BACON'S ESSAYS AND WISDOM
OF THE ANCIENTS
CRES CIT OCCULTO VELUT ARBOR ÆVO
FAMA BACONIS
THE ESSAYS
OR COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL
WITH THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS
BY FRANCIS BACON
VISCONT ST. ALBAN
Revised from the Early Copies the References supplied and a few Notes by
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PREFACE.

T is by the Essays (says Mr. Macaulay) that Bacon is best known to the multitude. The Novum Organum and the De Augmentis are much talked of, but little read. They have produced, indeed, a vast effect on the opinions of mankind; but they have produced it through the operation of intermediate agents. They have moved the intellects which have moved the world. It is in the Essays alone that the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary readers. There he opens an exoteric school and talks to plain men in language which everybody understands, about things in which everybody is interested. He has thus enabled those who must otherwise have taken his merits on trust to judge for themselves; and the great body of readers have, during several generations, acknowledged that the man who has treated with such consummate ability questions with which they are familiar, may well be supposed to deserve all the praise bestowed on him by those who have sat in his inner school."

It is remarkable that as the incunabula of this precious little Volume was the earliest publication
of the illustrious writer, so the revision and augmentation of it was his latest literary labour. The first edition containing only ten Essays, and those for the most part in a much shorter form, was printed early in 1597; the last which Bacon gave to the world was published in 1625, the year before his death.

The first Edition is a diminutive volume in 12o, the title of which runs as follows: "Essays. Religious Meditations, Places of perforvasion and differvasion. Seene and allowed. London Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be solde at the blacke Beare in Chancery Lane." Then follows the Dedication:

"To M. Anthony Bacon his deare brother:— Lowing and beloued Brother, I doe now like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print: To labour the staie of them had beeene troublesome, and subject to interpretation: to let them passe had beeene to aduenture the wrong they mought receive by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought plesse any that should set them forth to bestow vpon them. Therefore I helde it beft discretion to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold there might bee as great a vanitie in retyring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the worlde, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I
have played my self the Inquisitor, and find nothing, to my understanding, in them contrary or infectious to the state of Religion or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicible. Onely I disliked now to put them out, because they will be like the late new halfpence, which though the silver were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their master but would needs travaile abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next my self, dedicating them, such as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon my self, that her Majesty might have the service of so active and able a minde, & I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies for which I am fittest, to commend I you to the preservation of the divine Majesty.

From my Chamber at Grayes Inne this 30 of January 1597.

Your entire loving brother,

FRAN. BACON.”


A second edition was printed in the same small form in the next year, but with the Meditationes Sacrae translated from the Latin of the first impref-
sion into English. What is called "Places of perswasion & dissuasion" it may be proper to mention is the "Table of the Colours of Good and Evil."

There are some slight changes in the Orthography of this second impression, as in the dedication for instance, the word *mought* occurs several times, in the second it is uniformly *might*.

Both of these editions are of exceeding rarity; from the smallness of the volume, and from its popularity few seem to have escaped destruction.

According to a MS. list of Editions of the Essays, by Malone, there were reimpressions in 1604 and 1606, both in 12\(^\circ\). In 1612, when Bacon had become solicitor-general, he gave to the world an enlarged copy, containing thirty-eight Essays. This volume is a small 8vo, printed in a large type, the title being "The Essays of Sr Francis Bacon, knight, the King's Solliciter Generall. Imprinted at London by John Beale, 1612." Of this edition there were some copies, printed on large paper; but I have a copy, apparently that of King James, having his Arms impressed on the vellum cover, which is of the ordinary size. Malone enumerates two editions in 1613, one in 1614, and one in 1618, all in 8vo.; and there were, it seems, editions in 1622, 1623, and 1624 in 4to. Not any of these appear to have had the sanction of the author.

