born in some sort to Command.

XV

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

SHEPHEARDS of People had need know the Kalenders of Tempests in State, which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the Æquinoctia. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde and secret Swellings of Seas before a Tempest, so are there in States:

—Ille etiam caecos instare Tumultus
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, et operta tumescere Bella.

Libels and licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open, And in like sort false Newes, often running up and downe, to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the Signes of Troubles. Virgil, giving the Pedegre of Fame, saith, She was sister to the Giants.
Illam Terra Prens irà irritata Deorum,  
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladque sororem  
Progenuit.  

As if Fames were the Reliques of Seditions past; But  
they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of Seditions to come.  
Howsoever, he noteth it right, that Seditious Tumults and  
Seditious Fames differ no more but as Brother and Sister,  
Masculine and Feminine; Especially, if it come 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 saith, Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè seu male  
gesta premunt. 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  
them best, and the Going about to stop them doth but  
make a Wonder Long-lived. Also that kinde of Obedience,  
which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected; Erant  
in officio, sed tamen qui mallet mandata Imperantium inter-  
pretari quam exequi; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling 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 Macciavel noteth well; when Princes, that  
ought to be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party  
and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrown  
by uneven weight on the one Side; As was well seen, in

---

1 Earth, her parent, provoked to anger against the gods, brought her forth, they say, the youngest of the family, sister of Coeus and Enceladus.  
2 false rumours  
3 deserving of applause, laudable  
4 When great unpopularity is once aroused, people find fault with acts whether good or bad.  
5 endeavour  
6 They were attentive to their duties, yet in such a way as to show that they were disposed to put their own interpretation on their general’s orders rather than to carry them out.  
7 attempt at  
8 in favour of  
9 timidly and weakly  
10 parents to all
the time of Henry the third of France; For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after, the same League was turned upon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, And that there be other Bands¹ that tie faster then the Band of Soveraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords and Quarrells and Factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a Signe the Reverence of² Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest persons in a Government ought³ to be as the Motions of the Planets under Primum Mobile, (according to the old Opinion,) which is, That Every⁴ of them is carried swiftly by the Highest Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therfore, when great Ones, in their owne particular Motion, move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, Liberiius quàm ut Imperantium meminisset⁵, It is a Signe the Orbs are out of Frame⁶: For Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, Who threatneth the dissolving thereof; Solvam cingula Regum⁶.

So when any of the foure Pillars of Government are mainly⁷ shaken or weakned (which are Religion, Iustice, Counsell, and Treasure,) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let us passe from this Part of Predictions⁸, (Concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken, from that which followeth,) And let us speake first of the Materials of Seditions; 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 prevent Seditions, (if the Times doe beare it⁹,) 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

¹ bonds
² for
³ every one
⁴ more freely than is consistent with respect for their rulers
⁵ disordered
⁶ I will loose the girdles of
⁷ violently
⁸ i.e. from this part of the subject, viz. predictions
⁹ allow the removal of their causes
Fire. The Matter of Seditions is of two kindes; Much Poverty and Much Discontentment. It is certaine, so many Overthrowne Estates, so many Votes for Troubles. Lucan noteth well the State of Rome before the Civill Warre:

_Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fenus,_  
_Hinc concussa Fides, et multis utile Bellum._

This same _Multis utile 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 joyned 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 in the Politique Body like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternatural Heat and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them by this, whether they be Iust, or Uniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable, who doe often spurne at their owne Good; Nor yet by this, whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact great or small; For they are the most dangerous Discontentments, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. _Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item._ Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things that provoke 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 have been often, or have been long, and yet no Perill hath ensued; For as it is true that every Vapor or Fume doth not turne into a Storme, So it is, nevertheless, true that Stormes, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; And as the Spanish Proverb noteth well; _The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull._

The Causes and Motives of Seditions are,—Innovation

1 fortunes 2 Hence sprang devouring usury, and interest rapidly becoming due; hence shaken credit, and war that was a boon to many. 3 lower classes 4 due to hunger 5 _i.e._ rise in rebellion 6 There is a limit to pain but no limit to fear. 7 at the same time overpower careless 8 smoke
in Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Priviledges; Generall Oppression; Advance-ment of unworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions growne desperate; And whatsoever in offending People ioyneth and knitteth them in a Common Cause.

For' the Remedies; There may be some generall Preservatives, whereof wee will speake; As for the iust" Cure, it must answer to the Particular Disease; And so be left to Counsell rather then Rule.

The first Remedy or prevention is to remove by all meanes possible that materiall Cause of Sedition, wherof we spake; which is Want and Poverty in the Estate. To which purpose serveth the Opening and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like.

Generally, it is to be foreseeene 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 Population to be reckoned onely by number; For a smaller Number, that spend more and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate sooner then a greater Number, that live lower and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobilitie and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an over Proportion to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie; And so doth likewise an overgrognew Clergie, For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers then Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembred that, for as much as the increase of any Estate must be upon the Forrainer, (for

---

1 As for  
2 exact  
3 i.e. the cause which is the matter or ground of the sedition  
4 state  
5 encouragement  
6 cultivation  
7 precautions should be taken  
8 produce  
9 more economically  
10 rank  
11 appointments can absorb  
12 state  
13 at the expense of
whatsoever is some where gotten is some where lost) There be but three Things which one Nation seloth unto another; The Commodity as Nature yeeldeth it; 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 *Materiam superabit Opus*, That the Worke and Carriage is more worth then the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably scene in the Low-Countrey-men, who have the best Mines, above ground, in the World.

Above all things, good Policie is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneyes in a State be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great Stock and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait Hand upon the Devouring Trades of Usurie, Ingrossing, great Pasturages, and the like.

For Removing Discontentments, or at least the danger of them; There is in every State (as we know) two Portions of Subiects, The Noblesse and the Commonaltie. When one of these is Discontent, the danger is not great; For Common People are of slow Motion, if they be not excited by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small strength, except the Multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets faigne that the rest of the Gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the Counsell of Pallas sent for Briareus, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid: An Embleme, no doubt, to shew how safe it is for Monarchs to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

To give moderate Liberty for Griefes and Discontentments to evaporate, (so it be without too great Insolency

---

1 The workmanship will be worth more than the materials.  
2 manure  
3 strict  
4 monopolizing  
5 discontented  
6 upper classes  
7 salutary  
8 provided that
180 or Bravery, is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth maligne Ulcers and pernicious Impostumations. 

The Part of Epimetheus mought well become Pro- 
185 metheus in the case of Discontentments, For there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when Griefes and Evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing and Entertaining of Hopes, and 
190 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 Men’s hearts by Hopes, when it cannot by Satisfaction; And when it can handle things in such 
195 manner as no Evill shall appeare so peremptory but that it hath some Out-let of Hope; Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons and Factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, which they beleive not.

Also, the Foresight, and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head whereunto Discontented Persons may resort, 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 
200 Confidence with the Discontented Party; and upon 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 so divide the reputation. Generally, the Dividing and Breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are adverse to the State,

---

1 bravado  
2 runs the risk of  
3 abscesses  
4 artful  
5 by granting their demands  
6 destructive, or inevitable  
7 both individuals  
8 make a parade of  
9 is trusted by  
10 discontented about the position of his own affairs  
11 confronted
and setting them at distance\(^1\), or at least distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst Remedies. For it is a desperate 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 have noted that some witty\(^2\) and sharpe Speeches, which have fallen from Princes, have given fire to Seditions. Caesar did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech, Sylla \(nescivit\) Literas, non potuit dictare\(^3\): For it did utterly cut off that Hope, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, give over his Dictatorship. Galba undid himselfe by that Speech, Legi \(se\) Militem, non emi\(^4\): For it put the Souldiers out of Hope of the Donative. Probus likewise, by that Speech, Si \(vixero\) non \(opus\) erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus\(^5\); A Speech of great Despaire for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, Princes had need, in tender\(^6\) Matters and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these short Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat\(^7\) Things and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events\(^8\), not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour neere unto them, for the Repressing of Seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be\(^9\) more trepidation in Court upon the first Breaking out of Troubles then were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; Atque is \(Habitus\) animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes \(paterentur\). But let such Military Persons be Assured\(^11\), and well reputed of, rather then Factious and Popular\(^12\);

\(^1\) at enmity
\(^2\) smart
\(^3\) Sulla did not know his letters and could not 'dictate.'
\(^4\) That it was his practice to levy soldiers, not to buy them.
\(^5\) If I live, the Roman Empire shall have no further need of soldiers.
\(^6\) delicate
\(^7\) dull
\(^8\) in case of any emergency
\(^9\) there is usually
\(^10\) Such was the state of men's feelings that, while there were few to venture on a deed so foul, most men wished it done and all acquiesced in it.
\(^11\) trustworthy
\(^12\) popularity-hunters
Holding also good Correspondence with\(^1\) the other Great 245 Men in the State, Or else the Remedie is worse then the Disease.

**XVI**  

**OF ATHEISME**

I had rather beleev\(e\) all the Fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, then that this universall Frame is without a Minde. And, therefore, God never wrought Miracle to convince\(^2\) Atheisme, because his Ordinary Works convince it. It is true that a little Philosophy inclineth Man’s Minde to Atheisme; But depth in Philosophy bringeth Men’s Mindes about\(^3\) to Religion: For while the Minde of Man looketh upon Second\(^4\) Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no further: But when it beholdeth the Chaine of them, Confederate\(^5\) and Linked together, it must needs flie to Providence and Deitie. Nay, even that Schoole, which is most accused of Atheisme, doth most demonstrate Religion; That is, the Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more Credible that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God, then that an Army of Infinite small Portions or Seedes\(^6\) unplaced\(^7\) should have produced this Order and Beauty without a Divine Marshall. The Scripture saith, The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God: It is not said, The Foole hath thought in his Heart: So as\(^8\) he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would have\(^9\), then that he can throughly beleev\(e\) it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there 25 is a God but those for whom it maketh\(^{10}\) that there were

---

1. bearing a due proportion to  
2. refute  
3. round  
4. efficient, immediate  
5. united  
6. atoms  
7. in fortuitous concourse  
8. so that  
9. as what he would wish to have  
10. for whose advantage it would be
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 ever be talking of that their Opinion\(^1\), as if they fainted\(^2\) in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the Consent of others; Nay more, you shall have Atheists strive to get Disciples, as it fareth with other Sects; And, which is most\(^3\) of all, you shall have of them that\(^4\) will suffer for Atheisme, and not recant; Wheras, if they did truly thinke that there were no such Thing as God, why should they trouble themselves?\(^5\) Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed, There were Blessed Natures\(^6\), but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the Government of the World; Wherin they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God.\(^7\) But certainly, he is traduced, For his Words are Noble and Divine: Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum.\(^8\) Plato could have said no more. And although he had the Confidence\(^9\) to deny the Administration\(^9\), he had not the Power to deny the Nature\(^10\). The Indians of the West have Names for their particular Gods, though they have no name for God: As if the Heathens should have had the Names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., But not the Word Deus; which shewes that even those Barbarous People have the Notion, though they have not the Latitude and Extent of it. So that against Atheists, the very Savages take part with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplative\(^11\) 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\(^12\) all that Impugne a received Religion, or Superstition, are, by the adverse Part, branded with the Name of Atheists. But

---

1. of that opinion of theirs
2. they felt but slight confidence
3. most remarkable
4. you will find some who
5. divine beings
6. without concerning themselves
7. It is not profane to deny the existence of the gods of the people;
8. boldness
9. divine government
10. divine nature
11. theoretic
12. because
the great Atheists, indeed\(^1\), are Hypocrites, which are ever Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; So as\(^2\) they must needs be cauterized\(^3\) in the End.

The Causes of Atheisme are; Divisions in Religion, if they be many; For any one maine Division addeth Zeale to both Sides, But many Divisions introduce Atheisme. Another is, Scandall of\(^4\) Priests, When it is come to that which S. Bernard saith, *Non est iam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos*\(^5\). A third is, Custome of Profane Scoffing in Holy Matters, which doth, by little and little, deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, Learned Times, specially with Peace and Prosperity: For Troubles and Adversities doe more bow Men's Mindes to Religion. They that deny a God destroy Man's Nobility; For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts by his Body; And if he be not of Kinne to God by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It destroies likewise Magnanimity and the Raising of Humane Nature; For take an Example of a Dog, And mark what a Generosity\(^6\) and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained\(^7\) by a Man, who to him is in stead of a God, or *Melior Natura*\(^8\); which courage is manifestly such as that Creature, without that Confidence of\(^9\) a better Nature then his owne, could never attaine. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe\(^10\) 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\(^11\) in this, that it depriveth humane Nature of the Meanes to exalt it selfe above Humane 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 saith; *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos*,

\(^1\) in reality

\(^2\) so that

\(^3\) have their consciences seared

\(^4\) caused by

\(^5\) One cannot now say, 'as the people so the priest,' for the people are not as bad as the priest.

\(^6\) nobleness

\(^7\) backed up

\(^8\) a superior nature

\(^9\) belief in

\(^10\) relies

\(^11\) so is it also
OF ATHEISME

nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huïs Gentis et Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed Piatate, ac Religione, atque hâc unà Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationes-que superavimus.

XVII
OF SUPERSTITION

It were better to have no Opinion of God at all then such an Opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbeleefe, the other is Contumely: And certainly Superstition is the Reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose; Surely (saith he) I had rather, a great deale, 5 Men should say there was no such Man at all as Plutarch, then that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his Children, as soon as they were born, as the Poets speake of Saturne. And, as the Contumely is greater towards God, so the Danger is greater towards Men. 10 Atheisme leaves a Man to Sense, to Philosophy, to Naturall Piety, to Lawes, to Reputation; All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though Religion were not; But Superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy in the Mindes of Men. Therefore 15 Atheisme did never perturbe States; For it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further: And we see

1 We may esteem ourselves, Conscript Fathers, as highly as we please; yet we cannot match the Spaniards in numbers, the Gauls in bodily strength, the Carthaginians in cunning, the Greeks in art, or indeed our own Italians and Latins in the domestic and native affection which characterizes this land and nation. But our piety, and religion, and recognition of the one great truth that all things are regulated and directed by the providence of the immortal gods,—these are points in which we have surpassed all peoples, civilised and uncivilised alike.

2 no definite opinion

3 a reproach against

4 natural affection

5 religion were absent

6 deposes

7 because they have nothing to consider beyond their present interests
OF SUPERSTITION

the times inclined to Atheisme (as the Time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil Times. But Superstition hath beene the Confusion of many States, And bringeth in a new Primum Mobile that ravisheath all the Spheares of Govern-
ment. The Master of Superstition is the People; And in all Superstition, Wise Men follow Fooles; And Arguments are fitted to Practise, in a reversed Order. It was gravely said by some of the Prelates, in the Councell of Trent, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway, That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena, though they knew there were no such Things; And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen had framed a Number of subtile and intricate Axiomes and Theorems, to save the practise of the Church. The Causes of Supersti-
tion are ;—Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies; Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; The Stratagems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre; The Favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties; The taking an Aime at divine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially ioyned with Calamities and Disasters. Superstition, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape to be so like a Man, So the Similitude of Superstition to Religion makes it the more deformed: And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes, So good Formes and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a Superstition in avoiding Superstition, when men thinke to doe best if they goe furthest from the Superstition formerly received:

1 times of tranquillity  
2 carries along with it  
3 It was a weighty saying of  
4 orbits so devised as to be consistent with astronomical phe-
nomena  
5 rites which appeal to the senses  
6 for  
7 be a burden to  
8 caprices  
9 guessing  
10 a confused conception of mat-
ters between which there is no real analogy
Therefore, Care would be had\(^1\) that, (as it fareth\(^2\) in ill 50 Purgings) the Good be not taken away with the Bad; which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

XVIII

OF TRAVAILE\(^3\)

\(\text{TRAVAILE}^8,\) in the younger Sort\(^4,\) is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that travaileth into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into\(^5\) the Language, goeth to Schoole, and not to Travaile. That Young Men travaile under some Tutor, or grave 5 Servant, I allow well\(^6;\) So that\(^7\) he be such a one that hath\(^8\) the Language and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what Things are worthy to be seen in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth\(^9.\) For else young Men shall goe hooded\(^10;\) and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in Land-Travaile, wherin so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; As if Chance were fitter to be registred then Observation\(^11.\) Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The Things to be seen and observed are:—The Courts of Princes, specially when they give Audience to Ambassadours; The Courts of Justice, while they sit and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke\(^12;\) The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant; The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And so the Havens and Harbours; Antiquities

---

\(^1\) ought to be exercised
\(^2\) happens
\(^3\) Travel
\(^4\) in the case of young people
\(^5\) he has made some progress
\(^6\) I quite approve
\(^7\) provided that
\(^8\) knows
\(^9\) affords
\(^10\) blindfolded
\(^11\) \(i.e.\) the things which they go to see
\(^12\) ecclesiastical assemblies
25 and Ruines; Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are; Shipping and Navies; Houses, and Gardens of State and Pleasure, neare great Cities; Armo-ries; Arsenals; Magazens; Exchanges; Burses; Warehouses; Exercises of Horsemanship; Fencing; Trayning of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies, Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe resort; Treasuries of Jewels and Robes; Cabinets and Rarities; And, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places where they goe. After all which the Tutors or Servants ought to make diligent Enquire. As for Triumphs, Masques, Feasts, Weddings, Funeralls, Capitall Executions, and such Shewes, Men need not to be put in mind of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man to put his Travaile into a little Roome, and in short time to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must have such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country where he travelleth, which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one Citty or Towne; More or lesse as the place deserveth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging from one End and Part of the Towne to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places where there is good Company of the Nation where he travaileth. Let him, upon his Removes from one place to another, procure Recommendation to some person of Quality, residing in the Place whither he removeth, that he may use his Favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his Travaile with much profit. As for the acquaint-ance which is to be sought in Travaile; That which is most of all profitable is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and

---

1 fine and pleasant gardens  
2 exchanges  
3 public pageants  
4 chart, map  
5 loadstone to attract friends  
6 board
Employd Men\(^1\) of Ambassadours; For so in Travailing in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit Eminent Persons in\(^2\) all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad, That he may be able to tell how the Life agreeeth with the Fame. For\(^3\) Quarels, \(^6\) they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses; Healths\(^4\); Place\(^5\); and Words\(^6\). And let a Man beware how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarelsome Persons; for they will engage him into\(^7\) their owne Quarels. When a Travailer \(^70\) returneth home, let him not leave the Countries, where he hath Travailed, altogether behinde him, But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance which are of most Worth. And let his Travaile appeare rather in his Discourse then in his Apparrell or Gesture; \(^75\) And in his Discourse, let him be rather advised\(^8\) in his Answers then forwards to tell Stories: And let it appeare that he doth not change his Country Manners\(^9\) for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely prick in\(^10\) some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his \(^8\) owne Country.

XIX

OF EMPIRE

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 Mindes more Languishing; And have many Representations\(^11\) of Perills and Shadowes, which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect which the

---

1 attachés 7 entangle him in
2 of 8 deliberate
3 As regards 9 the manners of his own
country
4 toasts 10 implant
5 precedence 11 suspicious fancies
Scripture speaketh of, That the King's Heart is inscrutable. For Multitude of Jealousies, and Lack of some predominant desire that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any Man's Heart hard to finde or sound. Hence it comes likewise that Princes, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon toyes: Sometimes upon a Building; Sometimes upon Erecting of an Order; Some-times upon the Advancing of a Person; Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art or Feat of the Hand; As Nero for playing on the Harpe, Domitian for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, Commodus for playing at Fence, Caracalla for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the Principle, That the Minde of Man is more cheared and refreshed by profiting in small things then by standing at a stay in great. We see also that Kings, that have been fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares,—it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must have some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes,—turne in their latter yeares to be Superstitious and Melancholy; As did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, And in our memory, Charles the Fift; And others: For he that is used to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne favour, and is not the Thing he was.

To speake now of the true Temper of Empire: It is a Thing rare, and hard to keep: For both Temper and Distemper 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 Nero's 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 destroieth Authority so much as the unequall and untimely Enterchange of Power Pressed too farre, and Relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdome of all these latter Times

1 trifles
2 instituting
3 making progress
4 standing still
5 blend of qualities required for successful government
in Princes' Affaires is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare, then solid and grounded Courses to 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: For no Man can forbid the Sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in Princes' Businesse are many and great; But the greatest difficulty is often in their owne Minde. For it is common with Princes, (saith Tacitus) to will Contradictories: *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contraria*. For it is the Soloeçisme of Power, to thinke to Command the End and yet not to endure the Meane.

Kings have 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 arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First for their Neighbours; There can no generall Rule be given, (The Occasions are so variable,) save one, which ever holdeth; which is, That Princes doe keepe due Centenniall that none of their Neighbours doe overgrow 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 Counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that Triumvirate of Kings, King Henry the VIII. of England, Francis the I. King of France, and Charles the V. Emperour, there was such a watch kept, that none of the Three could win a Palme of Ground, but the other two would straight-waies ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre; And would not, in any wise, take up Peace

---

1 ingenions devices for escaping from difficult situations

2 to measure one's strength against

3 The desires of kings are usually violent and incongruous.

4 blunder of rulers

5 means

6 soldiers

7 with regard to

8 by attracting to themselves trade

9 by encroachments

10 that

11 hand's-breadth
at Interest\(^1\). And the like was done by that League (which, Guicciardine saith, was the Security of Italy) made betwene Ferdinando King of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, Potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Millaine. Neither is the Opinion of some of the Schoole-Men to be received, *That a warre cannot iustly be made but upon a precedent Iniury, or Provocation.* For there is no Question but a iust Feare of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull Cause of a Warre.

For\(^2\) their Wives; There are Cruell Examples of them. Livia is infamous\(^3\) for the poysoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solymans Wife, was the destruction of that renowned Prince, Sultan Mustapha, And otherwise troubled his House and Succession; Edward the Second of England his Queen had the principall hand in the Deposing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger is then to be feared, chiefly, when the Wives have Plots for the Raising of their owne Children, Or else that\(^4\) they be Advoutresses\(^5\).

For\(^2\) 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 fatall to Solymans Line, as\(^7\) the Succession of the Turks, from Solyma until this day, is suspected to be untrue and of strange Bloud; For that\(^8\) Selymus the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young Prince of rare Towardnesse\(^9\), by Constantinus the Great his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both Constantinus and Constance, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And Constantius his other Sonne 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.

---

\(^1\) purchase present peace at great future cost
\(^2\) As regards
\(^3\) infamous
\(^4\) when
\(^5\) adulteresses
\(^6\) due to
\(^7\) that
\(^8\) inasmuch as
\(^9\) docility
And many like Examples there are; But few, or none, where the Fathers had good\(^1\) by such distrust, Except it were, where the Sonnes were up in open Armes against them; As was Selymus the First against Baiazet; And the three Sonnes of Henry the Second, King of England.

For\(^2\) their Prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who, with their Crosiars, did almost try it\(^3\) with the King’s Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that State\(^4\), but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority\(^5\); Or where the Churchmen come in and are elected, not by the Collation\(^6\) of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For\(^2\) their Nobles; To keepe them at a distance it is not amissee; But to depresse them may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe, And lesse able to performe any thing that he desires. I have noted it, in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed 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\(^2\) their Second Nobles\(^7\); There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high\(^8\), but that doth little Hurt: Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher Nobility, that they grow not\(^9\) too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For\(^2\) their Merchants; They are *Vena porta*; And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limmes, \(145\)

---

\(^{1}\) were benefited  
\(^{2}\) As regards  
\(^{3}\) enter on a conflict  
\(^{4}\) *viz.* the clerical order  
\(^{5}\) except in cases where the clergy derive their support from foreign authority  
\(^{6}\) appointment  
\(^{7}\) inferior nobles, or perhaps the gentry  
\(^{8}\) talk large  
\(^{9}\) preventing them from growing
but will have empty Veines, and nourish little¹. Taxes and Imposts upon them doe seldome good to the King’s Revenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leeseth² in the Shire; The particular Rates being increased, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For³ their Commons; There is little danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle with the Point of Religion, Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.

For⁴ their Men of warre⁴; It is a dangerous State where they live and remaine in a Body and are used to Donatives⁵; whereof we see Examples in the Ianizaries and Pretorian Bands of Rome: But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in severall places, and under severall⁶ Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to Heavenly Bodies, which cause good or evill times; And which have much Veneration, but no Rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances: Memento quod es Homo⁷, And Memento quod es Deus, or Vice Dei⁸: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

XX

OF COUNSELL

The 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 Counsellours, they commit the whole:

¹ get little nourishment  ⁠⁶ separate
² loses  ⁠⁷ Remember that you are a man:
³ As regards  ⁠⁸ Remember that you are a God, or God’s representative.
⁴ soldiers  
⁵ largesses
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 upon Counsell. God himselfe is not without, But hath made it one of the great Names of his blessed Sonne; The Counsellour. Salomon hath pronounced that In Counsell is Stability. Things will have their first, or second Agitation; If they be not tossed upon the Arguments of Counsell, they will be tossed upon the Waves of Fortune, And be full of Inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. Salomon’s Sonne found the Force of Counsell, as his Father saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloved Kingdome of God was first rent and broken by ill Counsell; Upon which Counsell there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby Bad Counsell is for ever best discerned; That it was young Counsell for the Persons, And Violent Counsell for the Matter.

The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the Incorporation and inseparable Conjunction of Counsell with Kings, And the wise and Politique use of Counsell by Kings: The one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth Counsell; Whereby they intend that Soveraignty 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 forth, but eat her up; 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 Counsell to goe through

---

1 counsellors are bound  
2 ability  
3 inconsistency  
4 first done and then undone  
5 as regards  
6 by which they signify  
7 elaborated
with the Resolution¹ 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 to² Pallas Armed)
proceeded from themselves; And not onely from their
Authority, but (the more to adde Reputation to Them-
selves) from their Head and Device.

Let us now speake of the Inconveniences of Counsell,
and of the Remedies. The Inconveniences, that have been
noted in calling and using Counsell, are three. First, the
Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse Secret.
Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if
they were lesse of Themselves³. Thirdly, the Danger of
being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of
that counsel then of him that is counselled. For
which Inconveniences, the Doctrine⁴ of Italy, and Practise
of France, in some Kings’ times, hath introduced Cabinet
Counsels⁵; 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 unsecreting⁶ of their Affaires comes
not from Themselves. And as for Cabinet Counsels, it
may be their Motto, Plenus rimarum sum⁷: One futile⁸
person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe more hurt
then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true,
there be some Affaires, which require extreme Secrecy,
which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides
the King⁹: Neither are those Counsels unprosperous: For
besides the Secrecy, they commonly goe on constantly¹⁰ in
one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it

¹ final decision ⁷ Full of chinks am I.
² compared with ⁸ talkative
³ less capable of themselves ⁹ and secrecy will with difficulty
⁴ teaching be preserved, if the secret is known
⁵ private meetings of favoured to more than one or two persons
⁶ disclosure besides the king:
¹⁰ consistently
must be a Prudent King, such as is able to Grinde with a Hand-Mill; And those Inward Counsellors had need also be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the King's Ends; As it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest Businesse imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For Weakening of Authority; The Fable sheweth the Remedy. Nay, the Maiesty of Kings is rather exalted then diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell: Neither was there ever Prince bereaved of his Dependances by his Counsell, Except where there hath beene either an Overgreatnesse in one Counsellour, Or an Overstrict Combination in Divers; which are Things soone found and holpen.

For the last Inconvenience, that Men will Counsell with an Eye to themselves; Certainly, *Non inveniet Fidem super terram* is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons. There be that are in Nature Faithfull and Sincere, and Plaine and Direct, Not Crafty and Involved: Let Princes, above 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 King's Eare. But the best Remedy is, if Princes know their Counsellours as well as their Counsellours know Them:

*Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.*

And on the other side, Counsellours should not be too Speculative into their Soveraigne's Person. The true Composition of a Counsellour is rather to be skilfull in their Master's Businesse then in his Nature; For then he to do his own business himself
2 confidential
3 As regards
4 *viz.* of Jupiter and Metis
5 whose influence was impaired
6 several
7 remedied
8 He will not find faith on the earth
9 describes the characteristic of a particular age
10 for party purposes
11 A prince's highest merit is to know his subjects.
12 prying
13 character
14 the right quality for
15 *i.e.* than in understanding his inclination
is like to Advise 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 Consort, Men are more obnoxious to others' Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of theinferiour Sort rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to preserve Respect. It is in vaine for Princes to take Counsel concerning Matters, if they take no Counsell likewise concerning Persons: For all Matters are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires resteth in the good Choice of Persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning Persons Secundum genera, as in an Idea or Mathematicall Description, what the Kinde and Character of the Person should be; For the greatest Errors are committed, and the most Judgement is shewne, in the choice of Individuals. It was truly said, Optimi Consiliarij mortui; Books will speake plaine, when Counsellors Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, Specially the Bookes of such as Themselves have 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 Nocte Consilium. So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland, which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions; For both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance, And it frees the Meetings by classes

depends on

---

1 likely
2 special
3 reverent, respectful
4 company
5 more liable to be influenced by
6 efficiency of administration
for Matters of Estate\(^1\), that they may *Hoc agere*\(^2\). In choice of Committees for ripening\(^3\) Business for the Counsell, it is better to choose Indifferent\(^4\) persons then to make an Indifferency\(^5\) by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing\(^6\) Commissions; As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; for some Provinces\(^7\): For where there be divers particular Counsels, and but one Counsell of Estate, (as it is in Spaine), they are in effect no more then Standing Commissions, Save that they have greater Authority. Let such as are to informe Counsels out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men\(^8\), and the like), be first heard before Committees; And then, as Occasion serves, before the Counsell. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious\(^9\) Manner; For that is, to clamour Counsels\(^10\), not to enforme 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, sway\(^11\) all the Business; But in the other Forme there is more use of the Counsellours' Opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in Counsell, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For else Counsellours will but take the Winde of him\(^12\), And in stead of giving Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*\(^13\).

**XXI**

**OF DELAYES**

*Fortune* is like the Market, Where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is

---

1. state  
2. keep to the business in hand  
3. preparing  
4. impartial  
5. secure impartiality  
6. permanent  
7. departments  
8. persons skilled in coinage  
9. overbearing  
10. start councils with clamour  
11. direct  
12. follow his lead  
13. will follow the bent of his humour
sometimes like Sybilla's Offer, which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up\(^1\) 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\(^2\); Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle first to be received, 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\(^3\), if they once seeme light: And more dangers have deceived Men then forced them\(^4\). Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing\(^5\) neare, then to keepe too long a watch upon their Approaches; 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 Enemics' backe), And so to shoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on by over early Buckling towards them\(^6\), is another Extreme. The Ripenesse or Unripenesse 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\(^7\) goe Invisible, 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\(^8\) it out-runs the Eye.

---

\(^1\) always increases assailed them
\(^2\) has been taken
\(^3\) trifling
\(^4\) more dangers have attacked men insidiously than have openly
\(^5\) by no means
\(^6\) preparing to meet them
\(^7\) politician
\(^8\) that
OF CUNNING

We take Cunning for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference between a Cunning Man and a Wise Man, Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some that are good in Canvasse, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; For many are perfect in Men's Humours 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 own Alley: Turne them to New Men and they have lost their Ayme; So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wise Man, Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos et videbis, doth scarce hold for them. And because these Cunning Men are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop.

It is a point of Cunning, to wait upon him with whom you speake, with your eye, As the Iesuites give it in precept; For there be many Wise Men that have Secret Hearts and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Iesuites also doe use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtaine of present dispatch, you entertaine and amuse the party with

1 We understand by ‘cunning’
2 can secure a good hand by cheating
3 intrigues
4 capable of the material part, namely, business
5 intrigue
6 only
7 bowling-alley
8 so that
9 Turn them both adrift among strangers, and then you will see the difference
10 pedlars, small tradespeople
11 stock-in-trade (of tricks)
12 closely watch
13 should
14 a modest turning-down
15 are in the habit of doing
16 of urgent importance

B.
OF CUNNING  [ESSAY XXII

whom you deale with some other Discourse, That he be not too much awake to make Objections. 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, that she mought the lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize may be made by Moving things, when the Party is in haste and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would crosse a Businesse that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himselfe in such sort as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he tooke himselfe up, breeds a greater Appetite in him with whom you conferre to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance then you are wont; To the end, to give Occasion for the party to aske what the Matter is of the Change? As Nehemias did, And I had not before that time been sad before the King.

In Things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the other’s Speech. As Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the Marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a Man would not be seen in himselfe, It is a Point of Cunning to borrow the Name of the World; As to say, The World sayes, Or, There is a speech abroad.

---

1 about affairs of state
2 might
3 proposing
4 that which is proposed
5 wants to thwart
6 fears
7 skilfully
8 in such a fashion
9 checked himself
10 what is the ground for the change of countenance
11 that need delicate handling
12 opinion
13 viz. the man with the more weighty opinion
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 have Speech, he would passe over 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 themselves to be surprized at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon 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 apposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of Cunning, to let fall those Words, in a Man's owne Name, which he would have another Man learne and use, and thereupon take Advantage. I knew two that were Competitors for the Secretarie's Place, in Queene Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselves, And would conferre, one with another, upon the Businesse; 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: The other straight caught up those 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 Queene; Who, hearing of a Declination of a Monarchy, tooke it so ill as she would never after heare of the other's Suit.

There is a Cunning, which we in England call The Turning of the Cat in the Pan; which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it as if Another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare from which of them it first moved and began.

---

1 likely that
2 questioned about
3 kept on good terms
4 decline
5 desire
6 immediately
7 several
8 that
9 shifting the characters
10 he makes out that the other
It is a way that some men have, to glaunce and dart\(^1\) at Others, by Justifying themselves by Negatives; As to say, \textit{This I do not}: As Tigillinus did towards Burrhus; \textit{Se non diversasspes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare}.\(^2\)

Some have in readinesse so many Tales and Stories, as\(^3\) there is Nothing they would\(^4\) insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keepe themselves more in Guard\(^5\), and to make others carry it\(^6\), with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of Cunning for a Man to shape the Answer he would have in his owne Words and Propositions; For it makes the other Party sticke\(^7\) the lesse.

It is strange how long some Men will lie in wait to speake somewhat they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch\(^8\); And how many other Matters they will beat over to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question doth many times surprise 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 straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares and Petty Points of Cunning are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List of them: For that\(^9\) nothing doth more hurt in a State then that Cunning Men passe for Wise.

But certainly, some there are that know the Resorts and Falls\(^10\) of Businesse that cannot sinke into the Maine of it\(^11\); Like a House that hath convenient Staires and Entries, but never a faire Roome. Therfore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses\(^12\) in the Conclusion, but are no waies

\(1\) to cast reflexions
\(2\) He had no divergent aims in view (as Burrus had), but looked solely to the emperor's safety.
\(3\) that
\(4\) would like to
\(5\) to protect themselves from injurious consequences
\(6\) spread it abroad
\(7\) hesitate
\(8\) how they will go round and round the subject
\(9\) since
\(10\) vicissitudes
\(11\) cannot grasp its essential principles
\(12\) find out ingenious means of escaping difficulty
able to Examine or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction\(^1\). Some build rather upon the Abusing\(^2\) of others, and (as we now say) *Putting Tricks upon them*, Then upon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad Gressus suas: Stultus divertit ad Dolos*\(^3\).

XXIII

OF WISEDOME FOR A MAN'S SELFE

An Ant is a wise Creature for it Selfe, But it is a shrewd\(^4\) Thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great Lovers of Themselves waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene Selfe-love and Society; And be so true to thy Selfe as\(^5\) thou be not false to Others, Specially to thy King and Country. It is a poore Center of a Man's Actions, Himselfe. It is right Earth\(^6\); For that onely\(^7\) stands fast upon his\(^8\) owne Center; Whereas all Things that have Affinity with the Heavens move upon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a Man's Selfe is more tolerable in a Soveraigne Prince, Because Themselves are not onely Themselves, But their Good and Evill is at the perill\(^9\) of the Publique Fortune: But it is a desperate Evill in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique; For whatsoever Affaires passe such a Man's Hands, he crooketh\(^10\) them to his owne Ends, Which must needs be often Eccentrick to\(^11\) the Ends of his Master or State. Therefore let Princes or States choose

\(^1\) would like to be taken for men of special ability in directing other people
\(^2\) deceiving
\(^3\) The wise man looks to his own steps: the fool turns aside to the snare.
\(^4\) mischievous
\(^5\) be true to thyself in such a way that
\(^6\) It is just like the earth
\(^7\) For the earth alone
\(^8\) its
\(^9\) involves the good or evil
\(^10\) bends
\(^11\) different from
such Servants as have 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 Servant's Good to be preferred before the Master's; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant shall carry Things against a great Good of the Master's. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadours, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Servants; which set a Bias upon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends and Envies, to the overthrow of their Master's Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part, the Good such Servants receive is after the Modell of their owne Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for that Good is after the Modell of their Master's Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme Selfe-Lovers, As they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges; And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters, Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit Themselves; And for either respect they will abandon the Good of their Affaires.

Wisedome for a Man's Selfe is, in many Branches thereof, a depraved Thing. It is the Wisedome of Rats, 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. It is the Wisedome of Crocodiles, that shed teares when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is that those which (as Cicero saies of Pompey) are *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*, are many times unfortunate. 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, to have Pinnioned.
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 Precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Man's 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 Innovatour: 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 Custome, 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 utility, yet they trouble by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like Strangers, more Admired and lesse Favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a Froward Retention of Custome is as turbulent a Thing as an Innovation; And they that Reverence too much Old Times are but a Scorne to the New. It were good, therefore, that Men in their Innovations would follow the Example of Time it selfe, which indeed

1 Changes
2 offspring
3 equalled
4 On man's corrupt nature, evil naturally exerts most influence as time goes on, whilst goodness operates as an influence from without and grows weaker.
5 by its natural course
6 suited to the times
7 i.e. work together well
8 do not fit in with the old
9 incongruity
10 more wondered at and less liked
11 so revolves
12 obstinate
13 causes as much confusion
14 an object of scorn
15 viz. to their own age
Innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived: For otherwise, whatsoever is New is unlooked for; And ever it mends Some and paires 1 Other: And he that is holpen 2 takes it for a Fortune and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also not to try Experiments in States, Except the Necessity be Urgent, or the utility Evident: And well to beware 3 that it be the Reformation that draweth on the Change, And not the desire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation 4. And lastly, that the Novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a Suspect 5; And, as the Scripture saith, That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walke in it.

XXV

OF DISPATCH

AFFECTED Dispatch 6 is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that which the Physicians call Predigestion, or Hasty Digestion, which is sure to fill the Body full of Crudities 7 and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure not Dispatch by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift 8, that makes the Speed; So in Businesse, 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 9, Or to contrive some false Periods of Business 10, because 11 they may seeme Men of Dispatch.

1 impairs, injures  
2 helped  
3 to take good care  
4 that puts forward the reformation as a pretext  
5 be regarded as a suspected thing  
6 An excessive desire for dispatch  
7 undigested morsels  
8 stepping  
9 as regards the time taken  
10 i.e. to make it seem that the business is finished when it is not really finished  
11 in order that
But it is one Thing to Abbreviate by Contracting\(^1\), Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at several Sittings or Meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady Manner. I knew a Wise Man that had it for a By-word\(^2\), when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.*

On the other side, True Dispatch 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. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of Small dispatch; *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna;*—*Let my Death come from Spaine;* For then it will be sure to be long in comming.

Give good Hearing to those that give the first Information in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches; for he that is put out of his owne Order will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory\(^3\) then he could have been if he had gone on in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene that the Moderator\(^4\) is more troublesome then the Actor\(^5\).

*Iterations*\(^6\) are commonly losse 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 comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches are as fit for Dispatch as a Robe or Mantle with a long Traine is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages\(^8\), and Excusations\(^9\), and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wast Time; And though they seeme to proceed of Modesty, they are Bravery\(^11\). Yet beware of being too Materiall\(^12\), when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Men's Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde\(^13\) ever requireth preface of Speech, Like a Fomentation to make the unguent\(^14\) enter.

---

1. by bringing matters to a point  
2. proverb  
3. tries to recollect what he was going to say  
4. chairman  
5. speaker  
6. repetitions  
7. elaborate, or subtle  
8. digressions  
9. apologies  
10. from  
11. ostentation  
12. of coming too abruptly to the matter in hand  
13. prejudice  
14. ointment
Above all things, Order and Distribution and Singling out of Parts is the life of Dispatch; So as¹ the Distribution be not too subtilly: For he that doth not divide will never enter well into Businesse; And he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearely. To choose Time is to save Time; And an Unseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse: The Preparation; The Debate, or Examination; And the Perfection². 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 upon somewhat conceived³ in Writing doth for the most part facilitate Dispatch: For though it should be wholly rejected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of Direction⁴ then an Indefinite; As Ashes are more Generative⁵ then Dust.

XXVI

OF SEEMING WISE

It hath been an Opinion, that the French are wiser then they seeme, And the Spaniards seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apostle saith of Godlinesse,—Having a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof; So certainly, there are in Point of Wisedome and Sufficiency⁶, that⁷ doe Nothing or Little very solemnly; Magno conatu Nugas⁸. It is a Ridiculous Thing and fit for a Satyre to Persons of Judgement, to see what shifts these Formalists⁹ have, and what Prospectives¹⁰ to make Superficies to seeme Body that hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserved as¹¹ they will not shew their Wares but by a darke Light, And seeme alwaies to

¹ provided that ⁷ some who ² completion ⁸ (They perform) trifles with ³ something expressed ⁹ pretenders to wisdom, pedants ⁴ useful for guidance ¹⁰ perspective-glasses ⁵ fertilizing ¹¹ that ⁶ ability
keepe backe somewhat; And when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know, would 15 nevertheless seeme to others to know of that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with Countenance and Gesture, and are wise by Signes; As Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his Browes up to his Forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chin: Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublatum, altero ad Mentum depressum Supercilio; Crudelitatem 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, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent or Curious; And so would have their Ignorance seeme Judgement. Some are never without a Difference, and commonly, by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the matter; Of whom 30 A. Gellius saith, Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera. Of which kinde also Plato, in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations finde ease to be of the Negative Side, and affect a Credit to object and foretell Difficulties: For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisedome is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, 40 there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks to uphold the Credit of their wealth as

1 they nevertheless wish to seem 
2 With one eyebrow raised to your forehead and the other lowered to your chin, you answer that cruelty is not to your taste. 
3 to carry their point 
4 take for granted 
5 cannot prove 
6 irrelevant or over-subtle 
7 wish to 
8 without some minute distinction 
9 shirk 
10 A madman who fritters away matters of weight with verbal quibbles. 
11 find more comfort in being on 
12 try to acquire a reputation by raising objections 
13 when proposals are rejected 
14 approved 
15 pauper who hides his poverty
these Empty persons have to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency¹. Seeming Wise men may make shift to get Opinion²: But let no Man choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were better take³ for Businesse a Man somewhat Absurd⁴ then over Formall.

XXVII

OF FRENDSHIP

It had beene hard for him that spake it to have put more Truth and untruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech, Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wilde Beast or a God. For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred and Aversion towards⁸ Society, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Savage Beast; But it is most Untrue that it should have any Character at all of the Divine Nature; Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in Solitude, but out of a Love and desire to sequester⁶ a Man's Selfe for a Higher Conversation⁷: Such as is found to have been falsely and fainedly in some of the Heathen; As Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient Hermits and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceive what Solitude is, and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a Tinckling Cymball, where there is no Love. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little⁹, Magna Civitas, Magna solitudo⁹; Because in a great Towne, Frends are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in lesse Neighbourhoods. But we may

¹ ability ² may contrive to acquire a reputation ³ it would be better for you to take ⁴ unreasonable ⁵ aversion for ⁶ withdraw ⁷ manner of life ⁸ expresses it pretty well ⁹ A great city is a great solitude.
goe further and affirme most truly, That it is a meere\(^1\) and miserable Solitude to want true Frends, without which the World is but a Wildernesse; And even in this sense also of Solitude, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for Frendship, he taketh it of\(^2\) the Beast, and not from Humanity\(^3\).

A principall Fruit of Frendship is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings and Suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde: You may take Sarza\(^4\) to open the Liver; Steele to open the Spleene; Flowers of Sulphur for the Lungs; Castoreum for the Braine; But no Receipt\(^5\) openeth the Heart but a true Frend, To whom you may impart Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart to oppresse it, in a kind of Civill Shrift\(^6\) or Confession.

It is a Strange Thing to observe how high a Rate Great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this Fruit of Frendship, wherof we speake: So great, as\(^7\) 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 sorteth to Inconvenience. The Moderne Languages give unto such Persons the Name of Favorites, or Privadoes\(^8\), As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conversation\(^9\). But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use and Cause thereof, Naming them Participes Curarum\(^10\); For it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by Weake\(^11\) and Passionate\(^12\) Princes onely, but by the Wisest and most

---

\(^1\) an absolute  \(^2\) he derives it from  \(^3\) human nature  \(^4\) sarsaparilla  \(^5\) prescription  \(^6\) lay confession  \(^7\) that  
\(^8\) results in  \(^9\) intimate friends  \(^10\) as if it were due to favour or (the desire for) intercourse  
\(^11\) Partners in cares  \(^12\) emotional
Politique that ever reigned, Who have oftentimes joyned to themselves some of their Servants, Whom both themselves have called Frends, And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner, Using the Word which is received between Private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the \textit{Great}) to that Heigth\textsuperscript{1}, that Pompey vaunted Himselfe for Sylla's Overmatch. For when he had carried the Consulship for a Frend of his, against the pursuit\textsuperscript{2} of Sylla, and that\textsuperscript{3} Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great, Pompey turned upon him againe, and in effect\textsuperscript{4} bad him be quiet; \textit{For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising then the Sunne setting.} With Iulius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that Interest as\textsuperscript{5} he set 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 Cæsar would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Presages, 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 dismisse the Senate till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame. And it seemeth his favour was so great as\textsuperscript{6} Antonius, in a Letter which is recited \textit{Verbatim} in one of Cicero's \textit{Philippiques}, calleth him \textit{Venefica},—\textit{Witch}; As if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of meane Birth) to that Heighth as\textsuperscript{7}, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the Marriage of his Daughter Iulia, Mæcenas tooke the Liberty to tell him, \textit{That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made him so great.} With Tiberius Cæsar, Seianus had ascended to that Heighth as\textsuperscript{7} they Two were tearmed and reckoned as a Paire of Frends. Tiberius in a Letter to him saith; \textit{Hæc pro Amicitia nostrà non occultavi}\textsuperscript{8}: And the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to Frendship, as to a

\textsuperscript{1} to such a height
\textsuperscript{2} canvassing
\textsuperscript{3} when
\textsuperscript{4} in fact
\textsuperscript{5} such influence that
\textsuperscript{6} so great that
\textsuperscript{7} to such a height that
\textsuperscript{8} By reason of our friendship I have not concealed these matters.
Goddesse, in respect of the great Dearenesse of Frendship between them Two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of Plautianus, And would often maintaine Plautianus 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 over-live 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 Wise, of such Strength and Severitie of minde, and so Extreme Lovers of Themselves, as all these were, It proveth most plainly that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as ever happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought have a Frend 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 Frendship.

It is not to be forgotten, what Commineus observeth of his first Master, Duke Charles the Hardy; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith, That towards his Latter time, *That closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.* Surely Commineus mought have made the same Iudgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of Pythagoras is darke, but true; *Cor ne edito,—Eat not the Heart.* Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, Those that want Frends to open themselves unto are Canniballs of their owne Hearts. But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first Fruit of frendship) which is, that this Communicating of a Man's Selfe to his Frend works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth Ioyes, and cutteth Griefes in Halfes.
For there is no Man that imparteth his Ioyes to his Frend, but he ioyeth the more; And no Man that imparteth his Griefes to his Frend, but hee grieveth the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Man’s Minde, of like vertue as the Alchymists use\(^1\) to attribute to their Stone for Man’s Bodie, That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still\(^2\) to the Good and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid\(^3\) of Alchymists, there is a manifest Image of this in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies\(^4\), Union strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And even so is it of Minds.

The second Fruit of Frendship is Healthfull and Soveraigne\(^5\) for the Understanding, as the first is for the Affections\(^6\). For Frendship maketh indeed a faire Day in the Affections, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh Daylight in the Understanding, out of Darknesse and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiveth from his Frend; But before you come to that, certaine it is that, whosoever hath his Minde fraught\(^7\) with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarifie and breake up\(^8\), in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts more easily; He marshallleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe\(^9\); And that more by an Houre’s discourse then by a Daye’s Meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the King of Persia, That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad\(^10\); Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure\(^11\); whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs. Neither is this Second Fruit of Frendship, in opening the Understanding, restrained\(^12\) onely to such Frends as are

---

\(^1\) are wont  
\(^2\) always  
\(^3\) calling in the help  
\(^4\) material objects  
\(^5\) supremely beneficial  
\(^6\) feelings  
\(^7\) burdened  
\(^8\) become clear and disentangled  
\(^9\) he grows wiser than his former self  
\(^10\) like tapestry spread out  
\(^11\) i.e. complete  
\(^12\) restricted
able to give a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best); But even 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 Statua, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.

Adde now, to make this Second Fruit of Frendship compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation; which is Faithfull Counsell from a Frend. Heraclitus saith well, in one of his Ænigmas, Dry Light is ever the best. And certaine it is that the Light that a man receiveth by Counsell from Another is Drier and purer then that which commeth from his owne Understanding and Judgement; which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections and Customs.

So as there is as much difference betweene the Counsell that a Frend giveth, and that a Man giveth himselfe, as there is between the Counsell of a Frend and of a Flatterer. For there is no such Flatterer as is a Man's Selfe; And there is no such Remedy against Flattery of a Man's Selfe as the Liberty of a Frend. Counsell is of two Sorts; The one concerning Manners, the other concerning Businesse. For the First; The best Preservative to keepe the Minde in Health is the faithfull Admonition of a Frend. The Calling of a Man's Selfe to a Strict Account is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive. Reading good Bookes of Morality is a little Flat and Dead. Observing our Faults in Others is sometimes unproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best, I say, to worke, and best to take) is the Admonition of a Frend. It is a strange thing to behold what grosse Errours and extreme Absurdities Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a Frend to tell them of them, To the great dammage both of their Fame and Fortune. For, as S. James saith,
they are as Men, that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape and Favour. As for Businesse, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth always more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger is as Wise as he that hath said over the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off as well upon the Arme as upon a Rest; 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 setteth Businesse straight. And if any Man thinke that he will take Counsell, but it shall be by Peeces, Asking Counsell in one Businesse of one Man, and in another Businesse of another Man, It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire Frend, to have Counsell given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: The other, that he shall have Counsell given, hurtfull and unsafe, (though with good Meaning), and mixt partly of Mischiefe and partly of Remedy; Even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good for the Cure of the Disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; And therefore may put you in way for a present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kinde, And so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a Frend that is wholly acquainted with a Man's Estate, will beware by furthering any present Businesse, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon Scattered Counsels; They will rather distract and Misleade then Settle and Direct.

After these two Noble Fruits of Frendship, (Peace in the Affections, and Support of the Iudgement,) followeth the last Fruit, which is like the Pomgranat, full of many kernels; I meane Aid, and Bearing a Part in all Actions

---

1 immediately
2 features
3 foolish and conceited
4 But after all
5 bent and distorted
6 in some other respect
7 state
8 depend
9 promiscuous
ESSAY XXVII]  OF FRENDSHIP  83

and Occasions. Here, the best Way to represent to life  the manifold use of Frenshtip is to cast 2 and see how 230
many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe; And then it will appeare that it was a Sparing Speech 3 of
the Ancients to say, That a Frend is another Himselfe: For that 4 a Frend is farre more then Himselfe. Men have
their Time 5, and die many times in desire of 6 some Things 235
which they principally take to Heart 7; The bestowing 8 of
a Child, The Finishing of a Worke, Or the like. If a Man
have a true Frend, he may rest almost secure 9 that the Care
of those Things will continue after Him. So that a Man
hath as it were two Lives in his desires 10. A Man hath a 240
Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where
Frenshtip is, all Offices of Life are as it were granted to
Him and his Deputy; For he may exercise them by his
Frend. How many Things are there which a Man cannot,
with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man 245
can scarce alledge 11 his owne Merits with modesty, much
lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to
Supplicate or Beg; And a number of the like. But all
these Things are Gracefull in a Frend’s Mouth, which are
Blushing 12 in a Man’s Owne. So againe, a Man’s Person 250
hath many proper Relations 13 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 upon
Termes 14: whereas a Frend may speak as the Case requires,
and not as it sorteth with the Person 15. But to enumerate 255
these Things were endlesse: I have given the Rule, where
a Man cannot fitly play his owne Part: If he have not a
Frend, he may quit the Stage.

1 to the life, vividly
cerned
2 cast up, reckon
declare
3 moderate statement
which raise a blush
4 for
12 which raise a blush
5 i.e. their appointed time
13 the part which a man plays in
whilst still desiring
life has many relations peculiar to
7 set their hearts upon
itself
8 sc. in marriage
14 without due formalities
9 assured
15 not as befits a particular
10 so far as his desires are con-

character.

6—2
Riches are for Spending, and Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore Extraordinary Expence must be limited by the Worth of the Occasion; For Voluntary Undoing may be as well for a Man’s Country as for the Kingdom of Heaven; But Ordinary Expence ought to be limited by a Man’s Estate, And governed with such regard as it be within his Compasse; And not subject to Deceit and Abuse of Servants; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bills may be lesse then the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Even hand, his Ordinary Expences ought to be but to the Halfe of his Receipts; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part. It is no Baseness for the Greatest to descend and looke into their owne Estate. Some forbear it, not upon Negligence alone, But doubting to bring Themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken. But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all, had need both Choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; For New are more Timorous and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turne all to Certainties. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull in some kinde of Expence, to be as Saving againe in some other: As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Saving in Apparel; If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Saving in the Stable; And the like. For he that is Plentifull in Expences of all Kindes will hardly be preserved

1 proportionate to  
2 ruin, i.e. self-sacrifice  
3 so regulated that  
4 managed in such a way as to produce the greatest impression  
5 wishes to keep solvent  
6 from  
7 fearing  
8 in case they should find their fortune diminished  
9 i.e. new servants  
10 definitely to determine the items of his income and expenditure  
11 lavish  
12 hospitality
from Decay. In Clearing\(^1\) of a Man's Estate, he may as well hurt Himselfe\(^2\) in being too sudden as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling\(^3\) is commonly as Disadvantageable\(^4\) as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights\(^5\), he will revert to his Customes; But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well upon\(^6\) his Minde as upon his Estate. Certainly, who\(^7\) hath a State\(^8\) 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 beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters that returne not he may be more Magnificent.

XXIX

OF THE TRUE GREATNESSE OF KINGDOMES AND ESTATES\(^9\)

The Speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was Haughtie and Arrogant in taking so much to Himselfe, had been\(^10\) a Grave and Wise Observation and Censure\(^11\), 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)\(^12\) may expresse two differing Abilities in those that deale in Businesse of Estate\(^13\). For if a true Survey be taken of Counsellours and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a Small State Great, and yet cannot Fiddle: As, on the other side, there will be

---

1. sc. from debt
2. he may hurt himself just as much
3. i.e. the forced sale of a property
4. disadvantageous
5. straits, difficulties
6. in regard to
7. he who
8. an estate
9. States
10. would have been
11. judgment
12. transferred (to politicians) with a little licence
13. state
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 Governours gaine both Favour with their Masters and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve 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 serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Governours, which may be held sufficient, (Negotijs pares,) Able to manmage Affaires, and to keepe them from Precipices and manifest Inconveniences; which nevertheless 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 us speake of the Worke; That is, The true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates, and the Meanes thereof: An Argument fit for Great and Mighty Princes to have in their hand; To the end that, neither by Over-measuring their Forces they leese themselves in vaine Enterprises, Nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsells.