Bacon purposed dedicating this edition to Henry Prince of Wales, but the death of that promising young prince frustrated his intention. The Dedicatory Epistle has however been preserved. It runs as follows:

"To the most high and excellent Prince Henry
It may please your Highness,—Having divided my life into the contemplative and active part, I am desirous to give to his Majesty and your Highness of the fruits of both, simple though they be.

To write just Treatises requireth leisure in the Writer, and leisure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fit, neither in regard of your Highness’s princely affairs nor in regard to my continual service; which is the course that hath made me choose to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called Effais. The word is late, but the thing is ancient; for Seneca’s Epistles to Lucilius, if you mark them well, are but Effais, that is, dispersed Meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles.

These labours of mine, I know, cannot be worthy of your Highness, for what can be worthy of you? But my hope is they may be as grains of salt, that will rather give you an appetite, than offend you with satiety. And although they handle those things wherein both men’s lives and their persons are most conversant; yet what I have attained I know not; but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall finde much in Experience and little in Books; so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies. But, however, I shall most humbly desire your Highness to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive that if I cannot rest, but must shew my dutiful and devoted affection to your Highness in those things which proceed from myself, I shall
be much more ready to do it in performance of any of your princely commandments. And so wishing your Highness all princely felicity, I rest your Highness's most humble Servant,

Fra. Bacon.”

1612.

The prince died in November, 1612. The book was therefore published late in that year, and is thus dedicated:

“To my loving Brother, Sr John Constable, knight. My last Essays I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature, which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next in respect of bond both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and so-cietie, and particularly of communication in studies; wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and judgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine

Your louing brother and friend,

Fra. Bacon.”

In the year 1618, when Bacon had become Chancellor, there appeared from the press of the fame John Beale above-mentioned, an Italian Translation of the Essays and the Wisdom of the

All who have hitherto noticed this translation have attributed it to Sir Toby Mathew, by whom it was certainly given to the press, and dedicated to Cosmo de’ Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany; in which Mathew tells us that he found the translations in the hands of his friend Sir William Cavendish, who lent them to him. His words are, "Mi fono á questi giorni venute alle mani le due opere qui stampate. L’una De’ Saggi Morali scritta in Inglese, l’altra Della Sapienza degli Antichì in Latino, e le ho trovate tutte due tradotte in poter del Signore Guglielmo Candìcio, Cavaglierio Inglese nobilissimo, di bellissime parti e molto mio Padrone, chi con il beneplacito dell’Autore me le prestó."

This dedication contains a highly flattering account of Bacon and his literary labours, which thus concludes: "E pozzo dir con verità (per haver io havuto l’honore di praticarlo molti anni, & quando era in minoribus, & hora quando sta in colmo & fiore della sua grandezza) di non haver mai scoperto in lui animo di vendetta, per qualsivoglia aggravio che se gli fosse fatto ; né manco sentito uscirgli di bocca parola d’ingiuria contra veruno, che mi parrese venire da passione contra la tal persona; ma solo (& questo ancora molta scararamente) per giudicio fattone in sangue freddo. Non é già la sua
grandezza quel che io ammiro, ma la sua virtù; non sono li favori fatti mi da lui (per infiniti che fiano) che mi hanno posto il cuore in questi ceppi & catene in che mi ritrovo; ma si bene il suo procedere in commune; che se egli fosse di conditione inferiore non potrei manco honorarlo, e si mi fosse nemico io dovrei con tutto ciò amar & procurar de servirlo."

That this publication was made with Bacon's faction I think is apparent, from two circumstances. In the dedication we have a translation of a great part of the letter to Prince Henry, intended to have been prefixed to the Essays in 1612, beginning, "Lo scrivere volumi giusti, cerca otio grande in chi li scrive, e ancora in chi li ha da leggere," &c. From whence was this derived? as it had not then been published. Again, The Essays on Religion and Superstition are not translated; but to make up the number to thirty-eight, we have two here translated, which first appeared in the subsequently enlarged edition in 1625, "Of Honor and Reputation," and "Of Seditions and Troubles."