The Greatnesse of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie doth fall under Measure; And the Greatnesse of Finances and Revenew doth fall under Computation. The Popula
tion 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 Civill Affaires, more subiect to Errour then the right valuation and true Judgement concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The Kingdome of Heaven is compared, not to any great Kernell or Nut, but to a Graine of Mustard-seed; which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and

---

1 skilfully
2 that
3 who
4 competent
5 equal to their work
6 a subject
7 lose
8 timid
9 admit of measurement
10 censuses
11 charts
Spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there States, great in Territorie, and yet not apt\(^1\) to Enlarge or Command; And some that have but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

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 Lion's Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People be stout\(^2\) and warlike. Nay, Number (it selfe) in Armies\(^5\) importeth not much\(^3\), where the People is of weake Courage: For (as Virgil saith) _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\(^4\) it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in Alexander's Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him to set upon them by Night; But hee answered, _He would not pilfer the Victory._ And the Defeat was Easy. When Tigranes the Armenian, being incamped upon a Hill with 400000 Men, discovered the Armie of the Romans, being not above 65 14000 Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; _Yonder Men are too Many for an Ambassage\(^6\), and too Few for a Fight._ But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough to give him the Chace with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples of the great oddes\(^7\) between Number and Courage\(^8\): So that a Man may truly make a Judgement, That the Principal Point of Greatnesse in any State is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is trivially\(^7\) said), where the Sinewes of Men's Armes, in Base and Effeminate 75 People, are failing. For Solon said well to Croesus (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold), _Sir, if 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\(^8\) of his Forces, except his Militia\(^9\) of Natives be of good and 80

---

\(^1\) fit
\(^2\) valiant
\(^3\) is of no great importance
\(^4\) that
\(^5\) embassy
\(^6\) of the great odds in favour of courage over mere numbers
\(^7\) commonly
\(^8\) moderately
\(^9\) military force
Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that have Subjects of Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength, unlesse they be otherwise wanting unto Themselves. As for Mercenary Forces, (which is the Helpe in this Case), all Examples shew, That, whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest\(^1\) upon them, \textit{Hee may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew\(^2\) them soone after.}\n
The Blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; \textit{That the same People or Nation should be both The Lion’s whelpe and the Asse betweene Burthens;} Neither will it be that a People over-laid with Taxes should ever become Valiant and Martiall. It is true that Taxes levied by Consent of the Estate, doe abate\(^3\) Men’s Courage lesse; As it hath beene seen notably in the Excises of the Low Countries; And, in some degree, in the Subsidies\(^4\) of England. For you must note that we speake now of the Heart\(^5\), and not of the Purse. So that, although the same Tribute and Tax, laid by Consent or by Imposing\(^6\), be all one to the Purse, yet it workes diversly upon the Courage. So that you may conclude, \textit{That no People, over-charged\(^7\) with Tribute, is fit for Empire.}\n
Let States that aime at Greatnesse take heed how their Nobility and Gentlemen doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject grow to be a Peasant and Base Swaine, driven out of Heart\(^8\), and in effect but the Gentleman’s Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; \textit{If you leave your staddles\(^9\) too thick, you shall never have cleane 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\(^{10}\) will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the Infantery, 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,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{depend}
\item \textit{shed}
\item \textit{diminish}
\item \textit{parliamentary grants}
\item \textit{courage}
\item by arbitrary authority
\item overburdened
\item dispirited
\item young trees
\item not one head in a hundred
\end{itemize}
though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (nevertheless) an Over-match; In regard\(^1\) the Middle People of England make good Souldiers, which the Peasants of France doe not. And herein the device of King Henry the Seventh, (whereof I have 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 unto them as may breed a Subiect to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; And to keepe\(^2\) the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attaine to Virgil's Character, which he gives to Ancient Italy:

*Terra potens Armis atque ubere Glebae*.\(^3\)

Neither is that State\(^4\) (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over; I meane the State of Free Servants\(^5\) and Attendants upon Noblemen and Gentlemen, which are no waies inferior unto the Yeomanry for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour and Magnificence and great Retinues and Hospitality of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, received into Custome\(^6\), doth much conduce unto Martiiall Greatnesse: Whereas, contrariwise, the Close and Reserved living of Noblemen and Gentlemen causeth a Penury of Military Forces.

By all meanes it is to be procured that the Trunck of Nebuchadnezzar's Tree of Monarchy be great enough to beare the Branches and the Boughes; That is, That the Naturall Subiects of the Crowne or State beare a sufficient Proportion to the Stranger Subiects that they governe. 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, \(\mkern5mu\text{150}\)
it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. 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 Windsfall upon the sudden. Never any State was, in this Point, so open to receive Strangers into their Body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; For they grew to the greatest 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 Hерeditatis*, But also, *Ius Suffragij*, and *Ius Honorum*. And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of Plantation of Colonies, whereby the Roman Plant was removed into the Soile of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the World, But it was the World that spread upon the Romans; And that was the sure Way of Greatnesse. I have marveiled sometimes at Spaine, how they claspe and containe so large Dominions, with so few Naturall Spaniards: But sure, the whole Compasse of Spaine is a very Great Body of a Tree, Farre above Rome, and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to Naturalize liberally, yet they have 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. Nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of Natives; as by the Pragmaticall Sanction, now published, appeareth.

1 such an empire may last  
2 very particular about naturalisation  
3 while they kept within their original limits  
4 were blown down by the wind  
5 turned out  
6 right of citizenship  
7 right of trading  
8 right of marriage  
9 right of inheritance  
10 right of voting  
11 right of holding office  
12 not to individuals  
13 keep together  
14 surely  
15 without distinction  
16 conscious
It is certaine that Sedentary and Withindoore Arts, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger then 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 then Travaile; Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great Advantage, in the Ancient States of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of Slaves, which commonly did rid those Manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian Law.

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 have 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 prove the greatest Empire of the World. The Fabrick of the State 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 have it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, onely the Spaniards. But it is so plaine That every Man profiteth in that hee most

---

1 work
2 are to be
3 got those manufactures done
4 readily
5 confine
6 of the lower-class natives
7 is of most importance
8 means of attaining ability
9 bequeathed the advice
10 pay strict attention to
11 aim
12 i.e. had that object, namely, attention to arms
13 for a moment
14 decay
intendeth⁴, that it needeth not to be stood upon⁵. It is enough to point at it, That no Nation, which doth not directly⁶ professe Armes, may looke⁷ to have Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time⁸, That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those that have professed Armes but for an Age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that Greatnesse in that Age, which⁹ maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is, For a State to have those Lawes or Customs which may reach forth unto them iust Occasions⁷ (as may be pretended)⁸ of Warre. For there is that⁹ Justice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but upon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells¹⁰. The Turke hath 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 never rested upon that alone to begin a Warre. First, therefore, let Nations that pretend to¹¹ Greatnesse have this; That they be sensible of¹² Wrongs, either upon Borderers¹³, Merchants, or Politique Ministers¹⁴; And that they sit not¹⁵ too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest¹⁶ and ready to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates: As it ever was with the Romans; In so much as¹⁷ if the Confederate had Leagues Defensive with divers other States, and upon Invasion offered¹⁸ did implore their Aides severally,
yet the Romans would ever bee the formost, and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the Warres which were anciently made on the behalfe of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate\(^1\), I doe not see how they may be well justified: As when the Romans made a Warre for the Libertie of Grecia: Or when the Lacedemonians and Athenians made Warres to set up or pull downe Democracies and Oligarchies: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, under the pretence of Justice or Protection, to deliver the SUBJECTS of others from Tyrannie and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be Great, that is not awake upon any just Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without Exercise, neither Naturall Body nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdom or Estate, a Just and Honourable Warre is the true Exercise. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feaver; But a Forraine Warre is like the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to kepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate and Manners Corrupt\(^2\). But howsoever it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for Greatnesse it maketh to bee still\(^3\), for the most Part, in Armes; And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable\(^4\) Businesse), alwaies on Foot\(^5\), is that which commonly giveth the Law\(^6\), Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee scene in Spaine, which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of\(^7\) Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the Sea is an Abridgement of a Monarchy\(^8\). Cicero writing to Atticus, of Pompey his Preparation against Caesar, saith; \textit{Consilium Pompeij planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum}

\(^1\) in support of some particular party in a state, or on account of implied similarity of political institutions
\(^2\) spirits will become effeminate and morals be corrupted
\(^3\) it is advantageous to be al-
\(^4\) expensive
\(^5\) in readiness
\(^6\) confers supremacy
\(^7\) during
\(^8\) an epitome of monarchy, the essence of sovereignty
Rerum potiri. And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Caesar, if upon 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.

There be many Examples, where Sea-Fights have beene Finall to the warre; But this is when Princes or States have set up their Rest upon the Battailes. 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 nevertheless in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with us of Europe, the Vantage of Strength at Sea (which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kindome of Great Britaine) is Great; Both because Most of the Kingdomes of Europe are not meerely Inland, but girt with the Sea most part of their Compasse; And because the Wealth of both Indies seemes in great Part but an Accessary to the Command of the Seas.

The Warres of Latter Ages seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour which reflected upon Men from the Warres in Ancient Time. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry; which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon Soldiers and no Soldiers; And some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times, The Trophies erected upon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatives and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal; The Stile of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes of the Generalls upon their Returne; The great Donatives

---

1. Pompey's policy is clearly that of Themistocles, for he thinks that whoever is master of the sea is master of the situation.
2. would have
3. abandoned that line of action
4. have put an end to
5. have staked everything
6. entirely
7. boundaries
8. compared with
9. panegyrics
10. granted to individual soldiers
11. the title Imperator
12. triumphal processions
and Largesses\(^1\) upon the Disbanding of the Armies, were Things able to enflame all Men’s Courages. But above all, That of the Triumph\(^2\), amongst the Romans, was not Pageants or Gauderie\(^3\), but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions that ever was. For it contained three Things,—Honour to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles; And Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit\(^4\) 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\(^5\) the Actuall Triumphs to Themselves and their Sonnes, for such Wars as they did atchieve in Person, And left onely, for Wars atchieved by Subiects, some Triumphall Garments and Ensignes\(^6\) to the Generall.

To conclude; No Man can by Care taking (as the Scripture saith) adde a Cubite to his Stature, in this little Modell of a Man’s Body\(^7\): But in the Great Frame of Kingdomes and Common Wealths, it is in the power of Princes or Estates\(^8\) to adde Amplitude and Greatnesse to their Kingdomes. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we have now touched\(^9\), they may sow Greatnesse to their Posteritie and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to take their Chance.

XXX

OF REGIMENT\(^10\) OF HEALTH

There is a wisdome in this beyond the Rules of Physicke: A Man’s owne Observation, what he findes Good of\(^11\) and what he findes Hurt of\(^11\), is the best Physicke.

---

1. gifts and bounties
2. the institution of the Triumph
3. empty display
4. would not be fit
5. appropriate
6. decorations
7. in the case of his body, which
8. rulers
9. touched upon
10. Regimen, Management
11. from
to preserve 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 use it. For Strength of Nature in youth passeth over many Excesses which are owing a Man till his Age. Discerne of the comming on of Yeares, and thinke not to doe the same Things still; For Age will not be Defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity inforse it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature and State, That it is safer to change Many Things then one. Examine thy Customes of Diet, Sleepe, Exercise, Apparel, and the like; And trie, in any Thing thou shalt judge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so as if thou doest finde any Inconvenience by the Change, thou come backe to it againe: For it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome from that which is good particularly and fit for thine owne Body. To be free minded and cheerfully disposed, at Houres of Meat and of Sleep and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde, Avoid Envie, Anxious Feares, Anger fretting inwards, Subtill and knottie Inquisitions, Ioyes and Exhilarations in Excesse, Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Ioy; Varietie of Delights rather then Surfet of them; Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Obejcts, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke 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 Sicknesse commeth. I commend rather some Diet for certaine Seasons then frequent Use of Physicke, Except it be grownen into a Custome.

1 This does me no harm
2 which a man will have to pay for in his old age
3 Take heed
4 always
5 adapt your habits to it
6 politics
7 in such a way that
8 in your own case
9 free from anxiety
10 meal-times
11 for long life
12 desires
13 inquiries
14 recommend
For those Diets alter the Body more and trouble it lesse. Despise no new Accident in your Body, but aske Opinion of it. 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 onely with Diet and Tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a Physician, had he not been a Wise Man withall, when he giveth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man doe vary and enterchange Contraries, But with an Inclination to the more benign Extreme: Use Fasting and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the Humor of the Patient as they presse 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.

XXXI

OF SUSPICION

SUSPICIONS amongst Thoughts are like Bats amongst Birds; they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded: For they cloud the

---

1 symptom
2 take advice about it
3 have regard to
4 exercise
5 to take vigorous exercise
6 nursing
7 Practise
8 taught how to get the better of disease

9 complaisant
10 that
11 temperament
12 i.e. take one of each sort and combine them
13 to call in
14 professional skill
15 kept well in check
Minde; they leese\(^1\) Frends; and they checke\(^2\) with Business, whereby Business cannot goe on currantly\(^3\) and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine\(^4\); For they take Place in the Stoutest\(^5\) Natures: As in the Example of Henry the Seventh of England: There was not a more Suspicious Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition\(^6\) they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted but with Examination whether they be likely\(^7\) or no? But in fearefull\(^8\) 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\(^9\) to know more, and not to keep their Suspicions in Smother\(^10\). What would Men have? Doe they thinke those they employ and deale with are Saints? Doe they not thinke they will have their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselves then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate Suspicions then to account upon\(^11\) such Suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false. For so farre a Man ought to make use of Suspicions as to provide as\(^12\), if that should be true that he Suspects, yet it may doe him no Hurt. Suspicions, that the Minde of it selfe gathers, are but Buzzes; But Suspicions, that are artificially nourished\(^13\) and put into Men’s Heads by the Tales and Whisprings of others, have Stings. Certainly, the best Meane\(^14\) to cleare the Way in this same Wood of Suspicions is franckly to communicate them with\(^15\) the Partie that he Suspects; For thereby he shall be sure to know more of the Truth of them then he did before, And withall shall make that Party more circumspect not to give further Cause of Suspicion. But this would\(^16\) not be

\(^1\) cause the loss of
\(^2\) interfere
\(^3\) smoothly
\(^4\) not of courage but of intellect
\(^5\) bravest
\(^6\) temperament
\(^7\) well-grounded
\(^8\) timid
\(^9\) contriving
\(^10\) should not brood over their suspicions
\(^11\) deal with
\(^12\) that
\(^13\) nourished by the arts of other people
\(^14\) means
\(^15\) to
\(^16\) should
done to Men of base Natures; For they, if they finde themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian saies: Sospetto licentia fede; As if Suspcion did give a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it to discharge it selfe.  

XXXII

OF DISCOURSE

Some 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 kinde of Poverty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceived Ridiculous. The Honourablest Part of Talke is to give the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce. It is good, in Discourse and Speech of Conversation, to vary and entermingle Speech of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons; Asking of Questions with telling of Opinions; and Iest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire and, as we say now, to Iade any Thing too farre. As for Iest, there be certaine Things which ought to be priviledged from it; Namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any Man's present Business of Importance, And any Case that deserveth Pitty. Yet there be some that thinke their Wits have been asleepe, Except they

---

1 Suspicion gives fidelity its discharge.
2 gave loyalty leave to take its departure
3 i.e. The fact that he is suspected ought rather to stimulate a man of good faith to free himself from the suspicion.
4 Conversation
5 their cleverness
6 to maintain any proposition
7 certain subjects
8 set the conversation going
9 check it
10 i.e. mingle conversation upon matters of merely present interest with discussions of subjects of permanent interest
11 to ride a subject to death

7—2
dare out somewhat that is Piquant and to the Quicke
That is a Vaine which would be brideled;

Parce Puer stimulis, et fortius utere Loris.

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference between
Saltnesse 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;
But especially if he apply his Questions to the Skill of the
Persons whom he asketh; For he shall give them occasion
to please themselves in Speaking, and himselfe shall con-
tinually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions not be
troublesome; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him
be sure to leave other Men their Turnes to speak. Nay, if
there be any that would raigne and take up all the time,
let him finde meanes to take them off and to bring Others
on, As Musicians use to doe with those 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. Speach of a Man's Selfe
ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew One was
wont to say in Scorne, He must needs be a Wise Man, he
speakes so much of Himselfe: 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 whereunto Himselfe pretendeth.
Speech of Touch towards Others should be sparingly used:
For Discourse ought to be as a Field, without comming
home to any Man. I knew two Noblemen of the West
Part of England, Whereof the one was given to Scoffe, but
kept ever Royal Cheere in his House: The other would

---

1 biting
2 a disposition which ought to be checked
3 Spare the whip, boy, and tug harder at the reins.
4 wit
5 please other people
6 adapt
7 opportunity
8 viz. asking troublesome questions
9 an examiner
10 wants to domineer
11 about
12 lays claim
13 Remarks that have a bearing on other people
asked of those that had beene at the Other's Table, *Tell
truely, was there never a Flout or drie Blow given*? To
which the Guest would answer, *Such and such a Thing
passed:* The Lord would say, *I thought he would marre a good Dinner.* Discretion of Speech is more than Eloquence;
And to speak agreeably to him, with whom we deale, is
more then to speake in good Words or in good Order. A
good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Inter-
locution, shews Slownesse; And a Good Reply or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallow-
ness 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 too
many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Weari-
some; To use none at all, is Blunt.

XXXIII

OF PLANTATIONS

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 iustly account new Plantations to be the Children of
former Kingdomes. I like a Plantation in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not Displanted 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 beene the

---

1 was there no taunt or hard hit
given?

2 in a style suited

3 without conversational readi-

ness

4 without the ability to make a
set speech

5 in running

6 To make too many introduc-
tory remarks

7 abrupt

8 Colonies

9 unoccupied territory

10 reckon upon losing
Destruction of most Plantations, hath beene 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 stand 15 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 ever live like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischief, 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, Ioyners, Fisher-men, 25 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, Wallnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what Victuall or Esculent 3 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 serve for Meat as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Above 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 Subject to Diseases, and Multiply fastest; As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geese, House-doves, and the like. The Victuall in Plantations ought to be expended almost as in a Besieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed to Gardens

1 be consistent with
2 send information
3 eatable
4 Jerusalem artichokes
5 As for
6 demand, require
7 food
8 doled out
9 fixed
10 assigned
or Corne bee to⁠¹ a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in⁠², and Stored up, and then Delivered out in Proportion; Besides some Spots of Ground that any Particular Person will Manure for his owne Private⁠³. Consider likewise what 50 Commodities the Soile, where the Plantation is, doth naturally yeeld, that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the Plantation: So⁣⁴ it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice⁤⁵ of the maine Businesse; As it hath fared with Tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly 55 aboundeth but too much; And therefore, Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ure⁥⁶, and Streames whereupon to set the Millies, Iron is a brave⁦⁷ Commoditie where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience⁧⁸. Growing Silke⁨⁹ like-wise, if any be¹⁰, is a likely¹¹ Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit: Soape Ashes¹² likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moile¹³ not too much under 65 Ground; For the Hope of Mines is very Uncertaine, and useth to make the Planters Lazie in other Things. For¹⁴ Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them have Commission to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And above all, let 70 Men make that Profit of being¹⁵ in the Wildernesse, as¹⁶ they have God alwaies, and his Service, before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the Plantation depend upon too many Counsellours and Undertakers¹⁷ in the Countrie that Planteth, but upon a temperate¹⁸ Number; And let 75 those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen then Merchants; For they looke ever to the present Gaine. Let there be

---

¹ for  
² i.e. let the stock be laid in  
³ will cultivate for his own particular use  
⁴ provided that  
⁵ detriment  
⁶ ore  
⁷ an excellent  
⁸ ought to be tried  
⁹ vegetable silk  
₁⁰ if there is any  
₁¹ promising  
₁² alkalies  
₁³ work  
₁⁴ As regards  
₁⁵ a profit of this kind from being  
₁⁶ that  
₁⁷ contractors or directors  
₁⁸ moderate
Freedoms from Custome, till the Plantation be of Strength: And not only Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to so carrie their Commodities where they may make their Best of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme not in People by sending too fast Company after Company; But rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; But so as the Number may live well in the Plantation, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering to the Health of some Plantations that they have built along the Sea and Rivers, in Marish and unwholesome 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 have good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it in their Victualls when it shall be necessary. If you Plant where Savages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles and Gingles, But use them justly and gratiously, with sufficient Guard neverthelesse: 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 over 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 spread into Generations, and not be ever peeced from without. It is the sinfullst Thing in the world to forsake or destitute a Plantation once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltiness of Bloud of many Commiserable Persons.
I CANNOT call Riches better 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 behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory. Of great Riches there is no Reall Use, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith Salomon; Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner but the Sight of it with his Eyes? The Personall Fruition in any Man cannot reach to feele Great Riches: There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donative of them; Or a Fame of them; But no Solid Use to the Owner. Doe you not see what fained Prices are set upon little Stones and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation are undertaken, because there might seeme to be some Use of great Riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As Salomon saith; 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 sold more Men then they have bought out. Seeke not Proud Riches, but such as thou maist get justly, Use soberly, Distribute cheerfully, and Leave contentedly. Yet have no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus; In studio rei amplificanda, apparet non Avaritiae Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati

---

1 fancy
2 cannot derive the benefit of them
3 There is the taking care of them
4 or the power of distributing them and making presents with them
5 or a reputation from having them
6 fanciful
7 in order that
8 ostentatious wealth
9 entertain no contempt for them such as is felt by a hermit or a friar
Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of Hasty Gathering of Riches: Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons. 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 Lust 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 ought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Devill. For when Riches come from the Devill, (as by Fraud and Oppression and unjuist 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 Improvement of the Ground is the most Naturall Obtaining of Riches; For it is our Great Mother's Blessing, the Earth's; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth Riches exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in England that had the greatest Audits of any Man in my Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great Collier, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so 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 observed by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little Riches, and very easily to Great Riches. For when a Man's Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Men's Money, and be Partner

1 In his desire to increase his fortune, it was evident that he aimed, not at gratifying avarice, but at obtaining the means of beneficence.  
2 He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.  
3 advance  
4 might  
5 with  
6 grow rich  
7 rent-roll  
8 coal-owner  
9 industrial pursuits  
10 so that  
11 he himself  
12 with great difficulty  
13 When a man's capital is so
in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease 60 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 upon 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 over againe, that commonly Grindeth double, both upon the Seller and upon the Buyer. Sharings doe greatly Enrich, if the Hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that whereby a Man doth eate his Bread, In sudore vultus alieni; And besides, doth Plough upon Sundaies. But yet, Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scriveners and Broakers doe valew unsound Men, to serve their owne Turne. The Fortune in being the First in an Invention, or in a Priviledge, doth cause 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 well Judgement as Invention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon Gaines Certaine, shall hardly grow to great Riches: And he that puts all upon Adventures, doth often times breake and come to Poverty: It is good, therefore, to guard Adventures with Certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies and Coemption of

---

1 greatly
2 must watch for
3 do business
4 buyers
5 i.e. sharp practices
6 bad
7 presses hard on both parties
8 Partnerships
9 Interest on loans
10 in the sweat of another’s brow
11 weak points
12 because
13 financial agents
14 recommend
15 a new line of business
16 relies
17 with difficulty
18 risky speculations
19 make up for
20 the buying up
Wares for Resale, where they are not restrained\(^1\), are great 90 Meanes to enrich; especially if the Partie have intelligence what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselne before hand. Riches gotten by Service, though it be of the best Rise\(^2\), yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding Humours\(^3\), and other Servile Conditions, 95 they may be placed amongst the Worst\(^4\). As for Fishing for Testaments and Executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *Testamenta et Orbos tamquam Indagine capt*\(^5\)) It is yet worse, By how much\(^6\) Men submit themselves to Meaner Persons then in Service. Beleeve not much them that seeme to despise Riches; For they despise them that despaire of them; And none Worse\(^7\), when they come to them. Be not Penny wise; Riches have Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring in more. Men leave their Riches either to their Kindred, Or to the Publique; And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State\(^8\) 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 stablished in Yeares and Judgement\(^9\). Likewise Glorious\(^10\) Gifts and Foundations\(^11\) are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, And but the *Painted Sepul- chres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements\(^12\) by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure\(^13\); and Deferre not Charities till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather Liberall of an Other Man’s then of his Owne.

---

1 forbidden by law
2 though these riches come from the highest source
3 indulging the caprices of patrons
4 i.e. amongst those forms of riches acquired in the worst way
5 Wills and childless persons were caught, so to speak, in his net
6 in proportion as
7 i.e. none use riches worse
8 fortune
9 unless he is fortified by age and discretion in proportion to the amount of his wealth
10 ostentatious
11 endowments
12 gifts
13 make them proportionate to the object
XXXV

OF PROPHECIES

I MEANE not to speake of Divine Prophecies, Nor of Heathen Oracles, Nor of Naturall Predictions; But only of Prophecies that have beeene of certayne Memory, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul; To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me. Homer hath these Verses:—

At Donus Aenea cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:

A Prophecie, as it seemes, of the Roman Empire. Seneca the Tragedian hath these Verses:

—— Venient Annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat Orbis; nec sit Terris
Ultima Thule:

A Prophecie of the Discovery of America. The Daughter of Polycrates 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 washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed, He sealed up his Wive’s Belly; Whereby he did expound it that his Wife should be barren: But Aristander the Soothsayer told him his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not use to Seale Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasme that appeared to M. Brutus in
his Tent said to him; *Philippis iterum me videbis*. Tiberius said to Galba; *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis Imperium*. In Vespasian's Time, there went a Prophecie in the East, 30 That those that should come forth of Judea should reign 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 slain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And 35 indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. Henry the Sixt of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water; *This is the Lad that shall enjoy the Crowne for which we strive*. When I was in France, I heard from one 40 Dr. Pena that the Q. Mother, who was given to Curious Arts, caused the King her Husband's Nativitie to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gave a Judgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband to be 45 above Challenges and Duels: but he was slain upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of Mongomery going in at his Bever. The trivial Prophecie which I heard, when I was a Childe, and Queene Elizabeth was in the Flower of her Yeares, was,—

*When Hempe is sponne,*

*England's done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the Principiall Letters of that Word Hempe, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth) England should come to utter Confusion: Which, thankes be to God, is verified only in the Change of the Name; For that the King's 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 60 understand:

1 Thou shalt see me again at Philippi.  
2 Thou, too, Galba, shalt have a taste of empire.  
3 magic  
4 common  
5 initials  
6 title
There shall be seen upon 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 have None.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in '88: For that the King of Spaine's Surname, as they say, is Norway. The Prediction of Regiomontanus,—

Octogessimus octavus mirabilis Annus¹,
Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that ever swamme upon the Sea. As for Cleon's Dreame, I thinke it was a Test. It was, that he was devoured of² 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 Dreames, and Predictions of Astrologie. But I have set downe these few onely of certainty Credit, for Example. My Judgement is, that they ought all to be Despised, And ought to serve but for Winter Talke by the Fire side: Though when I say Despised, I meane it as for Beleefe; For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them is in no sort³ to be Despised. For they have done much Mischiefe: And I see many severe Lawes made to suppress them. That, that hath given them Grace⁴ and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke when they hit, and never marke when they miss: As they doe, generally, also of Dreames. The second is, that Probable Coniectures or obscure Traditions many times turne themselves into Prophecies; While the Nature of Man, which coveteth Divination, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that which indeed they doe but collect⁵. As that of Seneca's Verse; For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth had great Parts

¹ '88, a wonderful year
² by
³ by no means
⁴ favour
⁵ infer
beyond the Atlantick, which mought be Probably conceived not to be all Sea: And adding thereto the Tradition in Plato’s *Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it mought encourage One to turne it to a Prediction. The third and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have beene Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines meerely contrived and faigned, after the Event Past.

XXXVI

OF AMBITION

**Ambition** is like Choler, Which is an Humour that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped and cannot have his Way, it becommeth Adust, and thereby Maligne and Venomous. 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 check’t in their desires, they become secretly discontented, and looke upon Men and matters with an Evill Eye, And are best pleased when Things goe backward; Which is the worst Propertie 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 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 necessitie, it is fit we speake in what Cases they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres must be taken, be they never so

---

1. might
2. wholly invented
3. its
4. parched
5. continually
6. discontented
7. quality
8. to contrive that they are constantly promoted and not put back
9. take measures
10. mention
Ambitious; For the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without Ambition, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great use of Ambitious Men in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of Ambitious Men, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse of any Subiect 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 brideled 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 and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some a weaknesse in Princes to have Favorites: But it is, of all others, the best Remedy against Ambitious Great-Ones: For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasing lieth by the Favourite, it is Impossible Any Other should be Over-great. Another meanes 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 least, a Prince may animate and inure some Meaner Persons to be, as it were, Scourges to Ambitious Men. As for the having 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 Favours and Disgraces; whereby they may not know

---

1 excuses  
2 a dove with its eyelids sewn up  
3 it remains to say  
4 from  
5 recently  
6 skilful  
7 a better remedy than any  
8 obliging and disobliging  
9 make use of  
10 liable  
11 timid  
12 bold  
13 if  
14 repulses
what to expect, And be, as it were, in a Wood\(^1\). Of Ambitions, it is lesse harmefull, the Ambition\(^2\) to prevaille in great Things, then that other, to appeare in every thing; For that breeds Confusion and marres Business. But yet, it is lesse danger to have an Ambitious Man stirring in Businessse then Great in Dependances\(^3\). He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men hath a great Taske; but that is ever good for the Publique. But he that plots to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay\(^4\) 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 Man's owne Fortunes. He that hath the best 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 such Ministers as are more sensible of Duty then of Rising\(^5\); And such as love Businessse rather upon Conscience then upon Bravery\(^6\): And let them Discerne a Busie Nature\(^7\) from a Willing Minde.

XXXVII

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS\(^8\)

These Things are but Toyes\(^9\) to come amongst such Serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better they should be Graced with Elegancy then Daubed with Cost\(^10\). Dancing to Song is a Thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire\(^11\), placed aloft, and accompanied

---

1. in a maze  
2. the ambition is less harmful  
3. followers  
4. ruin  
5. as are actuated by a sense of duty rather than by ambition  
6. from motives of duty rather than for ostentation  
7. distinguish a meddlesome nature  
8. Processional Pageants  
9. trifles  
10. elegantly mounted rather than decorated at extravagant outlay  
11. in choir
with some broken Musicke¹; And the Ditty fitted to the Device². Acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace³: I say Acting, not Dancing, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the Voices of the Dialogue would⁴ be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No 'Treble;) And the Ditty High and Tragicall, Not nice or Dainty⁵. Several Quires, placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, Anthemwise⁶, give great Pleasure. Turning Dances into Figure 15 is a childish Curiosity⁷. 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 Wonderments⁸. It is true, the Alterations of Scenes, so⁹ it be quietly and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty and Pleasure; For they feed and relieve 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 upon 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 not Chirpings or Pulings¹⁰. 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 Spangs¹¹, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory¹². 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 Vizars¹³ are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the

¹ a string-band
² the words in keeping with the pageant
³ has a very graceful effect
⁴ should
⁵ not affected or finnikin
⁶ taking up the strain alternately as in an anthem
⁷ The arrangement of elaborate dances is a childish piece of ingenuity
⁸ are such as please people's tastes and do not aim at startling them with paltry surprises
⁹ provided that
¹⁰ whinings
¹¹ And circlets or spangles
¹² most brilliant
¹³ masks
like. Let Antimasques not be long; They have been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques¹, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes², Pigmies, Turquets³, Nimphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statuas⁴ Moving, and the like. As for Angels, it is not Comicall enough to put them in Anti-Masques; And any Thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the Musicke of them be Recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some Sweet Odours, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company as⁵ there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure, and Refreshment. Double Masques, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the Roome be kept Cleare and Neat.

For Iusts and Tourneys and Barriers; The Glories⁶ 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 Devices of their Entrance; Or in the Bravery⁷ of their Liveries; Or in the Goodly Furniture⁸ of their Horses, and Armour. But enough of these Toyes⁹.

XXXVIII

OF NATURE IN MEN

Nature is Often Hidden, Sometimes Overcome, Seldom Extinguished. Force maketh Nature more violent in the Returne¹⁰: Doctrine and Discourse¹¹ maketh Nature lesse Importune¹²; But Custome onely doth alter and subdue Nature. Hee that seeketh Victory over his Nature, let him not set Himselfe too great nor too small Tasks:

---

¹ buffoons  
² black men  
³ little Turks  
⁴ statues  
⁵ in a company where  
⁶ splendour  
⁷ showiness  
⁸ handsome equipment  
⁹ trifles  
¹⁰ in the reaction  
¹¹ teaching and preaching  
¹² importunate
For the first will make him dejected by often Faylings¹; And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings². And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers doe with Bladders or Rushes: But after a Time, let him practise with disadvantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shoos. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then the use. Where Nature is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be, First, to Stay and Arrest Nature in Time³; Like to Him that would say over the Foure and Twenty Letters when he was Angry: Then, to Goe lesse in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine⁴, come from Drinking Healths⁵ to a Draught at a Meale: And lastly, to Discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude and Resolution to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best;

Optimus ille Animi Vindex lœdentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel⁶.

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend Nature as a Wand to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right; Understanding it, where⁷ the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit upon himselfe with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause reinforceth the new Onset; And if a Man that is not perfect be ever in Practise⁸, he shall as well practise his Errors as his Abilities, And induce one Habite of both: And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie over his Nature too farre; For Nature will lay⁹ buried a great Time, and yet revive upon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with Æsop’s Damosell, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely at the Board’s End¹⁰ till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore

¹ frequent failures  
² in spite of frequent successes  
³ in respect of time  
⁴ in endeavouring to abstain from wine  
⁵ from large potations  
⁶ He is the best liberator of the mind who bursts once for all the fetters that gall his breast and thereby puts an end to his grief.  
⁷ assuming that  
⁸ always practising  
⁹ lie  
¹⁰ the end of the table
let a Man either avoid the Occasion altogether, Or put Himselfe often\(^1\) to it, that hec may be little moved with it\(^2\). A Man's Nature is best perceived in Privatenesse\(^3\), for there is no Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there Custome leaveth him. They are happie Men, whose Natures sort\(^4\) with their Vocations; Otherwise they may say, *Multum Incola fuit Anima mea*\(^5\), when they converse\(^6\) in those Things they doe not Affect\(^7\). In Studies, whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himselfe\(^8\), 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 flie to it of Themselues, So as the Spaces of\(^9\) other Businesse or Studies will suffice. A Man's Nature runnes either to Herbes or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably Water the One, and Destroy the Other.

**XXXIX**

**OF CUSTOME AND EDUCATION**

Men's Thoughts are much according to their Inclination\(^10\): Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning and Infused\(^11\) Opinions; But their Deeds are after\(^12\) as they have beene Accustomed. And therefore, as Macciavel well noteth (though in an evill favoured Instance\(^13\)) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Bravery\(^14\) of Words, Except it be Corroborate by Custome\(^15\). His Instance is, that for the Atchieving of a desperate Conspiracie a Man should not rest\(^16\) upon the

\(^1\) or accustom himself  
\(^2\) not much affected by it  
\(^3\) in private life  
\(^4\) agree  
\(^5\) My soul hath long been a sojourner  
\(^6\) pass their lives  
\(^7\) care for  
\(^8\) forces himself to do  
\(^9\) so that the intervals of leisure between  
\(^10\) natural disposition  
\(^11\) acquired  
\(^12\) according  
\(^13\) an ugly instance  
\(^14\) boastfulness  
\(^15\) strengthened by habit  
\(^16\) rely
Fiercenesse of any man's Nature or his Resolute Undertakings; But take such an one as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But Macciavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Laureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard: yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature nor the Engagement of Words are not so forcible as Custome. Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Bloud are as Firme as Butchers by Occupation; And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to Custome, even in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of Custome is everywhere Visible; In so much as a Man would wonder to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Give Great Words, and then Doe just as they have Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moved onely by the wheeles of Custome. We see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of Custome, 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 so much as Queching. I remember in the beginning of Queene Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish Rebell, Condemned, put up a Petition to the Deputie, that he might be hanged in a With and not in an Halter, because it had beene so used with former Rebels. There be Monkes in Russia, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put of the Force of Custome, both upon Minde and Body. Therefore, since Custome is the Principall Magistrate of Man's life, Let Men by all Meanes endeavour to obtaine good Customes.

1 promises
2 always holds good
3 that neither nature nor the engagement of words is
4 assassins who are committing their first murder
5 the determination of men who are bound by a vow is as powerful as habit
6 that
7 take oaths
8 machines
9 flinching
10 with twisted osier twigs
11 such had been the custom
12 fast bound
13 supplied
Certainly, Custome is most perfect when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call Education; which is, in effect, but an Early Custome. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activitie 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 themselves to fixe, but have 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 Coniyned and Collegiate is far Greater. For there Example teacheth, Company com-forteth, Emulation 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 resteth upon Societies well Ordained and Disciplined. For Commonwealths and Good Governments doe nourish Vertue Growne, 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.

XL

OF FORTUNE

It cannot be denied but Outward Accidents conduce much to Fortune; Favour, Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly the Mould of a Man’s Fortune is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortunae sue*, saith 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

1 are not so pliant  
2 of custom in the case of individuals  
3 of custom united, conjoined, and affecting a whole society  
4 strengthens  
5 at its height  
6 depends  
7 that  
8 occasion suitable for bringing out a man’s good qualities  
9 Every man is the architect of his own fortune
as by Others' Errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comedicit non fit Draco*. Overt and Apparent virtues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden Virtues that bring Forth Fortune; Certaine Deliveries of a Man's Selfe, which have no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds nor Restivenesse in a Man's Nature, But that the wheeles of his Minde keepe way with the wheeles of his Fortune. For so Livie (after he had described Cato Maior in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis et Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus vide-retur*;) falleth upon that, that he had *Versatile Ingenium*. Therefore, if a Man looke Sharpely and Attentively, he shall see Fortune: For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Invisible. The Way of Fortune is like the Milken Way in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot of a Number of Small Stars, Not Seene asunder, but Giving Light together. So are there a Number of Little and scarce discerned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men Fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as 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 have a Little of the Foole, And not Too Much of the Honest. Therefore, Extreme Lovers 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 hastie Fortune maketh an Enterpriser

---

1. A serpent does not become a dragon unless it has first swallowed a serpent.
2. conspicuous
3. certain ways of showing one's qualities
4. grace of movement, versatility
5. hindrances
6. obstinacy
7. but when
8. keep pace
9. Such was the mental and bodily vigour of this illustrious man that the lowliest birth would scarcely have debarred him from mounting to the highest place.
10. remarks
11. a versatile nature
12. Milky
13. qualities and habits
14. a little of the fool
15. qualities
16. outside
and Remover, (The French hath it better,—Entreprenant or Remuant,) But the Exercised Fortune maketh the Able Man. Fortune is to be Honoured and Respected, and it bee but for her Daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two Felicitie breedeth; The first within a Man’s Selfe, the Latter, in Others towards Him. All Wise Men, to decline the Envy of their owne vertues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; For so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse in a Man to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So Cæsar said to the Pilot in the Tempest, Caesarem portas, et Fortunam eius. So Sylla chose the Name of Fēlix, and not of Magnus. And it hath beene noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their owne Wisdome and Policie, end Infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the Account he gave to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech, And in this Fortune had no Part, never prospered in any Thing he undertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be whose Fortunes are like Homer’s Verses, that have a Slide and Easinesse more then the Verses of other Poets: As Plutarch saith of Timoleon’s Fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a Man’s Selfe.

XLI

OF USURIE

Many have made Wittie Invectives against Usurie. They say that it is Pitie the Devill should have God’s

---

1 adventurer and unsettled man  
2 speculative or restless  
3 fortune won by endurance  
4 if only on account of  
5 good fortune  
6 to avoid the unpopularity resulting from their own good qualities  
7 are wont to  
8 You are carrying in your boat Caesar and his fortunes.  
9 of ‘Fortunate’ and not of ‘Great’  
10 unfortunate  
11 introduced this remark  
12 smoothness  
13 as compared with  
14 doubtless depends largely on the man himself  
15 Interest  
16 ingenious  
17 a pity
part, which is the Tithe; That the Usurer\(^1\) is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday; That the Usurer is the Droane that Virgil speaketh of:—  

_Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arecent\(^2\);_  
That the Usurer breaketh the First Law that was made for Mankinde after the Fall, which was, _In sudore Vultūs tui comedes Panem tuum\(^3\);_ Not, _In sudore Vultūs alienī\(^4\);_ That Usurers should have Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe Iudaize\(^5\); That it is against Nature for Money to beget Money; And the like. I say this onely, that Usury is a _Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis\(^6\)_: For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart as\(^7\) they will not lend freely, Usury must be permitted. 15 Some Others have made Suspicious and Cunning Propositions\(^8\) of Bankes, Discovery of Men’s Estates\(^9\), and other Inventions; But few have spoken of Usury usefully. It is good to set before us the Incommodities and Commodities\(^10\) of Usury, That the Good may be either Weighed out or Culled out\(^11\); And warily to provide that, while we make forth to that which is better\(^12\), we meet not with that which is worse.  
The Discommodities of Usury are,—First, that it makes fewer Merchants: For were it not for this Lazie Trade of Usury, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Imployed upon Merchandizing\(^13\), Which is the _Vena Porta_ of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit\(^15\) at a great Rent, So the Merchant 30

---

1. money-lender
2. The lazy swarm of drones they drive from their hives.
3. In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread
4. In the sweat of another man’s brow
5. act like Jews
6. a concession by reason of hardness of heart
7. that
8. have made suggestions, ingenious but to be regarded with suspicion
9. investigation of the amount and sources of men’s incomes
10. disadvantages and advantages
11. that the good may be either accurately measured against the evil, or separated from it
12. while we are advancing towards improvement (sc. by regulating interest)
13. trading
14. cultivate
15. holds his farm
cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great Usury. The Third is incident to the other two, And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realme or State into a few Hands. For the Usurer being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game, Most of the Money will be in the Boxe; And ever a State flourisheth when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Purchasing; And Usury Waylayes 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 Men’s Estates, Which in processe of Time breeds a Publike Povertie.

On the other side, the Commodities of Usury are,—First, that howsoever Usury in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain that the Greatest Part of Trade is driven by Young Merchants upon Borrowing at Interest; So as, if the Usurer either call in or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not for this easie borrowing upon Interest, Men’s necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre under Foot; and so, whereas Usury doth but Gnaw upon them, Bad Markets would Swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without Use, Or if they doe, they will looke precisely

---

1 is subject to a high rate of interest
2 revenues raised from duties and taxes
3 *i.e.* in the money-lender’s box
4 either trading or buying landed properties
5 interferes with
6 hindrance
7 although
8 so that
9 immediately
10 stoppage
11 ruin
12 far below their real value
13 will not receive securities in pledge (*i.e.* lend money on mortgage) without charging interest
for the Forfeiture\(^1\). I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man in the Country, that would say\(^2\), The Devill take this Usury, it keepes us 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; And it is impossible to conceive the Number of Inconveniences that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of Usury is Idle. All States have ever had it, in one Kinde or Rate or other: So as\(^3\) that Opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speake now, of the Reformation and Reiglement\(^4\) of Usury, How the Discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the Commodities retained. It appeares by the Ballance of Commodities and Discommodities of Usury, Two Things are to be Reconciled: The one, that the Tooth of Usurie be grinded\(^5\), that it bite not too much; The other, that there bee left open a Meanes to invite Moneyed Men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two severall\(^7\) Sorts of Usury, A Lesse, and a Greater. For if you reduce Usury to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant wil be to seeke\(^6\) for Money. And it is to be noted that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucrative, may beare Usury at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions\(^9\), the way would be briefly thus. That there be Two Rates of Usury, The one Free and Generall for All; The other under Licence only, to Certaine Persons, and in Certaine Places of Merchandizing. First therefore, let Usury in generall be reduced to Five in the Hundred, And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the State shut itselfe out to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinesse\(^11\). This will ease infinite

---

\(^1\) will keep a sharp look-out to foreclose
\(^2\) used to say
\(^3\) hence
\(^4\) regulation
\(^5\) blunted
\(^6\) infusing life into
\(^7\) distinct
\(^8\) will be at a loss
\(^9\) To secure both objects
\(^10\) let the state abstain from taking
\(^11\) difficulty
Borrowers in the Countrie. This will in good Part raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene years’ Purchase wil yeeld Six in the Hundred and some-
what more, whereas this Rate of Interest Yeelds but Five. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge Industry and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde than take Five in the Hundred, especially having beene used to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be Certaine Persons licensed to Lend to knowne Merchants, upon Usury at a Higher Rate; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himself, somewhat more easie then that he used formerly to pay: For by that Meanes all Borrowers shall have some ease by this Reformation, be he Merchant or whosoever. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but every Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. 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, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred then give over his Trade of Usury, And goe from Certaine Gaines to Gaines of Hazard. Let these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing; For then they will be hardly able to Colour other Men’s Moneyes in the Country: So as the Licence of Nine will not sucke away the current Rate of Five: For no Man will Lend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Unknown Hands.

If it be Objected that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize Usury, which before was in some places but Permissive;

---

1 stimulate  
2 will rather invest in that way  
3 dislike  
4 tolerated  
5 because of  
6 be paid a small fee  
7 i.e. the rest of the profit  
8 the amount deducted as state  
9 not at all  
10 confined  
11 to lend other men’s money  
12 so that  
13 after a fashion
The Answer is, That it is better to Mitigate Usury by Declaration then to suffer it to Rage by Connivence.

XLII

OF YOUTH AND AGE

A man that is Young in yeares may be 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. And yet the Invention of Young Men is more lively then that of Old; And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action till they have passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with Iulius Cæsar and Septimius Severus; Of the latter of whom it is said, _Juventutem egi Erroribus, imo Furoribus plenam_. And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the List. But Reposed Natures may doe well in Youth; As it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others. On the other side, Heate and Vivacity in Age is an Excellent Composition for Business. Young Men are Fitter to Invent then to Judge; Fitter for Execution then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Proiects then for Setled Businesse. For the Experience of Age, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them, But in New Things, abuseth 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 Mannage of Actions,
Embrace more then they can Hold; Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End without Consideration of the Meanes and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles, which they have chanced upon, absurdly; Care not to Innovate, which draws unknowne Inconveniences; Use extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will not acknowledge or retract them, Like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop nor Turne. Men of Age Obiect too much, Consult too long, Adventure too little, Repent too soone, and seldom drive Businesse home to the full Period, But content themselves with a Mediocrity of Successe. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good for the Present, because the Vertues 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 Popularity Youth. But for the Morall Part, perhaps Youth will have the preheminence, as Age hath for the Politique. A certaine Rabbine, upon 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 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 Understanding then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an Over-early Ripenesse in their yeares, which fadeth betimes: These are, first, Such as have Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was Hermogenes the Rhetorician, whose Books are exceeding Subtill, Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that have some naturall Dispositions

---

1. settle
2. are not cautious about making innovations
3. a badly-trained horse
4. to the end
5. i.e. to employ young and old jointly
6. good qualities
7. for the future
8. good in its effects outside the parties themselves
9. make progress
10. feelings
11. There are some who have a precocity
12. grew
which have better Grace\(^1\) in Youth than in Age; Such as 60 is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech, which becomes Youth well, but not Age: So Tully saith of Hortensius, Idem manebat, neque idem decebat\(^2\). The third is of such as take too high a Straine at the First, And are Magnanimous more then Tract\(^3\) of yeares can uphold. As was Scipio 65 Affricanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, Ultima primis cedebant\(^4\).

**XLIII**

**OF BEAUTY**

Vertue\(^5\) 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\(^6\) seene that very Beautifull 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\(^7\); And Study rather Behaviour then Vertue. But this holds not alwaies; For Augustus Caesar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of 10 France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy\(^8\) of Persia, were all High and Great Spirits, And yet the most Beautifull Men of their Times. In Beauty, that of Favour\(^9\) is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion\(^10\) more 15 then that of Favour. That is the best Part of Beauty, which a Picture cannot expresse; No, nor the first Sight of the Life\(^11\). There is no Excellent Beauty that hath not some Strangenesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more Trifler; 20

---

1 which are more becoming  
2 He remained the same, though a change would have become him better.  
3 length  
4 The end fell short of the beginning.  
5 Excellence  
6 generally  
7 of noble nature  
8 Sultan  
9 features  
10 becoming and graceful bearing  
11 of the living subject
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 ever was; But he must doe it by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke), 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 together doe well. If it be true that the Principall Part of Beauty is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvaile, though Persons in Yeares seeme many times more Amiable; Pulchrorn Autumnus pulcher: For no Youth can be comely but by Pardon, and considering the Youth as to make up the comelinesse. Beauty is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute Youth and an Age a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine and Vices blush.

XLIV

OF DEFORMITY

Deformed 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 Naturall Affection; And so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body

---

1 wanted to  
2 not but that I think  
3 yet all the parts together are effective  
4 wonder  
5 often seem more lovable  
6 The autumn of the fair is fair.  
7 except by making allowances and regarding youth itself as an element of beauty  
8 which soon decay  
9 an old age rather dissatisfied with itself  
10 if it falls to the lot of a worthy person  
11 it shows off a man’s virtues to advantage and makes him blush at vice  
12 an agreement
and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other: *Ubi 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 Naturall Inclination are sometimes obscured by the Sun of Discipline and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of Deformity, not as a Signe which is more Deceivable, But as a Cause which seldom faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person that doth enduce Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe to rescue and deliver himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all Deformed Persons are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorne, But in Processe of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and observe 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 Competitours and Emulatours asleepe, As never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in Possession. 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

1 she runs a risk that the other may be amiss too
2 Where she errs in the one, she runs a risk in the other.
3 an option
4 *i.e.* his natural disposition yields to the influence of education and virtue, just as the stars are extinguished by the sun.
5 for in this respect it is rather deceptive
6 any permanent infirmity
7 that brings upon him
8 extremely
9 that they may be able to retaliate
10 upon the whole
11 mind
12 more submissive to and ready to serve one
13 spies
14 informers
35 Reason of Deformed Persons. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be either by Vertue or Malice; And therefore, let it not be Marvelled if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; As was Agesilaut, Zanger the Sonne of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca President of Peru; And Socrates may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.

XLV

OF BUILDING

Houses are built to Live in, and not to Looke on; Therefore let Use bee 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 upon an ill Seat committeth Himself to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an ill Seat, only where the Aire is Unwholsome, But likewise where the Aire is unequall; As you shall see many Fine Seats, set upon a knap of Ground, Environed 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 have, and that suddenly, as great Diversitie of Heat and Cold as if you Dwelt in severall Places. Neither is it ill Aire onely that maketh an ill Seat, but Ill Ways, 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 Fruitfulness, and mixture of Grounds of severall Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of Levell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too

---

1 And much the same is the relation in which deformed persons stand.
2 Still, the general rule always holds good, that they will
3 symmetry
4 fine
5 a bad site
6 knoll
7 so that
8 different
9 i.e. want of mixture
neare the Sea, too remote; Having\(^1\) the Commoditie of Navigable Rivers, or the discommoditie\(^2\) of their Over-flowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth\(^3\) all Provisions and maketh every Thing deare: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together and where he is scanted: 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: And if he have severall Dwellings, so that he sort\(^4\) them so that what hee wanteth in the One hee may finde in the Other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, Who, when hee saw his Stately Galleries and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome\(^5\). in one of his Houses, said; Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter? Lucullus answered; Why, doe you not think me as wise as some Fowle\(^6\) are, that ever change their Aboad towards the Winter?

To passe from the Seat to the House it selfe; We will doe as Cicero doth in the Oratour's Art, Who writes Bookes \(40\) De Oratore and a Booke he entitles Orator: Whereof the Former delivers the Precepts of the Art, And the Latter the Perfection\(^7\). We will therefore describe a Princely Pallace, making a briefe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see now in Europe such Huge Buildings as the Vatican and Escuriall and some Others be, and yet scarce a very Faire Roome in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a Perfect Pallace, except you have two severall\(^8\) Sides; A Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Booke of Hester, And a Side for the Houshold; The One for Feasts and Triumphs\(^9\), and the Other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be not onely Returns\(^10\), but Parts of the Front; And to be uniforme without, though severally\(^11\) Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides of a Great and Stately Tower in

\(^1\) i.e. not having  
\(^2\) or having the drawback  
\(^3\) absorbs  
\(^4\) arrange  
\(^5\) light  
\(^6\) birds  
\(^7\) practice  
\(^8\) distinct  
\(^9\) pageants  
\(^10\) wings  
\(^11\) differently
the Middest 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 above Stairies, of some Fortie Foot high; And under it, a Roome for a

Dressing or Preparing Place at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the Houshold Side, I wish it divided at the first into a Hall and a Chappell (with a Partition betweene,) Both of good State and Bignesse; And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the

further end, a Winter and a Summer Parler, both Faire. And under these Roomes, A Faire and Large Cellar, suncke under 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 peece,

above the two Wings; And a Goodly Leads upon the Top, railed with Statuas interposed; And the same Tower to bee divided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Stairies likewise to the upper Roomes, let them bee upon a Faire open Newell, and finely raild in, with Images of

Wood cast into a Brasse Colour; And a very faire Landing Place at the Top. But this to be, if you doe not point any of the lower Roomes for a Dining Place of Servants. For otherwise you shall have the Servants' Dinner after your owne: For the Steame of it will come up as in a

Tunnell. And so much for the Front. Only, I understand the Height of the first Stairies to be Sixeene 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 foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases, cast into Turrets on the Outside, and not within the Row of Buildings themselves. 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 paved, for that striketh up a great Heat in Summer and much Cold in Winter. But onely some Side Alleys, with a Crosse, 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 Galleries, Let there be three or five fine Cupolas in the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine Coloured Windowes of severall workes. On the Houshold Side, Chambers of Presence and Ordinary Entertainments, with some Bedchambers; And let all three Sides be a double House, without Thorow Lights on the Sides, that you may have Roomes from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone and After-noone. Cast it also that you may have Roomes both for Summer and Winter; Shadie for Summer and Warme for Winter. You shall have sometimes Faire Houses so full of Glasse that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the Sunne or Cold. For Inbowed Windowes, I hold them of good Use; (In Cities indeed, Upright doe better, in respect of the Uniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind and Sunne off: For that 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.

Beyond this Court, let there be an Inward Court of the same Square and Height, Which is to be environed with the Garden on all Sides; And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides upon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the Under Story, towards the Garden, Let it be turned to a Grotta, or Place of Shade,

---

1 walks  
2 with paths across it down the middle each way and turf on the four square plots thus formed  
3 not cut too close  
4 The line of the wing  
5 reception rooms  
6 *i.e.* living-rooms  
7 *i.e.* have rooms facing both ways  
8 without windows opposite each other  
9 away from  
10 Arrange  
11 You will find  
12 where to betake oneself  
13 As for bow-windows  
14 inner  
15 by
or Estivation\(^1\); And onely have opening and Windowes to-
wards the Garden; And be Levell upon the Floare, no whit
sunke\(^9\) under Ground, to avoid all Dampishnesse. And let
there be a Fountaine, or some faire Worke of Statuas, in the
Middest of this Court; And to be Paved as the other Court
was. These Buildings to be for Privie Lodgings\(^3\) on both
Sides; And the End, for Privie Galleries. Whereof, you
must fore-see\(^4\) that one of them be for an Infirmary, if
the Prince or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with
Chambers, Bed-chamber, Anticamera, and Recamera\(^5\), ioyn-
ing to it: This upon the Second Story. Upon the Ground
Story, a Faire Gallery, Open, upon Pillars: And upon the
Third Story likewise an Open Gallery upon Pillars, to take
the Prospect and Freshnesse of the Garden. At both
Corners of the further Side\(^6\), by way of Returne\(^7\), Let there
be two Delicate or Rich Cabinets\(^8\), Daintily Paved, Richly
Hanged\(^9\), Glased with Crystalline Glasse, and a Rich
Cupola in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may
be thought upon. In the Upper Gallery too, I wish that
there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some Fountaines
Running in divers Places from the Wall, with some fine
Avoidances\(^10\). And thus much for the Modell\(^11\) of the
Pallace; Save that, you must have, before you come to the
Front, three Courts. A Greene Court Plain, with a
Wall about it; A Second Court of the same, but more
Garnished\(^12\), with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments,
upon the Wall; And a Third Court, to make a Square with
the Front, but not to be built\(^13\), nor yet enclosed with a
Naked Wall, but enclosed with Tarrasses, Leaded aloft\(^14\),
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.