We have no positive clue to the name of the translator, yet from an expression in Bacon's letter to Father Fulgentio, I think it may have been his performance. But, what is singular, and has hitherto escaped notice, is, that there are two editions resembling each other in appearance, and of the same date, some changes in the titles of the Essays having been apparently deemed necessary. In one of the copies now before me the Essays contain 102 pages, the
Wisdom of the Ancients 150 pages, and a list of Errata is appended to each. In the other copy the Essays comprise 112 pages, the last of which is blank; the Wisdom of the Ancients 126 pages only, and there is no list of errata.

Besides the changes in the titles of the Essays, there are also some in the titles of the chapters in the Wisdom of the Ancients; and it is probable that the text of the version is also revised, but I have not collated it.

There was also a French translation, printed in 1619, according to Malone; this is said to be by Sir Arthur Gorges. I have not seen the book, yet I should rather suspect, as in the case of the Italian version, that the Editor has been mistaken for the translator.

In his retirement, after his fall, among his other literary occupations, the revision and augmentation of the Essays was one of Lord Bacon's latest works; and, in 1625, he published the augmented edition, which bears the following title:

"The Essayes or Counsels Civill and Morall of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. Newly written. London Printed by John Haviland for Hanna Barret. 1625." It is a small quarto of 340 pages, and the following Dedication is prefixed.

"Excellent Lo:—Salomon saies A good name is as a precious ointment; And I assure my selve such wil your Grace's Name bee with Posteritie. For your Fortune and Merit both haue beene eminrent. And you haue planted Things that are like
to last. I doe now publish my *E*ffayes, which, of all my other workes haue beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home to Mens Businesse and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them both in Number and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable to my Affection and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English and in Latine. For I doe conceiue that the Latine Volume of them (being in the Univer- fall Language) may laft as long as Bookes laft. My *I*ntauration I dedicated to the King: My *H*istory of *H*enry the Seventh, (which I have now also translated into Latine) and my *P*ortions of *N*a- turall *H*istory to the *P*rince: And these I dedicate to your Grace; Being of the beft 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 moft Obliged and faithful Servuant,*

Fr. St. 'ALBAN.'

He sent a copy of this enlarged edition of the *E*ffays to the Marquis d'Effiat, accompanied by the following letter, which is curious, as a specimen of his French:

"*M*onsieur l'Ambafladeur mon *F*ils,

Voyant que votre Excellence faict et traite Mar- riages, non seulement entre les Princes d'Angle- terre et de France, mais aussi entre les Langues (puis que faictes traduire mon Liure de l'Advancement
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des Sciences en François) j'ai bien voulu vous envoyer mon Livre dernièrement imprimé, que j'avais pourvu pour vous, mais j'étais en doute de le vous envoyer, pour ce qu'il est écrit en Anglais. Mais a'ceft heure pour la raison susditte je le vous envoye. C'est un Recompleiment de mes Esfayes Morales et Civiles; mais tellement enlargies et enrichies tant de nombre que de Poid, que c'est de fait un Œuvre nouveau. Je vous baise les Mains, et reste

Vostre tres Affectionée Ami,

et tres humble Serviteur."

He was not mistaken in his own estimation of the Esſays. He faw clearly that, from their nature, as "coming home to the busines and bosoms of men," they would consequently be the moft popular, though not the moft important of his writings; and in a letter to Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Wincheſter, he fays:

"As for my Esſays, and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreation of my other ſtudies, and in that ſort purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would perhaps yield more luſtre and reputation unto my name than thoſe other which I have in hand. But, I account the uſe that a man ſhould ſeek of the publishing of his own writings before his death to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not go along with him."
Of the translation of the *Essays* into Latin, Bacon thus speaks in a letter to his friend Sir Toby Mathew:

"It is true my labours are now most set to have those Works which I have formerly published, as that of *Advancement of Learning*, that of *Henry VII.*, that of the *Essays*, being retractate and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens which forfake me not. For these modern Languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupt with Books; and since I have
loft much time with this Age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity. 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."

And in his letter to Father Fulgentio, in which he gives some account of his writings, he says:

"The Novum Organum should immediately follow; but my Moral and Political Writings step in between as being more finished. These are the History of King Henry VII., and the small book, which in your language you have called Saggi Morali, but I give it a graver title, that of Sermones Fideles, or Interiora Rerum, and these Essays will not only be enlarged in number, but still more in substance."

Archbishop Tenison, in his "Baconiana," thus speaks of the Essays, and gives us some clue to the names of the translators:

"The Essays, or Counsels, Civil and Moral, though a by-work also, do yet make up a book of greater weight by far than the Apophthegms, and coming home to mens business and bosoms, his Lordship entertained this persuasion concerning them, that the Latin volume might last as long as books should last. His Lordship wrote them in the English tongue, and enlarged them as occasion served, and at last added to them the Colours of Good and Evil, which are likewise found in his book De Augmentis. The Latin translation of them was a work performed by divers hands; by those
of Dr. Hacket (the Bishop of Lichfield), Mr. Benjamin Jonson (the learned and judicious poet), and some others, whose names I once heard from Dr. Rawley, but I cannot now recall them. To this Latin edition he gave the title of Sermones Fideles, after the manner of the Jews, who called the words Adagies, or Observations of the wise, Faithful Sayings; that is, credible Propositions worthy of firm assent and ready acceptance. And (as I think) he alluded more particularly, in this title, to a passage in Ecclesiastes, [xii. 10, 11.] where the Preacher faith that he sought to find out Verba Delectabilia (as Tremellius rendereth the Hebrew), pleasant words (that is perhaps his Book of Canticles); and Verba Fidelia (as the same Tremellius), Faithful Sayings; meaning, it may be, his collection of Proverbs. In the next verse he calls them Words of the Wise, and so many goads and nails Ab eodem pastore, from the same Shepherd [of the flock of Israel]."

The Essays have never wanted due appreciation, but it appears that, like the works of the immortal poet, Bacon's cotemporary, the estimation in which they are justly held has been gradually increasing. Dugald Stewart, in his Dissertation prefixed to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, in 1815, thus speaks of them:

"Under the same head of Ethics may be mentioned the small volume to which Bacon has given the title of Essays; the best known and most popular of his works. It is also one of those where the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage, the novelty and depth of his reflections
often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of his subject. It may be read from beginning to end in a few hours, and yet, after the twentieth perusal, one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This indeed is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible aliment they furnish to our own thoughts, and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties."

In the "Diary of a Lover of Literature," by the late Mr. Green, of Ipswich, we have the following note:

"Bacon's Essays are so pregnant with just, original, and striking observations on every topic which is touched, that I cannot select what pleases me most. For reach of thought, variety and extent of view, sheer solid sense, and admirable sagacity, what works of man can be placed in competition with these wonderful effusions?" Opposite this passage Sir James Mackintosh had written in the margin of his copy the emphatic reply, none!

The text of the Essays had until recently been very carelessly printed, and in some editions unwarrantably altered. Even that which bears the name of Mr. Basil Montagu as editor, is not free from these imputations; indeed, it is hardly to be believed that the proofs could have had his supervision. The useful little edition of Mr. Markby, in 1852, given with the laudable intention of making it a school classic, is carefully revised, and the references to the quotations are given for the first time.
When the sheets of the present edition had passed through the press, the annotated edition of Archbishop Whately made its appearance; here the Essays of Bacon form a very disproportionate part of a large octavo volume, the Archbishop having taken them as texts or hints for long dissertations and extracts from his own writings: the Antitheta, which I have only referred to, are appended to each Essay on the same subject; but the most extraordinary feature in the volume is a running verbal commentary, furnished by a friend, in which the commonest words, such as every reader of English must be presumed to be acquainted with, are explained, with citations of other authors who have used the word. The writer of these notes has manifested on the very first page his deficiency in at least one of the requisites for the office he has undertaken, by the following note: “Impose upon. To lay a restraint upon. Bacon’s Latin original is cogitationibus imponitur captivitas.” Now nothing is more certain than that the Latin translation was not the original, or written by Bacon, a fact which a commentator on him ought to have known. But, indeed, the English of Bacon rarely requires a note; it is remarkably lucid and free from archaisms and obsolete forms of expression.