---

\(^1\) or for use in summer
\(^2\) not sunk at all
\(^3\) private apartments
\(^4\) provide
\(^5\) antechamber and inner cham-
ber
\(^6\) i.e. the end
\(^7\) where the wings join the end
\(^8\) closets
\(^9\) hung with tapestry
\(^10\) small outlets for the water
\(^11\) plan
\(^12\) ornamented
\(^13\) surrounded with buildings
\(^14\) but enclosed by raised pro-
menades on a lead flooring
GOD Almighty first Planted a Garden. And indeed it is the Purest of Humane pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which, Buildings and Pallaces are but Grosse Handy-works: And a Man shall ever see 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, severally, 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; Ivy; Bayes; Juniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lavander; Periwinkle, the White, the Purple, and the 15 Blewe; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stooved; and Sweet Marioram, warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of January and February, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Chamaïris; Frettellaria. For March, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In Aprill follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Couslip; Flower-Delices, and Lillies of all

1 human
2 works of men's hands
3 always
4 civilization
5 I maintain
6 in arranging gardens on a magnificent scale
7 pine-trees
8 kept in hot-houses
9 if planted in a warm situation
10 dwarf iris
11 fritillary
12 cornelian cherry
13 common stock
14 fleur-de-lis
Natures; Rose-mary 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 Leafe; 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; Buglosse; Columbine; The French Mary-gold; Flos Africanus; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raspes; Vine Flowers; Lavender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muscaria; Lilium Convallium; The Apple-tree in Blossome. In Iuly, 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; Peares; Apricockes; Berberies; Filberds; Muske-Melons; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In September, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones; Cornelians; Wardens; Quinces. In October and the beginning of November, come Services; Medlars; Bullises; Roses Cut or Removed to come late; Hollyokes; and such like. These Particulars are for the Climate of London; But my meaning is Perceived, that you may have Ver 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 Musick) 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 Smels; So that you may walke by

1. damson
2. African marigold
3. currants
4. raspberries
5. orchis
6. grape hyacinth
7. lily of the valley
8. early apples
9. codlings
10. apricots
11. filberts
12. yellow peaches
13. cornel-tree cherries
14. winter pears
15. wild plums
16. perpetual spring
17. flowers which do not freely give out their smells
a whole Row of them and finde Nothing of their Sweet 60
ness; Yea, though it be in a Morning’s Dew. Bayes
likewise yeeld no Smell as they grow. Rosemary little;
Nor Sweet-Marioram. That which above all Others yeelds
the Sweetest Smell in the Aire is the Violet; Specially the
White-double-Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About 65
the middle of Aprill, and about Bartholomew-tide\(^1\). Next
to that is the Muske-Rose. Then the Strawberry-Leaves
dying, which \(\text{[yeeld]}\) a most Excellent Cordiall Smell.
Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the
dust of a Bent\(^2\), which growes upon the Cluster in the First 70
comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers,
which are very Delightfull, to be set under a Parler or
Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks and Gilly-Flowers,
specially the Matted Pinck and Clove Gilly-flower\(^3\). Then
the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, 75
so\(^4\) 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 passed by as
the rest, but being Troden upon and Crushed, are Three:
That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, 80
you are to set whole Allies\(^5\) of them, to have the Pleasure
when you walke or tread.

For\(^6\) Gardens, (Speaking of those which are indeed
Prince-like\(^7\), as we have done of Buildings), the Contents
ought not well to be under Thirty Acres of Ground, And to 85
be divided into three Parts: A Greene in the Entrance; A
Heath or Desart in the Going forth\(^8\); And the Maine
Garden in the midst, Besides Allies on both Sides. And
I like well that Foure Acres of Ground be assigned to the
Greene; Six to the Heath, Foure and Foure to either Side; 90
And Twelve to the Maine Garden. The Greene hath two
pleasures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to
the Eye then Greene Grasse kept finely shorne\(^9\); The
other, because it will give you a faire Alley in the midst,

---

\(^1\) i.e. about August 24th

\(^2\) of stalked grass

\(^3\) carnation

\(^4\) provided

\(^5\) paths, passim

\(^6\) As regards

\(^7\) princely, magnificent

\(^8\) at the exit

\(^9\) cut close
by which you may go in front upon a Stately Hedge, which is to 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 Covert Alley, upon Carpenter's Worke, about Twelve 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 under 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; Incompassed, on all the Four Sides, with a Stately Arched Hedge. The Arches to be upon Pillars of Carpenter's Worke, of some Ten Foot high and Six Foot broad; And the Spaces between of the same Dimension with the Breadth of the Arch. Over the Arches, let there bee an Entire Hedge, of some Four Foot High, framed also upon Carpenter's Worke; And upon the Upper Hedge, over every Arch, a little Turret, with a Belly enough to receive a Cage of Birds: And over every Space, betweene the Arches, some other little Figure, with Broad Plates of Round Coloured Glasse, gilt, for the Sunne to Play upon. But this Hedge I entend to be raised upon a Bancke, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of some Six Foot, set all with Flowers. Also I understand that this Square of the Garden should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leave, on either Side, Ground enough for diversity of Side Alleys; Unto which the Two Covert Alleys of the Greene may deliver you. But there must be no Alleys with Hedges, at either End of this great Inclosure; Not at the Hither End, for letting your Prospect upon this Faire Hedge from the Greene; Nor

---

1 you may advance towards  
2 on  
3 sheltered  
4 on wooden trellis-work  
5 beds  
6 trifles  
7 a continuous fence  
8 with a bulge big enough  
9 sloping  
10 but that there should be left  
11 because of obstructing
at the Further End, for letting¹ your Prospect from the Hedge, through the Arches, upon the Heath.

For² the Ordering of the Ground within the Great Hedge, I leave it to Variety of Device; Advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever forme you cast it into³, first it be not too Busie⁴ or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like Images Cut out in Juniper or other Garden stuffe: They be for Children. Little low Hedges, Round, like Welts⁵, with some Pretty Pyramides, I like well: And in some Places, Faire⁶ Columnes upon Frames of Carpenter's Worke. I would also have the Alleys Spacious and Faire. You may have Closer⁷ Alleys upon the Side Grounds, but none in the Maine Garden. I wish also, in the very Middle, a Faire Mount, with three Ascents⁸ and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes or Imbosments⁹; And the Whole Mount to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine Banquetting House, with some Chimneys neatly cast¹⁰, and without too much Glasse.

For¹¹ Fountaines, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment; But Pooles marre all, and make the Garden unwelsummer and full of Flies and Frogs. Fountaines I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that Sprinckleth or¹² Spouteth Water; The Other a Faire Receipt¹³ 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 Convey the Water as¹⁴ it never Stay, either in the Bowles or in the Cesterne, That the Water be never by Rest¹⁵ Discoloured, Greene, or Red, or the like, Or gather any Mossinesse or Putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand. Also some Steps up to it, and some Fine Pavement about it,¹⁶

¹ because of obstructing  
² As regards  
³ in whatever way you lay it out  
⁴ elaborate  
⁵ borders  
⁶ fine  
⁷ narrower  
⁸ flights of steps  
⁹ any balustrade or projections  
¹⁰ some fireplaces neatly arranged  
¹¹ receptacle  
¹² that  
¹³ by standing
doth well. As for the other Kinde of Fountaine, which we may call a Bathing Poole, it may admit much Curiosity¹ and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selves: As, that the Bottome be finely Paved, And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also with fine Railes of Low Statuas. 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 under Ground by some Equalitie of Bores², that it stay little³. And for⁴ fine Devices of Arching Water⁵ without Spilling, and Making it rise in severall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to⁶ Health and Sweetnesse.

For⁷ 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 have none in it; But some Thickets, made onely of Sweet-Briar and Honny-suckle, and some Wilde-Vine amongst; And the Ground set with Violets, Strawberries, and Prime-Roses. For these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the Heath, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little Heaps, in the Nature of Mole-hils, (such as are in Wilde Heaths) to be set, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that gives a good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinkle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couslips; Some with Daisies; Some with Red-Roses; Some with Lilium Convallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beare's-Foot⁸; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet and Sightly: Part of which Heapes, to be with Standards of little Bushes prickt⁹ upon their Top, and Part without. The Standards to be Roses; Juniper;

¹ ingenuity ² pipes of equal dimensions ³ may not stand long ⁴ As regards ⁵ making water form an arch ⁶ do not affect ⁷ stinking hellebore ⁸ planted
Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there\(^1\), because of the Smell of their Blossome,) Red Currans; 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\(^2\).

For\(^3\) the Side Grounds, you are to fill them with Varietie of Alleys, Private, to give a full Shade, Some of them, wheresoever 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 ever finely Gravelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet\(^5\). In many of these Alleys likewise, you are to set Fruit-Trees of all Sorts; As well upon the Walles as in Ranges\(^6\). And this would\(^7\) be generally observed, that the Borders, wherin you plant your Fruit-Trees, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with Fine Flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceive the Trees\(^8\). At the End of both the Side Grounds, I would have a Mount of some Pretty Height\(^9\), leaving the Wall of the Enclosure Brest high\(^10\), to looke abroad into the Fields.

For\(^8\) the Maine Garden, I doe not Deny but there should be some Faire Alleys, ranged\(^11\) on both Sides with Fruit Trees; And some Pretty Tufts of Fruit Trees, And 220 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\(^12\) it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for Shade, I would have you rest\(^13\) upon the Alleys of the Side Grounds, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in 225 the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account\(^14\) that the Maine Garden is for the more Temperate Parts of the

---

1. but only at intervals  
2. out of bounds  
3. As regards  
4. always  
5. walking through the wet  
6. in rows  
7. should  
8. rob the trees of nourishment  
9. fairly high  
10. i.e. so that when you are on the top of the mound your breast is level with the top of the wall  
11. planted in rows  
12. so that  
13. depend  
14. to reckon
yeare, And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning and the Evening, or Over-cast Dayes.

For^1^ Aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse as^2^ they may be Turfied, and have Living Plants and Bushes set in them; That the Birds may have more Scope, and Naturall Neastling, and that no Foulenesse appeare in the Floare of the Aviary. So I have made a Platforme^3^ of a Princely Garden, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing^4^, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it; And in this I have spared for no Cost^5^. But it is Nothing for Great Princes, that, for the most Part, taking Advice with Workmen, with no Lesse Cost set their Things togethers^6^; And sometimes adde Statuas and such Things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to^7^ the true Pleasure of a Garden.

XLVII

OF NEGOCIATING

It is generally better to deale by Speech then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third then by a Man's Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would^8^ draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serve for a Man's Justification afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted^9^, or heard by Peeces. To deale in Person is good, when a Man's Face bredeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender^10^ Cases, where a Man's Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will^11^ reserve to himselfe Libertie either to Disavow or to Expound^12^.

---

1. As for
2. of such a size that
3. a plan
4. by sketching
5. I have not studied economy
6. lay out their grounds at just as great expense as if they adopted my scheme
7. *i.e.* but do not add to
8. wishes to
9. where there may be danger of being interrupted
10. delicate
11. wishes to
12. either to disclaim the interpretation put upon his language or to explain his real meaning
Choice of Instruments, 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 Successes. Then those that are Cunning to Contrive out of other Men's Businesse somewhat to grace themselves, And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction sake. Use also such Persons as affect the Businesse 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 Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Use also such as have beene Luckie and Prevailed before in Things wherein you have Employed them; For that breeds Confidence, and they will strive to maintaine their Prescription. It is better to sound a Person, with whom one Deales, a farre off then to fall upon 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 that are where they would be. If a Man Deale with another upon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other Partie that hee shall still need him in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise is to Discover, or to Worke. Men Discover themselves, in Trust; In Passion; At unawares; And of Necessitie, when they would have somewhat done and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you would Worke

1 likely
2 result
3 skilful
4 something to reflect credit on themselves
5 will give too favourable a report of the matter in order to please their employer
6 have a liking for
7 stimulates
8 obstinate and unreasonable
9 cannot stand upon its own merits
10 reputation for success
11 in want of something
12 they wish to be
13 that it
14 i.e. All negotiation consists in finding out people's characters and working upon them.
15 reveal themselves in their confidences
16 wish to
17 work upon, influence
any Man, you must either know his Nature and Fashions and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse and Disadvantages, and so Awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so Governe him. In Dealing with Cunning Persons, we must ever Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for. In all Negotiations of Difficultie, a Man may not looke to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Businesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.

XLVIII

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRENDs

Costly Followers are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary Followers ought to challenge no Higher Conditions then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious Followers are worse to be liked, which Follow not upon Affection to him with whom they range Themselves, but upon Discontentment Conceived against some Other: Whereupon commonly ensueth that Ill Intelligence that we many times see betwene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious Followers, who make themselves as Trumpets of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Envie. 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.

1 habits 5 from
2 influence over 6 those misunderstandings
3 importunate 7 boastful
4 demand 8 spies
Yet such Men, many times\(^1\), are in great Favour; For they \(20\) are Officious\(^2\), And commonly Exchange Tales. The Following by certaine Estates of Men, answerable to that which a Great Person himselfe professeth\(^3\), (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath ever beeue a Thing Civill\(^4\), and well taken even \(25\) in Monarchies, So\(^5\) it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie\(^6\). But the most Honourable Kinde of Following is to be Followed as one that apprehendeth to advance\(^7\) Vertue and Desert in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Odds in Sufficiencie\(^8\), it is \(30\) better to take with the more Passable then with the more Able\(^9\). And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times\(^10\), Active Men are of more use then Vertuous\(^11\). It is true that, in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily is to make \(35\) them Insolent, and the rest Discontent\(^12\); Because they may claime a Due. But contrariwise in Favour\(^13\), to use Men with much Difference and Election\(^14\) is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious\(^15\); Because all is of Favour\(^16\). It is good Discretion \(40\) not to make too much of any Man at the first; Because One cannot hold out that Proportion\(^17\). To be governed\(^18\) (as we call it) by One is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse\(^19\), and gives a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation\(^20\): For those that would not Censure or Speake ill of a Man \(45\) immediatly\(^21\) will talke more boldly of Those that are so

\(^1\) often
\(^2\) ready to do services
\(^3\) That an eminent man should have followers amongst persons belonging to his own profession
\(^4\) has always been considered decorous
\(^5\) provided that
\(^6\) the courting of popular favour
\(^7\) one who undertakes the patronage of
\(^8\) no conspicuous superiority in ability
\(^9\) it is expedient to employ the more mediocre man rather than one who is somewhat abler
\(^10\) in a corrupt age
\(^11\) men of marked ability
\(^12\) discontented
\(^13\) in matters of private patronage
\(^14\) selection
\(^15\) ready to serve
\(^16\) it is all a matter of grace
\(^17\) one cannot keep on giving him marks of distinction on the same scale
\(^18\) to be managed
\(^19\) weakness
\(^20\) disrepute
\(^21\) directly
great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many is Worse; For it makes Men to be of the Last Impression\(^1\), and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Frends is ever\(^2\) Honourable; For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth\(^6\) the Hill. There is Little Frendship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend\(^4\), the One the Other.

XLIX

OF SUTOEURS

Many ill Matters and Proiects are undertaken\(^5\); And Private Sutes do Putrisie\(^6\) 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\(^7\) Sutes, which never meane to deale effectually in them; But if they see there may be life in the Matter by some other meane\(^8\), they will be content to winne a Thanke\(^9\), or take a Second\(^10\) Reward, or at least to make Use, in the meane time, of the Sutour's Hopes. Some take hold of Sutes onely for an Occasion to Crosse\(^11\) some other; Or to make an Information\(^12\), whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext; without Care what become of the Sute, when that Turne is served\(^13\): Or generally, to make other Men's Businesse a Kinde of Entertainment to bring in their owne\(^14\). Nay, some undertake

\(^1\) causes men to be influenced by the last speaker
\(^2\) always
\(^3\) brings into view
\(^4\) include
\(^5\) taken up (by a patron)
\(^6\) corrupt
\(^7\) promise to support
\(^8\) if they see that the suit may be successful through the agency of
\(^9\) win thanks
\(^10\) secondary, inferior
\(^11\) thwart
\(^12\) disclose something
\(^13\) when their own object is gained
\(^14\) a pretext for introducing their own
Sutes with a full Purpose to let them fall\(^1\), To the end, to gratifie the Adverse Partie or Competitour. Surely, there is, in some sort\(^2\), a Right in every Sute; Either a Right of Equity, if it be a Sute of Controversie\(^3\); Or a Right of Desert, if it be a Sute of Petition\(^4\). If Affection lead a Man to favour the Wrong Side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance to Compound the Matter\(^5\) then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man to favour the lesse Worthy in Desert, let him doe it without Depraving or Disabling\(^6\) the Better Deserver. In Sutes which a man doth not well understand, it is good to referre them to some Frend of Trust and Judgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them\(^7\) with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries\(^8\), for else he may be led by the Nose\(^9\). Sutours are so distasted\(^10\) with Delayes and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying\(^11\) to deale in Sutes at first, and Reporting the Successe barely\(^12\), and in Challenging\(^13\) no more Thanks then one hath deserved, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious\(^14\). In Sutes of Favour\(^15\), the first Comming ought to take little Place\(^16\): So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust\(^17\), that if Intelligence of the Matter could not otherwise have beene had but by him, Advantage bee not taken of the Note\(^18\), but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort\(^19\), Recompenced for his Discoverie\(^20\). To be Ignorant of the value of a Sute\(^21\) is Simplicitie; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof is Want of Conscience.

---

1. let them drop
2. after a fashion
3. a legal dispute
4. an application for office
5. use his influence to bring about a compromise
6. vilifying or disparaging
7. may meddle with them
8. referees
9. misled
10. disgusted
11. in refusing
12. stating the result without exaggeration
13. in claiming
14. a matter for thanks
15. i.e. of petition (as distinguished from suits of controversy)
16. to carry little weight
17. To this extent regard may be paid to the confidence shown by the first-comer in referring the matter for decision
18. the information is not to be used against him
19. in some manner
20. information
21. of the object asked for
Secrecie in Sutes is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them to bee in Forwardnesse may discourage some Kinde of Sutours, But doth Quicken and Awake Others. But Timing of the Sute is the Principall. Timing, I say, not onely in respect of the Person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane, rather choose the Fittest Meane then the Greatest Meane; And rather them that deale in certaine Things then those that are Generall. The Reparation of a Deniall is sometimes Equall to the first Grant, If a Man shew himselfe neither deicted nor discontented. Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras, is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his Sute; For he that would have ventured at first to have lost the Sutour, will not in the Conclusion lose both the Sutour 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. There are no worse Instruments then these Generall Contrivers of Sutes; For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.

L

OF STUDIES

STUDIES serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their Chiefe Use for Delight is in Privatenesse

---

1 means
2 announcing that they are going on favourably
3 stimulate
4 patron, agent
5 the expert who meddles with only a few matters rather than the agent who undertakes all
6 To succeed in one's suit after failing in the first application is sometimes as good as obtaining one's suit at the outset
7 Ask for more than is fair so that you may get what is fair
8 has influence with the patron
9 a man would do better to increase his demands as he goes on
10 testimonial
11 his reputation will suffer
12 these patrons who give an indiscriminate support to applications
13 to make men able
and Retiring; For Ornament, is in Discourse; And for Ability, is in the Judgement and Disposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars, one by one; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are Learned. To spend too much Time in Studies is Sloth; 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: For Naturall Abilities are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by Study: And Studies themselves doe give 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 owne Use; But that is a Wisdome without them and above them, won by Observation. Reade not to Contradict and Confute; Nor to Beleeve and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. Some Bookes are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed, and Some Few to be Chewed and Digested: That is, some Bookes are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously; And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. 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 have a Great

1 privacy and retirement 11 regard them with wonder 12 apply 13 outside of them 14 carefully 15 should 16 subjects 17 insipid 18 conversation 19 _i.e._ taking notes 10 Men of practical ability
memory; If he Conferre\(^1\) little, he had need have a little Wit; And if he Reade little, he had need have much Cunning\(^8\), to seeme to know that he doth not. Histories make Men Wise; Poets Witty\(^6\); The Mathematicks Subtil; Naturall Philosophy deepe; Morall Grave\(^6\); Logick and Rhetorick Able to Contend. *Abeunt studia in Mores*\(^7\). Nay, there is no Stond\(^8\) or Impediment in the Wit\(^9\) but may be wrought out\(^10\) by Fit Studies; Like as Diseases of the Body may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling\(^11\) is good for the Stone and Reines; Shooting\(^12\) for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke; Riding for the Head; And the like. So if a Man's Wit be Wandring, 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 Schoole-men; For they are *Cymini sectores*\(^13\). If he be not Apt to beat over Matters\(^14\), and to call up one Thing to Prove and Illustrate another, let him Study the Lawyers' Cases: So every Defect of the Minde may have a Speciall Receit\(^15\).

LI

OF FACTION

Many have an Opinion not wise, That for a Prince to Governe his Estate\(^16\), Or for a Great Person to governe his Proceedings, according to the Respect of Factions\(^17\), is a Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiepest Wisdome is, either in Ordering\(^18\) those Things, which are

---

1. converse  
2. ready  
3. ingenuity  
4. that which  
5. imaginative  
6. moral philosophy serious  
7. One's studies pass into one's character.  
8. obstacle  
9. mind  
10. worked out, removed  
11. playing bowls  
12. archery  
13. hair-splitters (lit. carvers of cummin seeds)  
14. ready in passing from one subject to another  
15. prescription for its remedy  
16. state  
17. with a view to the interests of particular parties  
18. in regulating
Generall, and wherein Men of Severall Factions doe nevertheless 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, in their Rising, must adhere; But Great Men, that have Strength in themselves, were better to maintaine themselves Indifferent and Neutrall. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately as hee bee a Man of the one Faction, which is most Passable with the other, commonly giveth best Way. The Lower and Weaker Faction is the firmer in Conjunction: And it is often scene that a few, that are Stiffe, doe tire out a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the Factions is Extinguished, the Remaining Subdivideth: As the Faction betweene Lucullus and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called Optimates) held out a while against the Faction of Pompey and Caesar: But when the Senate’s 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 overthowne, then soone after Antonius and Octavianus brake and Subdivided. These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Private Factions. And therefore, those that are Seconds in Factions doe many times, when the Faction Subdivideth, prove Principals: But many times also they prove Ciphars and Casheer’d: For many a Man’s Strength is in opposition; And when that faileth, he growtheth out of use. It is commonly scene that Men once Placed take in with the

---

1 which concern everybody  
2 different  
3 i.e. agree in spite of their belonging to different parties  
4 in dealing with particular persons in a manner which is suitable to each case  
5 Men of low station must attach themselves to a party while they are rising  
6 impartial  
7 For a novice to be so temperate an adherent of his party that he is on an excellent footing with the other side opens up the road to promotion most effectually.  
8 holds together best  
9 pertinacious  
10 occupy a subordinate position  
11 are got rid of  
12 ceases  
13 once appointed to office  
14 take up with, go over to
Contrary Faction to that by which they enter; Thinking belike\(^1\) that they have the First Sure, And now are Readie for a New Purchase\(^2\). The Traitour in Faction lightly goeth away with it\(^3\); For when Matters have stucke long in Ballancing, the Winning\(^4\) of some one Man casteth them\(^5\), and he getteth all the Thankes. The Even Carriage\(^6\) betweene two Factions proceedeth not alwaies of\(^7\) Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Man's Selfe\(^6\), with End to make use of both\(^9\). Certainly in Italy, they hold it a little suspect\(^10\) in Popes, when they have often in their Mouth, Padre commune\(^11\); And take it to be a Signe of one that meaneth to referre all to the Greatnesse of his owne House. Kings had need beware how they Side themselves\(^12\) and make themselves as of a Faction or Partie: For Leagues within the State are ever Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount\(^13\) to Obligation of Soveraignty, and make the King Tanquam unus ex nobis\(^14\): As was to be seene in the League of France. When Factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes, And much to the Preiudice both of their Authoritie and Businesse. The Motions of Factions, under Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the Astronomers speake) of the Inferiour Orbs, which may have their Proper\(^16\) Motions, but yet still\(^16\) are quietly carried by the Higher Motion of Primum Mobile.

\(^{1}\) probably  
\(^{2}\) acquisition  
\(^{3}\) generally comes off the gainer  
\(^{4}\) the gaining over  
\(^{5}\) turns the scale  
\(^{6}\) Neutrality  
\(^{7}\) from  
\(^{8}\) from selfishness  
\(^{9}\) with the object of turning both  
\(^{10}\) suspicious  
\(^{11}\) Common Father  
\(^{12}\) take sides  
\(^{13}\) superior  
\(^{14}\) as though he were one of us  
\(^{15}\) own  
\(^{16}\) always
LII

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

He that is only Reall\(^9\) had need have Exceeding great Parts of Vertue; As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foile\(^8\). But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Commendation of Men as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the Proverbe is true, *That light Gaines make heavy Purses;* For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true that Small Matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in Use and in note\(^4\): whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue commeth but on Festivals\(^5\). Therefore it doth much adde to a Man's Reputation, and is, (as Queene Isabella said) *Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory*\(^6\) to have good Formes\(^7\). 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 Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace, Which is to be Naturall and Unaffected. Some Men's Behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend\(^8\) great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Observations\(^9\)? Not to use Ceremonies at all is to teach Others not to use them againe\(^10\); And so diminisheth Respect to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers and Formall\(^11\) Natures: But the Dwelling upon them, and Exalting them above the Moone, is not only Tedioues, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a Kinde of Conveying of Effectuall

\(^{1}\) Good Manners  
\(^{2}\) absolutely unaffected  
\(^{3}\) without something to throw it up  
\(^{4}\) come under people's notice  
\(^{5}\) *i.e.* somewhat rarely  
\(^{6}\) of recommendation  
\(^{7}\) manners  
\(^{8}\) embrace  
\(^{9}\) who forces his mind to submit too much to small observances  
\(^{10}\) not to use them in return  
\(^{11}\) punctilious
and Imprinting\(^1\) Passages amongst Complements, which is of Singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Man’s Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State\(^2\). Amongst a Man’s Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giveth another Occasion of Sacietie\(^3\), maketh himselfe cheape. To apply One’s Selfe to others\(^4\) is good; So it be with Demonstration that a Man doth it upon Regard, And not upon Facilitie\(^5\). It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another\(^6\), yet to adde somewhat\(^7\) of One’s Owne: As\(^8\), if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion\(^9\), let it bee with Condition; If you allow\(^10\) his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they never so Sufficient otherwise\(^11\), their Enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute\(^12\), to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is losse also in businesse to be too full of Respects\(^13\), or to be too Curious\(^14\) in Observing Times and Opportunities. Salomon saith; *He that considereth the wind shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds shall not reape.* A wise Man will make more Opportunities then he findes. Men’s Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait\(^15\) or point Device\(^16\), but Free for Exercise or Motion.

---

1. impressive
2. to stand on one’s dignity
3. He who is always saying or doing the same thing, till he bores his neighbour with the monotony
4. To humour others
5. provided that a man makes it plain that he acts in this way from personal regard and not from mere affability
6. in expressing one’s concurrence with another
7. to add something further
8. for example
9. act on his suggestion
10. approve
11. for no matter how capable they may be in other respects
12. viz. of paying insincere compliments
13. too elaborately polite
14. particular
15. confined
16. exact
PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue: But it is as the Glasse or Bodie which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine Persons then Vertuous: For the Common People understand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw Praise from them; The middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they have no Sense or Perceiving at all. But Shewes and Species virtutibus similes serve best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Judgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Oyntments are more Durable then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of Praise, that a Man may justly hold it a Suspect. Some Praises proceed meerely of Flattery; And if he 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 Man’s selfe; 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

1 it varies according to
2 worthless
3 specious
4 wonder
5 perception
6 pretences
7 Appearances resembling virtues
8 rank
9 A good name is like sweet-smelling ointment.
10 go away
11 Praise is improperly bestowed in so many cases
12 justly regard it with suspicion
13 from
14 certain epithets which may be applied indiscriminately to everyone
15 observe
he is most Defective and is most out of Countenance in\(^1\) himselfe, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to perforce\(^2\), Spretâ Conscientiâ\(^3\). Some Praises come of\(^4\) good Wishes and Respects\(^5\), which is a Forme due in Civilitie to Kings and Great Persons, Laudando præcipere\(^6\); When by telling Men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some Men are Praised Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Envie and Jealousie towards them; Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium\(^7\); In so much as\(^8\) it was a Proverb amongst the Grecians that, He that was praised to his Hurt should\(^9\) have a Push\(^10\) rise upon his Nose: As we say, That a Blister will rise upon one's Tongue, that tells a lye. Certainly Moderate Praise, used with Opportunity and not Vulgar\(^11\), is that which doth the Good. Salomon saith, He that praiseth his Frend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him no better then a Curse. Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter doth irritate\(^12\) Contradiction, and procure Envie and Scorne. To Praise a Man's selfe cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to Praise\(^13\) a Man's Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The Cardinals of Rome, which\(^14\) are Theologues\(^15\) and Friars and Schoole-men, have a Phrase of Notable\(^16\) Contempt and Scorne towards Civill Businesse\(^17\): For they call all Temporall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages\(^18\), Judicature, and other Emploiments, Sbirrerie, which is, Under-Sheriffes, As if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffes and Catchpoles\(^19\); Though, many times\(^20\), those Under-sheriffes doe more good then their High Speculations. St. Paul, when

---

1. ashamed of
2. force him to take the credit of
3. scorning his consciousness (of short-comings)
4. from
5. marks of respect
6. to give instruction by praising
7. the worst sort of enemies—the men who praise
8. that
9. would
10. pimple
11. bestowed seasonably and with discrimination
12. provoke
13. but as regards praising
14. who
15. theologians
16. remarkable
17. lay matters
18. embassies
19. bailiffs
20. often
he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace, I speake like 55 a Foole; But speaking of his Calling, he saith, Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.1

LIV
OF VAINE-GLORY

It was prettily Devised of Æsope, The Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raise! So are there some Vaine Persons that, whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater Means,3 if they have never so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are Glorious must needs be Factious; For all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be Violent, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be Secret, and therefore not Effectual; but according to the French Proverb, Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit:—Much Bruit, little Fruit. Yet certainly there is Use of this Qualitie in Civill Affairs: Where there is an Opinion and Fame to be created, either of Vertue or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the Case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, There are sometimes great Effects of Crosse Lies; 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 above Measure, the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between 20 Man and Man raiseth his owne Credit with Both, by pretending greater Interest then he hath in Either. And in these and the like Kindes, it often falls out that Somewhat

---

1 I will magnify my apostleship.
2 by
3 when anything is set in motion by itself or by agents more powerful (than the boasters)
4 effect
5 boastful
6 boasting
7 and therefore they cannot be
8 noise
9 political
10 reputation
11 contradictory lies told to each party
12 each
13 influence
14 something
is produced of Nothing; For Lies are sufficient to breed
Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Militar
Commanders and Soldiers, Vaine-Glory is an Essentiaall
Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by Glory one
Courage sharpeneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise,
upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of Glorious
Natures doth put Life into Businesse; And those that are
of Solide and Sober Natures have more of the Ballast then
of the Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be slow
without some Feathers of Ostentation. Qui de contemnendā
Gloriā Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates,
Aristotle, Galen, were Men full of Ostentation. Certainly
Vaine-Glory helpeth to Perpetuate a Man’s Memory; And
Vertue was never 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 been ioyned with some Vanity in
themselves: Like unto Varnish, that makes Seelings not
onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speake of
Vaine-Glory, I meane not of that Property that Tacitus
doth attribute to Mucianus,—Omnium, quæ dixerat fecerat-
que, Arte quadam Ostentator. For that proceeds not of
Vanity, but of Naturall Magnanimity, and discretion;
And in some Persons, is not onely Comely, but Gracious.
For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty itselte well Governed,
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 Man’s Selfe hath any Perfection.
For saith Pliny very Wittily, *In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you in that* you Commend, 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\(^2\) are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles\(^3\); the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

**LV**

**OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION**

The Winning of Honour is but the Revealing of a Man’s Vertue and Worth without Disadvantage\(^4\). For some in their Actions doe Wooe and affect\(^5\) 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\(^6\); So as they be under-valued in opinion\(^7\). If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, Or attempted and given over\(^8\), Or hath beene atchieved, but not with so good Circumstance\(^9\), he shall purchase\(^10\) more Honour then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper\(^11\) his Actions as\(^12\) in some one of them hee doth content everie Faction or Combination of People, the Musicke\(^13\) will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband\(^14\) of his Honour, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more then the Carying of it through can Honor him. Honour

---

1. that which
2. Boasters
3. objects of wonder to fools
4. without inaccuracy
5. aim at
6. partially obscure their virtue
7. so that their reputation is less than they deserve
8. given up
9. not with such successful adjuncts
10. acquire
11. blend
12. that
13. *i.e.* the chorus of praise
14. a poor economist, a bad manager
that is gained and broken upon Another\(^1\) hath the quickest\(^2\) Reflection; Like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend to excell any Competitors of his in Honour, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet Followers and Servants helpe much to Reputation: *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat*\(^3\). Envy, which is the Canker of Honour, is best extinguished by declaring a Man’s Selfe, in his Ends\(^4\), rather to seeke Merit then Fame: And by Attributing a Man’s Successes rather to divine Providence and Felicity\(^6\) then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of the Degrees of Sovereigne Honour are these\(^6\). In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States and Common-Wealths*; Such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Caeser, Ottoman, Ismael. In the Second Place are *Legis-latores, Lawgivers*; which are also called, *Second Founders, or Perpetui Principes*\(^7\), because they Governe by their Ordinances after they are gone: Such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*\(^8\). In the Third Place are *Liberatores, or Salvatores*\(^9\); Such as compound\(^10\) the long Miseries of Civill Warres, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As Augustus Caeser, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, K. Henry the VII. of England, K. Henry the IV. of France. In the Fourth Place are *Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperij*\(^11\); Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place are *Patres Patriae*\(^12\), which reigne iustly and make the Times good wherein they live. Both which last Kindes need no Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of Honour in Subjectes are, First, *Participes Curarum*\(^13\), Those upon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest

---

1. gained by collision with others
2. most vivid
3. All one’s reputation emanates from one’s household.
4. by making it clear that a man’s object is
5. good luck
6. The degrees of honour in sovereigns may be arranged in order of importance as follows.
7. Perpetual Rulers
8. The Seven Parts
9. Liberators or Preservers
10. settle
11. Extenders or Defenders of the Empire
12. Fathers of their Country
13. Partners in cares
Weight\textsuperscript{1} of their Affairs; Their Right Hands, as we call\textsuperscript{50} them. The Next are Duces Belli\textsuperscript{2}, Great Leaders; Such as are Princes’ Lieutenants\textsuperscript{3} and doe them Notable Services in the Warres. The Third are Gratiosi; Favourites; Such as exceed not this Scantling\textsuperscript{4}, To be Solace to the Sovereaigne and Harmesesse to the People. And the Fourth, 55 Negotijs pares\textsuperscript{5}; Such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency\textsuperscript{6}. There is an Honour likewise which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely; That is, of such as Sacrifice themselves to Death or Danger, for the Good of their Countrey; 60 As was M. Regulus, and the Two Decij.

LVI

OF IUDICATURE

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: Else will it be like the Authority claimed by the Church of Rome, which, under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke\textsuperscript{7} to Adde and Alter, And to Pronounce\textsuperscript{8} that which they doe not Finde, And by Shew of\textsuperscript{9} Antiquitie to introduce Noveltie. Judges ought to be more Learned then Wittie\textsuperscript{10}; More Reverend then Plausible\textsuperscript{11}; And more Advised\textsuperscript{12} then Confident. Above all Things, Integritie is their Portion and Proper\textsuperscript{13} Vertue. Cursed (saith the Law) is hee that removeth the Land-marke. The Mislaiuer of a Meere Stone\textsuperscript{14} is to blame. But it is the Uniust Judge that is the Capitall\textsuperscript{15} Remover of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One

\textsuperscript{1} shift the chief burden
\textsuperscript{2} Leaders in War
\textsuperscript{3} deputies
\textsuperscript{4} limit
\textsuperscript{5} Men equal to the demands of their business
\textsuperscript{6} ability
\textsuperscript{7} hesitate
\textsuperscript{8} to solemnly proclaim
\textsuperscript{9} under the guise of
\textsuperscript{10} ingenious
\textsuperscript{11} courting respect rather than applause
\textsuperscript{12} deliberate
\textsuperscript{13} peculiar
\textsuperscript{14} boundary-stone
\textsuperscript{15} chief
Foule Sentence doth more Hurt then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Strame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith Salomon; *Fons turbatus, et Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram Adversario*. The Office of Judges may have Reference

Unto the Parties that sue; Unto the Advocates that Plead; Unto the Clerkes and Ministers of Justice underneath them; And to the Soveraigne or State above them.

First, for the Causes or Parties that Sue. *There be (saith the Scripture) that turne Iudgement into Worme-wood; And surely there be also that turne it into Vinegar; For Injustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Soure.* The Principall Dutie of a Judge is to suppreste Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open, And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. 

Adde thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare his Way to a Iust Sentence, as God useth 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 scene, to make Inequallie Equall, That he may plant his Iudgement, as upon an Even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*; 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 have Care that that which was meant for Terrour be not turned into Rigour, And that they bring not upon the People that Shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet

---

1. A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring.
2. as regards
3. secret
4. rejected
5. loathsome obstruction
6. is wont
7. on one side only
8. forensic skill
9. in making
10. The wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood
11. pressed
12. a means of deterring
super eos Laqueos\textsuperscript{1}: For Penall Lawes Pressed are a \textit{Shower of Snares} upon the People. Therefore, let Penall Lawes, if they have beene Sleepers of\textsuperscript{2} long, or if they be growne unfit for the present Time, be by Wise Judges confined\textsuperscript{3} 50 in the Execution;

\textit{Iudicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum}\textsuperscript{4}, \&c.

In Causes of Life and Death, Judges ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy, And to Cast a Severe Eye upon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye 55 upon the Person.

Secondly, for\textsuperscript{5} the Advocates and Counsell that Plead: Patience and Gravitie of Hearing is an Essentiall Part of Justice; And an Over-speaking Judge\textsuperscript{6} is no \textit{well tuned Cymball}. It is no Grace\textsuperscript{7} to a Judge first to finde that 60 which hee might have heard in due time from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit\textsuperscript{8} in Cutting off Evidence or Counsell too short; Or to prevent\textsuperscript{9} Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a Judge in Hearing are Foure:—To direct the Evidence\textsuperscript{10}; To Mode\textsuperscript{11} rate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency\textsuperscript{12} of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate\textsuperscript{13} the Materiall Points of that which hath beene said; And to Give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much, And proceedeth, Either of Glory\textsuperscript{14} and willingnesse\textsuperscript{15} to Speake, 70 Or of Impatience to Heare, Or of Shortnesse of Memorie, Or of Want of a Staid and Equall\textsuperscript{16} Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see that the Boldnesse of Advocates should prevaille with Judges; Whereas they should imitate God, in whose Seat they sit, who \textit{represseth the Presumptuous}, 75 and \textit{giveth Grace to the Modest}. But it is more Strange that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} He shall rain snares upon them:
  \item \textsuperscript{2} for
  \item \textsuperscript{3} restricted
  \item \textsuperscript{4} 'Tis a judge's duty (to consider) not only the case but also the circumstances of the case.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} as regards
  \item \textsuperscript{6} a garrulous judge
  \item \textsuperscript{7} credit
  \item \textsuperscript{8} intelligence
  \item \textsuperscript{9} anticipate
  \item \textsuperscript{10} To rule what is admissible as evidence
  \item \textsuperscript{11} irrelevancy
  \item \textsuperscript{12} compare
  \item \textsuperscript{13} from vanity
  \item \textsuperscript{14} eagerness
  \item \textsuperscript{15} steady and equable
\end{itemize}
Judges should have Noted Favourites; Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees and Suspicion of By-waies\(^1\). There is due from the Judge, to the Advocate, some Com-
mendation and Gracing\(^2\), where Causes are well Handled and faire\(^3\) Plead; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not\(^4\); For that upholds, in the Client, the Reput-
tation of his Counsell, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit\(^5\) of his Cause. There is likewise due to the Pub-
lique a Civill Reprehension\(^6\) of Advocates, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight In-
formation, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Over-bold Defence. And let not the Counsell at the Barre chop\(^7\) 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 give Occasion to the Partie to say, *His Counsell or Proofs were not heard.*

Thirdly, for\(^8\) that that concernes Clerks and Ministers\(^9\). The Place of Justice is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace\(^10\) and Precincts and Purprise\(^11\) thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes, (as the Scripture saith) will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles*; Neither can Justice yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse amongst the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling\(^12\) Clerkes and Ministers. The Attendance of Courts is subject to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those that ingage Courts in Quarells of Iurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curiae*\(^13\), but *Parasiti Curiae*\(^14\), in puffing a Court up beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps\(^15\) and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those that may be accounted the Left

---

\(^{1}\) crooked courses  
\(^{2}\) compliment  
\(^{3}\) well  
\(^{4}\) does not win  
\(^{5}\) good opinion  
\(^{6}\) a courteous rebuke  
\(^{7}\) bandy words  
\(^{8}\) as regards  
\(^{9}\) attendants  
\(^{10}\) dais  
\(^{11}\) enclosure  
\(^{12}\) greedy and plundering  
\(^{13}\) Friends of the Court  
\(^{14}\) Parasites of the Court  
\(^{15}\) pickings
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 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 himselfe.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the Soveraigne and Estate. Judges ought above all to remember the Conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables,—*Salus Populi Suprema Lex*; And to know that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often Consult with Iudges; And againe, when Judges doe often Consult with the King and State: The one, when there is Matter of Law intervent in Business of State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State, intervent in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deded 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 Soveraigntie, but whatsoever introduceth any Great Alteration or Dangerous precedent, Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive that Iust Laws and True Policie have any Antipathie: For they are like the Spirits

---

1. plunderer
2. in stormy weather
3. a senior clerk
4. with a knowledge of
5. as regards
6. state
7. The safety of the people is the supreme law
8. unless they are likely to pro-
9. involved
10. often
11. referred
12. *i.e.* questions of private property
13. principle
14. encroach upon some matter of state
and Sinewes\(^1\), that\(^2\) One moves with the Other. Let Judges also remember that Salomon's Throne was supported by Lions on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; Being circumspect that they do not checke or oppose any Points of Soveraigntie. 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 Wise Use and application of Lawes. For they may remember what the Apostle saith of a Greater Law then theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis éà utatur Legitime*\(^3\).

**LVII**

**OF ANGER**

To seeke to extinguish Anger utterly is but a Bravery\(^4\) of the Stoickes. We have better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe downe upon your Anger. Anger must be limited and confined, both in Race and in Time*\(^5\). We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination and Habit *To be Angry* may be attempred\(^6\), and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of Anger may be repressed, or at least refrained\(^7\) from doing Mischief. Thirdly, How to raise Anger, or appease Anger, in Another.

For\(^8\) the first; There is no other Way but to Meditate and Ruminate well upon the Effects of Anger, how it troubles Man's Life. And the best Time to doe this is to looke backe upon Anger when the Fitt is throughly over. Seneca saith well, *That Anger is like Ruine*\(^9\), which breaks it Selse upon that\(^10\) it falls. The Scripture exhorteth us, *To possesse our Soules in Patience.* Whosoever is out of Patience

\(^1\) the vital spirits and muscles

\(^2\) so that

\(^3\) We know that the law is good if a man use it lawfully.

\(^4\) an empty boast

\(^5\) in its scope and duration

\(^6\) moderated

\(^7\) restrained

\(^8\) As regards

\(^9\) a falling building

\(^10\) that on which
is out of Possession of his Soule. Men must not turne Bees,

—Animasque in vulnere ponunt 1.

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse; As it appeares well in the Weaknesse of those Subiects in whom it reignes,—Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware 2 that they carry their Anger rather with Scorne then with Feare; So that they may seeme rather to be above the Iniury then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himselfe 3 in it.

For 4 the Second Point; The Causes and Motives of Anger are chiefly three. First, to be too Sensible of Hurt 5: For no Man is Angry that Feeles not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons must needs be oft Angry; They have so many Things to trouble them, Which more Robust Natures have little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction of the Iniury offred to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of Contempt 6. For Contempt is that which putteth an Edge upon 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 Man’s Reputation 7 doth multiply and sharpen Anger; Wherein the Remedy is that a Man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, Telam Honoris crassiorem 8. But in all Refrainings of Anger 9, it is the best Remedy to win Time, And to make a Man’s Selfe beleeve that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come, But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, and reserve it.

To containe 10 Anger from Mischiefe, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things whereof you must

---

1 and leave their lives in the wound which they inflict
2 be careful
3 will control himself
4 As regards
5 over-sensitive
6 readiness to detect an injury and to interpret it as an intentional
7 the notion that a man’s reputation is being attacked
8 a stouter web of honour
9 in all cases where anger is to be checked
10 restrain
have special Caution. The one, of extreme Bitternesse of Words; Especially if they be Aculeate and Proper\(^1\); For *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much\(^2\): And againe, that in Anger a Man reveale no Secrets; For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off, in any Businesse, in a Fitt of Anger; But howsoever you shew Bitternes, do not Act\(^3\) any thing that is not Revocable.

For\(^4\) Raising and Appeasing Anger in Another; It is done chiefly by Choosing of Times when Men are for- wardest\(^5\) and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched\(^6\) before) all that you can finde out, to aggravate the Contempt. And the two Remedies are by the Contraries. The Former, to take good Times when first to relate to a Man an Angry Businesse\(^7\): For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury from the Point of Contempt\(^8\): Imputing it to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.

**LVIII**

**OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS**

SALOMON saith, *There is no New Thing upon the Earth*: So that, as Plato had an Imagination That all Knowledge was but Remembrance, So Salomon giveth his Sentence\(^9\), *That all Noveltie is but Oblivion*. Whereby you may see that the River of Lethe runneth as well above Ground as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith, *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,) 10
No Individuall would last one Moment. Certain it is that
the Matter¹ 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 Drougths, they doe not meerely dispeople² and 15
destroy. Phaeton’s Carre went but a day. And the Three
yeares’ Drouth, in the time of Elias, was but Particular³,
and left People Alive. As for the great Burnings by Light-
nings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but
narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by Deluge 20
and Earth-quake, it is further to be noted that the Remnant
of People, which hap to be reserved⁴, are commonly Ignor-
ant and Mountanous People, that can give no Account
of the Time past; So that the Oblivion is all one⁵, as if
none had beene left. If you consider well of the People of 25
the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a Newer
or a Younger People then the People of the Old World.
And it is much more likely that the Destruction that
hath heretofore been there was not by Earth-quakes, (As
the Ægyptian Priest told Solon, concerning the Island of 30
Atlantis, That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake,) But
rather that it was desolated by a Particular Deluge. For
Earth-quakes are seldome in those Parts. But on the other
side⁶, they have such Pouring Rivers, as⁷ the Rivers of
Asia and Affrick and Europe are but Brookes to them. 35
Their Andes likewise, or Mountaines, are farre higher then
those with us; Whereby⁸ it seemes that the Remnants of
Generation of Men were, in such a Particular Deluge,
saved. As for the Observation that Macciavel hath, that
the Iealousie of Sects doth much extinguish the Memory of 40
Things,—Traducing Gregory the Great, that he did⁹ what
in him lay to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities,—I doe
not finde that those Zeales doe¹⁰ any great Effects, nor last

¹ matter  ² entirely depopulate  ³ partial  ⁴ happen to be left
⁵ is just the same  ⁶ on the other hand  ⁷ that  ⁸ by which circumstance
⁹ i.e. by falsely representing that he did  ¹⁰ zealous efforts produce
long: As it appeared in the Succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The Vicissitude or Mutations in the Superiour Globe are no fit Matter for this present Argument. It may be, Plato's *Great Yeare*, if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; Not in renewing the State of like Individuals (for that is the Fume of those that conceive the Celestiall Bodies have more accurate Influences upon these Things below then indeed they have), but in grosse. Comets, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect over the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather gazed upon and waited upon in their Journey then wisely observed in their Effects; Specially in their Respective Effects; That is, what Kinde of Comet for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

There is a Toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what Part) that Every Five 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 have found some Concurrence.

But to leave these Points of Nature, and to come to Men. The greatest Vicissitude of Things amongst Men is the Vicissitude of Sects and Religions. For those Orbs rule in Men's Minds most. The True Religion is built upon the Rocke; The Rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speake, therefore, of the Causes of New Sects, And to give some Counsell concerning them, As farre as

---

1 in the heavens  
2 *i.e.* not in restoring to life the people who flourished at the corresponding time in the last cycle  
3 the idle fancy  
4 more influence in minute particulars  
5 in its general results  
6 watched  
7 direction  
8 position  
9 trifle  
10 passed over  
11 observed  
12 sequence  
13 spheres
the Weaknesse of Humane Judgement can give stay to so great Revolutions.

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 up of a New Sect, If then also there should arise any Extravagant and Strange Spirit, to make himselfe Authour thereof. All which Points held, when Mahomet published his Law. If a New Sect have not two Properties, fear it not; For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established; For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures and a Voluptuous Life. For as for Speculative Heresies (such as were in Ancient Times the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they worke mightily upon Men’s Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States, except it be by the Helpe of Civill Occasions. 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 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 Superlative and Admirable Holinesse of Life. Surely, there is no better Way to stop the Rising of New Sects and Schismes then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed 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 of the Warre; In the Weapons; And in the Manner of the Conduct. Warres in ancient Time seemed more to move from

---

1 can check the progress of
2 besides this
3 suspect
4 All these conditions existed
5 minds
6 of political circumstances
7 three ways of establishing
8 As regards
9 settle
10 theatre
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 have no certaine Points of Heaven¹; And no more have the Warres, either from the East or West, any Certainty of Observation². But North and South are fixed: And it hath seldom or never been seene that the farre Southern People have 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 apparent⁸) of the Cold of the Northern Parts, which is that which, without Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest and the Courages⁴ warmest.

Upon the Breaking and Shivering of a great State and Empire, you may be sure to have Warres. For great Empires, while they stand, doe enervate 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. 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 tobefall to⁶ Spaine, if it should break. The great Accessions and Unions of Kingdomes doe likewise stirre up Warres. For when a State growes to an Over-power⁶, it is like a great Floud that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the States of Rome, Turky, Spaine, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest Barbarous Peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to live, (As it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary), there is no Danger of Inundations of

¹ i.e. are merely relative terms  
² i.e. any definite formula which explains their movement  
³ obvious  
⁴ spirits  
⁵ would not improbably befal  
⁶ to excessive power
People: But when there be great Shoales of People, which goe on to populate without foreseeing Means of Life and Sustentation, it is of Necessity that, once in an Age or 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 inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the Weapons, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation: yet we see even they have Returns and Vicissitudes. For certain it is that Ordnance was known in the City 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 Improvement are,—First, The Fetching: 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 Inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them; As that they may serve 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 even Match: And they were more ignorant in Ranging and

1 continue
2 providing
3 sustenance
4 periods
5 carrying a long way
6 forestalls the danger from the enemy
7 the force of the impact
8 assaults with the battering-ram
9 their convenience for use
10 as for instance
11 As regards
12 relied
13 placed the issue of their wars on main-force
14 appointing
15 on equal terms
Arraying their Battailes. After they grew to rest upon Number rather Competent then Vast: They grew to Ad-vantages of Place, Cunning Diversions, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the Ordering of their Battailes.

In the Youth of a State, Armes doe flourish: In the Middle Age of a State, Learning; And then both of them together for a time: In the Declining Age of a State, Mechanicall Arts and Merchandize. Learning hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, 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 Exhaust.

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.

**A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY**

**OF FAME**

The Poets make Fame a Monster. They describe her, in Part, finely and elegantly; and, in part, gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many Feathers she hath, so many Eyes she hath underneath; So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a flourish: There follow excellent Parables; As that, she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a Watch Tower, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done with things not done: And that she is a Terrour to great Citties. But

---

1 battalions
2 Afterwards they came to rely
3 they took advantage
4 marshalling
5 kept within limits
6 exhausted
7 the literature that has been written about them
8 Rumour
9 weightily and with pregnant meaning
10 rhetorical embellishment
that which passeth\(^1\) 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 15 Gyants, and Seditious Fames, and Libels, are but Brothers and Sisters, Masculine and Feminine. But now, if a Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle\(^2\), and kill them, it is somewhat worth\(^3\). But we are infected with 20 the stile of the Poets. To speak now, in a sad\(^4\) and serious manner; There is not, in all the Politiques\(^5\), a Place\(^6\) 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 25 best discerned\(^7\); How Fames may be sown and raised; How they may be spread and multiplyed; And how they may be checked and layed dead; And other Things concerning the Nature of Fame.

Fame is of that force as\(^8\) there is scarcely any great 30 Action wherein it hath not a great part; Especially in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a Fame that he scattered\(^9\), 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 35 inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided\(^10\), and layed asleep his industry and preparations, by a Fame that he cunningly gave out, How Cæsar’s own Souldiers loved him not, And, being wearied with the Wars and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he 40 came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the Succession of her Son Tiberius, by continuall giving out that her husband Augustus was upon Recovery and amendment. And it is an usuall thing with the Basshawes\(^11\), to conceale the Death of the Great Turk\(^12\) from the Jannizaries and men 45

---

1 surpasses  
2 attack other birds of prey  
3 it is of some use  
4 sober  
5 political treatises  
6 a topic  
7 distinguished  
8 of such force that  
9 by a report which he spread  
10 unawares  
11 pachas  
12 the Sultan
of War\(^1\), to save the Sacking of Constantinople and other Towns, as their Manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, poast apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Græcians had a purpose to break his Bridge of 50 Ships, which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like Examples; And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man meeteth with them every where. Therefore, let all Wise Governers have as great a watch and care over Fames, as they have of the Actions and Designes themselves.

The rest was not Finished.

\(^1\) soldiers
NOTES.

* * The references are to the following editions:
Bacon, History of Henry VII. and Apophthegms in Bohn's Library,
Moral and Historical Works of Bacon, 1 vol.
Plutarch, Lives, Langhorne's Translation, 1 vol.

ESSAY I.

OF TRUTH.

P. 1, l. 1. In this Essay Bacon uses the word 'Truth' to signify two distinct things, viz.—

(1) correctness of thought, the correspondence between facts and our opinions about them:

(2) truthfulness, integrity of conduct, 'the truth of civil business,' l. 63.

jesting Pilate. See John xviii. 38. Pilate may have asked the question seriously, expecting an answer, or rhetorically, not expecting an answer. But he was certainly in no jesting mood at the time.

5. sects, the Sceptics, who denied the possibility of knowledge. Pyrrho of Elis (fl. B.C. 340—300) was regarded as the founder of this school of philosophy.

6. wits. The word wit, from the root of witan, 'to know,' signified (1) the knowing mind, the intellect, (2) what the mind knows, knowledge, (3) men of knowledge, ingenious writers. The first meaning was narrowed to indicate a particular faculty of the mind, viz. (4) Imagination, and hence (5) the perception of analogies, pleasing or quaint.
NOTES.


12. One of the later schoole, Lucian, Philopseudes, § 1.

P. 2, l. 19. masques, triumphs. See note to Ess. 37, i, p. 224.
mummeries. A mummer was one who played as a masked buffoon (from mumme, ‘a mask’): mummetry signified (1) ‘a performance of mummers,’ (2) ‘a farcical show.’

20. stately, used as adverb: cf. Ess. 46, 6.

24. of a lie, i.e. of fiction or error. In this sense the word was often in Johnson’s mouth. ‘Johnson had accustomed himself to use the word lie, to express a mistake or an error in relation; in short, when the thing was not so as told, though the relator did not mean to deceive. When he thought there was intentional falsehood in the relator, his expression was, “He lies, and he knows he lies.”’ Boswell, Life, p. 545 (Globe edit.).

30. One of the Fathers. Jerome speaks of poetry as daemonum cibus (Epist. 146), and Augustine calls it vinum erroris (Confessions, i. 16). Bacon seems to have blended the two expressions.

Those writers of the early Church whose teaching was accepted as authoritative are called the Fathers. Six, whose lives were in any part contemporary with those of the Apostles, are described as the Apostolic Fathers. In some lists St Bernard of France (A.D. 1091–1153) is called ‘the last of the Fathers.’

37. which only doth judge itselfe. Human reason is the means by which we discover truth, and from the truth thus discovered there is no appeal to any other standard.

41. humane was not distinguished originally by its form from human: cf. Ess. 3, i, 113; 5, 17; 12, 11; 39, 57; 46, 2. The word is used in its modern sense in Ess. 10, 59.

43. Sabbath worke, i.e. the occupation of God’s leisure since He finished the work of creation. Sabbath is derived ultimately from a Hebrew word signifying ‘rest from labour.’

48. The poet, Lucretius; the sect, the Epicureans, whom Bacon may regard as ‘inferior to the rest’ on the ground either of their moral teaching, or of their literary deficiency. See INDEX, Epicurus.

The passage contained in II. 50–57, is a paraphrase rather than a translation of Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, II. 1–10.

P. 3, ll. 59–61. move...truth. The metaphors are astronomical. As the heavens are carried round by Primum Mobile (see Ess. 15, 56) so should a man’s heart be swayed by Love. As the heavens are sustained
in Space, so should a man's heart rest in Providence. As the heavens revolve upon the Poles, so should a man's heart be guided without deviation from the Truth.

64. *round*, used metaphorically, suggests completeness, thoroughness, finish; *straight*, used metaphorically, suggests directness. Hence the meaning is pretty much the same whether we say 'I told him so roundly,' or 'I told him so straight.'

66. *allay*, i.e. *alloy*, from Lat. *alligare*, 'to bind up;' the meaning of the word was influenced by the erroneous etymology, Fr. *à loi*, 'to law,' the proportion of base metal allowed by law.

72. *Montaigny saith.* The remark is not Montaigne's, but is quoted by him (Ess. II. 18) as the saying of 'un ancien.' The 'ancien' is Plutarch (Lives, 'Lysander,' p. 307 b).

80. *peale* by aphaeresis for *appeal*, Fr. *appel*, 'a call,' 'a loud sound.'

82. *He...earth.* Luke xviii. 8. Two points must be noticed here: (1) the words quoted from Scripture contain a question, not a prediction; (2) the *faith* spoken of signifies in its original context 'religious belief,' not 'good faith' or 'truthfulness,' the sense in which Bacon misapplies it.

ESSAY II.

OF DEATH.

P. 4, l. 4. *wages of sinne*, Romans vi. 23.

8. *friars’ books.* The passage has not yet been found. A *Friar* (Fr. *frère*, Lat. *frater*) in the Roman Catholic Church is a member of one of the mendicant monastic orders. The four orders whose members are chiefly known as friars are the Franciscans (Grey Friars), Dominicans (Black Friars), Carmelites (White Friars), and Augustinians (Austin Friars).


21. *mates:* ultimately from Pers. *mat*, 'astonished,' 'confounded': so 'checkmate' from *shah mat*, lit. 'the king is dead.' From the adj. *mate*, 'confounded,' comes the verb 'to mate,' signifying 'to confound,' 'to stupefy,' and so 'to overpower.'


P. 5, l. 31. *nicenesse.* The adj. *nice* is derived from Lat. *nescius*, 'ignorant'; it is unnecessary to assume that there has been any confusion with the Fr. *niais*, 'simple.' From its original sense (1) 'ignorant,'
nice acquired the meaning (2) 'fastidious' (denoting a particular kind of ignorance), and hence in a good sense (3), 'discriminating' of persons, and (4) 'delicate' of things: lastly, because 'delicate,' therefore (5) 'agreeable,' the common meaning of the word now.

31. Cogita &c. Seneca, Epistles, x. 1, 6, loosely quoted. The words are not Seneca's, however, but are given with his approbation as those of amicus noster Stoicus.


41. Jam Tiberium &c., Tacitus, Annals, vi. 50.

42. Ut puto &c., Suetonius, Vespasian, 23; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 17. Suetonius says that the remark was made 'at the commencement of his illness,' not when he was at the point of death.

43. Feri &c., Tacitus, Histories, 1. 41; Suetonius, Galba, 20; Plutarch, Galba, p. 714 b.

45. Adeste &c., Dio Cassius, LXXVI. 17.

46. Stoikes. See INDEX. Bacon here misrepresents their usage. Living and dying they regarded as things in themselves indifferent.

48. Qui finem &c., Juvenal, Satires, x. 358. The original reads spatium instead of finem.


ESSAY III.

OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

P. 6, II. 5—9. the religion...the poets. Bacon has in view exclusively the religions of Greece and Rome. Even as regards these his statement is too sweeping. 'It is true of the Greeks that "the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets." It is untrue of the Romans, who had their regular colleges to preside over the national faith and worship.' (Reynolds, Bacon's Essays, p. 25).

10. a jealous God, Exodus xx. 5.


28. a church, the Church of Rome probably.


P. 7, I. 32. If an heathen &c., I Corinth. xiv. 23, loosely quoted.
37. *to sit downe* &c., Psalm i. 1, 'nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.'

38. *a light thing,* alluding to the illustration which follows from Rabelais (see INDEX) 'a Master of Scoffing'; Pantagruel, II. 7.

vouched. The word *vouch* comes from Lat. *vocare,* (1) 'to call to witness,' as here, hence (2) 'to declare,' (3) 'to answer for.'

42. *Morris Daunce,* a Morisco or 'Moorish dance,' said to have been introduced into England in Edward III.'s reign.

56. *Is it peace &c.,* 2 Kings ix. 18—19.


P. 8, l. 64. *league of Christians,* i.e. the principles of association among Christians.

65. *crosse clauses,* in the Latin Version 'those clauses which seem at first sight to be contradictory.' The passages occur in Matt. xii. 30 and Mark ix. 40 (or Luke ix. 50).

68. *points fundamentall:* Bacon says elsewhere that 'the ancient and true bonds of unity are one Faith, one Baptism, and not one Ceremony, one Policy.'

70. *meerely,* i.e. 'entirely,' 'absolutely,' not in its modern sense 'only': *mere* comes from Lat. *merus,* 'unmixed,' 'pure.' Cf. Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, III. ii. 265, 'his *mere* enemy,' i.e. 'his absolute enemy'; Othello, II. ii. 3 *mere* perdition,' i.e. 'utter destruction'; and Essay 58, 15.

79. *one of the Fathers.* The expression is Augustine's. He is speaking however not of 'Christ's coat' but of the queen 'in raiment of needle work' mentioned in Psalm xlv. 14. Bernard also borrows an illustration from this queen of the Psalter (*circumamicta varietatibus,* Vulgate, Psalm xlv., corresponding to Psalm xlv. in the A.V.) but he does not apply it to diversity of doctrine in the Christian Church.


P. 9, ll. 100—1. *meaning...meaning.* To the same purport Hobbes says, 'Words are wise men's counters, they do but reckon by them, but they are the money of fools.' (Leviathan, I. 4.) The words 'right,' 'law,' 'value of money,' 'theory,' 'church,' are instances in point. See Mill, Logic, Bk. v. ch. vii. § 1.

103. *implicite ignorance,* i.e. either (1) ignorance which accepts without question whatever is placed before it, (just as we speak of 'implicit faith,' 'implicit confidence,') or (2) inherent ignorance, ignorance which pervades the mind and prevents it from seeing the incompatibility of contrary opinions.
NOTES. [ESSAY 3. 107–157.]

118. to propagate religion by warrs explains the meaning of 'Mahomet's sword.'
124. ordinance of God: Romans xiii. 1.
125. the first table against the second, i.e. the first table of the Decalogue, which teaches duty towards God, against the second, which teaches duty towards man.
130. Tantum &c., Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, I. 95.
P. 10, l. 131. The Massacre of the Huguenots on St Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572.
132. The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.
133. Anabaptists, see INDEX. In the edition of 1612 Bacon calls them 'the madmen of Munster.'
138. I will ascend &c., Isaiah xiv. 12—14, where the words are put into the mouth of the King of Babylon, not of the devil. But the passage is regarded as parabolic.
146. liknesse of a dove, Matthew iii. 16.
148. assassins, originally, members of the sect of Hashshashin, hashish-eaters, who intoxicated with hashish the agents that were chosen to commit murder. This military and religious order was founded in Persia circ. A.D. 1090 and was suppressed circ. 1272. Bacon uses the term here apparently in its modern sense of 'murderers.'
151. Mercury rod, see INDEX. Cf. Virgil, Æneid, iv. 242—4; Homer, Odyssey, xxiv. 1—5.
152. facts, Lat. facta, 'things done.' Cf. Shakespeare, Macbeth, iii. vi. 10; Milton, Paradise Lost, II. 124; xi. 457.
155. Ira &c., James i. 20.
157. a wise Father. He has not been identified.

ESSAY IV.

OF REVENGE.

P. 11, l. 1. Wilde justice. Revenge is a weed which requires uprooting: the penalties imposed by the tribunals of civilised society are the fruits of the cultivated justice of the law.

8. It is &c., Proverbs xix. 11. Bacon's parenthetical remark 'I am sure' warns the reader that the quotation is from memory and has not been verified.
ESSAY 4. 12–42. ] NOTES. 185

12. There is no man &c. Compare with this statement Ess. 13, 53—5.

22. is still beforehand. When a man has taken revenge on his enemy, the two are quits. But then, if the law punishes him for his act of revenge, he suffers a second injury as against the single injury incurred by the aggressor.

27. the arrow that flyeth in the darke, Psalm xci. 5, 6: ‘the arrow that flieth by day...the pestilence that walketh in darkness.’

P. 12, l. 33. Shall wee &c., Job ii. 10.

38. fortunate. Fortunate for whom? Apparently Bacon means that ‘public revenges’—acts of vengeance done to those who have committed wrong against the state—issue fortunately for the agents. Thus Augustus, who avenged the death of Julius Caesar, and Septimius Severus, who avenged the death of Pertinax, prospered by their action. But if this is his meaning the mention of Henry III. seems irrelevant, for Henry IV. who succeeded to the throne took no part in the ‘public revenge’ by which Jacques Clément paid the penalty of his crime. Moreover it was the assassination of Henry III., and not the punishment of the assassin, which opened the way for Henry IV.’s accession. See Reynolds, Bacon’s Essays, p. 36.

42. witches. An act was passed in James I.’s reign rendering witches liable to death upon a first conviction.

ESSAY V.
OF ADVERSITIE.


5—6. Certainly...adversity: i.e. Adversity certainly affords most opportunities for exercising that control over our own nature which almost amounts to the miraculous, for by the miraculous we mean the control of nature by a superior power. Bacon treats mirabilia as if it meant miracula.

7. too high, i.e. above the moral standard of a heathen.

9. security, in the sense which the word has in Latin, ‘freedom from care’ (securus, i.e. sine cura). Cf. Ben Jonson, The Forest, xi Epode:

‘Man may securely sin, but safely never.’

Vere &c., Seneca, Epist. 53: imbecillitatem is the word in the original, not fragilitatem.
14. strange fiction: Apollodorus, *De Deorum Origine*, II. 5, 10; Athenaeus, XI. 38. The legend says nothing however of the 'earthen pot or pitcher.'

P. 13, l. 20. thow. The old form thorough is used now chiefly as an adjective, as e.g. in 'thoroughfare'; the modern form through as a preposition. Cf. Matthew iii. 12, 'He will thoroughly purgee.'

24. Prosperity &c. Cf. e.g. Deuteronomy xxviii. 1—13 with Matthew v. 3—12. The passage from this point to the end of the Essay was added in the edition of 1625, and is quoted by Macaulay as an illustration of the growing richness and softness of Bacon's style. (Macaulay, *Essays*, I. 412—3.)

26. benediction probably denotes a blessing of a high and spiritual character.

28. David's harpe, i.e. the Psalms of David.

39. crushed. 'Mr Bettenham said that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not out their sweet smell till they be broken and crushed' (Bacon, *Apophthegms*, p. 172).

ESSAY VI.

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.


sorted well, a rendering of Tacitus's bene composita. Arts is used in a good sense as equivalent to 'diplomacy.'

The verb sort is used by Bacon in the following senses:

(1) 'to agree,' 'to be in harmony with,' as here, and in *Ess. 27*, 255; 38, 46.
(2) 'to consort,' 'to associate,' *Ess. 7*, 28.
(3) 'to issue in,' 'to result in,' *Ess. 7*, 34; 27, 49.
(4) 'to arrange,' *Ess. 45*, 31.

9. We rise &c., Tacitus, *Histories*, II. 76.

17. Arts of State and Arts of Life: perhaps a combination of civili- lium artium decus (Agricola, 39) and bonas domi artes (Ann. III. 70).

27. mannaged from French manege, 'the handling or training of a horse.'

28. passing well, i.e. 'surpassing well.' Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II. ii. 427, for the same expression; Othello, I. iii. 160, 'passing strange,' and Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*, 141, 'passing rich.'
ESSAY 6. 35—103.]

NOTES. 187

P. 15, ll. 35—6. without observation...what he is, i.e. affords no opportunity for people to observe what he really is.

39. industriously, a Latinism, de industria.

45. As the more close aire sucketh in the more open. If Bacon's illustration refers to a warm room, it is the air inside that is really 'open' or rarified, and the cold air outside that is 'close' or dense.

49—51. men rather discharge...secrecy: i.e. It is for the sake of relieving their own minds rather than for the sake of imparting information that men confide their secrets to people who can keep them. Indeed the man who is no 'blab or babbler' may claim as his right that other people should confide to him their secrets. 'Mysteries are due to secrecy.'

54—5. As for talkers...withall. Bacon's argument may be put thus:—A chatterbox talks more than he knows, and talk of this kind is probably nonsense. But a man who talks nonsense is likely to be a vain or silly fellow, and if he believes the nonsense that he talks he must be a credulous one into the bargain.

54. futile, Lat. futilis, from fundere, 'to pour,' so 'leaky,' hence 'talkative' and 'vain' or 'worthless.'

59. a man's face...to speake. A man's expression of countenance must neither contradict what he has said nor reveal what he is about to say.

P. 16, l. 67. indifferent, 'impartial,' but in Ess. 8, 29, 'a matter of no consequence.'

74. oraculous speeches. The responses of ancient oracles were discreetly ambiguous, e.g. Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse. Cf. Shakespeare, 2 Henry VI. i. iv. 62—72.

86. ure, meaning much the same as use but of different origin, survives in inure, manure (i.e. manœuvre) from French œuvre, 'work.'

89. alarum or alarm, from Italian all' arme, 'to arms.'

94—7. For to him...of thought. People will not interrupt with contradictions a man who expresses his opinions, but they will criticise him freely in their minds.

95. faire: cf. our adverbial use of just: e.g. 'just let him go on,' i.e. 'simply let him go on.'

P. 17, l. 103. round, see Ess. 1. 64, note p. 181.
ESSAY VII.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

2—3. *They cannot...the other.* Their joys are beyond the power of words to express; their griefs pride prevents them from publishing.

9. *foundations, e.g. schools and colleges.* Bacon speaks as a childless man.


34. *sorteth,* see note on Ess. 6, 5, p. 186.

49. *Optimum &c.* A Pythagorean precept, quoted by Plutarch, *De Exilio VIII.*

50—2. *Younger brothers...disinherited.* The argument in favour of primogeniture 'was put by Dr Johnson in a manner more forcible than complimentary to an hereditary aristocracy, when he said that it "makes but one fool in a family"' (J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, Bk. V. ch. ix. § 2).

ESSAY VIII.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

P. 19, ll. 1—3. *He that...mischiefe.* Fortune holds in her hands a man's wife and children and can punish them for his failures. Hence he is checked in his actions.

11. *impertinences,* i.e. 'things not pertinent to them,' 'things which do not concern them.'

21. *humorous,* 'following the predominant humour.' It was supposed that a man's physical and mental qualities were determined by the proportion in which the four cardinal humours (blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy) entered into his constitution.

26—28. *A single life...poole.* Bacon's illustration gives a reason for advocating celibacy of the clergy. A married clergyman must 'fill a pool,' i.e. spend his money on his own family: a celibate can 'water the ground,' i.e. distribute his money amongst his flock.

P. 20, l. 42. *Vetulam &c.* The sentiment is expressed in Cicero's *De Oratore,* l. 44. Mr Reynolds (Bacon's Essays, p. 54) quotes a passage from the Latin version of one of Plutarch's Dialogues bearing a close verbal resemblance to Bacon's words.
ESSAY IX.

OF ENVY.

P. 21, l. 2. In this Essay Bacon uses the word ‘Envy’ to denote—

1. Envy as commonly understood.
2. Malevolence, e.g. l. 53.
3. Discontentment.

8. an evill eye, Mark vii. 22. The Lat. invidia, from which we derive our word envy, comes from invideo, ‘to look askance at,’ ‘to cast an evil eye upon.’

9. influences, in its lit. sense, of rays ‘flowing’ from the stars and affecting the fortunes of men. Cf. Job xxxviii. 31; Milton, L’Allegro, 121—2. For evill aspects cf. Troilus and Cressida, i. iii. 91—2, ‘ill aspects of planets evil.’ The old belief that ‘evil aspects’ of the stars brought bad fortune is preserved in the word dis-aster.

11. ejaculation, i.e. ‘casting out,’ used now only of the casting out of sounds, ‘sudden utterance.’


16. spirits, viz. the subtle vital essence which was supposed to pervade the body and to effect the performance of the various functions. The idea was that these vital spirits rise to the head and are drawn to the eyes by the passions of love and envy. Issuing thence they infect the surrounding atmosphere: consequently the vital spirits of those who look on are injuriously influenced.

P. 22, l. 31. estate. Bacon uses the forms state and estate indifferently: (cf. special and especial, establish and establish, squire and esquire, &c.). The following meanings of the words should be noticed:—

1. ‘fixed condition,’ Ess. 9, 31; 27, 221.
2. ‘fine style,’ ‘pomp,’ Ess. 18, 27.
3. ‘property,’ ‘fortune,’ Ess. 15, 80; 34, 106.
4. ‘the body politic,’ ‘the commonwealth,’ Ess. 9, 158; 14, 2.
(5) ‘one of the orders or classes into which the population is divided,’ e.g. ‘the Three Estates’: *Ess. 19, 123; 29, 130; 48, 22.


42. *Deformed persons.* ‘I think that this stroke is aimed at his cousin the Earl of Salisbury’ (Reynolds, *Bacon’s Essays*, p. 65).


P. 23, ll. 70—1. *there was nobody to looke on,* and therefore no public disgrace to avenge.

93. *travels,* i.e. ‘travails,’ ‘labours’: in this sense the form ‘travail’ is still used of labour in childbirth.

P. 24, l. 100. *abate,* French *abattre,* ‘to beat down,’ so ‘to blunt,’ ‘to depress,’ and intransitively ‘to decrease.’

120—3. *For in that...envy him,* i.e. A man who craftily conceals his greatness practically confesses that fortune has dealt with him better than he deserved.

130. *derive,* Lat. *de,* ‘from,’ *rivus,* ‘a stream,’ so lit. ‘to divert water from its channel.’

P. 25, l. 138. *ostracisme* (Greek ὀστρακον, ‘a potsherd’ or ‘tablet used in voting’) was a political measure in force at Athens by which citizens, whose presence seemed dangerous to the state, were banished by public vote for a term of years.

149. *plausible,* ‘deserving applause’: now used to signify ‘seemingly but not really deserving applause.’

P. 26, l. 171. *the devill:* ὁ διάβολος is ‘the calumniator,’ ‘the slanderer.’

172. *The envious man...night.* Matthew xiii. 25. Bacon has taken liberties with his quotation to make it suit his context. There is no mention of an ‘envious man’ in the original. The Greek has ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄντροδ, the Vulgate *inimicus,* and the English ‘his enemy.’

ESSAY X.

OF LOVE.

obligation,' is retained only in this form. Cf. the verbs regard, observe, which also combine the senses of 'keep' and 'look at.'

14. an austere and wise man. 'There is not much foundation for calling Appius "wise," though he may be called "austere" in the sense of severe' (Abbott, Bacon's Essays, ii. 140).

17. Satis &c. Seneca, Epist. i. 7, quotes the remark from Epicurus, who made it however not as a general proposition (the sense in which Bacon takes it), but as applicable to himself and his philosophical friend to whom he was writing. In the Adv. of L., bk. 1. 3. 7, Bacon calls this 'a speech for a lover, and not for a wise man.' Cf. Pope, Essay on Man, ii. 2, 'The proper study of mankind is man.'

20. idoll, from Gk. εἴδωλον, 'a phantom,' 'an image,' and hence 'the image of a god,' so later 'a false god.' Bacon combines the two senses here: 'His fellow-creature's "image," formed in the eye of the beholder, is no fit object for his adoration.'

P. 27, l. 26. meerely in the phrase. There is extravagance not only in the words of lovers, but also in their thoughts.

27. it hath beene well said. Plutarch, De Adulatione et Amico, II. Cf. Ess. 27, 178; 53, 22.


49. quarter, strictly 'a fourth part,' then 'any particular part or district,' e.g. 'the Jews' quarter' of a town, 'military quarters;' cf. Ess. 22, 76, 'kept good quarter between them.'

52. no wayes, possessive form of the noun used adverbially: cf. needs, nowadays.

58. spread, cf. Ess. 8, 27—8.

59. humane, in the modern sense.

ESSAY XI.

OF GREAT PLACE.

P. 28, l. 11. Cum non &c. Cicero, Epist. ad Fam. VII. 3, 4.

14. reason for 'reasonable': cf. Acts vi. 2, 'It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables.'

15. the shadow. Cf. Latin vita umbratilis.
NOTES.

P. 29, l. 28. Illi &c. Seneca, Thyestes, ii. 401.

32. to can, trans. 'to know,' cf. con, German kennen: intrans. 'to be able,' as here: cf. Scotch, 'I'll no can go.'

37. vantage qualifies ground.

38. is: the singular verb may be explained as in agreement with the noun end, the subject being inverted.

40. theater: the Greek θέατρον, which means 'a place for seeing shows,' was used later to denote also 'the show' itself: e.g. 1 Corinthians iv. 9, θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ, 'we are made a spectacle unto the world.' This secondary sense is given here to theatre.

41. Et conversus &c. Genesis i. 31, loosely quoted from the Vulg. P. 30, ll. 85—6. no other...esteeme: absolute construction.


98. Omnium &c. Tacitus, Histories, i. 49.

100. Solus &c. Tacitus, Histories, i. 50.

103. whom honour amends: the construction is faulty.

ESSAY XII.

OF BOLDNESSE.

P. 32, l. 3. Demosthenes: cf. Cicero, De Oratore, III. 56; Brutus (De Claris Oratoribus, XXXVIII. 141); Orator, XVII. 55—6. Also Quintilian, Instit. Orat. XI. 3.

15. boldnesse. So Danton to the Assembly, 1792, 'Il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace.' Cf. also Spenser, F. Q. III. xi. 54; 'Be Bolde, Be Bolde, and everywhere, Be Bolde.'

26. mountebanque, Ital. montambanco, 'one who mounts a bench,' so 'a quack.'

P. 33, l. 36. If the hill &c., a Spanish proverb.

51. a stale at chesse. A chess-player is 'stale-mated' when his king, though not in check, cannot be moved without being placed in check, and the player has either no other piece or pawn on the board or none that he can move. Hence the term is applied metaphorically to any position in which no action can be taken.
ESSAY XIII.

OF GOODNESSE AND GOODNESSE OF NATURE.

P. 34, l. 2. *Philanthropia* meant 'kindliness of feeling.' With us *philanthropy* implies more than this, and Bacon means more than this by the word here.

3. *Humanitie.* The Lat. *humanitas* signifies 'culture,' 'refinement,' a sense still retained in the expression 'the Humanities,' used at the Scotch universities to designate Latin and Latin literature, *i.e.* 'polite literature,' *literae humaniores.*

10. *admits no excesse but error.* We cannot have too much active kindness, but we may make mistakes in applying it.

10—12. *The desire of power...man to fall.* Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man,* i. 125—8,

'Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes,
Men would be angels, angels would be gods.
Aspiring to be gods if angels fell,
Aspiring to be angels men rebel.'

19. *a Christian boy.* It was a Venetian goldsmith. (Busbequius, *Legationis Turcicae Epist., Ep. III.*) In Bacon's account of the incident there are sundry small inaccuracies, most of which are corrected in the Latin Version of the Essays.

26. *That the Christian Faith &c.* 'If the reference is, as it probably is, to the *Discourses,* ii. ii., Machiavelli is shamefully slandered here' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays,* ii. p. 150).

P. 35, l. 34. to their faces or fancies, *i.e.* to their fancies as expressed in their faces.


38. *He sendeth &c.,* Matthew v. 45.

43—6. *beware how...portraiture, i.e.* We are to love our neighbour *as* ourselves, not *more than* ourselves. Self-love is the model, love of our neighbour the copy. It is possible to bestow so much upon our neighbour that our duties towards ourselves are neglected.

46. *Sell all &c.,* Mark x. 21.

60. *on the loading part, i.e.* throw their weight to that side on which the burden already presses most heavily.

NOTES.  [ESSAY 13. 63–82.

63—5. Misanthropi... Timon had. For Timon, see Index. ‘Once in an assembly of the people, he mounted the rostrum, and the novelty of the thing having occasioned a universal silence and expectation: at length he said, “People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, on which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves; and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose may repair to it before it is cut down.”’ Plutarch, Lives, ‘Antony,’ p. 643 b. Cf. Shakespeare, _Timon of Athens_, v. i. 208—215.

P. 36, l. 66. _errors_: the Latin Version has _vomicas et carcino-mata_, ‘sores and ulcers.’

67. _knee timber_, i.e. timber growing in the shape of a bent leg.

75. _the noble tree_, viz. the balsam tree, from which myrrh is obtained by incision.

80. _trash_, ‘the clippings of trees,’ hence ‘refuse,’ ‘rubbish.’

82. _anathema_, Romans ix. 3. ‘_Άναθήμα_’ denotes ‘a votive offering,’ something which is ‘set up’ (from _ἀναθῆμα_): it occurs in Luke xxi. 5 with the meaning ‘gift.’ The form _ἀνάθεμα_ is used ecclesiastically in later Greek to signify ‘anything devoted to evil,’ ‘an accursed thing,’ ‘a curse.’

ESSAY XIV.

OF NOBILITY.

P. 37, l. 9. _stirps_, a Latin singular noun, here used as if plural.

9—12. For _men’s eyes_. _pedegree_. This explains why democracies do not need a nobility.

12. _pedegree_, prob. fr. _pied de grue_, ‘crane’s foot,’ from the branching lines of a genealogical tree. Other but less likely etymologies are _par degrés_, ‘by degrees,’ and _père degrés_, lit. ‘father degrees.’

14. _United Provinces_, see Index.

P. 38, l. 46. _passive envy_ is explained by the words ‘from others towards them,’ and is opposed to the ‘motions of envy’ mentioned in the preceding sentence. We may speak of envy as _active_ in the man who feels it, _passive_ in the man who is its object.

47. _because they_. _honour_: Latin Version _quod nobles in honorum possessione nati videntur_, ‘because nobles seem to have been born with the possession of honour.’ Cf. Ess. 9, 86.
a better slide into their business. The edition of 1612 gives in, not into, and this is more closely correspondent with the Lat. Vers. negotia sua mollius fluere sentient, 'they will find their affairs flow more smoothly.' Pressing the meaning of into, we may interpret the passage in one or other of the following ways:

1. Kings that have able nobles will find greater smoothness (entering) into their business, i.e. affairs of state will run with less friction:

2. Kings that have able nobles will slide more easily into their business, i.e. will get a grip of it with less difficulty:

3. Kings that have able nobles will find (other people) slide better into their business, i.e. adapt themselves more readily to their business, bend to them, submit to their authority.

ESSAY XV.

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

1. Shepheards of People, ποιμήνες λαῶν, Homer.

Kalenders. The word is derived from Latin calendae (or kalendae) the first day of the month.

2—4. which are commonly...the æquinoctia, i.e. civil disturbances accompany equality between different classes in the state, just as storms are most severe when days and nights are of equal length. A quaint illustration, of no value as an argument, since the supposed analogy is purely fanciful.


26. Conflata &c. Tacitus, Histories, 1. 7, inaccurately quoted. The original has Inviso semel principe, 'when an emperor is once unpopular,' not conflata magna invidia.

33. Erant in &c. Tacitus, Histories, II. 39, a loose adaptation.

41. Macciavel. The reference is perhaps to Discourses III. 27.

P. 40, 1. 46. entred League, viz. the League of the Holy Trinity, commonly called the Holy League, formed by the Guises for the suppression of French Protestantism, 1575. See INDEX, Henry III.

48—51. For when the authority...possession, i.e. when the authority of the sovereign is employed in the interests of a party, and loyalty has less binding force than other motives, kings are in a fair way of losing their position.
56. *Primum Mobile*, 'according to the old opinion,' *i.e.* in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, was the tenth and outside sphere, carrying round with it, in its daily revolution, the nine inner spheres, which contained the planets and fixed stars. These inner spheres had a slower and contrary movement of their own. Bacon employs the illustration again *Ess. 17*, 21 and 51, 59. Cf. Milton, *P. L. iv.* 592—5.

61. *liberius &c.* Tacitus, *Annals*, III. 4, a loose quotation of *promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes*, 'too readily and openly for you to think that they felt respect for their rulers.'

64. *Solvam &c.* Apparently a combination of the following passages,—Isaiah xlv. 1, 'I will loose the loins of kings,' and Job xii. 18, 'He looseth the bond of kings and girdeth their loins with a girdle.'


P. 41, l. 81. *civill warre*, between Caesar and Pompey.

83. *Hinc &c.* Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 181—2. The original reads *avidum*, 'interest eager for the settling day,' not *rapidum*.


101. *mate*, see note to *Ess. 2*, 21, p. 181.

103. *secure*, see note to *Ess. 5*, 9, p. 185.

P. 42, l. 113. *strangers, i.e.* the presence of foreigners, whose competition injures the native population.

124. *well ballancing of trade, i.e.* exports are to exceed imports in value, so that the balance may be paid in money and the country be thereby enriched,—the old Mercantile Theory, which went down under the assaults of Adam Smith. Consistently with this theory Bacon maintains that, in foreign trade, 'whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost' (l. 145), a correct conclusion if the advantage of international exchange rests with the country which receives a balance in gold or silver. Some of Bacon's other suggestions, *e.g.* for the passing of sumptuary laws and laws for the regulation of prices, have been discredited as economic theory has advanced.

P. 43, l. 150. *materiam &c.* Ovid, *Metamorph.* II. 5 (in the original *superabat*), describing the palace of the sun.

153. *mines above ground, viz.* the industrious habits, manufacturing skill, and extensive carrying-trade of the Dutch.

158. *Mr Bettenham used to say that riches were like muck; when it lay upon an heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit* (*Apophthegms*, p. 175).
ESSAY X. 161-240.

NOTES.

161. ingrossing, i.e. buying up a commodity in gross for the purpose of resale; in modern commercial slang 'making a corner.' Statutes were passed rendering 'regrators, forestallers, and ingrossers' liable to imprisonment, forfeiture, and the pillory, and under one of these a corn-merchant was prosecuted as late as the year 1800, and found guilty, but never brought up for judgment. The Acts disappeared from the Statute Book in 1844.

great pasturages. The depopulation of the country districts during the age of the Tudors arose from the conversion of arable land into pasture. This conversion was due partly to the increase of the wool-trade, and partly to the Enclosure Acts, under which the small farmers were evicted from the land. Cf. Ess. 29, 121-6.

170. troubling of the waters, John v. 4.

173. Pallas: it was Thetis (according to Homer, Iliad, i. 396-404) or Gaia (according to Hesiod, Theogony, 617 et seqq.). Bacon assigns the part to Pallas as the goddess of wisdom.

P. 44, l. 182. impostumations, or impostumes, a corrupt form of apostumes for apostemes; aposteme, Greek ἀπόστημα, 'abscess.'

184—5. The part of...discontentments. 'Forethought' should copy 'Afterthought's' action; in other words, statesmen should prevent popular discontent from arising by removing its causes.

P. 45, l. 220. Sylla &c. Suetonius, Julius Caesar, 77, inaccurately quoted. There is a play on the word dictare.

224. Legi a se &c. Tacitus, Histories, i. 5; Plutarch, Lives, 'Galba,' p. 711b.

226. Probus: Vopiscus (fl. A.D. 290) is the authority for Probus. He mentions a speech of like purport but differently expressed (Probus, 20). Cf. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. xii.

240. Atque is &c. Tacitus, Histories, i. 28: he is describing the state of feeling at Rome among the soldiers at the time of Galba's murder.

ESSAY XVI.

OF ATHEISME.

P. 46, l. 1. the Legend, i.e. the Legenda Aurea, or Golden Legend, containing the Lives of Saints, written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, who died A.D. 1292.

2. For the Talmud and Alcoran see INDEX.
NOTES.

5—7. a little philosophy...religion. Cf. Pope, Essay on Criticism, 215—218, ‘A little learning is a dang’rous thing, &c.’

8. second causes, i.e. efficient or immediate causes of phenomena, as distinguished from God, the ‘Great First Cause.’

16. foure mutable elements, viz. fire, water, earth, and air, the constituents of which terrestrial things were composed. To these was added a fifth immutable essence, ether, of which the heavenly bodies were composed. Cf. Milton, Paradise Lost, vii. 244, ‘quintessence pure.’


53. contemplative atheist, i.e. the atheist whose philosophical speculations lead him to the rejection of God, as distinguished from the practical atheist, whose mode of life is a denial of God’s existence though he may profess a theological belief.

P. 48, l. 65. St Bernard saith: Ad Pastores Sermo, § 8. But the quotation has been altered by Bacon.

79. melior natura, from Ovid, Metam. i. 21, ‘Hanc Deus et melior litem natura diremit.’


ESSAY XVII.

OF SUPERSTITION.

P. 49, l. 5. Surely &c. Plutarch, De Superstitione, x.

8. as the poets speak of Saturn: Ovid, Fasti, iv. 197.

14—15. But superstition...men. Bacon has especially in view the influence of Romanism. He means that, in the case of an atheist, morality and law may come into play, but when a man’s mind is under the sway of false religious dogmas, morality and law are inoperative.

P. 50, l. 21. Primum Mobile, see Ess. 15, 56, note p. 196.

22—4. The master...order. Superstition flourishes because there is a readiness on the part of the people to become its victims. Populus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur, ‘People like to be gulled; then let them.’ Men’s practice ought to be regulated by rational principles; but where superstition operates, the practice is established first, and reasons are afterwards invented to justify it. Thus the rational order is reversed.

26. Schoolemen, see Index.
28. **eccentricks and epicycles.** According to the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, the planets moved in circles, called ‘epicycles’ because they had their centres on the circumference of other circles. As the centre of these latter circles did not coincide with the earth, they were called ‘eccentrics.’

‘The humour lies in the use of eccentric in its special astronomical sense, and then in its ordinary sense. But it was said not gravely, but da alcuni faceti; not by some of the prelates in the Council, but by outsiders at a distance, and it made no mention of the schoolmen, and had no reference to anything that touched upon the practice of the Church’ (Reynolds, *Bacon’s Essays*, p. 123).

Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, viii. 81—84:

> How build, unbuild, contrive,
> To save appearances; how gird the sphere
> With centric and eccentric scribbled o’er,
> Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.

*to save the phenomena, i.e. ‘to frame a hypothesis that should not be inconsistent with the phenomena which it seeks to explain.’* Compare Milton’s expression, ‘to save appearances.’

34. **Pharisaical holiness, i.e.** holiness which parades its observance of minute details of ritual.

37. **good intentions.** In *Ess. 3*, 68, Bacon draws a distinction between ‘the points fundamental and of substance in religion’ and ‘points of opinion, order, or good intention.’ His meaning here is that, if indulgence is shown to the ‘good intentions’ of individuals, new and eccentric doctrines may be introduced into the Church.

38. **conceits.** The Latin Version gives as the equivalent of ‘conceits’ the Greek ἐδελθοθρησκεία, ‘self-devised worship,’ a word which occurs in Coloss. ii. 23, and is rendered in the A.V. ‘will-worship.’

**ESSAY XVIII.**

**OF TRAVAILE.**

P. 51, 1. 6. *allow*, in the sense of ‘approve,’ ‘praise,’ from Lat. *allaudare*, as in Luke xi. 48, ‘ye allow the deeds of your fathers,’ confused with *allow*, Fr. *allouer*, late Lat. *allocare*, ‘to assign’ (whence *allocate* and its doublet *allot*), so ‘to concede,’ ‘to grant.’

P. 52, l. 28. *Burses.* It seems doubtful whether there is any difference of meaning between *Burse* and *Exchange.* Thus the Burse, built by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566, was called the Royal Exchange, and Britain’s Burse, built in 1609, where Exeter Hall now stands, in the Strand, was afterwards called Exeter ’Change. The word *burse,* of which *purse* is a doublet, French *bourse,* comes ultimately from Greek βόρσα, ‘a skin.’


50. *adamant,* Greek αδαμαντός, ‘unconquerable,’ was the name applied to a very hard metal, probably steel: also to the diamond (*diamond,* French *diamant,* from *adamant* by aphaeresis), and to the magnet or loadstone. Cf. *Midsummer-Night’s Dream,* II. i. 195, ‘You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant.’

74—9. Allusions to the effect of foreign travel upon the ‘apparel’ and ‘country manners’ of Englishmen occur in *Merchant of Venice,* I. ii. 79, *As You Like It,* IV. i. 33—37, *Richard II.* II. i. 21—3.

**ESSAY XIX.**

**OF EMPIRE.**

P. 54, l. 8. *That the king’s &c.* Proverbs xxv. 3.

17. *Nero,* Dio Cassius, LXIII. 1; *Tacitus,* *Annals,* XVI. 4; *Suetonius,* *Nero,* 20.

*Domitian,* Suetonius, *Domitian,* 19.


28. *Dioclesian.* We have no grounds for thinking that Diocletian became ‘superstitious and melancholy’ in his ‘latter yeares.’ See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* ch. XIII.

33—4. *for both temper...contraries.* ‘It appears then that “the true temper of empire” is the state of things which exists when the two contraries, sovereignty and liberty, are mingled in fit proportions. “Distemper” is when the two are interchanged or alternated. That temper and distemper “consist of contraries” is said, not very precisely, because they are caused respectively by the mingling and by the alternating of two contrary extremes’ (Reynolds, *Bacon’s Essays,* p. 131).

P. 56, l. 48. *try masteries with:* cf. 2 Timothy ii. 5, ‘If a man also strive for masteries,’ ἡν δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις.

54. *Sunt plerumque* &c. The quotation is made loosely, not from Tacitus, but from Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, ch. 113. In the *Adv. of Learning*, ii. 22, Bacon assigns the passage to its right author.

56. *solacisme,* originally ‘a grammatical blunder,’ hence ‘a blunder of any kind.’ The people of the Athenian colony of Soli in Asia Minor spoke Greek faultily: a violation of syntax or of idiom was therefore called σολοκασμος.

65. *centinell,* from French *sentier,* Latin *semita,* ‘a path,’ so strictly ‘the sentinel’s beat,’ and hence ‘the sentinel’ himself.

76. *take up,* strictly ‘to obtain on credit,’ ‘to borrow.’ Examples of this use occur in Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*. i. 2, 46; *2 Henry VI*. iv. 7, 134.

P. 56, l. 77. *that League,* directed against the growing power of Venice, A.D. 1480.


P. 57, l. 115. As Bajazet II. was poisoned by his son Selim, who usurped the throne as Selymus I. in A.D. 1512, it is not easy to see that the father’s ‘distrust,’ though well-grounded, did him any good.

124. *forraine authority.* The pope’s jurisdiction in England had been curtailed by the Statutes of *Provisors* (1350) and of *Praemunire* (1393) and was destroyed by the *Act of Appeals* (1532).

130. *I have noted it* &c. ‘He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people: which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yst did not cooperate with him, but let every man go his own way’ (*Henry VII*. pp. 475—6).

144. *vena porta,* the portal vein, which conveys the blood to the liver. In his *History of Henry VII*. Bacon calls it the ‘gate-vein,’ p. 418.

P. 58, ll. 148—50. *For that that he...decreased:* according to the
NOTES. [ESSAY 19. 148–162.]

Latin Version, ‘what he gains in the parts he loses in the whole, as the bulk of the trade is reduced.’

The origin of the territorial hundred is obscure. The term may have been used in the first instance to denote (1) groups containing a hundred warriors each, (2) a hundred families, or (3) a hundred hides of land.

157—8. Janizaries and Pretorian Bands, see INDEX.
162. which cause good or evill times, according to astrology.

ESSAY XX.

OF COUNSELL.

P. 59, l. 11. The Counsellour: Isaiah ix. 6, ‘His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor.’

12. in counsell is stability: Proverbs xx. 18, ‘Every purpose is established by counsel.’

13. agitation: ‘There is a play upon this word. In Latin agitare means “to discuss” as well as “to toss”’ (Abbott, Bacon’s Essays, ii. 173).

16. Salomon’s sonne, Rehoboam, see INDEX. 1 Kings xii.

27. Jupiter did marry Metis. Apollodorus i. 3, 6; Hesiod, Theogony, 886.

P. 60, ll. 45—6. with prudence...Pallas armed: Pallas (Minerva) was the goddess of wisdom.

67. Plenus rimarum sum, Terence, Eunuchus i. ii. 25.

futile, see Ess. 6, 54, note p. 187.

P. 61, l. 75. able to grinde with a hand-mill, Latin Version propio Marte validus, ‘able to fight his own battles.’

90. non inveniet &c. Luke xviii. 8, quoted at the end of Ess. 1. Bacon means that the remark applies only to a special time, viz. that of Christ’s second coming: it does not imply that faithlessness is a quality of men universally.


P. 62, l. 110. reverend: though the Latin Version gives gravior, the context shows that Bacon means ‘reverent,’ the reading in the edition of 1612.

112—4. Therefore it is good...respect. It is a good plan for a prince to take the opinion of the humbler members of his council in private,
when they will feel more free to say what they think than they would feel in the presence of those of higher rank, and to take the opinion of the more eminent members in company, when they will express themselves with modesty.

119. secundum genera, i.e. we must not draw inferences about individuals belonging to particular groups of persons, e.g. lawyers or clergymen, as we draw inferences about circles and triangles.

124. Optimi &c. 'Alonso of Aragon was wont to say of himself that he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead, meaning books' (Apophthegms). Alonso or Alphonso was king of Aragon, 1416—1458.

125. blanch may be (1) a corruption of blench meaning 'flinch,' 'shrink,' as in Shakespeare, M. for M., IV. v. 5; Hamlet, II. ii. 626; or (2) it may come from Fr. blanchir (blanc, 'white') 'to whiten,' so 'to flatter' (cf. our expression 'to whitewash a character'); or (3) it may be a form of blandish, which gives the same meaning as we obtain from (2). The Latin Version has in adulationem lapsuri sint, interpreting the word to mean 'flatter.' Either 'flatter' or 'flinch' suits the context.

133. In nocte consilium: a Greek proverb, 'Εν νυκτὶ βουλή.

134. the Commission of Union sat from the end of October to the beginning of December, 1604.


152. tribunitious, i.e. like Tribunes of the Plebs, demagogues.

161. take the winde of him, Latin Version se ad nutum ejus applicabunt. The reader may take his choice of the following explanations of the metaphor:

(1) 'from a pack which follows the scent of the first hound' (Storr, p. 485).

(2) from a ship which 'follows the direction of the wind' (Selby, p. 200).

(3) 'the same as in the common phrase—will see which way the wind blows' (Reynolds, p. 152).

(4) 'here wind seems rather "the breath of opinion" and "to take the wind of a person" means "to borrow one's thoughts from him," i.e. conform oneself to him' (Abbott, II. p. 176).

162. a Song of Placebo. The vesper hymn for the dead in the Roman office begins Placebo Domino in regione vivorum (Psalm cxvi. 9), 'I will please the Lord in the land of the living.' The word is humorously employed to indicate obsequious behaviour of any sort. Cf.
Chaucer, Parson’s Tale, ‘Flatterers ben the develes chapelyns that singen ay placebo.’

ESSAY XXI.

OF DELAYES.

P. 64, l. 3. Sybilla’s offer. Aulus Gellius, Noctes Att. 1. 19.
7. and no hold taken, i.e. ‘no hold having been taken,’ absolute construction.
20. over early buckling, ‘buckling on one’s armour prematurely to meet dangers.’

ESSAY XXII.

OF CUNNING.

P. 66, l. 1. cunning, the verbal noun from can, ‘to know,’ meant (1) ‘knowledge,’ or ‘skill,’ (2) ‘skill craftily employed,’ ‘deceit,’ (3) ‘craftiness.’ For sense (1) cf. Psalm cxxxvii. 5, ‘let my right hand forget her cunning,’
sinister, (1) ‘left-handed,’ so (2) ‘unlucky,’ and (3) ‘malign.’
4. packe the cards: cf. ‘a packed jury.’ So Shakespeare, Antony and Cleopatra, iv. xiv. 19, and Quarles, Emblems, II. 5, 23,

‘Thy cunning can but pack the cards,
Thou canst not play.’

9—10. of the reall part of businesse: appositional use of preposition of. Cf. Ess. 15, 68, ‘let us pass from this part of predictions.’
13. alley: a metaphor from bowls: the meaning is, ‘Such men cannot play well on a strange ground.’ The Latin Version in viis quas saepe contriverunt interprets alley as ‘path’ or ‘walk in life,’ but the expression ‘they have lost their aim’ is in better keeping with the sense ‘bowling-alley.’
15. Mitte &c. Diogenes Laertius (ii. § 73) ascribes the saying to Aristippus the Cyrenaic (fl. b.c. 400) a pupil of Socrates.

20. Jesuits, see Index.

P. 66, l. 28. counsellor and secretary: Dr Abbott suggests Cecil, or more probably Walsingham.


48. Nehemias: cf. Nehemiah ii. 1. ‘But we are not told that this was an artifice on Nehemiah’s part’ (Reynolds, p. 163).

54. as Narcissus did. Tacitus, Annals, xi. 29, 30.

P. 67, l. 70. apposed, ‘questioned.’ We call a difficult question ‘a poser.’ Cf. Poser, the name for an Examiner at Eton, and Apposition Day at St Paul’s School. See Ess. 32, 32, ‘let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser,’ Latin Version id examinatori convenit.

72—4. to let fall those words...take advantage, i.e. to drop remarks which another man repeats as his own, and by this means to get him into trouble.

I knew two; Mr Spedding suggests Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley (Wright, p. 317). Cecil obtained the post.

89. the turning of the cat in the pan. This phrase is used in two senses, (1) as by Bacon here, ‘to reverse the order of things so as to make them seem the very opposite of what they are,’ ‘to turn a thing right round’: (2) ‘to change sides,’ ‘to become a turncoat’: as, e.g. in the Vicar of Bray,—

‘I turned the cat-in-pan once more,
And so became a Whig, Sir.’

The origin of the expression is obscure. The most plausible explanation takes cat as a corruption of cate, ‘a cake,’ so that ‘turning the cat in pan’ means ‘turning or tossing the pancake,’ a performance that requires some dexterity. The New Dictionary asserts however that this derivation is not in agreement with the history of the word cate. According to another etymology the phrase is from the Fr. tourner côté en peine, ‘to turn sides in trouble,’ a derivation for which we may reasonably desire further evidence, especially as it is quite irrelevant to meaning (1) of the phrase. Dr Abbott mentions a passage in Euphues where reference is made to ‘the Cat that leaveth the Mouse to follow the Milk-pan,’ but thinks that this expression may be due to a mis-apprehension of the proverb (Bacon’s Essays, ii. 181). The Latin
translator could make nothing of the phrase: *quod Angloico proverbio* 'Felem in aheno vertere' *satis absurde dicitur*, are his words. 'Turning a cat in a caldron' is certainly said *satis absurde.*


102. *carry it.* Mr Reynolds (p. 161) says 'probably, bear it or put up with it, where they would be displeased at a more direct statement.' The Latin Version however, *spargi efficient*, is equivalent to 'carry it about,' 'cause it to be circulated.'

109. *fetch, i.e.* 'fetch a compass,' 'go round.' Cf. Shakespeare, *King John*, iv. ii. 23—4; 2 Samuel v. 23; Acts xxviii. 13. 'The metaphor seems to be derived from a hunter *fetching* a compass so as not to be scented and *beating* a covert' (Abbott, ii. 181).

121—6. *But certainly...debate matters.* In these few lines there are several difficulties. They are dealt with by the commentators as follows:

A. *Resorts and falls of business; cannot sink into the maine of it.*

(1) Mr Reynolds (p. 165):—*Resorts* (French Vers. *les ressorts*) the springs or movements of the machinery, so the starting-points of the business. *Falls* (French Vers. *les issues*) the conclusion of the business. *The main*, the body or solid part of the business.

'We may look next at the simile which immediately follows. The house has convenient stairs and entries, that is to say there is a convenient way in, out, and about. These stairs and entries clearly correspond to the *resorts and falls*, so that those who know the resorts and falls must, if the simile is pressed, be taken to know their way into, out of, and about the business. But the house has never a fair room or resting place, thus illustrating the defect of those who cannot sink into the main of business, or, in other words, cannot examine or debate matters at due length.'

(2) Dr Abbott (vol. ii., p. 181):—'Resorts seems used here in the sense of source or fountain.' This is the meaning assigned to the word by Mr Aldis Wright, who quotes in its support a passage from Fuller's *Holy State*, chap. xxv., in which Mr Perkins and Queen Elizabeth are said to have 'had their *fountains and falls* together,' because 'Mr Perkins was born the first, and died the last year' of the queen's reign. This sense of 'source' or 'fountain' thus gives the fit antithesis to *falls*, and agrees with *main*, which seems to be used for 'sea.' (Cf. Shaksp. *M. of V.* v. i. 97, for a similar contrast between the 'inland brook' and the 'main of waters.') 'The meaning then is, "Many can make a striking
start, and now and then a dexterous stroke, but they have no power of continuous administration.’

(3) Mr Storr (p. 490):—‘Resorts and falls: the general sense is clear,—“the ups and downs,” the fluctuations of business; but the exact meaning of the words is very obscure.’ Commenting on the interpretation given in (2) Mr Storr says, ‘But no parallel to this sense of resort is forthcoming, and elsewhere Bacon uses the word as an equivalent for the French ressort, the spring of a machine. (“Such histories do rather set forth the point of business than the true and inward resorts thereof.” Adv. of L., ii. 2, 4.) Ressort is also given in Cotgrave as the appeal to a superior court, or the jurisdiction of a superior court. Hence I am inclined to take it here in the sense of “rise.” If so, the main will mean the principal part, the principles, as we say “in the main.” If my interpretation of “resorts and falls” be right, the whole sentence will mean: “Some cunning men are well up in the machinery of business; these can pull the wires, and profit by the ups and downs of fortune, but they have never really mastered the subject.”

B. Looses in the conclusion.

About the interpretation of this expression, the commentators are fairly in agreement. Thus,—

(1) Mr Aldis Wright (Glossary, p. 372):—‘Looses: properly the letting loose of an arrow from the string; hence applied to the act of discharging any business. The Lat. has exitus. It is apparently used in the same sense as “deliveries,” Ess. 19, 45.’ Dr Abbott endorses this explanation. ‘A loose... means “a sudden discharge of business,” with something of the meaning of our modern colloquial “shot.” See Love’s Labour’s Lost, v. ii. 752’ (p. 181).

(2) Mr Reynolds (p. 165):—‘Looses are lettings go, used especially of letting go a bowstring or launching a dart... To find pretty looses in the conclusion should mean therefore to deliver good shots. It is a variant of knowing the falls of business.’

(3) Mr Storr (p. 490):—‘Looses: solutions for concluding or solving the difficulty; like a boy who can find the right answer to a sum, but cannot explain the process.’

128. wits of direction, i.e. (1) ‘men with a turn for directing others rather than for being directed’ (Abbott), or (2) ‘intelects specially fitted to direct and decide matters’ (Reynolds): Latin Version ingenia ad decernendum potius quam disputandum aptiora.
'Bacon clearly intends to depreciate those whom he is describing; hurriedness of judgment and a superficial show of ability to settle matters offhand being the defects which he intends to fix upon them. But his chief simile is a bad one. There can be no great resemblance between a house with fair rooms, in which the inmate is to stay, and a debate on business, in which the object of the debaters is to proceed: so that the fault corresponding to the absence of a fair room is nothing to the matter in hand' (Reynolds, pp. 165—6).

Mr Reynolds reproduces the three contemporary translations (Latin, French, and Italian) of the expressions 'Resorts and falls,' 'Pretty looses,' and 'Wits of direction,' no two of which agree, 'so that at least two of them must be in error.'


ESSAY XXIII.

OF WISEDOME FOR A MAN'S SELFE.

2. *shrewd* is originally the past participle of the verb *shrew*, 'to beshrew,' 'to curse.' Cf. Wyclif: 'shrewid generacioun, i.e. 'un-toward generation,' Acts ii. 40. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, III. iii. 246; *K. John*, v. v. 14.

3. *waste the publique*, according to the Lat. Vers. 'injure the state.'

5—6. *be so true...country.* Cf. Polonius's speech in *Hamlet*, i. iii. 78—80.

7—8. *For that onely...center.* Bacon speaks here as an adherent of the Ptolemaic theory, according to which the earth was the fixed centre round which the heavens revolved.


17. *eccentrick*, lit. having a different centre. The centre of the selfish man's sphere of action is himself, not his master or the state.

P. 70, l. 28. *bias*, the leaden weight which turns the bowl from its straight course. In like manner corrupt servants are turned from their straight course by personal ends.

31—3. *the good such servants...master's fortune.* Their own gains are small as compared with the amount of injury which they do their masters.
ESSAY 23. 35–47.] NOTES. 209

35. and it were. On this use of and, see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, §§ 101–3.

44. the wisedome of crocodiles: cf. 2 Henry VI. III. i. 226,
   ‘—as the mournful crocodile
   With sorrow snares relenting passengers.’

Mr Reynolds gives a page of curious lore on the subject of the wily crocodile (*Bacon’s Essays*, pp. 170—1).

47. sui amantes &c., adapted from Cicero, *Epist. ad Quintum Fratrem*, III. 8.

ESSAY XXIV.

OF INNOVATIONS.

P. 71, l. 2. *Innovation* was used by Shakespeare in its modern sense to signify ‘a change for the worse.’ With Bacon the word means simply ‘change.’

3—5. those that first bring...succeed: cf. Ess. 14, 36.

9—10. Surely...evils. Changes are necessary because of the inherent tendency of man’s nature to grow worse.

17. peace not, perhaps an allusion to the new cloth and the old garment of Matthew ix. 16.

P. 72, l. 29. paires, for impairs, by aphaeresis: French empirer, Latin in and pejorare (post-classical), ‘to render worse,’ from pejor.


‘No faith so fast, quoth she, but flesh does paire,
   Flesh may impaire, quoth he, but reason can repaire.’

38. we make a stand &c. Jeremiah vi. 16.