Archbishop Whately remarks, that Bacon is “especially in his Essavs, one of the most suggestive authors that ever wrote;” and it has been urged that this is a good argument against the necessity of a commentary; for, “the cultivated readers of Bacon do not want expansions of an
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author whose compactness and fulness are his greatest charms; and that it is doing mischief to those who would find in this suggestiveness, if left to themselves, a valuable mental discipline.”

In preparing the following edition, the chief point has been to give, by a careful collation of the author’s own edition a more correct text than is to be found in most of those hitherto published. The notes are principally confined to point out the references to the principal quotations; much had been done by Mr. Markby, and by two correspondents of that useful periodical, “Notes and Queries.” These have, of course, been made available with some additions and corrections.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

This interesting little work was most probably written as a relaxation from his more abstruse speculations: it was composed in Latin, and first published four years after he had put forth his Two Books of the Advancement of Learning, under this title:

“Francisci Baconi Equitis Aurati Procuratoris Secundi, Jacobi Regis Magnæ Britanniae, De Sapientia Veterum Liber, ad Inclytam Academiam Cantabrigiensem.” Beside the address to the University of Cambridge it was dedicated to Robert Cecil in the following terms:—“Illuôrissimo Viro Comiti Sarisburienfi Summo Thesaurario Angliæ, et Cancellario Academiæ Cantabrigiensis.—Quæ Academiæ Cantabrigiensis dicantur, tibi jure Cancellarii accrescunt; quæ autem me proficiici possunt
omnia, tibi nomine proprio debentur. Illud magis videndum, num ista, ut tibi debita, ita etiam te digna sint.—Atque quod in illis minimum est (Ingenium Authoris) id propter tuum propensum in me animum, nihil officiet; cætera dedecori non erunt. Nam si Tempus spectetur; Antiquitas primæva summum venerationem habet: si docendi Forma; Parabola veluti Arca quædam est, in quà pretiosissima quæque scientiarum reponi consueverunt. Si operis Materia; ea Philosophia est, vitæ scilicet, atque animæ humanæ, Decus secundum. Fas sit enim dixisse, quamvis, Philosophia, seculo nostro veluti per Senium repuerafcentis, adolefcentibus, et ferè pueris relinquitur: eam tamen omnium rerum, post religionem, gravissimam, atque naturâ humanâ maxime dignam esse planè cenfo. Etiam Politicâ, in quà te mirabile præbes, et facultate, et meritis, et sapientissimi Regis judicio, ab eodem fonte emanat, ejusque pars magna est. Quod si cui ista, quæ affero, vulgata esse videantur: certe quid effecerim, judicium meum non est; id tamen secutus sum, ut manifesta, et obfoleta, et Locos communes præterceœtus, aliquid etiam, ad Vitæ ardua, Scientiarum Arcana conferam. Erunt itaque capti vulgari, vulgaria: altiorem autem intellectum fortasse non deferent, sed potius (ut spero) deducunt: Verum dum huic operi, dignitatem nonnullam asstruere conor, quod ad te dicatum sit; periculum est, ne modestiæ fines transeam, cum à me fit susceptum. Tu verò illud tanquam pignus affectus erga te mei, et observantiæ, et animi maximè devoti accipies, eique præsidium nominis tui im-
In February, 1610, Lord Bacon, upon sending this book to Sir Toby Mathew thus writes:

"Mr. Mathew,—I do very heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August, from Salamanca; and, in recompence, therefore, I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my Latin is turned into Silver, and become current: had you been here, you should have been my Inquisitor before it came forth; but I think the greatest Inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me, if I make no haste to believe that the world should be grown to such an exaltacy as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the author dissenteth in Religion, no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward, and after my manner, I alter even when I add; so that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a Term and Parliament, thinking no time so possessed, but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a Friend. And so, with my wonted wishes, I leave you to God's goodness.