ESSAY XXV.

OF DISPATCH.

11. for the time: the Latin Version gives ut brevi tempore multum confeçisse videantur, ‘that they may seem to have done a great deal in a short time.’ The expression ‘for the time’ might also mean ‘on that particular occasion.’
P. 73, ll. 14—6. *businesse so handled...manner.* Questions which are 'cut off,' *i.e.* passed over for the sake of saving time, will come up at subsequent meetings and delay progress.

16. *a wise man,* viz. Sir Amyas Paulet, ambassador to France. In 1576 at the age of sixteen, Bacon went to live under his care at the French court. The name is given in the *Apophthegms,* p. 173.


23. *muerte.* 'Bacon strangely builds the Spanish *muerte* for *morte* and *de* for *di* into a proverb which is Italian for the rest' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays,* p. 178).

32. *moderator.* 'This word is still employed in Cambridge to denote an examiner, who once used to *moderate* or control the "actors," *i.e.* those who were performing their "acts" or exercises for a degree' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays,* II. 187).

39. *passages:* variously explained:

(1) Latin Version, *transitiones,* which Mr Reynolds considers 'a questionable rendering, and not suitable with the context.' He gives as the meaning,

(2) 'sentences worked into the speech, and (as the context shows) referring to the speaker himself' (p. 176).

(3) Dr Abbott, on the other hand, accepting *transitiones,* takes the word 'to mean the joints in a speech, which serve to connect one part with what follows, as one passes from the former to the latter' (II. 188).

(4) Mr Storr suggests *loci communes,* 'rhetorical common-places disconnected with the matter in hand' (p. 493).


59—60. *ashes...dust.* Ashes are the product, definite in amount, of some substance which has been destroyed by fire. The amount of dust is indefinite. A discussion in which a scheme has been utterly destroyed may leave a more valuable result in the 'ashes' than a discussion which settles nothing and leaves an indefinite quantity of dust.

**ESSAY XXVI.**

**OF SEEMING WISE.**

5. *Having a shew &c., 2 Timothy iii. 5.*

10. *prospectives*, optical instruments which produced the same effect as our stereoscopes.


31. *Hominem &c.* Aulus Gellius has a criticism on Seneca’s style, *Notae Atticae*, xii. 2, in which however these words do not occur. Bacon’s quotation seems to be a reminiscence of Quintilian’s remark about Seneca, *si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puororum amore comprobaretur* (De Institut. Orat. x. 1 § 130).


P. 76, l. 47. *absurd.* Mr Reynolds (p. 181) understands the word here in the sense ‘blunt and rough in manner.’ ‘The contrast presumably is between the over-formal man, too perfect in compliments and too full of respects, and the man who is negligent of them to a fault.’ If, however, Bacon had in view not manners but mental habits, the contrast is between the plain man who occasionally blunders into inconsistency and the man who sees so much to be said on all sides of a question that he never takes action at all. Cf. *Ess.* 47, 23.

**ESSAY XXVII.**

**OF FRIENDSHIP.**

This Essay was written in answer to an appeal from Bacon’s good friend Toby Matthew, to whom Bacon says in a letter of 1623, ‘For the Essay of Friendship, while I took your Speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment. But since you call for it, I shall perform it.’

3. *Whosoever &c.*, Aristotle, *Politics* i. 2. There is nothing in Aristotle’s language to justify Bacon’s strictures.

7. *should have*, instead of *hath*, as the sentence reports the opinion of somebody else and Bacon considers the opinion false.

11. *falsely and fainedly* may refer to the traditions about ‘the heathens’ whom Bacon mentions.
16. For a crowd &c., cf. the saying of Scipio Africanus, Se nunquam minus solum esse quam quum solus esset. Bacon's sentence is one of singular beauty.

18. a tinkling cymball, 1 Corinthians xiii. 1.

19. Magna &c. Erasmi Adagia. Strabo, the geographer (Bk. xvi.), quotes the pun made by a comic poet on the name of the city Megalopolis, 'Ερμία μεγάλη ἄτω ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. Bacon generalises the remark by what Mr Reynolds calls 'a splendid perversion.'

P. 77, l. 35. flowers of sulphur, as we write it, 'flours of sulphur.' Flower and flour are doubles.

36. castoreum, 'castor,' a drug obtained from the body of the beaver.

39. civill, opposed here to 'clerical.'

40. shrift, (1) the penitential act of confession to a priest, (2) the absolution which followed it.

54. Participes curarum. One of the titles conferred by Tiberius on Sejanus was κοινωνία τῶν φροντίδων (Dio Cass. lviii. 4). In speaking of this as 'the Roman name,' Bacon 'seems to have been misled by his double habit of reading Greek authors in a Latin version and of quoting from memory afterwards' (Reynolds, p. 193).

P. 78, l. 62. Sylla, Plutarch, Lives, 'Pompey,' pp. 430 b—431 a, where the saying is referred to the occasion on which Sulla refused Pompey a triumph. See Index, Pompey.


72. his nephew, i.e. great-nephew, Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

79. Antonius, &c. Cicero, Philippiæ, xiii. 11.

82. Augustus raised Agrippa &c., Dio Cassius, liv. 6.

87. Seianus, Dio Cassius, lviii. 6.

90. Haec pro &c., Tacitus, Annals, iv. 40.

91. the whole senate &c., Tacitus, Annals, iv. 74.

P. 79, l. 94. his eldest sonne, viz. Caracalla.

98. I love the man &c., Dio Cassius, lxxv. 15.

106. halfe peece. The explanation of the term is doubtful. Dr Abbott suggests that piece means 'work of art,' so half-piece would be 'the half of a picture or sculpture' (II. 193). Mr Reynolds thinks there is a reference 'to the old practice of cutting silver pennies into halves to make up for the deficiency of smaller coins' (p. 194).

119. parable of Pythagoras, Plutarch, De Educat. Puer. 17. 'Eat not thy heart; that is to say, offend not thine own soul, nor hurt and
consume it with pensive cares.' We should now call this maxim a proverb or a metaphor rather than a parable.

122. Canniballs: the word is a corruption of Caribal, 'a Carib,' the form used by Columbus, and afterwards changed to canibal to express the dog-like voracity of the man-eating Caribs.

P. 80, l. 131. alchemists...stone. The Philosopher's Stone was supposed to convert baser metals to gold, and to furnish a universal medicine, the Elixir of Life. Alchemy (from al, 'the,' χρύσα, 'chemistry') probably denoted in the first instance the art of extracting medicinal juices.

134. praying in aid, a legal phrase. Cf. Shakespeare, Antony and Cleopatra, v. ii. 27.

135—8. For in bodies...minds. Bacon assumes that joy is a 'natural motion' and grief a 'violent impression,' and then argues, from the analogy of what takes place in the material world, that friendship will increase joy and diminish grief.

140. soveraigne, Ital. sovrano, Lat. supremus. The g is intrusive, from confusion with reign: (cf. foreign, late Lat. foraneus, from foras, 'out of doors'). Milton writes sovrano. Cf. Coriolanus, ii. i. 127.

155—7. speech was like cloth of Arras...in packs, Plutarch, Lives, 'Themistocles,' p. 96 a. For the anachronism in the term 'cloth of Arras,' Plutarch's translator North is responsible.

Mr Reynolds points out that the comparison drawn by Themistocles was 'not between speech and thought, but between the perfect and the imperfect expression of thought by language. The credit therefore for the very fine simile in the text belongs to Bacon, not to Themistocles' (p. 196).

P. 81, l. 162. whetteth his wits &c. Cf. Horace, Ars Poet. 304.

170. Dry light is ever the best. The correct version of the 'aenigma' is αὐὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀριστη, 'The dry soul is the wisest and best' (Stobaei Florilegium, v. 120), the 'dry soul' meaning the reason when free from the distorting influence of the senses and emotions. In the Apophthegms (p. 177) Bacon quotes the saying differently,—'The dry light is the best soul' (αὐὴν ἐνηργοὶ σοφωτάτη 'meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not drenched, or as it were blooded by the affections.'

178. no such flatterer &c. Cf. Ess. 10, 27, and 53, 22.

P. 82, l. 194. that looke &c. James i. 23—4.

199. the foure-and-twenty letters. 'The sounds which we now represent by I and J were not distinguished by symbol till the 17th
NOTES. [ESSAY 27. 199-255.

century. Rather earlier than this, a distinction was made in the use of the letters U and V so that they represented respectively vowel and consonant' (Elements of English Grammar, p. 59. Pitt Press Series).

Cf. Ess. 38, 16.

202. to thinke himselfe all in all: this phrase explains 'imaginations,' with which it is in apposition. All in all means 'all things in all respects': cf. 1 Corinthians xv. 28; Hamlet, 1. ii. 187.

when all is done, in our modern phrase 'when everything is said and done,' meaning 'after all.'

P. 83, l. 233. a frend is another himselfe, a saying ascribed to Pythagoras and used by Aristotle, Nicom. Eth. ix. 4. § 5; Eudem. Eth. vii. 12: "Εστι γὰρ ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός.


239—40. a man hath...two lives in his desires: for in the event of his own death, his friend remains to carry out his wishes.


251—5. A man cannot speake...the person. One who speaks in some special character, e.g. as father, husband, or enemy, speaks under the restrictions which that character imposes; but from restrictions of this sort the friend is free.

ESSAY XXVIII.

OF EXPENCE.


24, 25. plentifull in diet...plentifull in the hall: 'Diet seems to refer only to the man's own eating and drinking; the hall, to the general table kept for the whole establishment' (Reynolds, p. 200).

P. 85, l. 33. hie that cleareth &c. In Ess. 38, 20, the contrary course seems to be recommended.

ESSAY XXIX.

OF THE TRUE GREATNESSE OF KINGDOMES AND ESTATES.

This Essay was originally published as part of the De Augmentis Scientiarum, viii. 3. In the Latin translation the title is De profectionis
Imperii finibus, 'Of extending the Limits of Empire,' and this title corresponds more closely with the contents of the Essay than the title 'Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.' For the 'true Greatness' which Bacon has in view is the power of expansion, by which a state extends its territory. This power of expansion lies in military strength, and to establish the military strength of his country is therefore the prime object of a statesman.


7. metaphor, literally, 'transference.'
P. 86, l. 23. negotiis pares, Tacitus, Annals, vi. 39 and xvi. 18.

24. mannage, cf. Ess. 6, 27, note p. 186. The original sense of reining in a horse is preserved here, for Bacon speaks of keeping affairs 'from precipices.'

44. mustard-seed, Matthew xiii. 31.


76. Solon said well to Crassus &c. From Machiavelli, Discourses, ii. 10. The story is told by Lucian, Charon, 7.
P. 88, l. 87. mew, i.e. 'moult,' Fr. muer, Lat. mutare, 'to change.'

88. The blessing of Judah and Issachar: Genesis lxi. 9, 14.

95. subsidies (Latin subsidium, 'troops stationed in reserve': hence, 'aid' of any kind), 'an aid in money.'

107. staddles, young trees left standing after a wood has been thinned.

111. hundred, for 'hundredth.'
P. 89, l. 121. History of his Life, pp. 359—361.

129. Terra potens &c. Virgil, Æneid, i. 531.

130. state, here in its rare use to denote a 'rank' or 'order' of men.

138. doth for do: either (1) by attraction of 'custom' which immediately precedes the verb, or (2) because the nouns 'splendour,' 'magnificence,' &c. constitute one complex subject.

143. Nebuchadnezzar's tree. The illustration of a tree is from Machiavelli, Discourses, ii. 3. Bacon adds the touch 'Nebuchadnezzar's.' Daniel iv. 10.
P. 90, l. 170. that spred upon the Romans, i.e. the whole world became Roman.

179. in their highest commands: e.g. Prosper Colonna (di. 1523),
belonging to a Roman family; Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (di. 1592); Spinola, of Genoa (di. 1630). There were many others.

181. Pragmaticall Sanction. This term was first applied to certain decrees of the Byzantine emperors, affecting their subject provinces and towns; then to a system of limitations set to the spiritual power of the pope in European countries; and lastly to a family compact made by different potentates respecting succession to sovereignty, the most celebrated being that by which Charles VI. sought to secure the succession for his daughter Maria Theresa. The Pragmatic Sanction referred to in the text was published by Philip IV. A.D. 1622 (the year in which this Essay appeared in the De Augmentis) conferring certain privileges on persons who married, and further immunities on those who had six children.

P. 91, l. 189. it was great advantage, i.e. so far as their military power was concerned.

206. sent a present: Plut. Lives, 'Romulus,' p. 26a; Livy, i. 16.
P. 92, l. 226. hath grown, sing. verb as the nouns 'profession and exercise' represent one complex idea.

242. prest, French prét, Latin praesto, 'at hand,' 'ready.' Cf. Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, i. i. 160.

P. 93, ll. 251—2. as when the Romans...of Grecia: 'In the second Macedonian War (B.C. 200—196) one chief ground of quarrel between the Romans and King Philip of Macedon was the refusal of the king to withdraw his garrisons and to leave Greece free' (Reynolds, Bacon's Essays, p. 223).

252—4. when the Lacedemonians...oligarchies. During the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431—404), 'the establishment of an oligarchy or a democracy was the sign and attendant of a revolt to the Lacedaemonian or Athenian side, and was aided or resisted accordingly. "To set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies" became thus an essential part of the conduct of the war, and must not be judged as an uncalled-for piece of interference with the affairs of a neighbouring state' (Reynolds, p. 224).

278. Consilium &c. Cicero, ad Atticum, x. 8, loosely quoted.

P. 94, l. 287. set up their rest, a metaphor from cards. Cf. Merchant of Venice, ii. ii. 110; Romeo and Juliet, iv. v. 6.

310. the stile of Emperor, i.e. the title 'Imperator' with which victorious Roman soldiers hailed their general.

311. the Triumphes. A Triumph was a solemn procession in which a victorious general, preceded by the captives and followed by
his troops, passed in state along the Via Sacra and ascended the Capitol to offer sacrifice in the Temple of Jupiter. It was granted or refused by the Senate.

P. 95, l. 315. *that of the Triumph*: some noun such as 'custom' or 'institution' must be supplied. Latin Version, *mos ille triumphandi*.

328. *adde a cubite &c.* Matthew vi. 27; Luke xii. 25.

*this little modell of a man's body*: cf. *Richard II.* iii. ii. 153. The *of* is used appositionally, as in *Ess. 15*, 68, and *22*, 10.

ESSAY XXX.

OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.

1. *wisdome in this, i.e.* either (1) in this matter viz. the management of one's health, or (2) in a man's own observation.

P. 96, l. 28. *wonder and admiration*. For other examples of Bacon's use of synonyms, see p. 294.

P. 97, l. 43. *Celsius, De Medicina*, i. i. Mr Reynolds remarks (p. 230) that 'the rules, which Bacon ascribes here to Celsius, convey a wholly incorrect notion of what Celsius says.'

ESSAY XXXI.

OF SUSPICION.


10. *Henry the Seventh*. For the character of this king see Bacon's *History*, p. 476.

ESSAY XXXII.

OF DISCOURSE.

P. 99, l. 1. *desire rather commendation of wit*. So Johnson 'owned he sometimes talked for victory.'

4. *what should be thought, i.e.* if one's thought is to correspond with the facts.
NOTES.

5. common places, 'topics,' loci communes, 'subjects of discourse.' The Greek τόπος, Latin locus, and English 'place' all have the same original and derived meanings.

8. to give the occasion: One is reminded of Burke's remark after Johnson had monopolized the conversation during a whole evening: 'It is enough for me to have rung the bell to him.' (Boswell, Life of Johnson, p. 536, Globe edit.)


P. 100, l. 23. Parce &c. Ovid, Metam. ii. 127.


38. galliards. The galliard was a sprightly French dance, introduced into this country in Henry VIII.'s time.

48. as a field. The Latin Version is more explicit: 'Conversation should resemble an open field in which you may roam about, not a highway which takes you straight home.'

P. 101, l. 53. drie blow: dry here means 'severe,' 'hard.' Cf. Comedy of Errors, ii. ii. 64, 'dry basting'; Romeo and Juliet, iv. v. 126, 'dry-beat'; Love's Labour's Lost, v. ii. 263, 'dry-beaten.'

ESSAY XXXIII.

OF PLANTATIONS.

P. 102, ll. 15—18. It is a shamefull...plant. Transportation, as a means of ridding the mother country of criminals and providing the colonies with cheap labour, began under James I., in whose reign a hundred dissolute persons were sent out to Virginia. The system was brought to an end in 1857.

32. artichokes of Hierusalem: the name is a corruption of Ital. girasole articiocco, i.e. 'sunflower artichoke.'

P. 103, l. 50. manure, from Fr. manoeuvre, lit. 'to work with the hand,' so 'to till.' Milton uses the word to denote the lopping of trees, Paradise Lost, iv. 628.

55. tobacco in Virginia. Tobacco was introduced into this country from Virginia in Elizabeth's reign. Complaints were soon made that the settlers had given up the cultivation of every other commodity.

59. bay salt, salt obtained by the evaporation of sea-water: bay is said to be from the 'Bay' of Biscay.
60. *Growing silke*, the produce of the silk-cotton tree: *growing* is here an adjective.

74. undertakers, i.e. those who undertake a business: cf. French entrepreneur. The word *undertaker* is used in this general sense by Shakespeare, *Othello*, IV. i. 224; *Twelfth Night*, III. iv. 349. Its meaning has in modern use been narrowed from that of ‘contractor’ or ‘manager’ to that of ‘manager of funerals.’

P. 104, l. 88. *marish, i.e. mere-ish,* ‘abounding in meres’: French *marais*, Latin *mare*.

106. destitute, used as a transitive verb. The island of Roanoke, off the coast of North Carolina, was settled by Sir Richard Greville in 1588 and by Governor White the following year. In 1590 no trace of the colonists, nearly two hundred in number, could be found.

ESSAY XXXIV.

OF RICHES.

P. 105, l. 2. *impedimenta*, the Latin word for ‘baggage,’ signifies literally ‘hindrances.’

8. *Where much is &c.* Ecclesiastes v. 11.

19. *Riches are &c.* Proverbs xviii. 11.

25. *no abstract nor friarly contempt*: Latin Version, *instar monachi alicuius aut a seculo abstracti*, ‘like a monk or one who is withdrawn from ordinary life.’

27. *In studio &c.* Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, ii. Cicero makes the remark however about the father of Rabirius Postumus.


49. *audits*: properly the official examination of accounts, used here of the income which the accounts represent.

54. *It was truly observed by one &c.* ‘Lampon, the rich merchant and shipmaster, being demanded how he got his goods: “Mary, (quoth he) my greatest wealth I gained soone and with ease, but my smaller estate with exceeding much paine and slowly.”’ Quoted by Reynolds (p. 252) from Plutarch’s *Morals*, Holland’s Translation, p. 319.

55. *himselfe*, viz. the speaker, to avoid ambiguity. ‘He’ might be taken to refer to the nobleman.
P. 107, l. 65. *broake,* strictly, 'do business through the agency of another': cf. 'stockbroker,' 'pawnbroker.'

67. *chapmen,* those who *chap* or exchange with a view to a profit, so 'buyers': cf. German *Kaufmann.* The word *chap* appears disguised in *Cheapside.* Cf. *chopping,* l. 69.

68. *naught,* 'good for naught,' 'bad': cf. 2 Kings ii. 19, 'the water is naught'; Jeremiah xxiv. 2, 'very naughty figs.'

69. *chopping of bargains,* the 'ingrossing' spoken of in *Ess.* 15, 161: see note p. 197.

70. *grindeth double,* i.e. presses hard on the man who sells to the speculator and on the man who afterwards buys from the speculator.


*doth plough upon Sundaes.* This 'witty invective against usury' (*Ess.* 41, 4) has Bacon's approbation here. As interest was paid every day of the week for money on loan, the usurer was a Sabbath-breaker.

77. *scriveners.* A *scrivener* (Late Latin *scribanus,* French *écrivain*) meant (1) 'a writer,' 'one who draws contracts;' (2) 'a broker of loans,' 'a financial agent.'

*doe valew unsound men,* i.e. exaggerate the wealth of unsubstantial men so as to secure the commission on the loans.

81. *Canaries:* 'Sugar was introduced into the Canaries in 1507 and soon formed an important part of Bristol trade' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays,* II. 214).

82. *as well judgement as invention.* Elsewhere Bacon enumerates the Arts of Logic as four in number, defined according to their ends: viz. Invention or Discovery, Examination or Judgment, Preservation or Retention in the Memory, and Publication or Transmission.

88. *Monopolies.* The power of the crown to issue patents conferring exclusive rights of carrying on certain trades was first protested against in 1597. In 1601 Elizabeth consented to the revocation of most of the patents. Under James I. the number was increased and the abuse of their powers by the monopolists provoked a violent outburst of indignation in the parliament of 1621. Most of the monopolies were abolished in 1624.

P. 108, l. 92. *by service,* the Latin Version adds *regum aut magnatum,* 'of kings or princes.'

92—5. *Riches gotten...the worst.* The sentence is ungrammatical, confused, and obscure. If it refers to 'riches,' which is singular in its origin (French *richesse*) and is used as a singular noun in the third sentence of this Essay (l. 3), it is curious that Bacon immediately afterwards
speaks of riches as they. Dr Abbott takes it as referring not to 'riches' but to 'the getting of riches,' implied in the preceding words. The Latin Version renders 'though it be of the best rise,' 
\[dignitatem quandam habet\], 'has a certain dignity.'

97. Testamenta &c. Tacitus, Annals, xiii. 42. 'Tacitus does not say this of Seneca. He reports it as having been said by Publius Suillius and by others' (Reynolds, pp. 252—3).

101. and none worse: Latin Version, neque invenies usquam tenaces, 'nor will you find more grasping people anywhere.'

102. riches have wings: cf. Proverbs xxiii. 5, 'for riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven.'

110. sacrifices without salt, cf. Mark ix. 49.

* painted sepulchres, suggested by *whited sepulchres*, Matt. xxiii. 27.

In connexion with these remarks of Bacon's on the subject of charitable bequests, his *Advice to the King touching Sutton's Estate* may be read with advantage. Sutton was the founder of the Charterhouse Hospital and School and left the bulk of his large fortune to this foundation. The will was disputed (1611) and Bacon recommended that the question should be submitted to the king for decision. The judges upheld the will, much to the popular satisfaction, and to the disappointment of the partisans of the crown (1613).

ESSAY XXXV.

OF PROPHECIES.

This Essay is not given in the Latin Version.

P. 109, 1. 2. *naturall predictions*, e.g. of comets or eclipses, as opposed to 'prophecies from hidden causes,' in which the data are insufficiently known.

4. *Pythonissa*, the word used in the Vulgate to denote the witch whom Saul consulted (1 Chron. x. 13) *quod...insuper etiam Pythonissam consuluerit*, in the A.V. 'and also for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit.' In the story as given in 1 Samuel xxviii. 7, 8 the witch is described as *mulier pythonem habens*, and in Acts xvi. 16, the 'damsel possessed with a spirit of divination' is described in the original as *ἐξουσια πνεύμα Πύθωνος*, 'having the spirit of a Python.' See INDEX, *Pythonissa.*
To-morrow &c. I Samuel xxviii. 19. According to the scriptural narrative Samuel delivered the prophecy, not the Pythoness.

5. Homer hath these verses: Iliad xx. 307—8. The lines from Virgil occur in Aeneid, III. 97—8. Bacon has substituted At for Hic. In Virgil the passage as 'a prophecy of the Roman empire' is, of course, a prophecy after the event, and in Homer the passage says no more than this, that 'the might of Aeneas shall rule over the Trojans, and generations of his posterity likewise,' which is no 'prophecy of the Roman empire' at all.

17. the daughter of Polycrates &c. Herodotus, III. 124—5.

P. 110, l. 28. Tu quoque, Galba, &c. Tacitus, Annals, vi. 20.
38. This is the lad &c. Hall's Chronicle, followed by Holinshed. Cf. Shakespeare, 3 K. Henry VI. iv. vi. 70—4, and Richard III. v. iii. 128—130.

39. When I was in France; this was during the years 1576—8, in the household of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador. See Essay 25, 16, note p. 210.

40. the Q. Mother, Catherine de Medici; the king her husband, Henry II. See INDEX.

47. trivial, 'trite' or 'common,' as in Ess. 3, 71, 'a matter trivial;' and Ess. 12, 1, 'a trivial Grammar Schoole text'; trivial, lit. belonging to the cross-roads—the place where the tres viae meet.

48—9. when I was...yeares. Bacon was born in Jan. 1560—1, Elizabeth in Sept. 1533.

57. the king's stile, James I's: now no more of England, because James was King of Scotland also. See INDEX.

P. 111, l. 62. the Baugh and the May, see INDEX.

68—9. the King of Spaine's surname...is Norway. No explanation of this assertion is forthcoming.

71. Octogessimus &c. Regiomontanus is said, shortly before his death in 1470, to have written four lines in German predicting revolutions in 1588. These lines were latinized and extended in 1553 by Bruschius, from whose version Bacon is here quoting. See Reynolds, Bacon's Essays, pp. 262—3.
ESSAY XXXVI.

OF AMBITION.

1. choler (Greek χολή, 'bile') one of the four humours: see Ess. 8, 21, note p. 188.

4. adust, Latin adustus, 'burnt up,' a technical medical term.

9. evil eye, see Ess. 9, 8, note p. 189.

20. never so ambitious, in modern idiom 'ever so ambitious,' but the negative form may be justified as elliptical for 'so ambitious as was never the case before.'

P. 113, l. 23. spurres: so Milton, Lycidas, 70, 'Fame is the spur.'

26. a seel'd dove. To seeel was to stitch together the eyelids of a bird. By this operation young hawks were trained to the use of the hood. It was supposed that doves thus seeled would soar straight upwards till they dropped from exhaustion. Cf. Shakespeare, Macbeth, III. ii. 46, 'seeing night.'

29. as Tiberius used Macro, Dio Cassius, LVIII. 9.

37. to have favorites, probably an allusion to Buckingham.

45. inure, i.e. 'to put in ure, or use' (cf. Ess. 6, 86, note, p. 187): originally 'to use,' hence its modern meaning 'to accustom to,' 'to deaden the sensibility by use.' Milton, Paradise Lost, VIII. 239, employs the word in the sense 'to establish by use,' 'to insure,'—'to inure our prompt obedience.'

P. 114, l. 54. in a wood. Dr Abbott (II. p. 219) compares our proverb, 'Don't holloa till you are out of the wood.'

63. vantage ground, cf. Ess. 11, 32.

66. the best of these intentions, viz. the desire to do good.
ESSAY XXXVII.

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

This Essay is not given in the Latin Version.

The Masque was a form of histrionic entertainment in vogue during the 16th and 17th centuries. It probably originated in the practice of introducing, on solemn and festive occasions, men wearing masks to represent allegorical or mythical characters. From a mere acted pageant it gradually developed into an elaborate dramatic performance in which the scenes were accompanied by music. In the hands of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Milton, the Masque reached a high level of literary excellence. (For a more detailed account of the Masque see the note in Mr Storr’s edition of Bacon’s Essays, pp. 322—7, and in Mr Verity’s edition of Milton’s Comus (Pitt Press Series), pp. li.—lxxvi.)

A Triumph appears to have been a public show of some magnificence, a pageant, a spectacular display, such e.g. as an exhibition of masks.

1. such serious observations, scil. as are contained in the preceding Essays.

4. Dancing to song, i.e. dancing while other people sing,—a ballet accompanied by music. But the dancer is not to sing his own accompaniments: ‘dancing in song’ is condemned in the next sentence as ‘a mean and vulgar thing.’

6. aloft, i.e. in the gallery.

P. 115, l. 7. broken musicke. The meaning of this term is not precisely determined. The following explanations have been offered: (1) as harps and other stringed instruments which were played without a bow were incapable of sustaining a long note to its full duration of time, music produced from them was called ‘broken music’; (2) as certain instruments, such as violins, flutes, etc., were commonly played in sets of four, when they formed ‘a consort,’ the substitution of an instrument belonging to a different set destroyed the ‘consort’ and produced ‘broken music.’ Both of these explanations are due to Mr Chappell (Popular Music, 1. 246), but the latter represents his mature opinion. The expression occurs in Shakespeare, As You Like It, 1. ii. 150; Henry V., v. ii. 363. In Troilus and Cressida, III. i. 52, there is possibly a contrast intended between ‘music in parts’ (l. 19) and ‘broken music’ (l. 52). If so, the passage lends some support to the second interpretation.
7. _ditty_, through the French, from Lat. _dictatum_ signified (1) the words of a song, (2) the song itself.

8. _device_, cf. _Midsummer-Night’s Dream_, v. i. 50.

_Actorizing in song_, i.e. when the actors sing their parts as in an opera.


23–6. _And let the masquers comming down_. The masquers are to go through sundry movements in dumb-show on the stage or dais, in order to whet the curiosity of the audience. After this has been done, they are to come down (perhaps to the front of the stage, or perhaps to the floor of the hall) and speak their parts.

32. _Oes_, ‘shining discs,’ the plural of _O_, which was used to denote circular objects of various kinds. Cf. Shakespeare, _M. N. D._, iii. ii. 188, ‘fiery oes’ (of the stars); _Henry V._, Prol. 13, to Act i. ‘this wooden _O_’ (the theatre); _Antony and Cleopatra_, v. ii. 81, ‘the little _O_, the earth.’

P. 116, l. 38. _antimasques_. An _antimasque_ was a secondary or lesser masque which was performed, sometimes as a prelude to a masque and sometimes as an interlude between the acts, ludicrous in its character, and generally unconnected with the plot of the masque.

The derivation of the word has been variously given:—

(1) from _anti-masque_, the prefix (ἀνάρην, ‘against’) denoting opposition to the principal masque, to which it served as a foil.

(2) from _ante-masque_, because it was played ‘before’ the principal masque: frequently however it served as an interlude:

(3) from _antic-masque_, because _antics_, or grotesque characters, played in it. This etymology seems improbable.

39. _antiques_. The word _antique_ (from Latin _antiquus_, ‘ancient’) signified (1) ‘old-fashioned,’ hence (2) ‘laughable,’ (3) ‘a laughable person,’ ‘a buffoon.’

52. _Jousts and Tourneys and Barriers_. A _joust_ or _joust_ (Latin _juxta_, ‘together’) was a sham fight between single combatants: a _Tourney_ (French _touner_, ‘to turn,’ ‘because it consisteth much in agilitie both of horse and man’) was a sham fight between parties of combatants. _Barriers_ denoted strictly the bars or lists within which the tournament was fought, and hence the fight itself.
ESSAY XXXVIII.

OF NATURE IN MEN.


4—5. *custome onely... nature:* cf. the saying of Diogenes, 'Habit is second nature,' and Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* iii. iv. 168, 'use almost can change the stamp of nature.'

P. 117, ll. 7, 9. *often as adjective:* cf. 1 Timothy v. 23, 'thine often infirmities.'

15. *arrest nature in time,* i.e. gain time by checking one's natural impulse to take immediate action.


P. 118, l. 47. *Multum incola,* &c. Psalm cxx. 6, in the Vulgate, where the words form a complete sentence, and v. 7 begins, *Cum his qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus.* In the A.V. the punctuation is different and v. 6 reads, 'My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace,' v. 7, 'I am for peace.' This is one of Bacon's stock quotations and he often introduces it with impressive effect. (See Abbott, *Bacon's Essays,* vol. i. p. xxi.)

48. *converse,* for this sense cf. Philippians iii. 20, 'our conversation is in heaven.'

ESSAY XXXIX.

OF CUSTOME AND EDUCATION.

4. *after:* for the use of *after* with the meaning 'according to,' cf. Romans viii. 5, 'they that are after the flesh,' and the Litany, 'after our sins,' 'after our iniquities.'

5. *Macciaivel,* *Discourses,* iii. 6.

P. 119, l. 13. *Baltazar Gerard:* the Latin Version adds the name of Guido Faux to the list.


ESSAY 39. 29–62.]

NOTES.

29. lads of Sparta, Cicero, Tusc. Disp. v. 27.
31. queching, rendered in the Latin Version as if it meant 'crying out,'—vix ejaculatu aut gemituullo emisso.
32. an Irish rebel, probably Brian O'Rourke, who took part in Tyrone's rebellion and was executed in 1597, near the end of Elizabeth's reign, not, as Bacon says, 'in the beginning.'

P. 120, l. 54. comforteth, from Latin confortare (fortis, 'strong') common in the Vulgate. Mr Storr quotes Isaiah xli. 7, in Wyclif's Translation, 'And he comfortide hym with nailes.'

56. exallation, 'zenith,' a metaphor from astrology.

61—2. the most effectual...desired. Probably an allusion to the colleges of the Jesuits.

ESSAY XL.

OF FORTUNE.

5. saith the poet: Plautus, Trinummmn, ii. ii. 87, Nam sapiens quidem, pol, ipse fingsit fortunam sibi. But the saying is attributed to Appius Claudius the Blind (fl. b.c. 300), the earliest Roman writer in prose and verse whose name has come down to us. (See Reynolds, Bacon's Essays, p. 284.)


11. deliveries: the Latin Version has facultates nonnullae sese expe-diendi, 'certain powers of extricating oneself from difficulties': this is the meaning of the word in Ess. 19, 45, but it is too narrow to suit the present context.

14. restiveness, lit. 'a disposition to rest or stay still'; so (1) 'obstinate unwillingness to move'; hence (2) 'impatience under restraint,' and consequently (3) 'restlessness,' 'indisposition to stay still,' precisely the opposite of the original sense of the word.


15—2
ESSAY XLI.

OF USURIE.

An Act of Henry VIII.'s reign (1545) fixed the maximum rate of lawful interest at 10 per cent. By an Act of Edward VI.'s (1552) usury was absolutely prohibited as a vice most odious and detestable and contrary to the word of God. Under Elizabeth the Act of Henry VIII. was revived, though usury was at the same time declared to be a sinful and detestable thing. In 1623 the maximum rate permissible was reduced from 10 to 8 per cent. Bacon had written a paper on 'Usury and the Use thereof,' addressed to the Secretary, Sir Edward Conway, and intended for the king's inspection. With this paper the present Essay (first published in the edition of 1625) is almost identical. (See the historical note in Reynolds, Bacon's Essays, pp. 292—5, and Abbott, vol. ii. pp. 226—8.) Mr Reynolds points out that the teaching of Mun's England's Treasure by Foreign Trade (published at about the same time as Bacon's Essay on Usury) is far in advance of the ideas on the subject to which Bacon gives expression. 'What Bacon pretends to do, Mun actually does. He "culls out" the good of Usury, not by assuming the equal truth of a series of contradictory propositions and gravely balancing them against each other. His more effective method is to sweep away the nonsense as nonsensical, and to lay down the truth as true' (p. 295).

P. 123, 1. 3. the tithe, i.e. the 10 per cent. allowed by Henry VIII.'s statute.

8. In sudore...tuum: Genesis iii. 19, from the Vulgate.
10. orange-tawney. The Jews during the middle ages were compelled by law to wear a distinguishing badge, which was usually a yellow cap, or a strip of yellow felt on the front of the dress.
11. against nature: the objection is expressed by Aristotle, Politics, i. x. §§ 4, 5. Cf. Merchant of Venice, i. iii. 135.
17. Bankes. Old banks, such as the Bank of Venice, the Bank of Hamburg, and the Bank of Amsterdam, came into existence to provide a remedy for the worn and clipped coinage of different nations. Unlike modern banks they added nothing to loans or currency, and they charged a percentage on their transactions to cover expenses. A bank
conducted on these principles could never break: yet the Bank of Amsterdam did break, because the reserve was lent out contrary to regulations. Before the establishment of banks in England, merchants deposited their money with the goldsmiths. The Bank of England was founded in 1694.

27. *vena porta*, see *Ess.* 19, 144, note p. 201.

P. 124, ll. 37–8. *at the end...in the boxe.* 'The usurer is compared to the player who keeps the bank at a game of hazard, and who commonly has the chances very much in his favour' (Reynolds, p. 297).

P. 125, l. 72. *Utopia*, a reference to Sir Thomas More's romance. See Index.

P. 126, l. 101. *edge*, a doublet of *egg*, meaning 'incite.'

114. *answered*: for *answer* in this sense of 'satisfying a claim,' 'paying expense,' cf. Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV.* 1. iii. 185, 'To answer all the debt he owes to you.'

124. *to colour...the country.* 'If those who are licensed to lend at 10 per cent. could borrow with a view to lending again, all money would be lent at the higher rate. This cannot happen, so long as 10 per cent. is allowed only in “certain towns of merchandizing,” because people living in the country will not lend to strangers in a distant town' (Selby, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 251).

**ESSAY XLII.**

**OF YOUTH AND AGE.**

P. 127, l. 3. *not so wise as the second*: cf. the Greek proverb, ἀλὼν δεύτερα ἰδεῖς ἀρισταί, and its English equivalent, 'Second thoughts are best.'

12. *Juventutem &c.* Spartanus, *Vita Severi*, ii. loosely quoted. 'It was in the later career of Severus rather than in his youth that he gave proof of a disordered mind' (Reynolds, p. 301).


P. 128, l. 30. *absurdly qualifies pursue, not chanced upon.*


47. *Your young men &c.* Joel ii. 28.

NOTES.


Tyr. tract of yeares, cf. Milton's expression, Paradise Lost, v. 498, 'improved by tract of time.'

Scipio Africanus: cf. Livy, xxxvii. 53, where it is said of Scipio that 'the former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter because in his early years wars were constantly carried on by him; with age his exploits faded away, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents.'

66. Ultima primis cedebant, Ovid, Heroides, ix. 23. In the original, 'Cepisti melius quam desinis: ultima primis Cedunt.'

ESSAY XI.III.

OF BEAUTY.

'The word Beauty is used in this Essay in several different senses. It stands first as exquisiteness of face or form; it is presently said rather to consist in decent and gracious motion than in anything else. So understood, it is set down as a special attribute of the old rather than of the young, as proper to the autumn of life, and as hardly indeed to be attributed to the young at all. Then, in the next sentence, after this assertion of its essentially enduring character, it is said to be as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt and cannot last' (Reynolds, Bacon's Essays, pp. 305—6).

10. Augustus Caesar, Suetonius, Augustus, 79.

Titus Vespasianus, Suetonius, Titus, 3.


16—8. That is the best part...of the life: i.e. A picture cannot represent what is really the most important element of beauty, nor can we fully appreciate this element at the first glimpse of a beautiful person.

20. Apelles, a mistake for Zeuxis (see INDEX). Cicero, De Inventione, ii. i, 1; Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 9.

Albert Durer, De Symmetria Partium humili corporis.

P. 130, ii. 25—8. Not but I thinke...by rule. Thus versified by Pope, Essay on Criticism, 143—5:

'Music resembles Poetry; in each
Are nameless graces which no methods teach,
And which a master-hand alone can reach.'
28. *faces that: that* may be regarded either as a conjunction, 'such faces that,' or as the relative pronoun, 'faces which,' with *them* as a redundant object.

33. *Pulchrorum &c.* Plutarch, *Lives,* 'Alcibiades,' p. 142 b, where the saying is attributed to Euripides, not however with the sense in which Bacon quotes it. Euripides said that 'of forms once fair *even* the autumn is beautiful.'

39. *it maketh virtues shine and vices blush.* This passage is obscure by reason of its epigrammatic form. It is easy to understand that beauty in a virtuous person sets off his virtues and renders them conspicuous. But if we ask whose are the vices that blush, the question may be answered in different ways:

(i) beauty in the possessor makes him blush at his own vices and therefore avoid them:

(ii) when beauty and virtue are conjoined they cause vice to appear hideous and to blush in other people:

(iii) Mr Reynolds takes the qualifying clause 'if it light well' as applying only to the words immediately following, 'it maketh virtues shine,' and understands 'vices blush' as an independent statement: 'Beauty is in the nature of a disgrace to the vicious.'

ESSAY XLIV.

OF DEFORMITY.

Bacon was thought by some of his contemporaries to have aimed a stroke at his cousin Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, in this Essay. The Earl died in 1612, a few months before the publication of the second edition of the *Essays.*

2—3. *For as Nature...by Nature: i.e.* Nature has treated them badly, and they treat Nature badly in return, by showing a lack of the ordinary feelings of humanity.

4. *void of naturall affection, &σρργοι,* Romans i. 31; 2 Timothy iii. 3.

P. 131, ll. 10—11. *the starres...of discipline.* The illustration has a double reference:

(i) education can prove stronger than natural disposition, as sunlight is stronger than starlight:
(2) natural disposition is represented by 'the stars' because, according to astrology, a man's natural disposition was determined by the conjunction of planets under which he was born.

22—7. Again...possession. The too liberal use of the pronouns they and them obscures the meaning of the sentence.


40. Aësop. 'Tis certain he was no deformed person; and 'tis probable he was very handsome' (Bentley, Dissertation upon the Fables of Aësop, §§ 9, 10).

'For grandeur—not to say, insolence—of manner, admirable as a piece of art, what could be more impressive than the end of the Essay Of Deformity?...It is as if Bacon were calling up before him the spirits of the mighty dead, and were judging them on their merits, and assigning his proper place to each in an off-hand sort of way, with an easy air of admitted superiority and of full right to pronounce' (Reynolds, Bacon's Essays, Introd. p. xxi.).

ESSAY XLV.

OF BUILDING.


2. uniformitie, Latin Version pulchritudini.

P. 133, l. 22. having the commoditie, properly 'not having'; so Latin Version nulla commoditas. Bacon is enumerating the drawbacks, not the advantages. This passage is loose in construction, though its sense is plain.

25. lurceth, from Latin lurcare, 'to eat voraciously.'

26—7. where a man...scanted. These words apparently explain the drawback of living in the neighbourhood of a great city, 'where a man may starve in the midst of plenty.' The Latin Version, however, renders them differently.


50. the Booke of Hester, Esther i. 5.

53. not onely returnes...front, i.e. The wings are not to be treated as altogether independent of the front. Their style and elevation are to be in keeping with the style and elevation of the front on which they depend.
ESSAY XLVI.

OF GARDENS.

P. 134, l. 62. at the first, either (1) 'beginning at the tower,' as opposed to 'at the further end,' or (2) 'as the primary division,' the parlours being a secondary matter. The Latin Version has praecipue, 'especially.'

70. a goodly leads: the noun is plural in form, but is used here as collective and singular.

74. newell, 'the upright cylinder or pillar from which the steps of a winding stair radiate': perhaps derived like nucleus, 'the kernel of a fruit or nut,' from nux.

P. 135, l. 100. without thorow lights, Latin Version non translucida. For thorough and through, see Ess. 5, 20, note p. 186.

P. 136, l. 124. paved as the other court was, i.e. with paved walks round and across and four square plots of grass in the interior.

129. antecamera should be spelt antecamera, as in the Latin Version.

ESSAY 45. 62–129.]

NOTES.

P. 134, l. 62. at the first, either (1) 'beginning at the tower,' as opposed to 'at the further end,' or (2) 'as the primary division,' the parlours being a secondary matter. The Latin Version has praecipue, 'especially.'

70. a goodly leads: the noun is plural in form, but is used here as collective and singular.

74. newell, 'the upright cylinder or pillar from which the steps of a winding stair radiate': perhaps derived like nucleus, 'the kernel of a fruit or nut,' from nux.

P. 135, l. 100. without thorow lights, Latin Version non translucida. For thorough and through, see Ess. 5, 20, note p. 186.

P. 136, l. 124. paved as the other court was, i.e. with paved walks round and across and four square plots of grass in the interior.

129. antecamera should be spelt antecamera, as in the Latin Version.

ESSAY XLVI.

OF GARDENS.

P. 137, l. 1. a garden, viz. of Eden. Genesis ii. 8.

6. stately as an adverb: cf. Ess. 1. 20.

P. 138, l. 31. dammasin, i.e. 'damascene' or 'damson,' from Damascus, whence also damask.

43. ginnitings or 'jennetings': the name is derived from Jean, 'St John's apple,' because it ripens in some parts of France as early as St John Baptist's Day, June 24th. A popular but exploded etymology makes it a corruption of June-eating.

44. apricockes. The history of the words apricock and apricot is curious. From the Latin praecox or praecoquus (from which we obtain our modern precocious) signifying 'early ripe,' the late Greek πρακτία was borrowed. This passed into Arabic, with the definite article prefixed, as al barquq, which the Portuguese transferred as albricoque. The form in apr- is due perhaps to a fancied connexion with the Latin apricus, 'sunny,' as if in aprico cactus, 'ripened in a sunny place.'

47. melo-cotones, Greek μήλον Κυδώνον, 'the Cydonian apple, or 'quince,' Latinized as malum cotoneum. Cydonia was a town in Crete.

48. wardens: the term warden is usually explained as meaning 'keeping,' cf. Old French poire de garde. A 'warden,' however, is one who keeps, not one who can be kept, and the application in this sense
to a pear seems unsuitable. Perhaps *warden* in ‘warden pear’ is a variant of *garden*.

49. *services*, Latin *sorbus*, the sorb or service tree.

50. *hollyokes*. The word *hock* means ‘a mallow’: *hollyhock* is said to represent *holy hock*, the adjective having been added because the flower was brought from the Holy Land.

53. *ver perpetuum*: Virgil has the expression *ver assiduum*: *Georgics*, II. 149.


122. *to leave*, an anacoluthon.

**ESSAY XLVII.**

**OF NEGOCIATING.**


27—30. *It is better...short question*. Cf. *Ess. 22, 107—113*.

32—8. *If a man deale...the honester man*. Thus, if I consent to do something for you on condition that you will do something for me, the important point to be settled is this,—which of us shall perform his service first, as the other may back out of the bargain when he has got what he wanted. Now you may be willing to take the first step (i) if the act which you have undertaken naturally precedes mine, or (2) if I can convince you that I shall need your help again and shall therefore not be likely to play you false this time, or (3) if I can satisfy you that my reputation for honourable dealing stands high.

**ESSAY XLVIII.**

**OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.**

P. 146, ll. 1—3. *while a man...shorter*. A large retinue impairs a man’s power, as a peacock’s tail impedes its flight.
P. 147, I. 21. *commonly exchange tales:* Bacon means, 'No doubt they carry gossip about you to other people, but then they bring gossip about other people to you.'

25. *civill,* lit. 'befitting a citizen,' so 'decent,' 'orderly.' Latin Version *pro re decora habitum est.* Yet the judicial authority of the Star Chamber court was revived under Henry VII. for the purpose of checking the abuses of Liveries and Maintenance.

28. *apprehendeth,* Latin Version *ut quis patronum se profiteatur,* 'assumes the office' (of advancing virtue), 'aims' (at promoting virtue). But the word may also be understood here 'knows how' (to advance virtue). The 2nd Edition has the less ambiguous word 'intendeth.'

31. *passable,* 'commonplace'; Bacon lays it down that to engage a man who is just good enough for his work is, in ordinary cases, the best policy.

33. *virtuous,* i.e. 'able,' the 'more passable' and 'more able' men of the preceding sentence having their counterparts in the 'active men' and 'virtuous' men of this. But the Latin Version interprets the word as signifying moral virtue, *vera virtute praediti.* Cf. *Ess. 14, 37,* where 'more virtuous' signifies 'more able.'

37. *in favour* as distinguished from 'in government.'

P. 148, ll. 51—2. *the vale...the hill.* The best view of the mountain is obtained from the valley. Similarly the impartial spectator can judge of the business in hand better than the man who is carrying it on.


54. *That that is is,* an awkward collocation.

55—6. *whose fortunes...the other,* i.e. The good fortune of the superior comprehends or includes the good fortune of the inferior.

ESSAY XLIX.

OF SUTOURS.

II. *to make an information:* cf. the technical phrase 'to lay an information.' Bacon probably means 'to divulge something' to a man's detriment. Mr Reynolds however interprets the expression as follows: —'to gain information' about some matter which they could not otherwise find an apt pretext for inquiring about. For *make* in the sense of
'gain' he compares the phrase 'to make money' (Bacon's Essays, p. 337).

P. 149, ll. 19, 20. *a sute of controversie...a sute of petition:* e.g. A dispute as to the ownership of a house, or as to liability for damage, would be a *suit of controversy.* An application for a vacant post would be a *suit of petition.*

34—9. *In sutes of favour...of the note.* A concrete example will make Bacon's meaning clearer. If a person learns from a private source that the secretaryship to a company will shortly become vacant, and asks a director to support his candidature, this priority of application ought not indeed to count in his favour, but at the same time the director must not use the information, which he has thus obtained, for the purpose of starting a candidate of his own.

P. 150, l. 54. *Iniquum &c.* Quintilian, De Instil. Orat. iv. 5, § 16: in the original *petendum* for *petas.*

56—9. *for he that...former favour.* A patron is not likely to discard his client after supporting him to a certain extent, for, if he does so, he loses not only the client but also the sacrifices which he has already made on the client's behalf.

ESSAY L.

OF STUDIES.

Macaulay (Essays, 'Bacon,' vol. i. p. 412) quotes ll. 16 to 23 and ll. 31 to 39 from this Essay as a passage 'to be chewed and digested,' adding, 'We do not believe that Thucydides himself has anywhere compressed so much thought into so small a space.'

P. 151, l. 31. *flashy,* Latin Version *insipidi.* Cf. Bacon's Natural History (quoted by Mr Storr): 'The tastes that most offend in fruites...are bitter, harsh, sour, waterish or flashy.' Also Milton, Lycidas, 123, 'lean and flashy songs.' *Flashy* meaning 'watery' and so 'tasteless' probably comes from *flashe,* 'a shallow pool': *flashy* meaning 'glittering,' 'showy,' is from *flash,* 'sudden brilliance,' so 'suddenness,' as in Ess. 29, 211, 'for a flash.'


49. *the Scoole-men:* see Index.

50. *Cymini sectores,* 'dividers of cummin seeds.' But the Greek
ESSAY 50. 50-52. ] \[ NOTES. \] 237

\[ κυνοπλοτης \] means ‘a niggard,’ ‘a skinflint’ (Aristot. \[ Eth. Nicom. \] iv. i. 39), not ‘a hair-splitter,’ the sense which Bacon gives to its Latin equivalent.

\[ beat over: \] a metaphor from hunting: cf. \[ Ess. 22, 110. \]

52. \[ let him study the lawyers' cases, \] because in the lawyers' cases he will see how precedents are sought for far and wide, to illustrate the matter in question.

ESSAY LI.

OF FACTION.

P. 153, 1. 9. \[ Meane, \] from A.S. \[ gemæne, German gemein, \] ‘common,’ so ‘low,’ ‘base.’ The word \[ mean \] signifying ‘intermediate,’ ‘moderate,’ is from the Late Latin \[ medianus, French moyen. \]

13. \[ a man of the one faction which; \] the relative \[ which \] refers to \[ man, \] not to faction.

32. \[ casheer'd. \] The termination of \[ cashier \] is due to its form in the Dutch from which we took the word, \[ casseren, German cassiren, \] ‘to discard.’ The root \[ cash \] is connected with the French \[ casser, \] ‘to break,’ Latin \[ cassus, \] ‘empty,’ ‘void.’

P. 154, 1. 37-8. \[ lightly goeth away with it: \] lightly may be understood to mean either ‘generally,’ or ‘easily’: the Latin Version takes it in the former sense, \[ plerumque rem obtinet, \] the French Version in the latter, \[ facilement emporte le prix. \] For the use of \[ lightly \] signifying ‘generally’ or ‘usually,’ cf. Shakespeare, \[ Richard III. III. i. 94. \]

\[ it is used indeterminately: \] cf. our expression ‘to get the best of it.’

51. \[ tanquam unus ex nobis, Genesis iii. 22, from the Vulgate, \] ‘Behold, the man is become as one of us.’

52. \[ the league of France, viz. the Holy League. \] See \[ Ess. 15, 46, note, p. 195. \]

59. \[ Primum Mobile, \] see \[ Ess. 15, 56, note p. 196. \]

ESSAY LII.

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

P. 155, 1. 3. \[ foile \] (from Latin \[ folium, \] ‘a leaf’), the thin leaf of metal in which a stone is set to improve its lustre. For the illustration cf. \[ Ess. 43, 1. \]

11. \[ Queene Isabella: \] see \[ INDEX. \] Bacon has modified the saying
to suit the context. The queen's apophthegm referred not to 'good forms' but to 'good looks.' Publius Syrus (fl. B.C. 50) said the same thing, *Formosa facies muta commendatio est,* 'A fair face is a silent recommendation.'

P. 156, l. 49. *He that considereth &c.* Ecclesiastes xi. 4.

52. *point device,* 'precisely fashioned,' 'faultless.' The meaning of the phrase is clear, though its origin is uncertain. Derivations suggested are (1) O. Fr. à *point devis,* 'according to a point (of exactitude) that is devised or imagined,' hence 'in the best way imaginable,' (2) *point de vice,* 'without fault.' For the use of the expression cf. *As You Like It,* III. ii. 401, and *Love's Labour's Lost,* V. i. 21.

**ESSAY LIII.**

**OF PRAISE.**


14. *Nomen bonum &c.* Ecclesiastes vii. i, inaccurately from the Vulgate. In the A.V. 'A good name is better than precious ointment.'

18. *a suspect,* i.e. a suspected thing. The word is similarly used in Ess. 24, 37.


34. *Pessimum &c.* Tacitus, Agricola, 41; in the original, *laudantes.*

35. *He that was praised &c.* Theocritus, Idylls, XII. 24; cf. ibid.

IX. 30.


43, 45. *a man's,* i.e. 'one's own.'

45. *he may doe it,* an anacoluthon, unless we take *to praise* as equivalent to 'as regards praising.'

46. *with a kinde of magnanimitie,* because people may suppose that any eminence which he has acquired is due not to himself but to his office.

46—9. *The Cardinals...civill business.* Bacon's meaning is that the cardinals magnify the clerical calling by running down the professions of the laity.

52. *catchpoles,* 'constables,' in Bacon's time a term of contempt, but originally used without disparagement of those who arrested men on any cause. The word is derived (r) from *catch* and *pole* or *poll,* 'the
head' or 'person,' either because these officers laid hold of a man by the neck, or because they caught and pollied him, i.e. plundered him, lit. cut out the hair from his poll, sheared him. Cf. Ess. 56, 101, 'catching and poling clerkes.' The New Dictionary however assigns to the word (2) a Provençal origin, from Mediaeval Latin chaæpollus, lit. 'chase-fowl.'

P. 159, l. 55. I speake like a foole, 2 Corinthians xi. 23.

56. Magnificabo apostolatum meum, Romans xi. 13, 'Inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.'

ESSAY LIV.

OF Vaine-Glory.


6—7. They that are glorious...comparisons. Boastful men are always looking out for an opportunity of exalting themselves or their party at the expense of their rivals.

12. civill, opposed here to military, in Ess. 53, 49, to clerical. In like manner we employ the word to denote non-ecclesiastical, non-military, non-naval.

15—6. Antiochus and the Ætolians, see Index. The reference appears to be to Livy, xxxv. 12, or 49.

23—4. somewhat is produced of nothing, in spite of the principle ex nihilo nihil fit.

P. 160, l. 27. iron sharpens iron, Proverbs xxvii. 17.

33. Qui de &c. Cicero, Tusculan Disp. i. 15, loosely quoted.

37—8. Vertue was never...second hand. Bacon's meaning in this obscure sentence seems to be this: 'Virtue derives her glory from her own character at first hand, not at second hand from the praises of men.' Latin Version, Neque virtus ipsa tantum humanae naturae debet, propter nominis sui celebrationem, quantum sibi ipsi.

The following verbal points should be noticed: beholding stands for 'beholden,' as in Ess. 10, 1; as is used for 'that'; and Virtue is not personified, his being used for 'its.' Instead of 'it received his due' we should now say 'she received her due.'

41. seelings. This word denoted coverings in a room, whether wainscotting, flooring, or what we call ceiling. It may be derived from
NOTES. [ESSAY 54. 41-59.]

(1) seel, i.e. seal, 'to close up what is open,' or (2) French ciel (Latin calum), 'a canopy.' Its connexion (whether real or wrongly supposed) with ciel accounts for the modern spelling ceiling.

44. Omnium quae &c. Tacitus, Histories, II. 80.

50. Plinius Secundus, i.e. Pliny the Younger. The passage of which Bacon gives a paraphrase occurs in the Epist. vi. 17. Pliny's remark applies however to a particular occasion and is not intended to express a general principle.

P. 161, l. 59. the idols of parasites: Latin Version parasitis praedae et escae, 'a prey and food for flatterers.'

ESSAY LV.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

1. The winning of honour; in the MS. of 1612, 'the true winning of honour,' which is in conformity with the Latin Version vera et jure optimo acquisitio, 'the true and proper winning.'

Bacon means, 'Honour is fairly won when a man gives an accurate impression of his worth. Now the impression given by some people is inaccurate because their actions are done for effect, and the impression given by others is inaccurate because they modestly hide their merits.

P. 162, l. 18. gained and broken upon another. The metaphor in broken upon is obscure, but it probably has reference to the diamond of the illustration. A diamond is dull till it has been 'cut with facets' against another diamond. Similarly, a man's reputation lacks brilliancy till he shines at the expense of a competitor. Dr Abbott gives alternative interpretations, some of which seem far-fetched (Bacon's Essays, vol. II. p. 258).

21—2. out-shooting them...in their owne bowe, i.e. beating them in their own subject, or, as we say, on their own ground.

23. Omnis fama &c. Q. Cicero, De Petitione Consulatus, v. 17, loosely quoted. (Quintus Cicero was the younger brother of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, to whom this work was addressed.)

26—8. by attributing...or policy: cf. Ess. 40, 42—4.

45. Patres Patriae. The title Pater Patriae was conferred on Roman citizens who had done eminent service to their country.


P. 163, l. 56. negotiis pares, cf. Ess. 23, 23.
ESSAY LVI.

OF JUDICATURE.


P. 164, l. 17. Fons turbatus &c. Proverbs xxv. 26, modified to suit the present context.

23. There be &c. Amos v. 7.

30. spewed out: cf. Revelation iii. 16.

32—3. as God useth...downe hills. Isaiah xl. 3, 4.

38. Qui fortiter &c. Proverbs xxx. 33.


P. 165, l. 52. Judicis officium &c. Ovid, Tristia, 1. i. 37.

59. well tuned cymball: cf. Psalm cl. 5. Mr Reynolds suggests that Bacon's remarks on 'over-speaking' in a judge are aimed at his old enemy Coke.

75. represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest: James iv. 6; 1 Peter v. 5.

P. 166, l. 84. conceit and in the following line civill are used almost in their modern sense.

88. chop, 'to exchange' (cf. Ess. 34, 67, note, p. 220), here 'to exchange words'; still used in the phrase 'to chop logic.'

96. foot-pace: variously interpreted as landing, lobby, dais, vesti-bule, carpet. The Latin Version renders the word by subsellia, 'seats,' the French Version by les degrés, 'steps.'

precincts and purprise appear to signify the same thing: precinct from Lat. praecingo, 'to gird round,' 'to enclose'; purprise from French pourpris, 'an enclosure.'


101. poling, i.e. 'cutting the hair from the poll or head,' 'shearing,' so 'plundering': similarly poler (infra, l. 119) and catchpole; see Ess. 53, 52, note, p. 238.

P. 167, l. 116. sinister: see Ess. 22, 1, note, p. 204.

129. Salus Populi suprema lex, Cicero, de Legibus, iii. 3, 8: not however a quotation from the Twelve Tables. The Decemvirs in B.C. 451 drew up a Code of Ten Tables in which justice was dealt out impartially to patricians and plebeians. The following year two new Tables were added to the Code, making twelve in all, but these
new laws were of an oppressive kind and confirmed the patricians in their most odious privileges.


P. 168, l. 146. *that one moves with the other:* we may understand *that* as a conjunction, 'so that one moves with the other,' or as a relative pronoun, 'which move one with the other.'

147—8. *Salomon's throne...lions,* as described in 1 Kings x. 19, 20.

155. *Nos scimus &c.* 1 Timothy i. 8.

ESSAY LVII.

OF ANGER.

Dr Abbott points out (*Bacon's Essays,* vol. ii. pp. 264—5) that throughout this Essay Bacon uses the word *Anger* to denote the passionate feeling excited by wrongs done to *oneself.* He makes no reference to the virtuous anger—the 'resentment' of Butler—excited not by wrong done to *oneself,* but by wrong.

2. *Stoikes,* see *Index.*

*better oracles:* cf. Romans iii. 2, 'unto them were committed the oracles of God.'

*Be angry &c.* Ephesians iv. 26.


*ruine* signifies here 'the falling thing,' a Latinism.

15. *upon that it falls:* i.e. 'upon that *upon which* it falls': there is an ellipsis not only of the relative but also of the preposition by which the relative is governed. Mr Reynolds takes *falls,* however, in a transitive sense, 'upon that which it causes to fall, *i.e.* overthrows.' If the word is interpreted thus, the only ellipsis is that of the relative pronoun.

*to possesse our soules &c.* Luke xxi. 19.


22—4. *Onely men must...with feare:* *i.e.* If, however, men feel anger and restrain themselves from displaying it, they must be careful to show that it is contempt for their antagonist, rather than fear of the consequences, which keeps them calm.

38. *of the touch,* cf. *Ess. 32, 47,* 'speech of touch.'

41. *Telami &c.* In the *Charge touching Duels* (1613) Bacon puts the saying more clearly: 'it were good that men did hearken to the
saying of Consalvo, the great and famous commander, that was wont to say, "a gentleman's honour should be de tela crassiore," of a good strong warp or web, that every little thing should not catch in it.'

ESSAY LVIII.

OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

P. 170, l. 1. There is no new thing &c. Ecclesiastes i. 9.
2. That all knowledge &c. Plato, Phaedo 72 E; Meno 81 D.
4. That all noveltie &c. Ecclesiastes i. 11, 'There is no remembrance of former things.' The words which Bacon attributes to Solomon express to some extent the drift of verses 9—11, but they are too wide of the mark to be regarded as a quotation or even as a paraphrase.

5—6. the river of Lethe...below: i.e. there is a power of oblivion in the upper world as well as in the infernal regions.

6. astrologer: Mr Reynolds suggests Telesius, De Rerum Natura, I. 10.

P. 171, l. 16. Phaeton's carre went but a day. It is curious to find 'Phaeton's car' mentioned in juxtaposition with 'the three years' drought in the time of Elias,' as if the incidents connected with each were equally matters of fact. The Latin Version is more careful in its wording: Fabula Phaetontis brevitatem conflagrationis...repraesentavit, 'The fable of Phaethon represents the brief duration of the conflagration.'

17. in the time of Elias, 1 Kings xvii., xviii.

19. in the West Indies: Bacon means the whole western world, including North and South America.

30. the Aegyptian priest told Solon, Plato, Timaeus, 25 D.


P. 172, l. 48. Plato's great yeare: Plato, Timaeus, 38: cf. Virgil, Eclogues, iv. 5; Cicero, De Natura Deorum, II. 20. The term denotes the period or cycle at the end of which all the heavenly bodies will have arrived at the points from which they started. 'Plato's great year' was calculated at 12000 years or upwards.

51. influences, an astrological term: cf. Ess. 9, 9, note p. 189.

66—7. they call it the Prime, perhaps, Dr Abbott suggests, because it was the 'first' and smallest cycle compared with other cycles such as the Century and Plato's Great Year.
71. orbs. The metaphor is astronomical. As the planets are moved by the spheres in which they are fixed (see Ess. 15, 56, note, p. 196), so are men's minds moved by religious beliefs.

72—3. built upon the rokke, cf. Matthew xvi. 18.

P. 173, ll. 86—9. The one is...voluptuous life. Bacon seems to have in view the Anabaptists as well as the followers of Mahomet.

91. Arrians, Arminians: see Index.

P. 174, ll. 115—7. East and West...observation, i.e. East and West are purely relative terms, so we cannot state a definite law respecting the eastward or westward movement of nations in war.

118—20. it hath seldome...contrariwise. Mr Storr says, 'the Arab invasions are a notable exception to Bacon's induction, which nevertheless generally holds good.'

121—2. the northern tract...martiall region: cf. Lucan, viii. 363—6.

130—4. great empires...prey. Thus, for example, the Roman occupation of Britain paved the way for the English conquest.

P. 175, l. 158. it, viz. the subject of vicissitudes in weapons.

160—1. certain it is...Oxidrakes: Mr Reynolds says 'this certainty seems to be based upon no better authority than a conversation between Apollonius Tyaneus and an Indian king, recorded by Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, ii. 14.'

163—4. the use of ordnance...yeares. That the Chinese and Indians understood the use of gunpowder at a very early period is believed by experts.

166. for that outruns the danger, sc. by striking the enemy before he is near enough to strike you.

P. 176, l. 188. reduced, opposed to 'luxuriant,' i.e. 'with its youthful luxuriance pruned away,' so 'trained,' 'confined within bounds,' 'exact.'

ESSAY OF FAME.

This Fragment was first published by Dr Rawley, 1657.

3—11. They say...great citties. For this passage cf. Virgil, Æneid, iv. 175—190.

P. 177, l. 17. masculine and feminine: cf. Ess. 15, 22.

22. the Politiques, a Graecism, τὰ πολιτικά.

NOTES.


44. *Basshawes.* The words *bashaw, pasha, pacha,* are various forms in which we write the Pers. *padshah,* ‘a prince’ or ‘governor.’

45. *Jannizaries,* see *Index.*

INDEX

OF PROPER NAMES WHICH OCCUR IN BACON'S ESSAYS.

* * * The numerals enclosed within square brackets indicate the Essay and Line where Bacon's mention of the Proper Name will be found.

Abel, killed by his brother Cain [9, 69].

Actium, a promontory in Epirus. Here Octavian, afterwards the emperor Augustus, defeated Mark Antony, B.C. 31, with the result that he became master of the Roman world [29, 283].

Adrian (Publius Ælius Hadrianus), the fourteenth Roman emperor, b. A.D. 76, reigned A.D. 117—138. He was a patron of literature and art, but showed jealousy of those who pursued these subjects successfully [9, 59]. In A.D. 120 he visited Britain and constructed a wall from the Solway Firth to the Tyne.

Æneas [35, 7], son of Venus and Anchises, the hero of Virgil's epic and the ancestor of the Roman people.

Æsop, an emancipated slave, is said to have been born in Phrygia and to have acquired his Greek education at Athens. Flourished B.C. 570. The extant fables bearing his name are spurious. Babrius (fl. circ. B.C. 50) versified the fables of Æsop in Greek, and of this rendering a few examples are preserved. Phaedrus is the best known Latin writer of Æsopian fables. Bacon refers to Æsop's fables of the cock and the gem [13, 36], of the damsel who had been a cat [38, 37], and of the fly on the wheel [54, 1]. He also cites Æsop as an instance of deformity [44, 49], but this alleged deformity is an invention of late writers.

Æthiopes, inhabitants of Æthiopia, an undefined district of Africa, north of the equator: hence, 'blackamoors' [37, 40].

Ætolians [54, 16]. Ætolia was a district in Central Greece, south of Thessaly and Epirus.

Africa, its rivers [58, 35].
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Agamemnon, commander-in-chief of the Greek forces, made preparations for the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia to Diana [3, 128], who was detaining the Greeks by contrary winds at Aulis, in Boeotia, when they were on their way to Troy.

Agesilaus, king of Sparta, B.C. 398—361; a model of the Spartan virtues, though of low stature and lame of one leg [9, 49; 44, 39]. Bacon quotes Plutarch respecting his laborious warfare [40, 58].

Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius, b. B.C. 63, d. B.C. 12; general of the Roman armies and friend of Augustus, whose daughter Julia he married [27, 82].

Alcibiades, b. B.C. 450, d. B.C. 404; an Athenian general during the Peloponnesian War; distinguished for his beauty, wealth, and talents, as well as for his want of fixed principle [43, 11].

Alcoran (al, Arabic article, 'the,' qoran, 'book,' 'reading'), the Koran, contains the religious and moral code of the Mahomedans, and consists of revelations uttered by Mahomet in the course of many years and written on loose leaves, the collection of which was completed after his death [16, 2].

Alexander, surnamed the Great, b. B.C. 356, d. B.C. 323, son of Philip, king of Macedon. He overthrew the immense host of Darius, B.C. 331, at Gaugamela, some miles distant from Arbela [29, 60]. Bacon alludes to the superstition and melancholy which beset him during his last years [19, 27].

Almagne, Germany, the land of the Alemanni, French Allemagne [58, 136].

Alphonsus (Alfonso X., the Learned), became king of Leon and Castile, A.D. 1252, and was dethroned by his son, 1282. The code of laws, which is called from its seven divisions Las Siete Partidas, and forms the basis of Spanish jurisprudence, though completed in 1265, was not established as the law of the land until 1348 [55, 35].

America, its discovery foretold in Seneca's verses [35, 17].

Anabaptists, a term denoting those Christians who regard baptism during infancy as invalid, and require adults to be baptized before joining their communion. The name is applied historically to the followers of Minzner, leader of the Peasants' War in Germany, who was killed A.D. 1525, and to those of John Matthias and John of Leyden, who tried to establish the socialistic kingdom of New Zion at Münster in Westphalia, and were defeated in 1535. Their adherents were put down with great severity [3, 137].

Andes, a range of mountains in Peru [58, 36].

Anselm succeeded Lanfranc as Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1093, after an interval of four years, during which William II. appropriated the revenues of the vacant see. The king's violence drove Anselm abroad in 1097, and it was not until after the accession of Henry I. that the primate returned to England. The dispute about investiture was then renewed, and in 1103 Anselm was obliged again to quit the country [19, 119]. Three years later a compromise was effected. Anselm died A.D. 1109.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was King of Syria, B.C. 223—187. The Ætolians, who had received assurances of the support of Antiochus,
were induced to attack the Romans, and Antiochus, who had received assurances of the strength of the Ætolians, was induced to support them in their revolt [64, 15]. Antiochus was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylae, B.C. 191, and at Magnesia in a second campaign the following year.

Antonius, Marcus, b. B.C. 86, committed suicide, B.C. 30. He was distinguished as the friend and companion in arms of Julius Caesar. After Caesar’s assassination, B.C. 44, the Second Triumvirate was formed, consisting of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus. The Republican party was overthrown by the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, B.C. 42. Lepidus was deprived of his share in the government, B.C. 36, and a rupture took place between Octavian and Antony, B.C. 33 [51, 27]. Antony surrendered himself to the blashandments of Cleopatra [10, 10] and was defeated at the battle of Actium, B.C. 31. Bacon quotes an expression of Antony’s regarding Decimus Brutus [27, 79].

Apelles, the most celebrated painter of antiquity, fl. B.C. 340. He enjoyed the patronage of Alexander the Great, at whose court he spent many years of his life [43, 20]. Bacon mentions Apelles by mistake for Zeuxis, q.v.

Apollo, son of Jupiter and Latona, was the god of divination, archery, healing, and poetry [16, 48; 35, 16].

Apollonius Tyanaeus, a Pythagorean philosopher, b. at Tyana in Cappadocia, circ. B.C. 4. He lived an ascetic life [27, 13], travelled far, and acquired a reputation for supernatural powers. Apollonius was visited at Alexandria by Vespasian [19, 36], who was at that time preparing his revolt.

Appius Claudius [10, 11], see Claudius.

Arabians, their westward movement in war [58, 111].

Arbela, a town of Assyria which gave its name to the battle-field where the immense host of Darius was defeated by Alexander, B.C. 331 [29, 59].

Argus [21, 24], the hundred-eyed keeper of Io, after she had been changed by Jupiter into a heifer. At Jupiter’s bidding Mercury slew Argus, whose hundred eyes were thereupon placed by Juno in the tail of the peacock.

Arians derive their name from Arius, a noted heretic of Alexandria, who flourished A.D. 280?—336. Arius taught that God created the Son, that the Son had not existed from all eternity, and that in essence He was not on an equality with the Father. These heterodox doctrines were condemned by the general council of Nicaea, A.D. 325 [58, 91].

Aristander, the most celebrated soothsayer at the court of Macedon in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great [35, 24].

Aristotle, b. at Stagira, in Thrace, B.C. 384: studied at Athens, in the school of Plato: was invited to Pella, by Philip of Macedon, to superintend the studies of the youthful Alexander: returned to Athens at the age of fifty, and lectured to large audiences in the Lyceum: was driven from the city on a charge of irreligion and fled to Chalcis, where he died, B.C. 322. Bacon gives a perverse misinterpretation of Aristotle’s remarks upon the superiority of the solitary and contemplative life of the thinker [27, 3], and refers to him, with Socrates and Galen for companions, as a man ‘full of ostentation’ [54, 35].
Arminians, a sect of Christians deriving their name from Arminius (Jacobus Harmensen) a Protestant theological professor at Leyden, b. A.D. 1560, di. 1609. Arminius attacked the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination [58, 91].

Arras, a town in the north of France (Pas de Calais) where tapestry was made [27, 155].

Asia, rivers of [58, 35].

Assyrians, their westward movement in war [58, 111].

Athenians, their wars for the establishment of democracies [29, 253]; saying of Themistocles the Athenian [29, 1].

Athens, slaves at [29, 190].

Atlantic, the existence of land beyond the [35, 97].

Atlanticus, the name given in some of the early editions as an alternative title to Plato’s Critias, wherein are described the huge island of Atlantis, lying submerged to the west of the Pillars of Hercules, and its inhabitants and laws [35, 99].

Atlantis, the island of [58, 31]: see preceding Article.

Atticus, Titus Pomponius, b. B.C. 109, di. B.C. 32; an intimate friend and correspondent of Cicero [29, 277].

Augustus, the first Roman emperor, b. B.C. 63, di. A.D. 14, was the son of Caius Octavius by Atia, niece of Julius Caesar. In consequence of his adoption by the will of his great-uncle the Dictator [27, 72], he assumed the name of Caesar, and in B.C. 27 received from the senate the title of Augustus. He was remarkable for his talents and beauty [43, 10], and gave evidence from his early years of that prudence [42, 15] and shrewd judgment [6, 10] which characterized him later in life. In B.C. 44 the young Octavian accepted the dangerous inheritance of Julius Caesar’s name and property, and the following year, as a result of the reconciliation between Antony, Lepidus and himself, the Second Triumvirate was formed. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Antony and Octavian at Philippi, B.C. 42, Octavian spent nine years in preparations for the inevitable contest with Antony [51, 27]. The final struggle took place at Actium, B.C. 31, when Antony was overthrown, and the exhausted Roman empire, eager for deliverance from ‘the long miseries of civil wars,’ readily acquiesced in the sole rule of Octavian [55, 40]. His principal advisers were Agrippa and Maecenas, and he compelled his widowed daughter Julia to take the aged Agrippa for her husband [27, 82]. Augustus enacted several laws to improve the moral condition of the people and to secure the public peace and safety. He sought to revive the religious sentiment of the nation, for ‘the times were inclined to atheism’ [17, 18]. He died peacefully in the arms of his wife Livia [2, 38], who kept the fact of his death secret until the arrival of her son Tiberius [Fame, 43]. See Genealogical Table under Tiberius.

Aurelian, b. circ. A.D. 212, of humble origin, acquired great fame as a soldier, and was hailed by the troops as emperor, A.D. 270. During his reign, which lasted less than five years, the glory of the Roman arms was restored and the Roman empire, which had been dismembered for thirteen years, was re-established in its former integrity [55, 40]. Victories were gained over the Goths and Vandals, and Zenobia, queen of
Palmyra was taken captive. Gaul, Britain and Spain were reduced to submission. Aurelian was assassinated by one of his officers, A.D. 275.

Aurelius (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), commonly called 'the Philosopher,' b. at Rome, A.D. 121, di. A.D. 180. When a young man he was adopted by Antoninus Pius, whose daughter Faustina he married. In A.D. 161 he succeeded Antoninus Pius as emperor, and deservedly enjoyed throughout his reign the greatest popularity [27, 100]. The single blot on his career as a ruler is the severity shown to the Christians.

Bajazet II. (or Bayezid) became Sultan A.D. 1481, and was dethroned by his youngest son Selim I. in 1512 [19, 115]. It was rumoured that Bajazet was carried off by poison, but the statement is not supported by evidence. Selim I. caused however the death of his two elder brothers, Korkoud and Ahmed, shortly after his usurpation. (See Solyman.)

Beau, the Bass Rock, in the Firth of Forth [35, 62].

Becket, Thomas, was made Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1162, and shortly afterwards resigned the Chancellorship. He opposed Henry II. in his endeavour to bring criminous clerks under the jurisdiction of the lay courts, but at length yielded and signed the Constitutions of Clarendon, A.D. 1164. Then he withdrew his assent, asked the Pope to pardon his weakness, and fled to the Continent, where he remained for six years [19, 119]. In 1170 Henry caused his eldest son to be crowned by the Abp of York, and Becket, in retaliation for this attack upon the rights of Canterbury, threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict. During the summer a half-hearted reconciliation was effected between the king and the primate, and on Dec. 1, Becket returned to England. On Dec. 29 he was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral.

Bernard, St., A.D. 1091—1153, one of the most influential ecclesiastics of the middle ages; founder and abbot of Clairvaux [16, 65].

Bion, fl. B.C. 260, was a native of Scythia, but studied philosophy at Athens and became an adherent of many philosophical schools in succession. He was a notorious unbeliever in the existence of God [16, 54], and a man of profligate life. (He must not be confused with his contemporary, Bion of Smyrna, the bucolic poet, celebrated by Moschus.)

Briareus [15, 174; 21, 25], a hundred-handed giant, son of Heaven and Earth. ('The gods call him Briareus, but men Εγαεων,' Iliad, i. 403.) When the Olympian gods were about to put Jupiter in chains, Thetis called in the aid of Briareus, who compelled them to desist.

Britain, the name substituted for that of England in describing the sovereignty of James I. [35, 58].

Brutus, Decimus, had been the recipient of many marks of favour during the lifetime of Julius Caesar, and by Caesar's will he was made one of his heirs in the second degree [27, 70]. So entirely did he possess Caesar's confidence that the other conspirators sent him to conduct their victim to the senate-house [27, 76]. Antony speaks of him in a letter as venefica [27, 81]. After Caesar's death, D. Brutus went to his province of Cisalpine Gaul, from which he was ultimately dislodged by Antony and Octavian. Being deserted by his soldiers on the march, and betrayed by a Gaulish chief, he was executed by Antony's orders, B.C. 43.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Brutus, Marcus Junius, b. B.C. 85, committed suicide, B.C. 42. When the Civil War broke out between Caesar and Pompey, B.C. 49, Brutus joined Pompey and shared his defeat at Pharsalia, B.C. 48. He obtained Caesar's pardon, but was nevertheless induced by Cassius to join the conspirators. After Caesar's assassination, he made himself master of Greece and Macedonia, and then joined Cassius in Asia, where an army had been collected. Brutus and Cassius returned to Macedonia and met Octavian and Antony on the plains of Philippi, B.C. 42 [51, 26]. Before leaving Asia, Brutus had dreamt that at Philippi disaster awaited him [35, 26]. Cassius, under a misapprehension of the result of the engagement, ordered one of his freedmen to kill him. Three weeks later Brutus led out his troops to a second battle, and when he was defeated he fell upon his sword.

Burrhus (or Burrus), a Roman general under Claudius and Nero, was appointed prefect of the praetorian guards, A.D. 52. Burrus and Seneca conducted Nero's education, and it was mainly to the influence of Burrus that Nero's elevation to the throne was due. But Nero chafed against the restraints imposed by his virtuous officer and caused him to be poisoned, A.D. 63 [22, 96].

Busbecbious (the Latinised form of the name de Busbec), b. in Flanders, A.D. 1522. He was famous as a traveller and diplomatist. Ferdinand I., Emperor of Germany, sent him as ambassador to the Sultan, Solymán II. [13, 19]. He was afterwards ambassador to France, where he died, A.D. 1592. His letters, descriptive of his Eastern travels, were highly praised by Gibbon.

Caesar, Caius Julius, b. B.C. 100, assassinated B.C. 44. Connected by birth with Marius and by marriage with Cinna, he was placed in opposition to the dictator Sulla, who predicted that 'that boy would some day be the ruin of the aristocracy, for there were many Mariuses in him.' Bacon cites Caesar as an example of those natures which 'have much heat' and are 'not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years' [42, 10], but Caesar's youthful extravagances may have been designed for the purpose of concealing his political objects from the aristocratic party. In B.C. 60, finding that Pompey was prepared to desert the aristocracy, Caesar effected a reconciliation between Pompey and Crassus and joined them in the coalition which is called the First Triumvirate. During the next nine years he was occupied with the subjugation of Transalpine Gaul, and aroused the jealousy of Pompey, who returned to the aristocratic party, determined to crush his rival [51, 23]. Pompey was misled by false reports of disaffection amongst Caesar's troops [Fame, 38] and was ill prepared for the struggle. Caesar crossed the Rubicon, B.C. 49, and in three months made himself master of all Italy. He then rapidly reduced Spain to subjection and, after passing a short time in Italy, followed Pompey to Greece [29, 278]. He found himself placed in a critical position near Dyrachium on the coast of Illyricum. In his impatience to obtain reinforcements he attempted to cross the Adriatic in a small boat to Brundusium, and told the sailors that 'they were carrying Caesar and his fortunes' [40, 46]. A storm compelled the party to return to the Greek shore, and shortly afterwards Antony brought over the rest of the
army. The battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 48, decided the fate of Pompey and of the Roman empire. After crushing the survivors of the Pompeian party in Africa and Spain, Caesar, who had been elected dictator for ten years in his absence, returned to Rome, B.C. 44, undisputed master of the Roman world [55, 31]. As an illustration of his intemperate language, Suetonius quotes his alleged remark, 'The republic is a mere name, without substance or form: Sulla was an ignoramus for giving up dictating' [15, 220]. Caesar now devoted himself to the reform of abuses in the state, but his career was destined to be cut short. Cassius had set on foot a conspiracy against his life, to which more than sixty persons were privy, including Decimus Brutus, whom Caesar highly esteemed [27, 70], and whom he appointed by his will his heir in the second degree [27, 72]. It was D. Brutus who persuaded Caesar to neglect the warning of Calpurnia's dream [27, 76] and conducted him to the senate-house on the fatal Ides of March. The political struggles which followed Caesar's death had for their final outcome the triumph of Octavian [4, 39], who in B.C. 29 was made imperator for life and two years later received the title of Augustus.

Cain, slew his brother Abel [9, 68].

Calpurnia, the last wife of Julius Caesar. In consequence of a dream she begged her husband not to leave home on the Ides of March, B.C. 44 [27, 75].

Canaries, a group of islands belonging to Spain, situated off the west coast of Africa, to the south of Madeira. The cultivation of sugar was introduced there in A.D. 1507 [34, 81].

Candian: Candia is the modern name of the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea, to the south of Greece [27, 12].

Caracalla, b. A.D. 188, son of the emperor Septimius Severus, derived his nickname from the Gallic coat, caracalla, which he adopted after he became emperor and introduced into the army. In A.D. 202 he married Plautilla, daughter of Plautianus, the praetorian prefect [27, 95]. On the death of his father Severus at York, A.D. 211, Caracalla became emperor, but his younger brother Geta was named joint heir of the throne. By Caracalla's orders Geta was murdered and many thousands of his supporters were put to death. Henceforth Caracalla was haunted by the recollection of his crimes and sought to get rid of his remorse by hunting, chariot-racing [19, 19] and gladiatorial shows. The rest of his reign was passed in the perpetration of insane atrocities, and in A.D. 217 he was assassinated.

Cassius (Caius Cassius Longinus) first displayed his ability in extricating Crassus from a perilous position after his crushing defeat at Carrhae in the campaign against the Parthians, B.C. 53. Cassius was a supporter of the aristocratic party and an enemy of Caesar, into whose hands he was obliged unconditionally to surrender himself and by whom he was magnanimously forgiven. Prompted by hatred and ambition, Cassius organised the conspiracy against Caesar's life, B.C. 44. At the first battle of Philippi, Brutus and Cassius were opposed to Octavian and Antony [51, 20]; Brutus defeated Octavian, but Antony defeated Cassius, and Cassius, supposing that all was lost, ordered his freedman Pindarus to stab him. Brutus mourned the loss of his companion as
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

‘the last of the Romans,’ an epithet which Cassius by no means deserved.

Cato, Marcus Porcius, the Censor, b. B.C. 234, di. B.C. 149. He served in the army against Hannibal and took part in the battle of the Metaurus, B.C. 207. In the intervals of peace he cultivated his hereditary farm with success. He rose to be consul in B.C. 195, and showed military genius of a high order. During his censorship, B.C. 184, he vigorously assailed the vices of the nobles. In his old age he applied himself to the study of Greek literature [40, 16].

Celsius, Aurelius Cornelius, a celebrated Latin writer on medicine, flourished in the reign of Tiberius. His treatise, De Medicina, is in eight books [30, 43].

Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, b. A.D. 1433, di. 1477. He was engaged in protracted hostilities against Louis XI. of France, allying himself for that purpose with Edward IV., whose sister he had married. He was defeated and killed in a battle before Nancy [27, 111].

Charles the Great (or Charlemagne) grandson of Charles Martel, king of the Franks, b. A.D. 742, di. 814. His empire embraced all France, part of Spain, more than half of Italy, and nearly all Germany. He attacked the idolatrous Saxons, was acknowledged by the pope as suzerain of Italy, carried his arms into Spain, and was crowned at Rome emperor of the West, A.D. 800. He fortified the French coast against the Northmen, developed commerce, encouraged learning, and raised the character of the clergy [58, 136].

Charles V. b. A.D. 1500, di. 1558. The death of his grandfather Ferdinand, in A.D. 1516, placed the crowns of Spain, Naples, Sicily and of the Spanish territories in the New World on the head of Charles, who was already ruler of the Netherlands, and who was elected Emperor of Germany in 1519 [19, 72]. After years of conflict with the Protestant princes of Germany, Charles abdicated in favour of his son, A.D. 1556, and retired to the monastery of Yuste in Estremadura, where he passed the last two years of his life [19, 28].

China, ordinance in use there for over two thousand years [58, 164].

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, b. B.C. 106, was included by Antony in the list of the proscribed and killed, B.C. 43. He was saluted as pares patriae for the part which he played as Consul in crushing Catiline’s conspiracy, B.C. 63, but was indicted for putting to death without a trial five of the ringleaders and forced to go into banishment, B.C. 58. He was received at Rome with enthusiasm on his return a year and a half later. He espoused Pompey’s cause at the beginning of the Civil War, B.C. 49, but recovered Caesar’s favour after the battle of Pharsalia. His famous Philippics [27, 80] against Antony, B.C. 44-3, raised him to the height of his glory among his countrymen, but the formation of the Second Triumvirate sealed his fate. He acquired eminence as pleader, statesman, writer on philosophy, and man of letters. Bacon alludes to his treatises De Oratore and the Orator [46, 40] and cites him as an example of those whose fame is due in part to ‘some vanity in themselves’ [54, 39]. He also mentions Cicero by name in seven other places in the Essays, when introducing passages from his writings, and quotes him anonymously four times. (See Quotations.)
Claudius, Appius, a leading man among the Decemvirs, conceived a lawless passion for Virginia [10, 11], who was stabbed by her father to save her from dishonour. This incident led to the overthrow of the Decemvirate, B.C. 449, and the suicide of Appius Claudius.

Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus), b. B.C. 10, elected fourth emperor of Rome after the murder of his uncle Caligula, A.D. 41, poisoned, A.D. 54. He was the grandson of Tib. Claudius Nero and of Livia, who afterwards married Augustus. At the time of his accession he was married to his third wife, the notorious Messalina, who, together with the freedman Narcissus and others, prompted him to perpetrate many cruel acts. When Messalina was removed by the intrigues of Narcissus [22, 54], Claudius married his niece Agrippina, A.D. 49, who induced him to set aside his son Britannicus and secured the succession for her own son Nero. Having effected her aim, she poisoned her husband. (See Genealogical Table under Tiberius.)

Clément, Jacques, a Dominican, assassinated Henry III., king of France, A.D. 1589 [39, 13]. Clément was killed on the spot by the royal guards.

Cleon, a tanner by trade, was a leading democrat at Athens. During six years of the Peloponnesian War he headed the party opposed to peace (B.C. 428—422). By an extraordinary stroke of luck he captured the island of Sphacteria, B.C. 425, and inflicted a serious blow upon the prestige of the Spartan arms, but in B.C. 422 he was defeated and killed in an attempt to recover Amphipolis for Athens. Aristophanes in the Knights (B.C. 424) ridicules Cleon [35, 75] and mentions an oracle which declares that a serpent (i.e. the sausage-seller) shall conquer the leather-eagle (i.e. Cleon).

Coeus, a Titan, son of Earth [15, 16].

Comines (Philippe de Comines), b. A.D. 1445 at Commines, near Lille, di. 1509. For some years he was secretary to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy [27, 111] and afterwards entered the service of Louis XI., whose confidential adviser he became [27, 117]. Although his Mémoires make no pretension to literary style, de Commines rises superior to the writers of chronicles who preceded him and almost deserves to rank as a historian.

Commodus, b. A.D. 161, son of Marcus Aurelius, whom he succeeded, A.D. 180. He was one of the most cruel and debauched of the Roman emperors. His vanity prompted him to exhibit his prowess in many inglorious arts, but his chief boast was his skill in the use of martial weapons [19, 18]. Seven hundred times he fought as a gladiator. He was poisoned by his mistress Marcia, who found her own name in a list of persons destined for execution, and when the poison seemed slow in acting, she called in the aid of an athlete by whom Commodus was strangled, A.D. 192.

Consalvo (or Gonsalvo, or Gonzalo-Hernandez), b. near Cordova, A.D. 1443, called 'the Great Captain,' was a distinguished Spanish soldier in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella [57, 41]. He expelled the Moors from Granada and the French from Naples. Afterwards he fell into disgrace, and died, neglected by Ferdinand, in 1515.

Constant, Flavius Julius, received Italy and Africa as his portion,
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES. 255

upon the division of the empire, A.D. 337. He successfully resisted his brother Constantine II. who met his death when invading the territory of Constans, A.D. 340. Constans was killed [19, 106] by the soldiers of the usurper Magnentius, A.D. 350. (See also next three Articles.)

Constantius I. the Great (Constantinus Flavius Valerius Aurelius Magnus), b. A.D. 272, eldest son of the emperor Constantius Chlorus, became emperor on his father's death at York, A.D. 306. He protected the Christians in his dominions, and shortly before he died was baptized as a Christian. He made Byzantium the capital of the Roman empire and called it Constantinople, A.D. 330. He caused the banishment and execution of his accomplished son Crispus (q.v.) on a charge of treason [19, 105] A.D. 324. His plan for the government of the empire after his death by his sons jointly proved a failure. Died A.D. 337.

Minervina = Constantine the Great = Fausta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crispus</th>
<th>Constantine II.</th>
<th>Constantius</th>
<th>Constans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>executed A.D. 326</td>
<td>killed A.D. 340</td>
<td>died A.D. 361</td>
<td>killed A.D. 350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Constantine II., Flavius Claudius, the Younger, second son of Constantine the Great. On his father's death in A.D. 337 he was dissatisfied with his share of the empire (Gaul, Britain, Spain, and part of Africa) and demanded from his brother Constans the rest of Africa and the co-administration of Italy. In the war which followed he was killed, A.D. 340 [19, 106].

Constantius II., Flavius Julius, third son of Constantine the Great. By arrangement with his two surviving brothers in A.D. 337 he received, as his share of the empire, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, the province of Asia and Egypt. Having overthrown the usurper Magnentius, he made himself master of the West, A.D. 353. The empire was on the brink of a terrible civil war between Constantius and Julian (q.v.) when the calamity was averted by the sudden death of Constantius, A.D. 361 [19, 107].

Constantinople, founded by Constantine the Great, on the site of the ancient Byzantium. Bacon alludes to the 'waggishness' of 'a Christian boy' in Constantinople [18, 19] and to the sacking of the city when the Great Turk dies [Fame, 46].

Cosmus de Florence (Cosmo de Medici), b. A.D. 1519, a descendant of the younger branch of the Medici family, became Duke of Florence, 1537, and Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1569: d. 1574. Bacon quotes his 'desperate saying' about the forgiveness of friends [4, 28] and cites him as an example of 'reposed natures' which 'do well in youth' [42, 15].

Crispus, Flavius Julius, eldest son of Constantine the Great and his first wife Minervina, achieved distinction in war. He aroused the enmity of his step-mother Fausta, at whose instigation his father caused Crispus to be executed, A.D. 326 [19, 104].

Croesus, last king of Lydia, succeeded his father, B.C. 560. The fame of his wealth and power drew to his court at Sardis the wisest men of Greece and amongst them Solon [29, 76]. To Solon (according to Herodotus's story, which chronological considerations compel us to reject) the king displayed his treasures and asked who was the happiest
man that Solon had ever seen. Solon replied that no man should be
demed happy until he had finished his life in a happy way. After
Cresus had reigned fourteen years, Sardis was captured by Cyrus, king
of Persia, and Croesus was taken prisoner. The date and circumstances
of his death are unknown.

Cupids, representatives of Cupid in antimasques [37, 41]. Cupid,
son of Venus (in Greek mythology Eros, son of Aphrodite), was de-
picted as a wanton boy with golden wings, who inspired love or
aversion with his arrows. The poets multiplied the number of Cupids
indefinitely.

Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian empire [55, 31], ousted
from his throne Astyages, king of Media, b.c. 559, and seized Sardis,
the capital of Lydia, from its rich king Croesus, b.c. 546. He also
took Babylon, the capital of Assyria, of which Labynetus (Belshazzar
of the Book of Daniel) was king, by diverting the course of the
Euphrates and marching up the dry bed of the river, b.c. 538. He was
killed in battle, b.c. 529. The Cyropaedia of Xenophon is a historical
romance: the narrative of Herodotus deserves more credit.

David, reigned b.c. 1056—1015. Several of the psalms contained
in the Book of Psalms are of his authorship [5, 28].

Decius. In the Latin War, b.c. 349, T. Manlius Torquatus and
Publius Decius Mus, the consuls, were warned in their dreams that
destruction awaited the general of one side and the army of the other.
Decius, seeing the wing under his command beginning to give way,
rushed into the thick of the fight and was killed. The Romans then
gained a complete victory. In the Third Samnite War, b.c. 295, his
son, P. Decius Mus, decided the doubtful issue of the fight in favour of
the Roman arms by imitating his father's conduct and sacrificing his
own life [55, 61].

Demetrius, younger son of Philip V., king of Macedonia, was
suspected by his brother Perseus of an intention to supplant him on
the throne by calling in the assistance of the Romans after their father's
death. Perseus therefore caused Demetrius to be falsely accused of
treasonable correspondence with the Romans and brought about his
execution, b.c. 179 [19, 110].

Democritus, b. circ. b.c. 460, at Abdera in Thrace. The Abderites
held him in high honour. Cicero speaks of him as the rival of Plato
in style. Democritus developed the atomistic theory of Leucippus
[16, 14]. Not one of his works has come down to us. He had grand
views of the universe but a mean opinion of man. His nickname, the
Laughing Philosopher, is supposed to be due to his good-natured con-
tempt for the follies of his fellow-men.

Demosthenes, the greatest of the Greek orators, b. b.c. 382, di.
b.c. 322. He began his career as a public speaker by prosecuting his
guardians for breach of trust. Encouraged by his success, he spoke
before the people, but incurred general ridicule. He then took immense
pains to correct his oratorical deficiencies [12, 3] and presently became
a leading statesman at Athens. By his Philippic and Olynthiac ora-
tions he aroused the Athenians to resist the encroachments of Philip,
king of Macedonia. He subsequently fell a victim to the hatred of the
Macedonian party, went into exile, and took poison to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies.

Diagoras, b. in the island of Melos, one of the Cyclades, fl. circ. B.C. 420. He was generally regarded as an atheist [16, 54], and Aristophanes in the Clouds, B.C. 424, calls Socrates 'the Melian' in order to associate him with Diagoras and with attacks upon the popular religion. There is no trace of irreligion, however, about anything that is known to us of the writings of Diagoras. He fled from Athens to escape the violence of the conservative party, and died at Corinth.

Diana, an Italian divinity, identified with the Greek Artemis, the sister of Apollo [39, 31].

Diocletian (Diocletianus Valerius), b. A.D. 245 in Dalmatia, of obscure parentage. He distinguished himself as a soldier and, on the murder of the emperor Numerianus, A.D. 284, was nominated by the troops as his successor. By a long series of brilliant achievements he repelled the barbarians from the Roman frontiers, and at length, in A.D. 305, exhausted and depressed [19, 28], he resigned the purple and spent the last eight years of his life in retirement in his native Dalmatia. He died A.D. 312. The worst feature of his reign is the severe persecution of the Christians, A.D. 303.

Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus Augustus), b. A.D. 52, younger son of Vespasian and brother of Titus, whom he succeeded as emperor, reigned A.D. 81—96. He was one of the most cruel and debauched of the Roman emperors. To his cruelty his death was due. Three of his officers, whom he intended to execute, assassinated him, A.D. 96. Bacon refers to his skill in archery [19, 17] and to his dream the night before he was killed [35, 33].

Dürer, Albrecht, the most celebrated German painter of the 16th century, b. at Nürnberg, A.D. 1471, d. 1528. He wrote several books relating to his art [43, 20] and acquired wide fame as a draughtsman and engraver.

Edgar, king of England, A.D. 958—975. Much of the success of his reign was due to his minister Dunstan, Abp of Canterbury. A policy of conciliation towards the Danes was adopted, and Edgar obtained the name of 'the Peaceful.' His legislation indicates an enlightened attempt to put Englishmen and Danes on an equality before the law [55, 35] and 'after times looked back fondly to "Eadgar's Law," as it is called, in other words to the English Constitution as it shaped itself in the hands of Eadgar's minister.' (J. R. Green, Short History of the English People, p. 54.)

Edward II., king of England, A.D. 1307—1327, was deposed by the machinations of his queen, Isabella of France, who intrigued with Roger Mortimer against her husband's crown and honour [19, 91]. It is supposed that Edward was barbarously murdered in Berkeley Castle.

Edward IV., king of England, A.D. 1461—1483. Bacon cites him as an instance of the combination of personal beauty and ability [43, 11]. 'Tall in stature and of singular beauty, his winning manners and gay carelessness of bearing secured him a popularity which had been denied to nobler kings. But his indolence and gaiety were mere veils beneath
which Edward shrouded a profound political ability.' (J. R. Green, Short History, p. 286.)

Edward VI., king of England, A.D. 1547—1553. The initial of his name forms one of the letters in the word hempe [35, 54].

Egyptian priest, his story told to Solon about the island of Atlantis [58, 30].

Elias (the Greek form of the name Elijah) appeared to Ahab, king of Israel, circ. B.C. 908 and declared that there should be no rain in the land for three years [68, 17]. The drought ended with the trial between the prophets of Baal and Elijah on Mount Carmel.

Elizabeth, queen of England, A.D. 1558—1603 [22, 29, 76; 35, 48, 55; 39, 32].

Empedocles, a philosopher of Agrigentum in Sicily, fl. circ. B.C. 444. He agreed in some points with the Pythagoreans and in some points with the Eleatics. His marvellous powers secured for him a high reputation. According to one tradition he perished in the flames of Etna; according to another he was removed from earth like a god. Bacon mentions him as an example of lovers of solitude [27, 12].

Enceladus, a Giant, son of Earth [15, 16].

England, the powder treason of [3, 132], the subsidies of [29, 95], superior to France in the military qualities of its peasants [29, 118], its feudal retinues [29, 131], Henry VI. of [35, 36], done when hempe is spun [35, 51], the king's style of [35, 58], to have no wars after '88 [35, 65].

Epaminondas, the Theban statesman and general, after the victory of Leuctra, B.C. 371, established Thebes in place of Sparta as the ruling state in Greece. In the battle of Mantinea, B.C. 362, Epaminondas was mortally wounded, though his troops won the victory. Bacon quotes Plutarch respecting the laborious character of his warfare [40, 59].

Epicurus, b. at Samos, B.C. 342, lived in various places as a teacher till he was thirty-five years of age, when he settled at Athens and established a philosophical school. Died B.C. 270. In the physical part of his philosophy he followed the atomistic theory of Democritus and Diogoras. Lucretius's poem De Rerum Natura expounds these doctrines in immortal verse [16, 15]. Epicurus taught that pleasure was the highest good, but by pleasure he signified mental pleasure,—freedom from whatever tends to disturb our peace of mind. Ideas of atheism [3, 133] and sensuality are popularly associated with his name, through ignorance of his teaching and mode of life. Still, as he denied the immortality of the soul and the interference of the gods in human affairs [16, 36], his tenets were likely to be abused by those who could not rise to the love of virtue for its own sake. Only a few fragments of the writings of Epicurus have come down to us, but his system is expounded by Cicero, somewhat superficially, and by Plutarch and Seneca. From Seneca 'a poor saying of Epicurus' is quoted by Bacon, who entirely perverts its meaning [10, 17].

Epimenides, a poet and prophet of Crete, fl. B.C. 600, of whom many marvellous stories were told. He is said to have fallen asleep in a cave as a boy and to have slept on for fifty-seven years. He was invited to Athens to rid the city of the plague and accomplished his
object. The unflattering remark about the Cretans, quoted in St Paul’s Epistle to Titus (i. 12) is from Epimenides. Bacon mentions him as an example of lovers of solitude [27, 12].

Epimetheus. Jupiter, enraged with Prometheus for stealing fire from heaven, caused a lovely woman, Pandora (Endowed-with-all-gifts) to be created and invested with charms which should bring misery upon mankind. She was offered in marriage to Epimetheus (Afterthought), who disregarded the advice of his brother Prometheus (Forethought) not to accept any present from Jupiter. Pandora brought with her an unopened box, the gift of Jupiter, containing all the ills of human life. The lid was raised and the evils flew out, but Epimetheus shut the box in time to prevent the escape of Hope, which lay at the bottom [15, 184].

Escorial, an immense palace in Spain, twenty miles from Madrid, begun in A.D. 1563 by Philip II., in memory of the victory of St Quentin, gained by the Spaniards and English over the French, A.D. 1557. The building is in the form of a gridiron in honour of St Lawrence, on whose day the battle was fought [45, 46].

Esther, Book of [45, 50], one of the latest of the canonical books of the Old Testament. Esther became the wife of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), king of Persia, B.C. 479.

Europe, most of its kingdoms have sea-boards [29, 295], large buildings in [45, 45], its rivers [58, 35].

Ferdinand I., king of Naples and Sicily [19, 79], notorious for his cruelties and debaucheries, reigned A.D. 1458—1494. His treacherous and savage character provoked a civil war, in which he had the help of the Pope and of Sforza, Duke of Milan.

Foix, Gaston de, duke de Nemours, and nephew of Louis XII., b. A.D. 1489, won great distinction in his command of the French army against the Spaniards and Italians, and was killed at the battle of Ravenna, A.D. 1512. Bacon mentions him to show that ‘reposed natures may do well in youth’ [42, 16]. Bacon’s reference may be to another Gaston de Foix, Viscount de Béarn, b. A.D. 1331, who served with distinction in the army at the age of fourteen, and whom Froissart describes as a pattern of chivalry. (Reynolds, Bacon’s Essays, p. 301.)

Fox, Richard, A.D. 1466—1528, Bishop of Winchester, Privy Seal and confidential adviser of Henry VII. [20, 80] whom he served before Henry came to the throne. When Wolsey engrossed the attention of Henry VIII., Fox retired to his diocese and spent his remaining years in works of piety and munificence.

France, the massacre in [3, 132], cabinet councils in [20, 59], its inferiority to England in the military qualities of its peasants [29, 115], Bacon’s residence in [35, 39].

Francis I., king of France, b. A.D. 1494, succeeded Louis XII. in 1515, whose daughter he had married: advanced his pretensions to the empire on Maximilian’s death, 1519; met Henry VIII. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520: began hostilities with Charles V. 1521, and with Henry VIII., 1522: lost the battle of Pavia and was taken prisoner, 1525: was restored to liberty by the Treaty of Madrid, 1526: joined Henry VIII. in a declaration of war against Charles V., 1527 [19, 72]: signed the peace of Cambrai, 1529: died 1547.
French are wiser than they seem [23, 1], proverb quoted [54, 10].

Fury [10, 4]. The Furies (in Greek mythology Erinyes or Eumenides) were hideous women, each of whom carried serpents in her hair, a torch in one hand, and a scourge in the other. They punished the wicked in Tartarus.

Galba, Servius Sulpicius, b. B.C. 3. Both Augustus and Tiberius are said to have told Galba that he would one day be at the head of the Roman world [35, 28]. Galba was a man of great wealth and a favourite of Livia, the wife of Augustus. In A.D. 68 he took the lead in the movement, which had been started by Vindex in Gaul, against Nero, and on Nero’s suicide he assumed the title of Caesar. After his accession he soon became unpopular with the soldiers, because the large donatives, which had been promised in his name, were withheld [15, 224]. Otho won over the troops with liberal assurances of reward, and Galba was hacked to death in the street, A.D. 69 [2, 43]. Tacitus says that everybody would have considered Galba fit for empire had he never been emperor [11, 99].

Galen (Galenus Claudius), a celebrated Greek physician, b. A.D. 130 at Pergamus in Asia Minor, travelled extensively and twice visited Rome, where he is said to have died, A.D. 200, but both the place and the date of his death are uncertain. He wrote in the Attic dialect. Of his treatises, though the greater portion has been lost, enough has come down to us to fill many volumes. Bacon mentions him as an instance of men ‘full of ostentation’ [54, 35] and Galen certainly shows a high opinion of his own merits and great contempt for some of his adversaries.

Gallo-graecia (or Galatia), a province in Asia Minor, founded by Celtic immigrants from Gaul (Γαλάται or Κέλται) circ. B.C. 278. The Gauls in B.C. 390, under Brennus, had plundered and burnt Rome [58, 114].

Gasca, Pedro de la, a Spanish ecclesiastic and diplomatist, b. A.D. 1485. He visited England in 1542 to secure Henry VIII.’s support of Spain against Francis I. of France. He put down the rebellion of Gonzales Pizarro in Peru, A.D. 1547, and on his return to Spain was made a bishop by Charles V. Bacon mentions him as an instance of deformity [44, 40]. ‘Gasca was plain in person and his countenance was far from comely. He was awkward and disproportioned, for his limbs were too long for his body.’ (Prescott, History of the Conquest of Peru, bk. v. ch. 4.)

Gaul, Caesar’s troops expected to desert on their return from [Fame, 40].

Gauls, their profession of arms [29, 211], their two invasions [58, 113].

Gellius, Aulus, a Latin grammarian, fl. A.D. 150, author of Noctes Atticae. To Gellius Bacon assigns a passage [26, 31] which is really a loose quotation from Seneca.

Gerard, Baltazar, in A.D. 1584 shot William of Nassau, ‘the Silent,’ Prince of Orange, whose life had been attempted two years before by Jaureguy [39, 13].

Germans, their profession of arms [29, 211].

Germany, rumoured removal of the legions from Syria to [Fame, 34].

Gonsalvo [57, 41] see Consalvo.
Goths, their profession of arms [29, 211].

Graecia, the Romans made a war for the liberty of [29, 252], Xerxes driven out of [Fame, 48].

Greclans, a proverb amongst the [53, 35], their design against Xerxes [Fame, 49].

Great Britain, its strength at sea [29, 293].

Gregory I., surnamed the Great, b. circ. A.D. 544, raised to the papacy A.D. 590, d. A.D. 604. He was a zealous reformer of ecclesiastical abuses. To say that 'he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities' [58, 41] is probably, as Bacon asserts, an exaggeration, and Gibbon considers 'the evidence of his destructive rage doubtful and recent.' But the charge was brought against him by his successor in the papal chair, Sabinian. Gregory sent monks under Augustine to convert the English, A.D. 597.

Guicciardini, Francesco, an eminent Florentine historian and diplomatist, A.D. 1482—1540, the author of a History of Italy during his own time [19, 78].

Helena. In the contest for the golden apple, thrown down by the goddess of Discord and inscribed 'To the fairest,' Juno, Pallas and Venus referred the decision to the son of Priam, king of Troy, the shepherd Paris, who was dwelling on Mount Ida. The three goddesses offered him gifts as bribes; Juno promised him wealth and empire; Pallas promised him wisdom; and Venus promised him the fairest of women for his wife. The prize was awarded to Venus [10, 41]. When Paris went on a visit to Menelaus, king of Sparta, he fell in love with Menelaus's wife Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world, and their elopement led to the Trojan War.

Hellespont, the Dardanelles: Xerxes bridged it with boats, B.C. 484 [Fame, 50].

Henry I., king of England, A.D. 1100—1135, engaged in a struggle with Anselm (q.v.) about investiture [19, 122].

Henry II., king of England, A.D. 1154—1189, engaged in a struggle with Becket (q.v.) respecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction [19, 122]. Under the influence of their mother, his sons Geoffrey, Richard and John took part in various rebellious attempts which embittered Henry's last years [19, 116].

Henry II., king of France, b. A.D. 1518; married Catherine de Medici; succeeded his father Francis I., 1547. Festivities were held at the French court in 1559 on the occasion of the marriage of two of the king's daughters, and Montgomery, captain of the royal guards, was invited by Henry to break a lance with him in the tournament. Montgomery's lance dislodged the king's vizor and pierced his eye. Henry died after eleven days' agony. Bacon mentions a prediction, delivered by an astrologer to Catherine de Medici, that her husband would be killed in a duel [35, 41].

Henry III., king of France, third son of Henry II. and of Catherine de Medici, b. A.D. 1551, succeeded his brother Charles IX. in 1574. He joined the Holy League, which was formed by the Guises, in 1575, for the purpose of crushing the Huguenots. In 1588 the people of Paris, under the influence of the League, drove Henry out of the city [15, 45]. The king was fatally stabbed by a monk, Jacques Clément, in
1589 [4, 40] in revenge for the assassination of the duke of Guise the year before. Henry IV. succeeded to the throne and defeated the adherents of the Guises at Ivry, 1590.

Henry IV., king of France, popularly designated Henry of Navarre, b. A.D. 1553, was in 1569 hailed as head of the Protestant party by its leaders Condé and Coligni. After the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, Henry, who was in the power of the king, Charles IX., embraced Catholicism to save his life, but in 1576 he escaped from Paris and rejoined the Protestants in arms. During the next ten years he was occupied with military operations and negotiations for peace. In 1588 Henry III. tried to liberate himself from the dictation of the duke of Guise, whom he caused shortly afterwards to be assassinated. Henry of Navarre joined him with his troops and they took the field against the League. Henry III. was stabbed by Jacques Clément in 1589 [4, 40] and Henry of Navarre, at the head of his Protestant subjects, had now to conquer for himself the kingdom, his right to which had been recognised by the late sovereign. He gained a victory at Ivry in 1590, but was compelled to relinquish the siege of Paris. Neither party seemed likely to obtain a decided advantage over the other. The leaders therefore arranged a compromise. Henry made a public profession of the Catholic faith in 1593, and the Catholics consented to the toleration of the Huguenots. The war was ended by the Treaty of Vervins, 1598, and the Edict of Nantes secured for French Protestants freedom of worship and education [55, 41]. Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravaillac in 1610 [39, 13].

Henry VI., king of England, A.D. 1422—1461, di. 1471. Bacon quotes his prediction that Henry, Earl of Richmond, who was a lad at the time, would some day be king [35, 36].

Henry VII., king of England, A.D. 1485—1509. While still a lad he is said to have been pointed out by Henry VI. as destined for the throne [35, 37]. His accession, after the battle of Bosworth Field, put an end to the civil wars [55, 41]. He checked the power of the nobility [19, 131] and encouraged the growth of the yeomanry [29, 120]. His nature was suspicious though brave [31, 10] and his most important business he entrusted to no one except Morton and Fox [20, 78]. The initial of his name forms one of the letters in the word hempe [35, 54].

Henry VIII., king of England, A.D. 1509—1547. In 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne, and in 1516, Charles, who three years later became the emperor Charles V., succeeded Ferdinand. Thus the trio of astute old politicians, Henry VII., Louis XI., and Ferdinand,—the tres magi, as Bacon elsewhere calls them,—gave place to that 'triumvirate of kings,' Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V.,—three young and ambitious rulers, on whose friendships and enmities the fate of Europe hung [19, 71].

Heraclitus, a celebrated Greek philosopher of Ephesus, fl. circ. B.C. 500. He belonged in the main to the Ionic school. Owing to the style of his compositions, he was called 'the Obscure.' He recognised fire as the pervading element in all phenomena, and with fire—a self-kindled and self-extinguished fluid—he identified human life and reason. Bacon quotes one of his dark sayings [27, 169].
Hercules. For his presumption in bringing heavenly fire to mankind, Prometheus was, by Jupiter’s orders, chained to Mount Caucasus, where an eagle continually gnawed his liver. With Jupiter’s consent Hercules killed the eagle and rescued Prometheus [5, 16].

Hermogenes, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, a native of Tarsus, fl. A.D. 160. At the age of fifteen he had acquired so high a reputation for his oratory that the emperor Marcus Aurelius expressed a wish to hear him and rewarded him for his talent. Hermogenes began to write when he was seventeen years old, but at the age of twenty-five he fell into mental debility which continued to the end of his long life [42, 57]. His works are extant and show appreciation of the merits of the earlier Greek writers.

Hester [45, 50], see Esther.

Homer. Two lines, adapted by Virgil from the Iliad, are quoted by Bacon as prophetic of the Roman empire [35, 5], the smoothness of his verses [40, 56].

Hortensius, Quintus [42, 62], the celebrated Roman orator, Cicero’s rival at the bar, b. B.C. 114, d. B.C. 50.

India, city of the Oxidrakes in [58, 161].

Indians, sacrifice themselves by fire [39, 26], of the West have no name for God [16, 46].

Indies, West, conflagrations by lightning common in [58, 19], inhabited by a newer race than that of the old world [58, 26].

Isabella of Castile, Queen of Spain, wife of Ferdinand of Aragon, d. A.D. 1504. Bacon quotes, in an altered form, one of her sayings [52, 12].

Ismael, founder of the dynasty of the Sophies in Persia, A.D. 1502 [55, 31]. Bacon mentions him as an instance of personal beauty combined with ‘great spirit’ [43, 12]. In spite of his ‘great spirit’ he murdered his mother.

Issachar. When Jacob called his sons to hear the last words of Israel their father, he described Judah as ‘a lion’s whelp,’—indicating thereby vigour and victory,—and Issachar as ‘a strong ass crouching down between two burdens... who bound his back to bear and became a slave to tribute,’—forecasting the exactions of neighbouring tribes. The vale of Esdraelon, which contained the most fertile land in Palestine, formed the territory of Issachar [29, 88].

Italians, their impartial regard for kindred [7, 35], their ungracious proverb [13, 23], their saying about fidelity [31, 38], and about the qualities that lead to fortune [40, 27].

Italy, cabinet councils in [20, 58], its character according to Virgil [29, 129], suspicion of popes in [51, 43], Caesar’s troops expected to desert on his return to [Fame, 41].

James I., king of England, A.D. 1603—1625. When Mary Queen of Scots was forced to resign the crown in 1567 she was succeeded by her infant son, who became James VI. of Scotland. Shortly after ascending the English throne, James assumed the title of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland [35, 57].

Janizaries (a Turkish term signifying ‘new troops’) were a corps of troops, first organized early in the 14th century, forming the Sultan’s
guard. They subsequently became a very large and powerful body, and often controlled the destinies of the government [19, 157; Fame, 45]. They mutinied in A.D. 1826 and were disbanded.

Jaureguy, Juan, the servant of a Spanish merchant of Antwerp, in A.D. 1582 fired at and wounded William the Silent, Prince of Orange [39, 13], for whose assassination a large reward had been offered by Philip II. of Spain. Two years later William was killed by Baltazar Gérard.

Jehu, a captain of the army, led a revolt against Jehoram, king of Israel. As Jehu drove furiously towards Jezreel, he was met by messengers who asked ‘Is it peace?’ [3, 56]. At Naboth’s field, Jehu shot Jehoram through the back and then rode on to Jezreel to execute vengeance upon Jezebel, B.C. 884.

Jesuits, members of a religious order founded by Ignatius Loyola, A.D. 1534, and confirmed by the pope in 1540. Loyola was president of the Society till his death in 1556. The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594, 1764 and 1880. The Society was suppressed by the pope in 1773 but was revived in 1814. Absolute obedience and a perfect system of scrutiny are its main characteristics. Bacon mentions, as ‘a point of cunning,’ the precept of the Jesuits to watch the man with whom one speaks [22, 20].

Job, a patriarch of Uz, who remained steadfast under successive afflictions of destruction of property, loss of children, and visitation of disease [4, 33; 5, 30].

Judah [29, 88] see Issachar.

Judea, a prophecy in Vespasian’s time respecting [35, 30].

Julia, daughter of Augustus by Scribonia and his only child, b. B.C. 39. She married (1) M. Marcellus, (2) in B.C. 23, M. Vipsanius Agrippa [27, 84] by whom she had children, (3) Tiberius Nero, afterwards emperor. She was celebrated for her beauty, wit and debauchery. She was banished by her father Augustus and treated with increased rigour in her exile by her son Tiberius. Died A.D. 14 of consumption or starvation.

Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus), nephew of Constantine the Great, was called ‘the Apostate,’ because of his renunciation of Christianity and his efforts to restore paganism: b. A.D. 331, Roman emperor A.D. 361—363. He was ‘great as an emperor, unique as a man, and remarkable as an author.’ Constantius II. sent him to Gaul, where his military and administrative talents were conspicuous. Deprived of his command through the enmity of Constantius, he prepared for civil war, when the opportune death of Constantius, A.D. 361 [19, 109] opened Julian’s way to the throne and delivered the empire from the threatened conflict. Julian was killed in an engagement with the Persians A.D. 363.

Juno, sister and wife of Jupiter, one of the claimants for the golden apple [10, 41]. See Helena.

Jupiter, son of Saturn, chief god among the Romans, destroyed the giants, sons of Earth [Fame, 13]. Jupiter married Metis, and having swallowed his wife in consequence of a prophecy that the son of Metis would gain ascendancy over his father, he gave birth himself to Pallas,
who sprang forth clad in armour from his head [20, 30]. When the
gods of Olympus tried to chain Jupiter, Briareus, the hundred-handed
giant, was summoned to his aid [15, 172]. Bacon also makes the
following references to Jupiter:—the daughter of Polycrates dreamt that
Jupiter bathed her father [35, 18]; Plutus limps when he is sent from
Jupiter [34, 32]; if the heathen had possessed names for different gods,
such as Jupiter, &c., but not the word Deus, they would in this respect
have resembled the Indians of the West [16, 48].

Justinian (Flavius Anicius Justinianus) the Great, b. A.D. 483,
emperor of Constantinople and of Rome, A.D. 527—565. He was of
humble birth, but his uncle Justin, who held a high position in the army
and became emperor in 518, looked after the education and advancement
of the young Justinian at Constantinople, and proclaimed him emperor
jointly with himself a few months before his own death in 527. The
wars carried on by Justinian’s generals, Belisarius and Nares, con-
stitute the chief political events of Justinian’s reign, but its great glory
is the digest of the Roman law, known as the Justinian Code [55, 35].

Lacedaemonians, or Spartans, their wars for the establishment of
oligarchies [29, 252].

Laodiceans, inhabitants of Laodicea in Asia Minor. St Paul
censured the Church of the Laodiceans for being ‘neither cold nor hot’
[3, 59].

Lazarus, the beggar in the parable, who lay at the rich man’s gate,
where the dogs licked his sores [13, 61].

Lepanto, on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth. Here, in A.D.
1571, the Christian fleet of Papal, Spanish, and Venetian forces, under
the command of Don John of Austria, defeated the Turkish fleet, and
destroyed the ascendency of Turkey in the Mediterranean [29, 284].

Lethe (Oblivion), the name of one of the rivers of Tartarus. The
souls of those who drank its waters forgot their former lives [58, 5].

Leucippus, a Grecian philosopher of whom very little is known.
He is regarded as the founder of the atomic philosophy and the teacher
of Democritus, by whom that theory was developed [16, 14].

Lewis XI., king of France, A.D. 1461—1483. As dauphin he cared
nothing for the luxury and amusements of the nobility, but consorted
only with persons of low station, spent days and nights in meditation,
and asked advice of nobody, whence people said that his horse carried
all his counsel [27, 117]. As king he was perfidious and cruel, and
oppressed the people with taxes. But despot though he was, he had
a passion for the prosperity of the state; he encouraged manufactures,
increased the territory of France, and projected reforms which were left
for the Revolution to accomplish.

Livia Drusilla, b. circ. B.C. 55: married Tib. Claudius Nero, by
whom she had two sons, Tiberius, afterwards emperor, and Drusus.
Her husband was compelled to divorce her in order that she might
marry Augustus, over whom she exercised unbounded influence till his
death [2, 39]. She excelled in tact, dissimulation, and intrigue [6, 5]
and was suspected of removing by foul means Marcellus, the husband
of Julia (who was the daughter of Augustus by his former wife Scri-
bonia,) and Julia’s sons by her marriage with Agrippa (C. Caesar and
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

L. Caesar,) in order to clear the way for the selection as emperor of Tiberius, her own son by her former husband. The charge that she attempted to poison Augustus also, seems to be a baseless and gratuitous slander. By spreading reports of an improvement in the condition of Augustus when he was on his death-bed, she gained time for the arrival of Tiberius and secured his succession [Fame, 41]. Tiberius afterwards chafed against her interference and made no endeavour to dissemble his satisfaction when she died, A.D. 29.

Livia (or Livilla), granddaughter of the preceding, daughter of Drusus. She married her cousin, Drusus junior, son of the emperor Tiberius. In concert with Sejanus she poisoned her husband, A.D. 23 [19, 88], but her guilt was not discovered until the fall of Sejanus in A.D. 31. See Genealogical Table under Tiberius.

Livy (Titus Livius Patavinus), Roman historian, b. B.C. 59, di. A.D. 17. Bacon mentions him by name three times when introducing quotations from his writings. See QUOTATIONS.

Low Countries (the Netherlands), their impartial government [14, 15], the industrious habits of their people [15, 153], their excises cheerfully borne [29, 94], cycles of weather in [58, 62].

Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) b. A.D. 38, nephew of Seneca, joined in a conspiracy against Nero and committed suicide, A.D. 65. Bacon quotes a couplet from his Pharsalia, a heroic poem on the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey [15, 81].

Lucian, the most brilliant and purest Greek writer of the second century, a native of Assyria, fl. A.D. 120—200. He was a man of versatile parts,—sculptor, lawyer, rhetorician, historian, traveller. Witty, incisive, and audacious, he ridiculed the vices and follies of society, lashed the vulgar superstitions of decadent religions, and gave no quarter to the pedantic philosophers. Bacon takes him seriously as 'perhaps' an instance of the 'contemplative atheist' [16, 54], and it is probably to Lucian that he alludes as 'one of the later school of the Grecians' [1, 12] who is puzzled that men should love lies 'for the lie's sake.'

Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus), b. B.C. 95, committed suicide circ. B.C. 51. He wrote a philosophical didactic poem, De Rerum Natura, expounding the leading principles of the Epicurean philosophy [1, 48; 3, 127].

Lucullus, Lucius Licinius, circ. B.C. 110—58, a naval and military commander of Rome, distinguished himself in the war with Mithridates until he was superseded by Pompey, B.C. 66. On Pompey's return four years later, Lucullus acted with the leaders of the aristocratic party in opposing the ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia [51, 20], thereby forcing Pompey into the arms of the opposite faction and thus bringing about the First Triumvirate, B.C. 60. The tastes and habits of Lucullus in his retirement have made his name a byword for all that is luxurious and magnificent [45, 32].

Lycurgus, the great legislator of the Lacedaemonians and author of the singular constitution of Sparta. The time at which he flourished is very variously stated, dates being assigned between B.C. 1084 and 776 [55, 35].
Macedonians, their transient prowess in arms [29, 210], described the ordinance of the Oxidrakes as ‘thunder and lightning and magic’ [58, 162].

Macro, Naevius Sertorius, praetorian prefect under Tiberius and Caligula. Macro effected the arrest of Sejanus, his predecessor in the command of the praetorians, A.D. 31 after concerting measures for that object with Tiberius at Capreae [36, 20]. In A.D. 37, when Tiberius was evidently sinking, Macro courted the favour of Caligula and, according to report, hastened the end of the dying emperor by smothering him with a pillow. But his services were too great for pardon or reward, and Macro was doomed to death by Caligula, whose life he had thrice saved, and who owed his empire to his victim’s efforts. Macro’s wife and children shared his fate.

Machiavel (Nicolo Machiavelli), b. at Florence, A.D. 1469. He was appointed Secretary to the Ten Magistrates in 1498 and was often employed as ambassador of the Florentine Republic. In this capacity he went on a mission to the notorious Cesar Borgia. On the restoration of the Medici, in 1512, Machiavelli lost his office in the State, fell under suspicion, was imprisoned and put to the torture, and when released was banished from Florence. In 1521 he was recalled, and died in 1527. He wrote The Prince, Discourses upon Livy, a dialogue on the Art of War, and a History of Florence. For Bacon’s references to Machiavelli, see Quotations.

Maecenae, Caius Cilnius, descended from an ancient Etrurian stock, was the companion of Augustus on his campaigns and his trusty adviser in political matters [27, 83]. He was a munificent patron of literature: Virgil and Horace enjoyed his friendship. He died B.C. 8.

Mahomet (or Mohammed), b. A.D. 570, d. 632, a member of the tribe which was entrusted with the care of the sacred temple of Mecca and claimed a lineal descent from Ishmael. At the age of twenty-five, he married a rich widow. About the year 610 he announced to his own family the fact of his apostleship, and four years later he publicly proclaimed himself a prophet and law-giver by command of God. At this time the Arabs were nomad tribes, destitute of fixed principles, licentious in their manners, and gross in their religious sentiments [58, 84], without any common objects except plunder and the annual pilgrimage to the black stone at Mecca. By some Mahomet was accepted as a new prophet: others regarded him as an impostor and demanded miracles in proof of his mission [12, 31]. Mahomet produced in reply his Koran [16, 2] leaf by leaf, as occasion required, and declared that his mission was to restore truth and virtue by the sword [3, 117]. His fame spread and the number of proselytes increased. After the death of his wife and of his uncle who had been his protector, his life was in great danger. Disturbances arose and in A.D. 622 Mahomet fled to Medina. From this epoch, the year of the Hegira, Mahometan nations date events. In the course of the nine years following, Mahomet made himself master of Arabia and organised a victorious army of 30,000 men.

Mars, the Roman god of war [16, 49].

Mary, Queen of England, A.D. 1553—1558, wife of Philip II. of
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Spain. The initial of her name forms one of the letters in the word hempe [35, 54].

May, the Isle of May, in the Firth of Forth [35, 62].

Medici, Catherine de, b. A.D. 1519, married the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II., in 1533. Henry was killed in a tournament, 1559 [35, 40—7], and on the death of their eldest son, Francis II., in 1560, Catherine became regent during the minority of the second son, Charles IX. She died A.D. 1589.

Medici, Lorenzo de, styled ‘the Magnificent,’ b. A.D. 1448, chief of the republic of Florence, carried on a war against Ferdinand of Naples, with whom he concluded peace in 1480 [19, 79]. He was illustrious as a patron of art and literature in Italy. He died in 1492 at the height of his fame.

Mercury, the sagacious author of many inventions and the messenger of the gods. He carried a caduceus, or wand, with which he conducted departed souls to Hades [3, 151].

Messalina, Valeria, third wife of the emperor Claudius. Her name has become a byword for unbounded and undisguised debauchery. She paraded her contempt for the stupid Claudius by publicly going through the form of marriage with her paramour Silius. This incident was the talk of the town, but Claudius was the last person to know of it. Narcissus, the emperor’s secretary, apprehensive for his own safety, represented to Claudius that Messalina would not have ventured on such a step unless she had determined to deprive him of his empire and his life [22, 55]. At length, on his own responsibility, Narcissus gave the order for Messalina’s execution, A.D. 48.

Metis (Counsel) see Jupiter [20, 27].

Momus (Blame) the god of raillery and censure made himself so obnoxious to the gods by his satirical remarks that they chased him out of heaven. He found fault with a house made by Minerva, because it was not upon wheels and therefore could not be moved away from ‘ill neighbours’ [45, 16].

Montaigne, Michel, Seigneur de, b. A.D. 1533 in the French province of Périgord, after succeeding to his father’s modest property spent the rest of his days as a country gentleman. His Essays first appeared in 1580, and attained their complete shape in 1588. They abound in shrewd, original, and rambling thoughts, and charm the reader by their garrulous egotism [1, 72]. Montaigne died A.D. 1592.

Montgomery, Gabriel, accidentally inflicted a fatal wound on Henry II., king of France, in a tournament, A.D. 1559 [35, 46]. Montgomery afterwards distinguished himself in the religious wars of France. He was beheaded by order of Catherine de Medici, A.D. 1576.

Morton, John, privy-councillor under Henry VI., to whose cause he faithfully adhered. By Henry VII. he was made Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1486, and in 1493 he received a cardinal’s hat. Fox and Morton were the king’s most trusty advisers [20, 80]. As Henry’s Chancellor, Morton acquired notoriety for the skill with which he extorted contributions from private persons to the royal purse, and for the dilemma known as ‘Morton’s Fork.’ The archbishop argued that, if a man lived
expensively, he must have money to spare for the king; if he lived economically, he must be saving money and could therefore afford to help the king.

Mucianus, Licinius, three times consul, incurred the suspicion of the emperor Claudius and retired to Asia, but was restored to favour under Nero. When civil war broke out between Otho and Vitellius, in A.D. 69, Vespasian, who was governor of Judaea, felt that he ought to strike a blow for empire, and Mucianus, who was in command of Syria, urged this course upon him [6, 8]. A rumour was spread among the legions of the East that Vitellius meant to move them to the German frontier and to deprive them of the fruits of war [Fame, 32], and they clamoured for an emperor of their own. Vespasian at length assumed the imperial title, and Mucianus was despatched to Europe against Vitellius, whose troops had been defeated however before Mucianus arrived. Mucianus must have often tried the patience of Vespasian by the ostentatious assertion of his services [54, 44], but the relations of the two continued friendly. The date and circumstances of Mucianus's death are unknown.

Mustapha, eldest son of Solyman the Magnificent by Bosphorone, a Circassian slave and favourite sultana until Solyman's affections were transferred to Roxolana. By the machinations of Roxolana, who wished that one of her own sons should succeed to the throne, Solyman's mind was prejudiced against Mustapha, and Mustapha was strangled by his father's orders, A.D. 1553 [19, 90, 96].

Narcissus, a freedman of the emperor Claudius, over whom he exercised unbounded influence. When Messalina, wife of Claudius, lost the confidence of the freedmen in the palace, Narcissus watched for an opportunity to strike a blow in self-defence. He arranged that a couple of women should inform the emperor that Messalina had publicly married Silius [22, 54], and gave orders on his own responsibility that Messalina should be put to death, A.D. 48. On Nero's accession, Narcissus was executed, A.D. 54, through the influence of Agrippina.

Narses, one of the most successful generals of the emperor Justinian, and the rival of Belisarius, was an Asiatic slave and eunuch [9, 49] whom Justinian appointed to a command, A.D. 538. Narses conquered the Goths and was made exarch of Italy, A.D. 553. He was deposed under the emperor Justinus II. in 565 and died at Rome in 568.

Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of the Babylonian kings and destroyer of the Jewish monarchy, succeeded to the throne B.C. 695, di. B.C. 562. Daniel interpreted his dream of a colossal statue, with its head of gold and its feet of iron and clay [3, 108], to signify the failure of any attempt at permanent universal dominion. Another dream of a spreading tree [29, 143] which was cut down, leaving the stump in the ground, was interpreted by Daniel to mean that the king would lose his reason and herd with the beasts of the field. Nebuchadnezzar's madness lasted seven years.

Nehemiah, an eminent Jew of the Captivity, who held the office of cup-bearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia. He obtained leave from the king, B.C. 444, to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the wall of the city [22, 48].
Nero (Lucius Domitius Nero Claudius Caesar), b. A.D. 37. After the marriage of his mother to her uncle, the emperor Claudius, Nero was adopted by that prince and married his daughter. He became emperor, A.D. 54, poisoned the rightful heir Britannicus the following year, and caused his mother to be murdered, A.D. 59. In A.D. 64 Rome was burnt, and terrible cruelties were practised upon the Christians, who were accused of the act. Galba's revolt in 68 was successful, and Nero committed suicide. Nero had a passion for music [19, 17, 38], poetry and theatricals.

Normans, their profession of arms [29, 212].

Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, B.C. 716—673, the reputed founder of the most important religious institutions of the Romans, under the direction of the nymph Egeria, whom he met in a sacred grove [27, 12]. He is not to be regarded as a historical character.

Norway, the black fleet of [35, 63], the king of Spain's surname [35, 69].

Octavius, Caius [51, 24], subsequently called Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus in consequence of his adoption by his great-uncle C. Julius Caesar. Bacon speaks of him as the 'nephew' of Julius Caesar [27, 72]. The senate at a later date conferred upon him the title of Augustus, under which name Bacon's other references will be found.

Ottoman (Othman, or Osman), founder of the Ottoman empire [55, 31] and of the dynasty of the Osmanlis; a Turkish chief who made himself master of Bithynia; b. A.D. 1259, d. A.D. 1326.

Otho, Marcus Salvius, Roman emperor A.D. 69. He intrigued with the soldiers of the guard against Galba and was saluted as emperor in the camp. Galba was killed in the street, but before his death the armies of the Rhine had chosen Vitellius as their emperor, and the legions were already on their way to Rome. A battle was fought at Bedriacum in Cisalpine Gaul: Otho's troops were routed, and Otho stabbed himself. His reign had lasted four months. He was popular with the soldiers, who remained loyal to him to the last, and when he died some of them slew themselves in despair [2, 27].

Oxidrakes (Oxydraceae or Sydraceae), a tribe in the Punjab. Their country is supposed to have been the furthest point reached by Alexander the Great in his march eastwards [58, 161].

Pallas (or Athena, in Roman mythology Minerva) sprang forth from the head of Jupiter equipped in armour [20, 34]; a competitor with Juno and Helena (q.v.) for the golden apple [10, 41]. Bacon represents that Pallas counselled Jupiter to summon Briareus to his assistance, when the gods attempted to bind the king of heaven [15, 173]. It was Thetis however who called in Briareus.

Paul, a native of Tarsus, converted A.D. 36. Apostle of the Gentiles, beheaded under Nero, A.D. 66. For Bacon's references, see Quotations.

Paul's. St Paul's Cathedral was used as a place for business and promenade in Bacon's time [22, 114].

Pena, Dr, told Bacon that an astrologer had predicted the death of Henry II. in a duel [35, 40].

Persia, the king of (Xerxes), alarmed by Themistocles' report that
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

271

the bridge of boats would be broken [Fame, 48], Themistocles' speech to the king of (Artaxerxes) [27, 155].

Persians, their vast army at Arbela [29, 58], their transient prowess in arms [29, 210], their westward movement in war [58, 111].

Pertinax, Helvius, b. A.D. 126, the son of a charcoal-burner. He was promoted to high positions by the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and suppressed a mutiny in Britain during the reign of Commodus, the son and successor of Aurelius. When Commodus was killed, A.D. 192, Pertinax was consul, and he is supposed to have been privy to the plot against the emperor's life. The soldiers received Pertinax as emperor without enthusiasm. He began at once to introduce extensive reforms, and thereby aroused the hatred of the praetorians, two hundred of whom forced their way to the palace. At the interview which ensued Pertinax was killed, A.D. 193, after a reign of less than three months [4, 39]. His death was avenged by Septimius Severus, q.v.

Peru, Gasca, president of [44, 40].

Phaethon (Φαεθωρ, the Shiner) obtained from his father, the Sun, permission to guide his chariot for one day [58, 16]. The horses turned from their usual course and would have set the earth on fire, had not Jupiter knocked Phaethon out of the car with a thunderbolt.

Philip of Macedon, by whose genius and valour the little state of Macedon was raised to the supremacy over all Greece, b. B.C. 382, ascended the throne B.C. 360. In B.C. 337 he repudiated his wife Olympias, respecting whom he had a curious dream shortly after their marriage [35, 21], and who was the mother of Alexander the Great. The following year Philip was murdered at the instigation of Olympias.

Philip II. of Macedon. By this name Bacon denotes the sovereign usually styled Philip V., king of Macedonia, who reigned B.C. 220—179. He was induced to consent to the execution of his younger son Demetrius (q.v.). Afterwards, on learning that Demetrius had been sacrificed to the jealousy of his elder brother Perseus, Philip was haunted by the avenging spirit of his younger boy and cursed his son Perseus with his dying breath [19, 110].

Philip le Bel (Philip IV.), king of France, A.D. 1285—1314: an able but despotic sovereign, whose reign was one of the most important during the middle ages. He engaged in a struggle with the pope, summoned for the first time the estates-general, and suppressed the Templars. Bacon mentions him as an instance of men in whom personal beauty accompanies ability [43, 10].

Philip II., king of Spain, son of Charles V., b. A.D. 1527, married for his second wife Mary, queen of England, in 1554, and after her death proposed marriage to Elizabeth. In 1566 the revolt of the Netherlands commenced, and in 1588 the Armada sailed for the invasion of England. Philip died A.D. 1598. Bacon's only reference to him is in connexion with the word hempe, one of the letters of which is the initial of Philip's name [35, 54].

Philippi, in Macedonia, near the coast. Here Brutus and Cassius fought Octavian and Antony, B.C. 42. Brutus had been troubled by gloomy apprehensions of disaster since the visit of a spectre [35, 27] the night before his army crossed from Asia to Europe.
Philippics [27, 80], orations composed by Cicero against Mark Antony, b.c. 43. They received their name from the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon.

Pilate (Pontius Pilatus), procurator of Judaea in the time of Tiberius, A.D. 26—36. During his government Christ was executed [1, 1]. Pilate is said to have committed suicide at the beginning of Caligula’s reign.

Piso, Lucius Calpurnius, by his support of Clodius incurred the bitter resentment of Cicero, who delivered a speech in the senate against him [26, 19] b.c. 55, full of virulent abuse, for his misconduct in the province of Macedonia. Piso’s daughter Calpurnia married Julius Caesar.

Plato, b. at Athens b.c. 429, lived in close intimacy with Socrates, after whose death in b.c. 399 he travelled for twelve years. On his return to Athens he taught in the gymnasium of the Academy. Aristotle was one of his pupils. Bacon refers to his sublime idea of God [16, 43]; to his ridicule of pedantry in the Protagoras [26, 32]; to his fiction of the island of Atlantis [35, 99] in the Timaeus and Atlanticus (Critias); to his doctrine of ἀνάμνησις, ‘that all knowledge is but remembrance’ [58, 2]; and to his theory of the Cycle, or ‘Great Year’ [58, 48].

Plautianus, Fulvius, an African by birth, was pretorian prefect under the emperor Septimius Severus, who placed in his hands much of the imperial authority, and whose son Caracalla married Plautianus’s daughter Plautilla, A.D. 202 [27, 95]. Plautianus soon discovered that both Plautilla and himself were regarded with dislike by his son-in-law, and he plotted the death of Severus and Caracalla. His treachery was detected and he was executed A.D. 203.

Plinius Secundus (Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus), known as Pliny the Younger, b. A.D. 61 or 62, was a nephew and adopted son of Pliny the Elder, the famous naturalist, who perished during the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Pliny the Younger was a governor in Asia Minor under Trajan, on whom he composed a Panegyricon. Ten books of his Epistles have come down to us. Bacon alludes to his vanity [54, 39] of which his letters contain occasional indications, and quotes his advice respecting the bestowal of praise [54, 50]. He also borrows an expression from Pliny without naming the author [15, 99].

Plutarch was a native of Bœotia. Very little is known of his life. He visited Rome during the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81—96), and lectured there on philosophy. His later years were passed in honour and comfort in his native town of Chaeronea. His great work is his Parallel Lives, containing the biographies of forty-six eminent Greeks and Romans. His other writings are comprised under the title of Moralia. Bacon frequently borrows from Plutarch (see QUOTATIONS), but mentions him by name only twice [17, 4; 40, 57].

(A French translation of the Greek original of Plutarch’s Lives was made by Amyot in 1559. Sir Thomas North’s English translation, 1579, professedly made from Amyot’s version, is often very inaccurate. Dryden’s translation is the motley work of many hands: Dryden contributed the Dedication. The references in the present edition of Bacon’s Essays are to the common-place but fairly correct translation by the Langhorns, first published in 1770.)

Pluto, brother of Jupiter and Neptune, husband of Proserpine, and
god of the lower world. He possessed a helmet which rendered the wearer invisible [21, 27]. As ruler of the lower world, Pluto furnishes all the metals which the earth contains, whence his name signifying 'giver of wealth' [34, 33].

Plutus, the personification of wealth [34, 31] was blinded by Jupiter in order that he might bestow his gifts on men without regard to merit.

Poland, its feudal revenues [29, 132].

Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, made himself master of the Grecian seas and formed an alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt. In the midst of his prosperity, Polycrates came to an ignominious end. Oretes, satrap of Sardis, enticed him to the mainland, where he was arrested and crucified, B.C. 522. Bacon alludes to the prophetic dream of Polycrates' daughter [35, 18].

Pompey (Cneius Pompeius Magnus), b. B.C. 106. At the age of twenty-three he gained a brilliant victory over the Marian generals in North Italy, and was received by Sulla with the greatest distinction [27, 62]. On his return from Numidia, B.C. 80, he was greeted with the surname of Magnus, and demanded a triumph. Sulla opposed his request in the senate. Pompey uttered a threat about the rising and the setting sun [27, 68] and Sulla contemptuously gave his consent. The following year Pompey promoted the election of Lepidus to the consulship against Sulla's wishes [27, 65]. The consulship of Pompey and Crassus, in B.C. 70, was memorable for the repeal of the most important parts of Sulla's reforms, and for the blows struck at the power of the aristocracy. In B.C. 67 Pompey suppressed the pirates of the Mediterranean, and in B.C. 65 he defeated Mithridates, king of Pontus. The opposition of Lucullus and the leaders of the aristocratic party, in B.C. 60, to the ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia, induced Pompey to join Caesar [61, 22] and the First Triumvirate was formed, consisting of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus. In B.C. 51 Pompey's jealousy of Caesar brought him into connexion with the aristocratic party. During the next eighteen months the hostility between the two rivals developed rapidly, and early in the year B.C. 49 the civil war began [29, 277]. Pompey trusted to false reports that Caesar's troops would desert at the first opportunity [Fame, 36] but in the course of three months Caesar made himself master of Italy and Pompey retired to Greece. The battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 48, decided the fate of Pompey and of the Roman republic. Pompey fled to Egypt and was assassinated as he stepped ashore. Bacon quotes from Cicero a phrase respecting Pompey's self-love [23, 47] and mentions Pompey's conversation with Lucullus [45, 32].

Praetorian guard [19, 158] a body of troops originally formed by Augustus to protect his person and power, and maintained till the time of Constantine. They were so called because they practically continued the organization and function of the praetoria cohors, or select troops which attended the person of the praetor. These troops acquired a dangerous power, and for a considerable time they raised and deposed emperors at their pleasure. In A.D. 193 they murdered Pertinax and disposed of the empire to Didius Julianus by auction. Gibbon gives their history, Decline and Fall, chap. v.
**INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.**

**Probus,** Marcus Aurelius, a native of Pannonia, Roman emperor A.D. 276—282, was unconnected by blood or alliance with his predecessors or successors in the purple. From his boyhood he had distinguished himself in all parts of the world, and his reign of six years presents a series of brilliant achievements. After celebrating a well-earned triumph, he turned his attention to civil affairs and expressed the hope that a time was coming when soldiers would no longer be necessary [15, 226]. Some of the troops, exasperated by this remark, murdered him. He occupies an honourable place in Roman annals as the best of all the emperors who occupied the throne.

**Prodicus,** a native of Ceos, settled at Athens, where, in the age of Socrates, he taught philosophy, and thereby acquired a large fortune. In Plato’s Dialogues he is introduced, not indeed without irony [26, 33] yet with more esteem than is shown for his fellow sophists.

**Prometheus.** For the legend respecting his rescue by Hercules [5, 17] see Hercules, and for his connexion with Epimetheus and Pandora’s box [15, 184] see Epimetheus.

**Protagoras,** the title of one of Plato’s Dialogues [26, 33] which derives its name from Protagoras of Abdera, who lived circ. B.C. 480—410, and spent part of his time at Athens, where he was the first who called himself a sophist and received fees for his teaching.

**Pythagoras,** b. at Samos, fl. B.C. 550, after extensive travels settled in South Italy at Crotona, where he founded a religious brotherhood of adherents. The Pythagoreans believed in the transmigration of souls, and regarded numbers as the basis and essence of all things. Bacon quotes from Plutarch’s *Moralia* two sayings of Pythagoras, one of plain import [7, 49] the other ‘dark but true’ [27, 119].

**Pythomissa,** the witch of En-dor to whom Saul, king of Israel, resorted in disguise, B.C. 1056 [35, 4]. Python was the name of the serpent which Apollo slew near Delphi, whence Apollo was called the Pythian, and the priestess who uttered the responses of the Delphic Apollo was called the Pythoness.

**Rabelais,** François, b. at Chinon in Touraine, A.D. 1483: became a friar, practised medicine, attended Cardinal Du Bellay on his journey to Rome, and received through the cardinal’s good offices the cure of souls at Meudon near Paris. Died A.D. 1553. His romance concerning the adventures of the royal giant Gargantua, his son Pantagruel, and the favourite Panurge, is an audacious satire on civil and ecclesiastical government [3, 40].

**Rabirius,** Caius, was defended by Cicero, B.C. 63, in a speech which is extant [34, 27]. For political objects, Rabirius, by that time an old man, was accused of having taken part in causing the death of a tribune of the plebs nearly forty years before.

**Ravaillac,** Francis, b. 1578, a Roman Catholic fanatic who assassinated Henry IV. of France [39, 13] in A.D. 1610, by stabbing him twice through the heart. Ravaillac was torn to pieces by horses.

**Regiomontanus,** the Latin name assumed by Johann Müller (A.D. 1436—1476) from his birth-place Königsberg (i.e. ‘royal mount’). He was eminent as a Greek scholar, astronomer, and mathematician. Bacon quotes a prophecy of his [35, 70] which was delivered in A.D. 1475.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES. 275

Regulus, Marcus, had achieved brilliant success in the First Punic War, but in B.C. 255 he was defeated and captured by the Carthaginians. After five years' imprisonment he was sent by his captors, in company with their ambassadors, to Rome, there to propound terms of peace. At his instigation the Roman senate declined peace or even an exchange of prisoners, and Regulus returned, as he had promised, to his Carthaginian prison, where he was tortured and killed, B.C. 250 [55, 61].

Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon [20, 16], followed the advice of the younger men at his court. When the people demanded redress of grievances, Rehoboam threatened to increase their burdens. Consequently a revolt took place, and Jeroboam became king over ten of the tribes, B.C. 975.

Romans, the remark of Tigranes about their army [29, 65], their readiness to admit strangers by naturalization [29, 158], their extension of empire [29, 167], the message sent to them by Romulus [29, 206], their profession of arms [29, 221], their ground for making war [29, 235], their promptitude in helping allies [29, 244], their war for the liberty of Greece [29, 251].

Roman empire, decay of the [58, 135].

Rome, eminent as a state for magnanimity [16, 88], had the use of slaves [29, 190], its dominions less extensive at the first than those of Spain [29, 175], invaded by the Gauls [58, 115], its expansiveness [58, 142], authority claimed by the Church of [56, 4].

Romulus, the legendary founder [55, 31] and first king of Rome, B.C. 753—716. He was believed to have been taken up to heaven by his father Mars in a fiery chariot. He appeared subsequently to Proculus Julius, and told him that the Roman people were to cultivate arms [29, 205] and that he would be their guardian god Quirinus.

Roxelana (la Rossa, i.e. 'the Russian woman,' the name given to Khourrem, i.e. 'the Joyous'), a Russian girl in the harem, whom Solyman married according to Mahometan ritual. She acquired unbounded influence over Solyman in his youth and preserved it till her death in A.D. 1558. With the aid of the Pasha Roostem she brought about the execution of Mustapha, Solyman's son by his former wife Bosphorone, in order that one of her own sons might succeed to the Turkish throne [19, 88].

Russia, the penance of monks in [39, 36].

Sabinian, pope A.D. 604. His tenure of the papacy lasted only a few months, and an interval of nearly a year occurred before the election of Boniface III. [58, 44].

Saturn, identified by the ancients with the Greek Cronos, who, to preserve himself from being dethroned by one of his offspring, devoured his children as soon as they were born. When his wife Rhea gave birth to Zeus, she dressed up a stone and presented it to her husband in place of the infant [17, 9].

Saul, first king of Israel, B.C. 1095—1056, fell upon his sword after the defeat of his army at the battle of Gilboa. The night before the engagement he visited the witch of En-dor [35, 4] and desired her to bring up Samuel from the dead. Samuel foretold the victory of the
Philistines and said that on the morrow Saul and his sons should be with him among the dead.

**Saxons**, their profession of arms [29, 211].

**Schoolmen** [17, 26; 19, 82; 50, 49; 53, 48]. The Aristotelian teaching of the medieval schools and universities, called Scholasticism, was based on the authority of the Church Fathers, of Aristotle, and of the Arabian commentators, and was characterized by its stiff and formal method of discussion. It arose about A.D. 1000, and became extinct early in the 16th century. To its first period, when the question of nominalism and realism occupied men’s thoughts, belong the names of Lanfranc, Anselm, Abelard, and Peter Lombard, ‘Master of the Sentences’ (di. 1164): to its later period, the names of Thomas Aquinas (di. 1274), Duns Scotus (di. 1308) and Occam (di. 1347).

**Scipio** (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major), the greatest man of his age, b. B.C. 234. He distinguished himself in the Second Punic War before he was twenty at the battles of the Ticinum and Cannae. He took New Carthage, subdued Spain, and brought the war to an end by defeating Hannibal at Zama, B.C. 202. In honour of his victory he obtained the surname of Africanus. He was accused, B.C. 191, of receiving bribes from Antiochus, king of Syria, quitted Rome in disgust at the ingratitude of his countrymen, and retired to his estate at Liternum [42, 65] where he died B.C. 183.

**Sejanus**, Ælius, son of a Roman knight, became the confidential friend of Tiberius [27, 87] and was appointed to the command of the praetorian cohorts. He aimed at obtaining for himself the imperial power, and instigated Livilla to murder her husband Drusus, promising her marriage and a share of the throne. Tiberius at length suspected the designs of Sejanus and devised his ruin. In A.D. 31 Macro was sent by Tiberius from Capreæ to Rome [36, 30] with a letter addressed to the senate. When the letter had been read the senate decreed the death of Sejanus. His body was thrown into the Tiber.

**Selymus I.** [19, 115]. See Bajazet.

**Selymus II.** ‘The Sot,’ son of Solyman the Magnificent by Roxolana, became Sultan on the death of his father, A.D. 1566, was defeated at the battle of Lepanto, 1571, and died 1574. Selymus closely resembled his mother in appearance, but bore no likeness to his father: hence he ‘was thought to be supposititious,’ and consequently ‘the succession of the Turks from Solyman is suspected to be untrue’ [19, 102].

**Seneca**, Lucius Annaeus, b. at Cordova B.C. 2, committed suicide by Nero’s orders A.D. 66. Seneca was a philosopher and man of letters, at first a self-denying Stoic, afterwards an ambitious intriguer at court. He was banished at Messalina’s instigation, A.D. 41, but was recalled eight years later by Agrippina. In company with Burrus he acted as preceptor and guardian to the youthful Nero. He accumulated an enormous fortune [34, 97]. Many of his works are extant,—moral treatises, epistles, and tragedies. From his Medea Bacon quotes a passage as prophetic of the discovery of America [35, 11] and elsewhere charges him, not unjustly, with ‘some vanity’ [54, 39]. For other references see **Quotations.**
Severus, Lucius Septimius, Roman emperor A.D. 193—211, b. in Africa, A.D. 146. He settled at Rome and rose rapidly in official positions. On the death of the emperor Commodus, A.D. 192, Severus tendered his allegiance to Pertinax. After the murder of Pertinax, the pretorian guards offered the purple to the highest bidder, and Didius Julianus became emperor. But Julianus scarcely ventured to appear abroad. Severus had been proclaimed emperor by the troops in Pannonia and he hastened to Rome. His arrival was the signal for the death of Julianus, A.D. 193, and vengeance was inflicted on the murderers of Pertinax. During the next nine years Severus was occupied with warfare in the East and in Gaul, and in A.D. 202 he returned to Rome to celebrate the marriage of his eldest son Caracalla with Plautilla, daughter of Plautianus [27, 94]. Severus came to Britain, A.D. 207, to suppress a rebellion of the Caledonians and died at York, 211. Bacon quotes his last words [2, 45] and mentions him as an instance of men whose youth is stormy and who ripen late [42, 11], a judgment which Severus's career scarcely confirms.

Sforza, Ludovic, duke of Milan, called from his complexion 'the Moor,' b. A.D. 1451, was exiled from Milan during the reign of his brother and that of his nephew, whom he is said to have poisoned and whom he succeeded. In A.D. 1500 he was betrayed to the French and died in captivity in 1508 or 1510 [19, 80].

Sibylla of Cumae, the most famous of the prophetesses called Sibyls. She came to Tarquin the Proud, seventh King of Rome, and offered to sell him nine books. When he refused to buy them, she burned three and asked the same price for the remaining six. The king again refused to buy, whereupon she burned three more and asked the original sum for the remaining three [21, 3]. The king then bought the books, which were carefully preserved and consulted by the Romans when the state was in danger.

Sicilian, Empedocles the, [27, 13]. See Empedocles.

Silius, Caius, paramour of Messalina the wife of the emperor Claudius. During the absence of Claudius from Rome Messalina went through a form of marriage with Silius. Narcissus, the emperor's freedman, and minister, contrived that Claudius should be informed by two women of this public outrage on his honour [22, 55] and Silius was executed, A.D. 48.

Siren[10, 4]. The Sirens were three sea-nymphs, who first charmed men and afterwards destroyed them. Once they had wings, but they lost their wings after their defeat in a contest with the Muses. Ulysses made himself and his companions secure from the power of the Sirens, and the Argonauts, returning from Colchis, passed them unscathed, as the music of their fellow-passenger Orpheus was more fascinating than the song of the Sirens. Thereupon the Sirens threw themselves into the sea and were turned into rocks.

Socrates, the Athenian philosopher, b. B.C. 468, served with credit in some of the engagements in the Peloponnesian War. He conveyed his instruction by conversation in public places; was ridiculed by Aristophanes in the Clouds, B.C. 423; was indicted on a charge of impiety, B.C. 399, and was executed the same year. His thick lips,
snub nose, and prominent eyes gave him the appearance of a satyr, and Bacon dismisses him to join the ranks of 'deformed persons' [44, 40]. Elsewhere Bacon speaks of him as a man ‘full of ostentation’ [54, 34].

Solomon, the son and successor of David, was king of Israel, B.C. 1015—975, and enjoyed great prosperity [5, 31; 56, 147]. During his reign the Temple was built. Three books in the Old Testament bear his name,—the Song of Solomon, the Book of Proverbs, and the Book of Ecclesiastes. For Bacon’s numerous references see Quotations.

(Salomon) is the form of the name which is used in the LXX. and Vulgate, and adopted in the translations of Wyclif, Tyndale and Cranmer. The Hebrew form Solomon was introduced into the A.V. 1611 from the Geneva version of 1557. Bacon always writes Salomon.)

Solon was made Archon of Athens, B.C. 594, at a time when the state was rent by civil dissensions. He drew up a new constitution and a new code of laws [55, 35] which he bound the Athenians to observe for at least ten years. This constitution was overthrown by Pisistratus, B.C. 560, shortly before Solon’s death. The story of the interview between Solon and the Lydian king Crœsus [29, 76] must be rejected on chronological grounds. In Plato’s Timaeus an Egyptian priest is said to have told Solon of the existence of the island of Atlantis [58, 30].

Solyman, the second Turkish emperor of that name, b. A.D. 1494, surnamed by Europeans ‘the Great,’ or ‘the Magnificent,’ and by his own countrymen ‘the Conqueror,’ or ‘the Legislator,’ succeeded to the throne A.D. 1520. He suppressed the Mamelukes, defeated the Hungarians, took Buda, and besieged Vienna, but was compelled to retire from that city with enormous loss. In the internal administration of his dominions he displayed the most enlightened regard for the welfare of the vast populations under his rule. He died of fever in an expedition against Hungary, A.D. 1566. His wife Roxolana caused the destruction of Mustapha [19, 89], Solyman’s son by a former marriage, and in consequence of this act ‘the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue’ [19, 100]. See also Mustapha, Roxolana, Selymus, Zanger.

The following Table shows the relationship of those members of this house to whom Bacon makes reference in the Essays.

| Bajazet II. | A.D. 1481—1512 [19, 115] |
| Selim I. | A.D. 1512—1520 [19, 115] |
| (Bosphorone) = Solyman II. | = Roxolana |
| A.D. 1520—1566 [19, 89, 100] | [19, 88] |
| | Mustapha | Zanger | (Bajazet) | Selymus II. |
| | [19, 90, 99] | [44, 39] | executed | A.D. 1566—1574 |
| | | | | A.D. 1559) | [19, 102] |
Spain, an Italian proverb concerning [25, 23], its extensive dominions [29, 173], its veteran army [29, 273], the surname of the king of [35, 68], its probable decay [58, 138], its expansiveness [58, 142].

Spaniards, their proverb [6, 98; 15, 108], their slowness [25, 21], seem wiser than they are [26, 2], large dominions held by few native [29, 173], their profession of arms [29, 214].

Sparta, less extensive in its dominions than Spain [29, 175], had the use of slaves [29, 190], its profession of arms [29, 208], scourging of the lads of [39, 29].

Spartans, their small despatch [25, 22], seldom naturalised aliens [29, 152].

Stoics, a philosophical school founded by Zeno, a native of Cyprus, who settled at Athens, circ. B.C. 300. He taught in the Στοὰ Ποικῆ (Painted Porch), whence his disciples received their name. The Stoics aimed at a life unperturbed by the passion of joy or of grief. They held that the supreme end of life, the sumnum bonum, is virtue. Conduct should conform to the law of nature. We must submit to what is inevitable, and cultivate a feeling of indifference for external sources of pleasure and pain. Hence temperance and self-denial should be practised. It is only the wise man who can completely discharge his duty, and he alone is unmoved by passion, just, and free. Bacon unfairly censures the Stoics for making too great preparations for death [2, 46], quotes 'a high speech of Seneca' after their manner [5, 2], and condemns their notion of utterly extinguishing anger as a mere boast [57, 2].

Switzera, stability of [14, 12].

Sylla, Lucius Cornelius, distinguished himself in Africa under Marius, became leader of the aristocratic party in the Social War, and drove Marius out of Italy in B.C. 88. During Sylla's absence in the East, where he was in command against Mithridates, Marius's party regained the upper hand at Rome. Marius became consul for the seventh time and died B.C. 86. On Sylla's return he gained a victory over the Marian party at the Colline Gate, B.C. 82, and made himself master of the lives, liberties and property of the citizens of Rome. He assumed the surname of Felix [40, 48]. Under the title of perpetual Dictator, B.C. 81, he reconstructed the constitution, but in B.C. 79 he abdicated all power. He died B.C. 78. Bacon refers to the high consideration which Sylla showed for the youthful Pompey [27, 60], who had done good service against the Marian party in B.C. 83—2, and to Pompey's support of Lepidus against Sylla's wishes [27, 66] in the contest for the consulship. He also quotes Caesar's sarcasm, Sylla non potuit dictare [15, 220].

Syria, exasperation of the legions in [Fame, 35].

Tacitus, Caius Cornelius, Roman historian, fl. A.D. 100, received favours at the hands of the emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. His extant works are the Life of Agricola, who was governor of Britain, A.D. 78—84, and whose daughter Tacitus married; a treatise on the Germans; the Annals, comprising the period from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero (A.D. 14—68); the Histories, comprising the period from the accession of Galba to the death of Domitian (A.D. 68—96); and
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

a Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence. Only portions of the Annals and Histories have come down to us. For Bacon's numerous references see Quotations.

Talmud [16, 2]. The Talmud consists of two parts, the Mishna and the Gemara. The Mishna is a digest of the Jewish traditions and a compendium of the ritual law, on which the Gemara is a commentary containing illustrative notes compiled at a later date. When the word Talmud is used alone, it often signifies the Gemara.

Tamerlane (or Timour the Tartar), b. A.D. 1335, descended from Genghis Khan (who founded the great Mogul empire, and died A.D. 1227), became sovereign of Tartary in 1370. His conquests reached from Moscow to Delhi. In 1402 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turks at Angora and captured their Sultan, Bajazet I. Tamerlane died, A.D. 1405. His name is a corruption of the Turkish Timour lenc, i.e. Timour the Lame [9, 50].

Tartars, their westward movement in war [58, 112].

Tartary, its excessive population [58, 146].

Thales of Miletus, B.C. 640—550, the earliest Greek philosopher of eminence, founder of the Ionic school, and one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece. Bacon quotes his saying respecting the right time for marriage [8, 51].

Themistocles, an Athenian statesman and general, belonging to the period when Greece was threatened by the Persian empire. The banishment of his rival Aristeides, in B.C. 483, left him free to pursue his own policy. He created a Greek navy, defeated Xerxes off Salamis, B.C. 480, and caused his speedy retreat from Greece [Fame, 47]. In B.C. 471 he was condemned to temporary banishment on a charge of receiving bribes. After many perils he reached the court of Persia where Artaxerxes was then king [27, 154]. Artaxerxes loaded him with presents and gave him a residence at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, where he died. Bacon quotes his remark that 'he could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city!' [29, 1].

Theodoricus (Theodoric) the Great, king of the Ostrogoths and founder of their dominion in Italy [55, 40] b. A.D. 455 near Vienna, received his education at Constantinople, whither he was sent as a hostage. After ten years' absence he was restored to his father, who had become sole ruler of the Ostrogoths. Theodoric invaded Italy in 488, then under the sway of Odoacer, the usurper, who had deposed and banished Romulus Augustus in 476, and thereby brought to an end the Roman empire in the West. Theodoric defeated Odoacer and in 493 accepted his capitulation with the condition that they should reign jointly. A few days later Theodoric murdered his vanquished rival and assumed the Roman purple. He made Ravenna his capital and there he died, A.D. 526.

Thule [35, 16], an island in the extreme north of Europe, variously identified with Iceland or with one or other of the Shetland Isles.

Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar), emperor of Rome, A.D. 14—37, b. B.C. 42, son of Tib. Claudius Nero and of Livia. Four years after the birth of Tiberius, Livia had been forced to leave her husband and to marry Augustus. In B.C. 11 Augustus compelled
Tiberius to divorce his wife, Agrippa’s daughter, and to marry the emperor’s only daughter Julia, Agrippa’s widow. It was owing to the influence of Livia that Augustus adopted Tiberius as his heir, and by her skilful management, when Augustus was on his death-bed, she secured the undisputed succession of her son [Fame, 42]. Sejanus was the only man who gained the thorough confidence of Tiberius [27, 87]. While Tiberius was in retirement at Capreae, Sejanus ruled with almost absolute power at Rome. At length Tiberius became suspicious of Sejanus’s designs, and despatched Macro with a letter for the senate [36, 29]. After the letter had been read, Sejanus was put to death, A.D. 31. Tiberius died, A.D. 37. The young Caius Caligula, his successor, and Macro are reported to have hastened his end by smothering him with a pillow. As the result of his surroundings during his early life, Tiberius grew up reserved in character [6, 11] and he retained his habits of dissimulation to the last [2, 40]. Bacon mentions his prediction that Galba would one day be at the head of the Roman world [35, 27].

The following Table shows the relationship of several members of the Imperial Family. An asterisk is attached to the names of those who are mentioned in Bacon’s Essays.

| M. Agrippa* | Tib. Cl. Nero = Livia Drusilla* = Augustus* (by Scribonia) |
| Nero Cl. Dru. Caes. = Livilla* | Germanicus Claudius* = Messalina* |
| Caligula* | Agrippina Minor |
| Nero* |

Tigellinus, Sophonius, owed his rise from poverty and obscurity to his good looks and unscrupulous character. Early in Nero’s reign he was in favour at court, and when Burrus [22, 96] was poisoned in A.D. 63, Tigellinus became praetorian prefect and seconded Nero in his worst atrocities. On Nero’s downfall, A.D. 68, Tigellinus abandoned his master in distress and supported Galba’s cause. By means of bribery he was saved during Galba’s short reign from the fate which he deserved, but he perished by his own hand on Otho’s accession, A.D. 69.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, afforded a refuge to his father-in-law Mithridates in B.C. 71, when the Third Mithridatic War was at an early stage. Confident in the multitude of his forces, Tigranes gave battle to the Romans at Tigranocerta, B.C. 69, and was totally defeated by Lucullus [29, 63]. The command of the Mithridatic War was conferred on Pompey by the Manilian Law, in B.C. 66, and the
same year Pompey invaded Armenia and received the submission of Tigranes.  

Timæus, the title of one of Plato's Dialogues [35, 99], which derives its name from Timæus, one of Plato's disciples.  

Timoleon, one of the greatest of Greek generals and patriots, delivered Corinth from the despotism of his elder brother Timophaenes, to whose execution he gave a reluctant consent. The reproaches of his mother caused him to withdraw from public life for twenty years, but in B.C. 343 the Corinthians summoned him to lead an expedition against Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. Timoleon’s enterprise met with uninterrupted success [40, 58]. He gained a great victory over the Carthaginians, restored a republican constitution to Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants from the other Sicilian cities. He became a Syracusan citizen and abdicated his power, but still continued to exercise great influence in the state. His birthday was kept as a public festival, and when he died, B.C. 336, he was buried with great magnificence at the public cost.  

Timon, the Misanthrope, fl. in the time of the Peloponnesian War. He was an Athenian who, in consequence of early disappointments, retired from the world [13, 65] and is said to have died because he refused to let a surgeon visit him to set a broken limb. Aristophanes attacked him in the Birds, B.C. 414, and in the Lysistrata, B.C. 411.  

Timothæus, son of Conon, was an illustrious Athenian general, who reached the height of his glory and popularity in B.C. 363. In consequence of a heavy fine for bribery, he withdrew to Chalcis in Eubœa, B.C. 354, and died there shortly afterwards. Bacon quotes Plutarch’s remark that when Timothæus denied that his success was due to Fortune, Fortune forsook him [40, 51].  

Tiphys, the helmsman of the ship Argo, died on the voyage of the Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece [35, 14].  

Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus, Roman emperor, A.D. 79—81, b. A.D. 40, son of the emperor Vespasian. He was remarkable for his endowments of body and mind [43, 10]. By the capture of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, he brought to an end the war in Judæa and shared with his father the honours of a triumph. Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian.  

Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Trajanus), one of the most illustrious Roman emperors, A.D. 98—117, b. near Seville, A.D. 52, was adopted by Nerva, who chose him for his well-known virtues, his military spirit, and his fitness to command [27, 99]. By his victories over the Dacians, Germans and Parthians, Trajan securely fixed the boundaries of the Roman empire on the banks of the Rhine and the Tigris. His internal administration was equally glorious, and his reign was celebrated, with that of his successor Hadrian and with the period of the two Antonines, for its justice and clemency.  

Trent (Tridentum), a town in the Tyrol, where the General Council met [17, 25] in A.D. 1545 and continued its deliberations, with sundry interruptions, till the year 1563. The Council reformed certain practical abuses, but its main result was to define more rigidly than before the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and as one of its last acts was to issue an anathema against heretics, the Protestants refused to recognise its decisions.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Tully [42, 62], see Cicero.
Turk, the Great [Fame, 45].
Turkey, its expansiveness [58, 142].
Turks, marriage despised among [8, 34], kind to beasts [13, 17], have no nobility [14, 4], their profession of arms [29, 212, 221], their ground for making war [29, 233], defeated at Lepanto [29, 284], in masques [37, 37, 49].
Tyana, a town in Cappadocia at the foot of Mount Taurus, celebrated as the native place of the notorious Apollonius [27, 13].
Ulysses (Odysseus), king of Ithaca, whose wanderings for twenty years after the fall of Troy form the subject of Homer's Odyssey. The enchantress Calypso promised him immortality if he would remain for ever with her on the island of Ogygia [8, 42]. His heart was true however to his wife Penelope. During his absence Penelope was harassed by the pertinacity of her numerous suitors, whom Ulysses slew on his return home.
United Provinces of the Low Countries [14, 14]. The Republic of the Seven United Provinces threw off the yoke of Spain in A.D. 1579. Holland became the leading state of the republic, and its name was consequently used to denote the United Provinces as a whole.
Utopia, the title of Sir Thomas More's prose romance, in which an imaginary republic is depicted, and remedies for the evils which were rife in his day are suggested [41, 72]. The name is derived from ὄβα, τοῖς, 'not a place,' i.e. 'Nowhere.' The original Latin version of More's Utopia was published in A.D. 1516.
Vatican, the papal palace at Rome, on the Mons Vaticanus. It is said to have been begun by Symmachus, A.D. 498, and to contain more than 4400 rooms [46, 45].
Vespasian (Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus), b. A.D. 9, Roman emperor A.D. 70—79. He rose to distinction in the army during the reigns of Caligula and Nero, and was in command of a powerful army in the East at the time when Galba was killed and war broke out between Otho and Vitellius, A.D. 69. The prediction which had long been current in the East, that the sovereignty of the world would devolve upon one who should go forth from Judaea, was supposed to find its fulfilment in the fact that Vespasian was called from Judaea to the imperial throne [35, 29]. Vespasian reluctantly yielded to the pleadings of Mucianus that he would make himself emperor [6, 8], and proceeded to Egypt in order to cut off the corn supplies and starve Vitellius into surrender. In a short time however a victory was gained over Vitellius by Antonius Primus, and Vitellius was put to death, A.D. 69. At Alexandria Vespasian had an interview with Apollonius of Tyana [19, 36] and is said to have performed a couple of miraculous cures. He left the subjugation of Judaea to be completed by his son Titus, who took Jerusalem and destroyed the Holy City and its Temple in A.D. 71. On his arrival at Rome Vespasian restored order [55, 40], and made good use of the money which he raised from various forms of taxation. He had many great qualities and some mean ones. Tacitus says that, unlike any of his predecessors, he was improved by empire [11, 105]. His jesting humour did not forsake him even on his death-bed [2, 42].
Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro), b. B.C. 70 near Mantua in Cisalpine Gaul, d. B.C. 19. Author of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. For Bacon's references to Virgil see Quotations.

Virginia, tobacco in [33, 55].

Vitellius, Aulus, b. A.D. 15, who pandered to the vices of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero in succession, was notorious for his gluttony, and popular with the soldiers for his easy good-nature. Two of Galba's generals of the army on the Rhine prompted the legions to proclaim Vitellius emperor, A.D. 69, and hastened to Italy, where they defeated the army of Otho (q.v.) at Bedriacum. Vitellius reached Rome when the victory was secured, but gave himself up to the pleasures of the table, while his generals governed in his name. Meanwhile Mucianus in the East had stirred up disaffection among the troops by spreading a report that Vitellius intended to move them from Syria to Germany [Fame, 32], and encouraged Vespasian to take up arms against Vitellius [6, 9]. Thus within the space of little more than a twelvemonth the Roman empire had witnessed the death of Nero, the accession and death of Galba and Otho, the accession of Vitellius, and the proclamation of Vespasian as emperor. In a second battle of Bedriacum Vitellius's generals were overthrown, and Vespasian's officer, Antonius Primus, pushing on to Rome, slaughtered the Vitellians there. Vitellius was dragged from his hiding-place and buffeted to death, A.D. 69. His reign had lasted not quite a year.

William II., surnamed Rufus, king of England A.D. 1087—1100. On the death of Lanfranc, Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1089, William laid his hands upon the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys, and appointed no successor to Lanfranc until 1093, when Anselm was made primate. A violent quarrel with Anselm ensued [19, 122], in the course of which the archbishop was forced to go into exile.

Xerxes, king of Persia, succeeded his father Darius, B.C. 485. Since the defeat of Darius at Marathon, B.C. 490, preparations had been constantly in progress for another invasion of Greece. In B.C. 480 Xerxes began his march from Sardis and was defeated at Salamis. Fearing that the bridge of boats across the Hellespont might be destroyed [Fame, 47] he hurriedly left Greece. He was assassinated by one of the great officers of his court, B.C. 465.

Zanger (Tzihanger or Djihangir), the eldest of the sons of Solyman the Magnificent by his wife Roxolana. When he found that his half-brother and heir to the throne, Mustapha (q.v.), had been strangled by his father's orders, A.D. 1553, his distress was extreme, and is said to have caused his death; but whether he died of grief, of poison, or by his own hand, is uncertain. Zanger is mentioned by Bacon as an instance of deformity combined with excellence [44, 39].

Zeuxis, one of the most celebrated painters of antiquity, was at the height of his reputation about the year B.C. 400. He painted the king of Macedon's palace at Pella. Cicero and other ancient authors tell the story of his selection of five beautiful maidens of Croton to serve as models for his picture of Helen. Bacon erroneously attributes this incident to Apelles [43, 20].
**WORKS QUOTED IN BACON'S ESSAYS.**

* * * The numbers refer to the Essay and Line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Essay</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aesop</td>
<td>54, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristotle</td>
<td>27, 3</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td>3, 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>16, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celsus</td>
<td>30, 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>8, 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16, 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26, 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27, 79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29, 278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34, 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42, 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56, 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicero, Q.</td>
<td>55, 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dio Cassius</td>
<td>2, 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27, 85, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diog. Laertius</td>
<td>16, 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace</td>
<td>2, 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenal</td>
<td>2, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livy</td>
<td>40, 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54, 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucan</td>
<td>15, 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucian</td>
<td>1, 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretius</td>
<td>1, 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3, 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machiavelli</td>
<td>13, 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15, 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39, 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58, 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial</td>
<td>20, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montaigne</td>
<td>1, 74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid</td>
<td>15, 150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16, 79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32, 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38, 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50, 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56, 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philostratus</td>
<td>19, 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plato</td>
<td>58, 21, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td>9, 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliny</td>
<td>15, 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53, 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch</td>
<td>7, 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10, 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17, 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27, 68, 119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29, 5, 62, 67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35, 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40, 47, 51, 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Wrongly attributed to Aulus Gellius.  
2 Wrongly attributed to Tacitus.
## List of Works Quoted

**Proverbs**, 20, 12  
22, 131  
34, 19, 30, 102  
53, 40  
54, 27  
56, 17, 38  

**Ecclesiastes**, 34, 8  
52, 49  
53, 14  
58, 1, 4  

**Isaiah**, 3, 138  
15, 64  
20, 11  
56, 33  

**Jeremiah**, 24, 38  

**Joel**, 42, 47  

**Amos**, 56, 23  

New Testament  

**Matthew**, 3, 25, 66  
9, 172  
13, 38  
29, 44, 328  
34, 110  
41, 13  
56, 98  
58, 72  

**Mark**, 3, 66  
9, 8  

**Mark**, 13, 46  
34, 110  

**Luke**, 1, 82  
2, 56  
3, 67  
20, 90  
57, 15  

**John**, 1, 1  
15, 170  

**Romans**, 2, 4  
13, 82  
44, 4  
53, 56  

**I Corinthians**, 3, 32  

**II** — 53, 55  

**Ephesians**, 57, 2  

**I Timothy**, 3, 97  

**II** — 26, 5  

**James**, 3, 155  

**Revelation**, 3, 59  

**Seneca**, 35, 11  
57, 14  

**Spartianus**, 42, 12  

**Suetonius**, 2, 39, 42  
15, 220  

**Tacitus**, 2, 41  
6, 5, 9  
11, 98, 100  
15, 26, 33, 61, 224, 240  
22, 96  
27, 90  
29, 23  
34, 97  
35, 28, 32  
53, 34  
54, 44  
55, 56  

**Terence**, 20, 67  
26, 8  

**Theocritus**, 53, 35  

**Virgil**, 15, 7, 15  
29, 57, 129  
35, 7  
41, 6  
46, 53  
57, 19  

**Fame**, 3—11
APPENDIX.

§ 1. DEVIATIONS IN BACON’S ESSAYS FROM THE GRAMMATICAL USAGES OF MODERN ENGLISH.

1. Form.

Nouns, Pronouns, and Adjectives.

Use of his in place of s as the sign of the possessive case: 19, 91, ‘Edward II...his queen’; 29, 277, ‘Pompey his preparation.’

Omission of inflexion in possessive case: 47, 18, ‘for satisfaction sake’: (omitted, 14, 11, in ‘business sake,’ as in ‘conscience sake,’ ‘goodness sake,’ in modern English, because these nouns already end in a sibilant).

Use of his for its: 10, 44; 23, 8; 36, 4; 39, 56; 58, 185-9; cf. also 54, 38, where we should expect her, of ‘Virtue.’

Pleonastic adverbial form, 47, 39, ‘at unawares’: the possessive inflexion alone would convert the adjective into an adverb: cf. always, once.

Superlative of polysyllabic word formed by inflexion, 32, 8, honourablest: also 34, 73; unusual form certainest.

Verbs.

Past tense mought for ‘might,’ 15, 184; 22, 31; 27, 106, 116; 34, 38; 35, 97.

Weak past tense digged, 23, 44.

Confusion of lay and ‘lie,’ 38, 35, ‘will lay buried.’

Present participle for past, beholding for ‘beholden,’ 10, 1; 54, 37.

Weak past participle grinded, 41, 78; hanged, 45, 136.

Past participles in -en, become, 29, 155; gotten, 9, 146; 15, 145; 22, 44; 34, 34, 92; holpen, 20, 88; 24, 30; 29, 6.

French form, past participle interested for ‘interested,’ 3, 159.

Omission of ending -d or -ed from past participial forms:

communicate, 13, 42. discontent, 15, 165; 36, 8; 48, 36. communicate, 13, 42. discontent, 15, 165; 36, 8; 48, 36.

confederate, 16, 10; 24, 16. elaborate, 20, 39.

corroborate, 39, 7. exhaust, 8, 38; 58, 189.

degenerate, 11, 55. suspect, 51, 44.
APPENDIX.

Latinisms.

infortunate for 'unfortunate,' 4, 43; 40, 51.
vindicative for 'vindictive,' 4, 41.

Prefixes.

unproper for 'improper,' 27, 187; and infortunate, 4, 43; 40, 51.

Words not naturalized:

aequinoctia, 15, 4.
grotta, 44, 119.
misanthropi, 13, 63.
philanthropia, 13, 2.

2. Construction and Idiom.

Adjectives.

Adjective used as Adverb:

exceeding, 39, 51.

extreme, 37, 9; 44, 17.

fair, 6, 95; 56, 81.
infortunate, 4, 43.
lively, 5, 19.

new, 36, 35.

orderly, 27, 151.

Adjective used as Noun: private, 33, 50.

Adjective ill used attributively: e.g. 12, 25; 45, 6; 49, 1; 55, 15.

Adverbs.

Adverb used as Adjective: often, 38, 7; very, 13, 66.

never used for 'ever,' 36, 20 (see note); 50, 47; 52, 44; 54, 5.

no used for 'not,' 31, 14; 'likely or no.'

Articles.

Insertion of Definite Article: 'the matter,' 1, 45; 58, 12; 'at the second hand,' 54, 38; 'the politics,' Fame, 22.

Omission: 'Question was asked,' 12, 2; 'to represent to life,' 27, 229.

Insertion of Indefinite Article: 'a weariness,' 2, 34; 'in a proportion,' 4, 35; 'a waggishness,' 13, 20; 'in an anger,' Fame, 14.

Omission: 'God never wrought miracle,' 16, 4; 'as if it were matter of grace,' 27, 51; 'it is pity,' 41, 2; 'it was great advantage,' 29, 189; 'at distance,' 45, 151.

Conjunctions and Conjunctual Phrases.

and = 'if,' 23, 35; 40, 39.

as = 'that,' passim, e.g. 3, 100, 126; 8, 22, 49; 11, 3; 16, 22, 59; 21, 31; 23, 5, 34; 27, 43, 79; 31, 25; 36, 12; 51, 13.
because = 'in order that,' 8, 15; 25, 12; 34, 16.
for = 'because,' 46, 126.
for that = 'because,' 16, 55; 19, 102; 22, 119; 34, 77; 35, 57.
in regard = 'because of,' 29, 117; 41, 114.
so = 'provided that,' 7, 37; 9, 118, 134; 15, 179; 33, 53; 37, 19:
46, 76; 48, 26; 52, 36.
so as = 'provided that,' 25, 47.
so that = 'provided that,' 1, 57; 18, 6.
that = 'so that,' 36, 146 (see note).
that = 'if' (or redundant) 36, 51.
that = 'when' (or redundant) 15, 49; 19, 95; 27, 66; 40, 14.
that merely connective, 47, 37.

Nouns.
Noun used as Adjective; Mercury, 3, 151; slope, 46, 119; and instead of Adjective, danger, 47, 7; reason, 8, 7; 11, 14; 14, 39.
Virtue not personified, 54, 38.

Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases.
for = 'as regards,' passim, e.g. 3, 18; 6, 41, 64, 78; 8, 31; 11, 71, 74, 87; 14, 6.
from = 'away from,' 45, 101.
in = 'into,' 1, 11.
in regard of = 'because of,' 27, 45; 41, 114.
in respect of = 'in comparison with,' 29, 300; 40, 58.
of used appositionally, 15, 68; 22, 10; 29, 329.
of = 'about,' 16, 64; 'scandal of priests.'
of = 'among,' 14, 48.
of = 'ly,' 54, 1.
of = 'for,' 6, 26; 'a name of certainty'; 15, 54; 16, 68; 17, 35; 'reverence of'; 56, 49; 'of long.'
of = 'from,' 2, 24; 27, 27; 33, 37; 36, 33; 53, 28; and = 'resulting from,' 19, 96; 54, 16.
of = 'on,' 19, 124; 'dependence of'; 26, 36; 'of the negative side'; 46, 99; 'of either side'; 44, 5; 'revenge of nature.'
of = 'with regard to,' 58, 99, 'do the like of superlative holiness.'
The use of the preposition of after the following verbs is at variance with modern idiom:
consider of, 44, 12; 58, 25. mixed of, 27, 214.
defineth of, 56, 14. proceed of, 25, 41; 51, 41; 53, 19; 54, 45;
devour of, 35, 76. 56, 70.
discern of, 36, 67. produced of, 54, 24.
estemeth of, 10, 42. rising of, 6, 82.
mean of, 54, 43.
to = 'for,' 33, 47; 'employed to a common stock.'
upon = 'at,' 54, 29; 'upon charge and adventure.'
upon = 'at the expense of,' 15, 144; 'upon the foreigner.'
upon = 'by reason of,' 2, 34; 'upon a weariness'; 36, 18, 71; 49, 8;
52, 37; 54, 4.
APPENDIX.

upon = 'with,' 34, 41, 'upon speed.'
upon redundant, 38, 49, 'commandeth upon himself.'
with = 'to,' 13, 42, 'benefits to be communicate with all'; 31, 31.
without = 'outside,' 40, 35; 50, 18.

PRONOUNS.
either for 'each,' 30, 57; 42, 40; 45, 57; 46, 99, 122; 54, 19.
every as noun, 15, 57, 'every of them.'
it for 'that,' 11, 96; used indeterminately, 26, 23; 51, 38.
other used as pronoun or adverb, 4, 18.
The supposed distinction between which and that as coordinating
and restrictive relatives is not observed: 5, 2—3; 15, 38—9; 28, 39
—40.
The restrictive that occurs after a proper noun, 3, 128, 'Agamemnon
that.'
which for 'who,' 3, 89; 7, 10; 8, 5; 9, 109; 15, 38; 29, 23, 25;
48, 3, 8, 17; 53, 47.
that for 'such,' 27, 63; 29, 230.
that...as for 'such...that,' 6, 13; 14, 22; 33, 71; 46, 230; Fame, 30.

VERBS.
Intransitive verb used transitively, 13, 40, shine; 27, 115, perish.
Transitive verb used intransitively, 19, 146, nourish; 34, 41, 
enrich.
Wrong sequence, 29, 226, 'hath growen' for 'had growen'; 49, 57,
'to have lost' for 'to lose.'
Use of infinitive without to: 9, 41, 'think themselves go back.'
Use of to and infinitive in place of preposition and gerund:

2, 34, to do = 'of doing,'
26, 36, to be = 'in being,'
27, 202, to think himself = 'thinking himself,' explaining 'imagina-
tions.'
41, 84, to seek = 'for seeking,' i.e. 'must seek.'
41, 94, to take = 'from taking.'
42, 30, to innovate = 'about innovating.'
53, 44, to praise = 'as for praising' (see note).
56, 36, to make = 'in making,'
and in place of verbal noun,
3, 117, to propagate = 'the propagation of.'
Use of be for 'are': 1, 2; 3, 82, 102, 113; 6, 33; 9, 1, 108; 13, 54;
15, 146; 20, 70, 92, 144; 22, 4, 21; 25, 52; 29, 285, 302; 39, 36; 40,
10, 31, 55; 42, 54; 45, 46; 46, 105, 135, 175; 52, 23; 53, 17; 56, 23,
25; 57, 48; 58, 80, 94, 147; Fame, 50.
Use of shall for 'will,' expressing definite futurity: 2, 8; 3, 87;
7, 8, 21; 8, 30; 9, 97; 12, 30; 14, 49; 16, 31, 33; 22, 124; 31, 32;
32, 28, 30, 39; 38, 31; 40, 20; 41, 110; 43, 28; 45, 9, 104; 52, 14,
16, 30, 32:
and with the stronger sense of 'must,' 'destined to': 13, 69; 24, 13;
29, 107, 188; 34, 65; 43, 29; 45, 12; 46, 5.
APPENDIX.

Use of *should* for 'would,' in reported statement, 27, 7; 53, 36.
Use of *would* for 'should,' 'ought to': 3, 155; 17, 50; 22, 22; 31, 35; 33, 60; 37, 11; 46, 210; 50, 28:
and for 'wish to': 22, 36; 127; 26, 15, 28; 32, 35; 43, 21; 47, 3, 32, 40.
Use of *beware* followed by positive injunction: 24, 34; 57, 23.

VIOLATION OF CONCORD.

Singular verb after more than one subject (in some instances justified because the subjects jointly represent one complex idea): 11, 38 (see note); 15, 163; 25, 47; 27, 6; 29, 138, 226; 37, 48, 50; 38, 3; 42, 17; 46, 161; 56, 34, 58.
Singular verb after *that* referring to plural antecedent, 29, 317; after *which*, 53, 29 (perhaps due to attraction).
Plural noun treated as collective and singular, 45, 70, 'a goodly leads.'
Plural verb after singular subject: 33, 62 (perhaps due to attraction); 55, 29 (perhaps due to inversion).
Plural verb after two singular subjects connected by *nor*, 39, 15.
Singular noun treated as plural, 14, 9, 'there are stirps.'
Inconsistency in number of Pronouns: 16, 57—8; 20, 104—5; 26, 42, 'their wealth'; 29, 219, 'no nation which *doth...their mouths*'; 29, 228, *them* referring to 'state'; 33, 69, *them* referring to 'one'; 58, 154, *they* referring to 'state'; 34, 93, *it* and *they* referring to 'riches'; 41, 110, 'all borrowers...be he'; 51, 13, 'in beginners...as he be.'
In 22, 59, *he* is used to refer to 'one.'

ANACOLUTHON, *i.e.* the confusion of two constructions.

8, 10, *requires* 'yet think only of themselves.'
22, 115 " " 'was approached and called.'
28, 21 " " 'ought to turn.'
29, 125 " " 'in keeping,' to correspond with 'in making,' or 'may keep' to correspond with 'may breed.'
29, 148 " " 'For to think...of dominion *is absurd: such an empire may hold &c.'
46, 122 " " 'ground enough should be left.'
53, 45 " " 'may be done.'

LOOSE CONSTRUCTIONS.

9, 98, 'bemoaning themselves what a life &c.' for (1) 'bemoaning themselves for the life,' or (2) 'bemoaning the life.'
11, 103, 'whom honour amends' requires (1) 'if honour amends it,' or (2) 'He is a generous spirit whom &c.'
37, 47, 'in *such a company as* there is heat' for 'in a company *where* there is heat.'
38, 50, 'whatsoever is agreeable' for 'as to whatsoever is agreeable.'

19—2
42, 20, 'the experience of age directeth them,' viz. 'old men,' supplied κατὰ σόφευρω from age.

45, 21—4: the whole passage is loosely put together: thus, to correspond with its opening lines, too near, too far off, &c. must be replaced by nouns, such as 'too close proximity,' 'too great distance' &c. Secondly, 'having the commodity &c.' should be 'not having the commodity,' to correspond with the various 'wants' or drawbacks previously enumerated.

46, 145, 'and some fine banqueting-house' requires the words 'to be built there,' or an equivalent.

Ellipsis.

Of Relative pronoun as subject: 3, 71; 4, 12; 6, 38, 40; 13, 29, 54; 26, 41; 31, 15; 32, 41; 42, 54.

Of Relative pronoun as object: 12, 6; 13, 2; 16, 23; 18, 57, 80; 22, 35, 100; 26, 15; 27, 176; 29, 215; 32, 39; 37, 27; 41, 108; 48, 14; 50, 36; 54, 55; 57, 15 (see note).

Of Antecedent if, 9, 25; 28, 35.

Q{ they, subject of are, 22, 125.

Of preposition of, 2, 20, worthy the observing; 12, 2, worthy consideration.

Of preposition on, 46, 105, 'that side which the garden stands.'

Of preposition in, 3, 141, 'What is it better?' i.e. 'In what is it better?'

Of infinitive, 22, 69, 'which they are not accustomed (to do).'

Of by so much, adverbial phrase correlative to 'by how much,' 6, 61; 10, 37; 20, 6; 34, 98.

Pleonasm.

Redundant pronoun as subject:
he, 22, 59, 62; 32, 27; 53, 55.
they, 8, 38; 19, 134; 29, 237; 34, 95; 33, 6; 37, 33.
it, 24, 15; 35, 32; 36, 55.
which, 36, 13.

Redundant pronoun as object:
them, 9, 152; 43, 29 (see note):
it, 22, 90.

Redundant phrase such like (for such = 'so like ') 20, 306; 45, 51, 198;

Fame, 51; not an uncommon solecism at the present day.

Redundant conjunction that, 1, 25; 15, 28; 47, 37; also redundant or in substitution for if, 36, 51, and for when, 15, 49; 19, 95; 27, 66; 40, 14.

Redundant negative: 3, 93, 'not discern'; 7, 2, nor for 'and,' 11, 4, neither...nor for 'either...or'; 38, 6; 39, 6, 13; 41, 127; 53, 43, nor for 'or.'

Redundant to, 24, 40; 31, 17.

Archaism.

'you were better,' 26, 46; 'a man were better,' 27, 164; 49, 56; 'men were better,' 51, 11; originally an impersonal construction, 'It were (i.e. would be) better for you,' 'for a man,' 'for men.'
APPENDIX.

GRAECISM.

'The politics,' i.e. 'political treatises,' τὰ πολιτικὰ, Fame, 22.

'of all others the greatest,' 3, 19; this should be either (1) 'the greatest of all,' or 'greater than all others': similarly, 'of all other affections it is the most importunate,' 9, 163; 'it is of all others the best remedy against ambitious great ones,' 36, 38. Compare Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 252, 'This is the greatest error of all the rest,' and Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV. 323,

'Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.'

This confused construction of comparative and superlative, though a recognised Greek idiom, was developed independently in English.

LATINISM.

9, 66, 'incurreth into.'
11, 76, 'integrity used' = 'the use of integrity.'
11, 77, 'integrity professed' = 'the profession of integrity.'
25, 1, 'affected dispatch' = 'the desire of dispatch.'
29, 246, 'invasion offered' = 'the offer of invasion.'
Comparative form used where no comparison is involved:
44, 13, 'more deceivable' = 'somewhat deceptive.'
47, 14, 'men of a plainer sort' = 'rather plain men.'

3. Order.

Inversion of Noun and Adjective:

line royal, 14, 6; consistories ecclesiastic, 18, 21; garlands personal, 29, 310; gains certain, 34, 84; laws penal, 56, 43, but penal laws in lines 47, 48.

On the other hand Bacon writes *politic body* in 12, 27, and 15, 91; modern idiom prefers *body politic*.

*Neither* wrongly placed, 1, 15.

4. Meaning of words.

Latin influence has affected the meaning of the following words:

abstract, 'withdrawn,' 34, 25.
absurd, 6, 71; 26, 47; 47, 23.
affect, 'aim at,' 1, 4; 9, 48; 13, 1; 22, 80; 26, 36; 55, 3.
apt, 'fit,' 29, 47.
argument, 'subject,' 29, 30; 50, 29; 'proposition,' 32, 2.
censure, 'judgment,' 29, 3.
collect, 'infer,' 35, 94.
comfort, 'strengthen,' 39, 54.
compassionate, 'deserving compassion,' 33, 108.
commodities, 'advantages,' 41, 19.
compound, 'settle,' 49, 22; 55, 38; 58, 102.
APPENDIX.

contain, 'restrain,' 29, 195; 57, 47.
converse, 'be engaged in,' 38, 48.
curiously, 'carefully,' 50, 25.
destitute, 'abandon,' 33, 106.
discern, 'distinguish,' 36, 72; Fame, 26.
dissolve, 'annul,' 3, 112.
expended, 'dole out,' 33, 44.
glorious, 'ostentatious,' 34, 109; 48, 12; 54, 6, 29, 58.
induce, 'bring upon,' 44, 15.
industriously, 'purposely' (de industria) 6, 39.
noxious to, 'under the influence of,' 'submissive to,' 20, 111; 44, 31; 'liable to,' 36, 47.
occasion, 'opportunity,' 32, 9.
officious, 'ready to serve,' 44, 31; 48, 21, 40.
perfection, 'completion,' 25, 53; 'practice,' 'accomplishment,' 45, 43.
person, 'part,' or 'character' which a man sustains in life, 20, 103; 27, 255.
pity, 'natural affection,' 17, 12.
principal, 'initial,' 35, 53.
reason, 'relation' (ratio) 44, 35; 'principle,' 56, 139.
reduce, 'carry back,' 11, 54.
ruin, 'a falling thing,' 57, 14.
saltiness, 'wit' (sales) 32, 25.
secure, 'careless,' 15, 103.
security, 'freedom from care,' 5, 9.
sentence, 'opinion,' 58, 3.
tract (of years), 'space,' 42, 65.
vouch, 'call as evidence' (vocare) 3, 38.

USE OF SYNONYMS.

Bacon not unfrequently couples synonymous words. Instances of this tautology are given below:

astonishment or admiration, 53, 7.
wonder and admiration, 30, 28.
discourse and speech of conversation, 32, 11.
talk and discourse, 50, 21.
discerned and distinguished, 3, 69.
limited and confined, 57, 4.
mates and masters, 2, 21.
donatives and largesses, 29, 312.
prest and ready, 29, 242.
precincts and purse, 56, 96.
victual or esculent things, 33, 30.
exchanges, burses, 18, 28.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND PRINCIPAL WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON.

1560—1. Birth, Jan. 22.
1576. Admitted at Gray’s Inn.
1576—8. In France.
1579. Death of Bacon’s father.
1584. M.P. for Melcombe Regis.
1585.* Greatest Birth of Time written.*
1586. Bencher of Gray’s Inn.
1589. M.P. for Taunton.
1589. M.P. for Liverpool.
1593. M.P. for Middlesex.
1594. *Gesta Grayorum, a Device,* performed at Gray’s Inn.
1595. Presented by Essex with an estate.
* A Device* written for Essex.
1597. M.P. for Southampton.
1601. Prosecution of Essex.
1603. Knighted by James I.
1605. *Advancement of Learning* published.
1606. Married Alice Barnham.
1607. Solicitor-General.
1610. Death of Bacon’s mother.
1613. Attorney-General.
1614. M.P. for Cambridge University.
1616. Privy Councillor.
1617. Lord Keeper.
1617—8. Lord Chancellor.
1618. Created Baron Verulam.
1620. Created Viscount St Alban.
*Novum Organum* published.
1621. Charged with bribery, imprisoned in the Tower, and released.
*History of Henry VII.* published.
1623. *De Augmentis* published.
1624. *New Atlantis* and *Apophthegms* written.
1626. Death, April 9.
§ 3. EARLY EDITIONS OF BACON'S ESSAYS.

First Edition, 1597. With this edition of the Essayes, two other works were bound up, viz. Religious Meditations and Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. The Religious Meditations (Meditationes Sacrae) were in Latin. The Places of Perswasion and Disswasion are otherwise called the Coulers of Good and Evil. The volume contained ten Essays on the following subjects:


In the 'Epistle Dedicatorie,' addressed 'to Mr Anthony Bacon, his deare brother,' the author states his reason for publishing 'these fragments of his conceites' without further revision or expansion. 'I doe nowe,' he says, 'like some that have an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing...Only I disliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Silver were good, yet the peeces were small.'

Second Edition, 1612. This edition contained thirty-eight Essays, twenty-nine of them new, and nine from the First Edition. The Essay on 'Honour and Reputation' was left out. Forty Essays are enumerated in the Table of Contents, but the last two were not printed, their subjects being dealt with in the 38th Essay, which treats of the 'Greatness of Kingdoms.' The Table of Contents is as follows:

7. Nobility. 27. Custom and Education.
8. Great Place. 28. Fortune.
12. Love. 32. Followers.
15. Superstition. 35. Praise.
It was Bacon's intention to dedicate this edition to Henry, Prince of Wales. Addressing the Prince, Bacon says that since 'just Treatises' demand 'pleasure in the Writer and pleasure in the Reader,' he has chosen 'to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather signifie than curiously,' which he has called ESSAIES. 'The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, ye one marke them well, are but Essaies,—that is, dispersed Meditacons, though conveyed in the forme of Epistles.' Of his own Essays Bacon hopes that they may be 'as graynes of salte,' which will rather give the Prince an appetite than offend him with satiety. 'Althoughe,' he continues, 'they handle those things wherein both men's lives and their pens are most conversant, yet...I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience, little in bookes.'

The Prince died before the volume appeared, and a dedication to Bacon's brother-in-law, Sir John Constable, was substituted. Bacon had married Alice Barnham, and Sir John had married her sister Dorothy.

Third Edition, 1625. This edition was published the year before Bacon's death. It contains fifty-eight Essays, viz. the thirty-eight from the edition of 1612, the 'Essay of Honour and Reputation,' which had been omitted from that edition, and the following nineteen Essays which were new:

15. Seditious and Troubles. 45. Building.
18. Travel. 46. Gardens.
58. Vicissitude of Things.

The volume is dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham. 'Of all my other workes,' Bacon tells the Duke, 'my Essays have beene most currant, for that, as it seemes, they come home to men's Businesse and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number and Weight, so that they are indeed a New Worke....I doe conceive that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Universall Language) may last as long as Bookes last.'

In modern editions of Bacon's Essays, the text is printed from the edition of 1625.

The Fragment of an Essay 'Of Fame' was discovered by Dr Rawley amongst Bacon's papers, and was printed for the first time in 1657. As its genuineness admits of no dispute, it is commonly included in editions of the Essays.

Translations. In the Dedication of his Essays to the Duke of Buckingham, Bacon makes mention of a Latin version, the title for
which he had himself chosen,—*Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum*, 'Faithful Discourses, or the Inwards of Things.' This Latin version did not appear till 1638, when it was published by Dr Rawley. Its authorship has been ascribed to various hands. Bishop Hacket, Ben Jonson, 'the learned and judicious poet,' Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, the philosopher, and John Selden, the scholar and antiquarian, were mentioned, on authority by no means unimpeachable, as contributors to the work. In spite of several obvious errors, it is the most valuable of contemporary translations. Essay 35, 'Of Prophecies,' and Essay 37, 'Of Masques and Triumphs,' are not given in the Latin rendering.

An Italian Translation, with the title *Saggi Morali*, was published in 1618. Bacon's friend, Toby Matthew, was its editor. It contains the Essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' which had not at that date appeared in English, and an extract from the Dedication to Prince Henry, which had been suppressed. We may therefore infer that this version was made with Bacon's cognisance and approval.

The first French Translation, edited by Sir Arthur Gorges, was published in 1619. Other French versions, which Mr Reynolds describes as 'little known and little worth knowing,' appeared in 1621 and 1626.
WORDS AND PHRASES EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.

* * * The numbers refer to the Essay and Line.

abate 9, 100
abstract 34, 25
absurd 26, 47
acting in song 37, 8
actor 25, 33
adamant 18, 50
adust 36, 4
after 39, 4
agitation 20, 13
aid, pray in 27, 134
alarum 6, 89
alchemist 27, 131
all in all 27, 202
all is done, when 27, 202
allay 1, 66
alley 22, 13
allow 18, 6
anathema 13, 82
answer 41, 114
anticamera 45, 129
antimasque 37, 38
anthem 37, 14
apposed 22, 70
apprehend 48, 28
apricockes 48, 44
artichokes of Hierusalem 33, 32
assassin 3, 148
audit 34, 49
bay salt 33, 59
beat over 50, 50
beauty 43, Introd.
beholding 10, 1
benediction 5, 26
bias 23, 28
blanch 20, 125
blow, dry 32, 53
blush, vices 43, 39
broke 34, 65
broken upon 55, 18
broken music 37, 7
burses 18, 28
can, to 11, 32
canical 27, 122
cashier 51, 32
castoreum 27, 36
cat in pan 22, 89
catchpole 53, 52
chapman 34, 67
check 31, 4
choler 36, 1
chop 56, 88
chopping 34, 69
civil 48, 25; 54, 12; 56, 85
colour other men's moneys, to 41, 124
comfort 39, 54
common-places 32, 5
conceit 56, 84
conceits 17, 38
controversy, suit of 49, 19
crocodile 23, 45
cross clauses 3, 65
cunning 22, 1
curious 9, 12
Cymini sectores 50, 50
damson 46, 31
dancing to song 37, 4
deliveries 40, 11
derive 9, 130
destitute, to 33, 106
devil 9, 171
direct, wits of 22, 128
ditty 37, 7
dry blow 32, 53
dry light 27, 170
eccentric 23, 17
eccentrics 17, 23
direction, wits of 22, 128
duty 37, 7
elements 16, 16
envy 9, 2; passive 14, 46
estate 9, 31
epicycles 17, 28
exaltation 39, 56
facts 3, 152
fair 6, 95
falls, ressorts and 22, 121
falls verb 57, 15
fetch 22, 109
flaky 50, 31
flour 27, 35
foil 52, 3
footpace 56, 95
for the time 23, 11
futile 6, 54
galliard 32, 38
ginnings 46, 43
great year, Plato’s 58, 48
grind with a handmill 20, 75
grindeth double 34, 70
growing silk 33, 60
handmill, grind with a 20, 75
handsomely 22, 37
hollyhocks 46, 50
hooded 18, 12
humanity 13, 3
humorous 8, 21
hundred 19, 148; 29, 111
idol 10, 20
impedimenta 34, 2
impertinence 8, 11
implicit 3, 103
impostumations 15, 182
in a wood 36, 54
indifferent 6, 67
influence 9, 9
information, to make an 49, 11
ingrossing 15, 161
innovation 24, 2
inure 36, 45
jennings 46, 43
Jerusalem artichokes 33, 32
justs 37, 52
kaleards 15, 1
knee timber 13, 67
knots 46, 103
leads, a 45, 70
letters, the four-and-twenty 27, 199
light, dry 27, 170
lightly 51, 37
looses 22, 125
lurch 45, 25
main, sink into the 22, 122
make an information 49, 11
manage 6, 27; 29, 24
manure 33, 50
marish 33, 88
masque 37, Introd.
mate 2, 21
mean 51, 9
melocotone 46, 47
merely 3, 70
metaphor 29, 7
mew 29, 87
EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.
undertakers 33, 74
urc 6, 86

vena porta 19, 144
vices blush 43, 39
virtuous 48, 33
vouch 3, 38

wardens 46, 48
ways, no 10, 52
when all is done 27, 202
wind, take the 20, 161
wits 1, 6; of direction 22, 128
wood, in a 36, 54

year, Plato’s great 58, 48
THE PITT PRESS SERIES
AND THE
CAMBRIDGE SERIES FOR SCHOOLS
AND TRAINING COLLEGES.

Volumes of the latter series are marked by a dagger †.

COMPLETE LIST

**GREEK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aeschylus</td>
<td>Prometheus Vinctus</td>
<td>Rackham</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes</td>
<td>Aves—Plutus—Ranae</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>3/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nubes, Vespeae</td>
<td>Graves</td>
<td>3/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acharnians</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>Olynthiacs</td>
<td>Glover</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippiics I, II, III</td>
<td>G. A. Davies</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euripides</td>
<td>Alcestis</td>
<td>Hadley</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hecuba</td>
<td>Hadley</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helena</td>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heracleidae</td>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hercules Furens</td>
<td>Gray &amp; Hutchinson</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hippolytus</td>
<td>Hadley</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iphigeneia in Aulis</td>
<td>Headlam</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medea</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orestes</td>
<td>Wedd</td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phoenissae</td>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus</td>
<td>Book I</td>
<td>Sleeman</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; V</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; IV, VI, VIII, IX</td>
<td>4/- each</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; IX I—89</td>
<td>2/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>Odyssey IX, X</td>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; XXI</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; XI</td>
<td>Nairn</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Iliad VI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV</td>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>2/- each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Iliad IX and X</td>
<td>Lawson</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucian</td>
<td>Somnium, Charon, etc.</td>
<td>Heitland</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Menippus and Timon</td>
<td>Mackie</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plato</td>
<td>Apologia Socratis</td>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crito, Euthyphro</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protagoras</td>
<td>J. &amp; A. M. Adam</td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>Holden</td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gracchi</td>
<td></td>
<td>6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicias</td>
<td></td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sulla</td>
<td></td>
<td>6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Timoleon</td>
<td></td>
<td>6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophocles</td>
<td>Oedipus Tyrannus</td>
<td>Jebb</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thucydides</td>
<td>Book III</td>
<td>Spratt</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Book VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Book VII</td>
<td></td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenophon</td>
<td>Agesilaus</td>
<td>Hailstone</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anabasis I-II</td>
<td>Pretor</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; I, III, IV, V</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/- each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; II, VI, VII</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; I, II, III, IV, V, VI</td>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(With complete vocabularies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hellenics I-II</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cyropaeedia I</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; III, IV, V</td>
<td>Holden</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; VI, VII, VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memorabilia I, II</td>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LATIN**

*The volumes marked * contain vocabularies*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bede</td>
<td>Eccl. History III, IV</td>
<td>Mayor &amp; Lumby</td>
<td>7/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesar</td>
<td>De Bello Gallico</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Com. I, III, VI, VIII</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; II-III, and VII</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; I-III</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; IV-V</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>†</em> &quot; I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Bello Gallico. Bk I</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(With vocabulary only: no notes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Bello Gallico. Bk VII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Text only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Bello Civili. Com. I</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Com. III</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>Actio Prima in C. Verrem</td>
<td>Cowie</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Amicitia, De Senectute</td>
<td>Reid</td>
<td>3/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Officiis. Bk III</td>
<td>Reid</td>
<td>3/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro Lege Manilia</td>
<td>Nicol</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Div. in Q. Caec. et Actio Prima in C. Verrem</td>
<td>Heitland &amp; Cowie</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ep. ad Atticum. Lib. II</td>
<td>Pretor</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>†</em> Orations against Catiline</td>
<td>Nicol</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Catilinam I</td>
<td>Flather</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippica Secunda</td>
<td>Peskett</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro Archia Poeta</td>
<td>Reid</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Balbo</td>
<td>Reid</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Milone</td>
<td>Reid</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Murena</td>
<td>Heitland</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Plancio</td>
<td>Heitland</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Roscio</td>
<td>Nicol</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Sulla</td>
<td>Reid</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somnium Scipionis</td>
<td>Pearman</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Easy selections from correspondence</td>
<td>Duff</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author</strong></td>
<td><strong>Work</strong></td>
<td><strong>Editor</strong></td>
<td><strong>Price</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cornelius Nepos</em></td>
<td>Four parts</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erasmus</em></td>
<td>Colloquia Latina</td>
<td>G. M. Edwards</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erasmus</em></td>
<td>Colloquia Latina</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erasmus</em></td>
<td>Altera Colloquia Latina</td>
<td>Gow</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace</td>
<td>Epistles. Bk I</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Odes and Epodes</td>
<td>Whibley</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Odes. Books I, III</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/- each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Books II, IV; Epodes</td>
<td>Marshall</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Satires. Book I</td>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Satires II</td>
<td>Dimsdale</td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenal</td>
<td>Satires</td>
<td>H. J. Edwards</td>
<td>In the Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livy</td>
<td>Book I</td>
<td>Conway</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Stephenson</td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IV, XXVII</td>
<td>Whibley</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/- each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Marshall</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXI, XXII</td>
<td>Dimsdale</td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erasmus</em></td>
<td>(adapted from) Story of the Kings of Rome</td>
<td>G. M. Edwards</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(With vocabulary only: no notes)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erasmus</em></td>
<td>Horatius and other Stories</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(With vocabulary only: no notes)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Erasmus</em></td>
<td>Exercises on Edwards’s The Story of the Kings of Rome</td>
<td>Caldecott</td>
<td>-1/6 net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucan</td>
<td>Pharsalia. Bk I</td>
<td>Heitland &amp; Haskins</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Bello Civi. Bk VII</td>
<td>Postgate</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretius</td>
<td>Books III and V</td>
<td>Duff</td>
<td>-1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid</td>
<td>Fasti. Book VI</td>
<td>Sidgwick</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metamorphoses, Bk I</td>
<td>Dowdall</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bk VIII</td>
<td>Summers</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Plautus</em></td>
<td>Phaethon and other stories</td>
<td>G. M. Edwards</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Plautus+</em></td>
<td>Selections from the Tristia</td>
<td>Simpson</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Plautus+</em></td>
<td>Fables. Bks I and II</td>
<td>Flather</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plautus</td>
<td>Epidicus</td>
<td>Gray</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stichus</td>
<td>Fennell</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trinummus</td>
<td>Gray</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliny</td>
<td>Letters. Book VI</td>
<td>Duff</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintus Curtius</td>
<td>Alexander in India</td>
<td>Heitland &amp; Raven</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sallust</td>
<td>Catiline</td>
<td>Summers</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tactitus</td>
<td>Agricola and Germania</td>
<td>Postgate</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Histories. Bk I</td>
<td>Davies</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bk III</td>
<td>Summers</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terence</td>
<td>Hautontimorumenos</td>
<td>Gray</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vergil</td>
<td>Aeneid I to XII</td>
<td>Sidgwick</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vergil</em></td>
<td>1, II, III, V, VI, IX, X, XI, XII</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vergil</em></td>
<td>Bucolics</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vergil</em></td>
<td>Georgics I, II, and III, IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/- each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vergil</em></td>
<td>Vol. II, Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vergil</em></td>
<td>Opera Omnia</td>
<td>B. H. Kennedy</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**FRENCH**

The volumes marked * contain vocabularies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>About</td>
<td>Le Roi des Montagnes</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balzac</td>
<td>Le Médecin de Campagne</td>
<td>Payen Payne</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Biart</em></td>
<td>Quand j'étais petit, Pts I, II</td>
<td>Boièlle</td>
<td>2/- each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boileau</td>
<td>L'Art Poétique</td>
<td>Nichol Smith</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corneille</td>
<td>Polyeucte</td>
<td>Braunholtz</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Cid</td>
<td></td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Bonnechoso</td>
<td>Lazare Hoche</td>
<td>Colbeck</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bertrand du Guesclin</td>
<td>Leathes</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Part II</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Harleville</td>
<td>Le Vieux Célibataire</td>
<td>Masson</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delavigne</td>
<td>Louis XI</td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Les Enfants d'Edouard</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Lamartine</td>
<td>Jeanne d'Arc</td>
<td>Clapin &amp; Ropes</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Vigny</td>
<td>La Canne de Jonc</td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dumas</em></td>
<td>La Fortune de D'Artagnan</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Enault</em></td>
<td>Le Chien du Capitaine</td>
<td>Verrall</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (With vocabulary only: no notes) - 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erckmann-Chatrían</td>
<td>La Guerre</td>
<td>Clapin</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waterloo, Le Blocus</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>3/- each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madame Thérèse</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Histoire d'un Consdict</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exercises on 'Waterloo'</td>
<td>Wilson-Green</td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Voyage en Italie (Selections)</td>
<td>Payen Payne</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizot</td>
<td>Discours sur l'Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre</td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugo</td>
<td>Les Burgraves</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selected Poems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemercier</td>
<td>Frédégonde et Brunehaut</td>
<td>Masson</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Malot</em></td>
<td>Remi et ses Amis</td>
<td>Verrall</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Remi en Angleterre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merimée</td>
<td>Colomba (Abridged)</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelet</td>
<td>Louis XI &amp; Charles the Bold</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molière</td>
<td>Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme</td>
<td>Clapin</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L'École des Femmes</td>
<td>Saintsbury</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Les Précieuses ridicules</td>
<td>Braunholtz</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Abridged edition)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le Misanthrope</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L'Avaré</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Perrault</em></td>
<td>Fairy Tales</td>
<td>Rippmann</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (With vocabulary only: no notes) - 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piron</td>
<td>La Métromanie</td>
<td>Masson</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponsard</td>
<td>Charlotte Corday</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racine</td>
<td>Les Plaideurs</td>
<td>Braunholtz</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Abridged edition)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saintine</td>
<td>Athalie</td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandeau</td>
<td>Picciola</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribe &amp; Legouvé</td>
<td>Bataille de Dames</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribe</td>
<td>Le Verre d'Eau</td>
<td>Colbeck</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sédaine</td>
<td>Le Philosophe sans le savoir</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvestre</td>
<td>Un Philosophe sous les Toits</td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le Serf &amp; Le Chevrier de Lorraine</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Souvestre</td>
<td>Le Serf</td>
<td>Ropes</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(&quot;With vocabulary only: no notes&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>French Verse for upper forms</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staël, Mme de</td>
<td>Le Directoire</td>
<td>Masson &amp; Prothero</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dix Années d’Exil (Book II chapters 1—8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thierry</td>
<td>Lettres sur l’histoire de France (XIII—XXIV)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, I—III</td>
<td>Masson &amp; Ropes</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voltaire</td>
<td>Histoire du Siècle de Louis XIV, in three parts</td>
<td>Masson &amp; Prothero</td>
<td>2/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xavier de Maistre</td>
<td>{La Jeune Siberienne. Le}</td>
<td>Masson</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{Lepreux de la Cité d’Aoste}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GERMAN**

*The volumes marked * contain vocabularies*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Andersen</td>
<td>Eight Stories</td>
<td>Rippmann</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedix</td>
<td>Dr Wespe</td>
<td>Breul</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freytag</td>
<td>Der Staat Friedrichs des Grossen</td>
<td>Wagner</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Journalisten</td>
<td>Eve</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goethe</td>
<td>Knabenjahre (1749—1761)</td>
<td>Wagner &amp; Cartmell</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hermann und Dorothea</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iphigenie auf Tauris</td>
<td>Breul</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Grimm</td>
<td>Twenty Stories</td>
<td>Rippmann</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutzkow</td>
<td>Zopf und Schwert</td>
<td>Wolstenholme</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hackländer</td>
<td>Der geheime Agent</td>
<td>Milner Barry</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauff</td>
<td>Das Bild des Kaisers</td>
<td>Breul</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Das Wirthshaus im Spessart</td>
<td>Schlottmann &amp; Cartmell</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Karavane</td>
<td>Schlottmann</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Immermann</td>
<td>Der Scheik von Alessandria</td>
<td>Rippmann</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Immermann</td>
<td>Der Oberhof</td>
<td>Wagner</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Klee</td>
<td>Die deutschen Heldensagen</td>
<td>Wolstenholme</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohlrausch</td>
<td>Das Jahr 1813</td>
<td>Cartmell</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessing</td>
<td>Minna von Barnhelm</td>
<td>Wolstenholme</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessing &amp; Gellert</td>
<td>Selected Fables</td>
<td>Breul</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raumer</td>
<td>Der erste Kreuzzug</td>
<td>Wagner</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riehl</td>
<td>Culturgeschichtliche Novellen</td>
<td>Wolstenholme</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Schiller</td>
<td>Die Ganerben &amp; Die Gerechtigkeit Gottes</td>
<td>Breul</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wilhelm Tell</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Abridged edition)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### GERMAN continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schiller</td>
<td>Geschichte des dreissigjäh-</td>
<td>Breul</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rigen Kriegs. Book III.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maria Stuart</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wallenstein I.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wallenstein II.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sybel</td>
<td>Prinz Eugen von Savoyen</td>
<td>Quiggin</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uhland</td>
<td>Ernst, Herzog von Schwaben</td>
<td>Wolstenholme</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>German Dactylic Poetry</td>
<td>Wagner</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ballads on German History</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SPANISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cervantes</td>
<td>La Ilustre Fregona &amp;c.</td>
<td>Kirkpatrick</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Sage &amp; Isla</td>
<td>Los Ladrones de Asturias</td>
<td>Kirkpatrick</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galdós</td>
<td>Trafalgar</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ENGLISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>Historical Ballads</td>
<td>Sidgwick</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Old Ballads</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Patriotic Poetry</td>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History of the Reign of King Henry VII</td>
<td>Lumby</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Essays</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>New Atlantis</td>
<td>G. C. M. Smith</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Speeches</td>
<td>Innes</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaucer</td>
<td>Prologue and Knight’s Tale</td>
<td>M. Bentinck-Smith</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clerkes Tale and Squires Tale</td>
<td>Winstanley</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowley</td>
<td>Prose Works</td>
<td>Lumby</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defoe</td>
<td>Robinson Crusoe, Part I</td>
<td>Masterman</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle</td>
<td>Microcosmography</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>3/- &amp; 4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldsmith</td>
<td>Traveller and Deserted Village</td>
<td>Murison</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray</td>
<td>Poems</td>
<td>Tovey</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ode on the Spring and The Bard</td>
<td></td>
<td>8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ode on the Spring and The Elegy</td>
<td></td>
<td>8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingsley</td>
<td>The Heroes</td>
<td>E. A. Gardner</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb</td>
<td>Tales from Shakespeare. 2 Series</td>
<td>Flather</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaulay</td>
<td>Lord Clive</td>
<td>Innes</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warren Hastings</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Pitt and Earl of Chatham</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Bunyan</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Milton</td>
<td>Flather</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lays and other Poems</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History of England Chaps. I—III</td>
<td>Reddaway</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>A Sketch of Ancient Philosophy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from Thales to Cicero</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Handbook of English Metre</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>Arcades</td>
<td>Verity</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ode on the Nativity, L’Alle-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gro, II Penseroso &amp; Lycidas</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comus &amp; Lycidas</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comus</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samson Agonistes</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sonnets</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>Paradise Lost, six parts</td>
<td>Verity</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More</td>
<td>History of King Richard III</td>
<td>Lumby</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Utopia</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pope</td>
<td>Essay on Criticism</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>Marmion</td>
<td>Masterman</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lady of the Lake</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lay of the last Minstrel</td>
<td>Flather</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legend of Montrose</td>
<td>Simpson</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lord of the Isles</td>
<td>Flather</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Old Mortality</td>
<td>Nicklin</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kenilworth</td>
<td>Flather</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Talisman</td>
<td>A. S. Gaye</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quentin Durward</td>
<td>Murison</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakespeare</td>
<td>A Midsummer-Night’s Dream</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Julius Caesar</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Tempest</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>King Lear</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merchant of Venice</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>King Richard II</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>King Henry V</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Macbeth</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakespeare &amp; Fletcher</td>
<td>Two Noble Kinsmen</td>
<td>Skeat</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney</td>
<td>An Apology for Poetrie</td>
<td>Shuckburgh</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spenser</td>
<td>Fowre Hymnes</td>
<td>Miss Winstanley</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennyson</td>
<td>Fifty Poems, 1830—1864</td>
<td>Lobban</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wordsworth</td>
<td>Selected Poems</td>
<td>Miss Thomson</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Elements of English Grammar</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Grammar for Beginners</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key to English Grammars</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>Short History of British India</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill</td>
<td>Elementary Commercial Geography</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomew</td>
<td>Atlas of Commercial Geography</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson</td>
<td>Church Catechism Explained</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>The Prayer Book Explained. Part I</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MATHEMATICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ball</td>
<td>Elementary Algebra</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Blythe</td>
<td>Geometrical Drawing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part I</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part II</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euclid</td>
<td>Books I—VI, XI, XII</td>
<td>H. M. Taylor</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Books I—VI</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Books I—IV</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also separately

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Books I, &amp; II; III, &amp; IV; V, &amp; VI; XI, &amp; XII</td>
<td>1/6 each</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solutions to Exercises in Taylor’s</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Euclid</td>
<td>W. W. Taylor</td>
<td>10/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Mathematics continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euclid</td>
<td>Solutions to Bks I—IV</td>
<td>W. W. Taylor</td>
<td>6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solutions to Books VI. XI</td>
<td></td>
<td>6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobson &amp; Jessop</td>
<td>Elementary Plane Trigonometry</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loney</td>
<td>Elements of Statics and Dynamics</td>
<td></td>
<td>7/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part I. Elements of Statics</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II. Elements of Dynamics</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elements of Hydrostatics</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solutions to Examples, Hydrostatics</td>
<td></td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solutions of Examples, Statics and Dynamics</td>
<td></td>
<td>7/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanics and Hydrostatics</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, C.</td>
<td>Arithmetic for Schools, with or without answers</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part I. Chapters I—VIII. Elementary, with or without answers</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part II. Chapters IX—XX, with or without answers</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hale, G.</td>
<td>Key to Smith’s Arithmetic</td>
<td></td>
<td>7/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Educational Science

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>†Bidder &amp; Baddeley</td>
<td>Domestic Economy</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Bosanquet</td>
<td>The Education of the Young</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Burnet</td>
<td>from the Republic of Plato</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenius</td>
<td>Life and Educational Works</td>
<td>S. S. Laurie</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrar</td>
<td>General Aims of the Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poole</td>
<td>Form Management</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Hope &amp; Browne</td>
<td>A Manual of School Ilygiene</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locke</td>
<td>Thoughts on Education</td>
<td>R. H. Quick</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†MacCunn</td>
<td>The Making of Character</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>Tractate on Education</td>
<td>O. Browning</td>
<td>2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidgwick</td>
<td>On Stimulus</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thring</td>
<td>Theory and Practice of Teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†Woodward</td>
<td>A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire (1500—1902)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†</td>
<td>An Outline History of the British Empire (1500—1902)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/6 net</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Cambridge University Press**

*London: Fetter Lane, E.C.*

*C. F. Clay, Manager*

*Edinburgh: 100, Princes Street*