From Gray's Inn, Feb. 27, 1610."
He had glanced at the subject when he wrote his Advancement of Learning—thus:

"There remaineth yet another Use of Poesy parabolical, opposite to that which we last mentioned: for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire and obscure it: that is, when the Secrets and Mysteries of Religion, Policy, or Philosophy, are involved in Fables or Parables. Of this in Divine Poesy we see the Use is authorized. In Heathen Poesy we see the exposition of Fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity; as in the Fable that the Giants being overthrown in their War against the Gods, the Earth, their Mother, in revenge thereof brought forth Fame:

"Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo Enceladoque fororem
Progenuit."

Expounded, that when Princes and Monarchies have suppressed actual and open Rebels, then the Malignity of the People, which is the Mother of Rebellion, doth bring forth Libels and Slanders, and Taxations, of the State, which is of the same kind with Rebellion, but more feminine. So in the Fable, that the rest of the Gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid; expounded, that Monarchies need not fear any curbing of their Absolutenes by mighty Subjects, as long as by Wisdom they keep the Hearts of the People, who will be sure to come in on their side. So in the Fable, that Achilles was brought up under Chiron the
Centaur, who was part a Man and part a Beast, expounded ingeniously, but corruptly, by Machiavell, that it belongeth to the Education and Discipline of Princes to know how as well to play the part of the Lion in violence, and the Fox in guile as of the Man in virtue and justice.

Nevertheless, in many of the like encounters, I do rather think that the Fable was first, and the Exposition devised, than that the Moral was first, and thereupon the Fable framed. For I find it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus, that troubled himself with great contention to fasten the Assertions of the Stoics upon the Fictions of the ancient Poets; but yet that all the Fables and Fictions of the Poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion. Surely of those Poets which are now extant, even Homer himself, (notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the latter Schools of the Grecians) yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his Fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning; but what they might have upon a more original Tradition is not easy to affirm; for he was not the Inventor of many of them."

The same sentiments, with a slight alteration, occur again in the Treatise De Augmentis, where he says, "There is another use of Parabolical Poesy opposite to the former, which tendeth to the folding up of those things the Dignity whereof deserves to be retired and distinguished as with a drawn curtain; that is, when the Secrets and Mysteries of Religion, Policy, and Philosophy are veiled and invested with Fables and Parables. But
whether there be any mystical sense couched under the ancient Fables of the Poets, may admit of some doubt: and, indeed, for our part, we incline to this opinion, as to think that there was an infused Mystery in many of the ancient Fables of the Poets. Neither doth it move us that these matters are left commonly to Schoolboys and Grammarians, and so are embased, that we should therefore make a slight judgment upon them; but contrariwise, because it is clear that the Writings which recite these Fables, of all the Writings of Men, next to Sacred Writ, are the most ancient: and that the Fables themselves are far more ancient than they, (being alleged by those Writers, not as excogitated by them, but as credited and recepted before) and seem to be like a thin rarified air which, from the Traditions of much more ancient Nations fell into the Flutes of the Grecians. And because whatsoever hath hitherto been attempted for the interpretation of these Parables, by unskilful men, not learned beyond common-places, in no measure satisfies us, we have thought good to place Philosophy according to ancient Parables in the number of Desiderata."

Archbishop Tenifon, in his Baconiana thus speaks of this tract: "In the seventh place I may mention his book De Sapientiâ Veterum, written by him in Latin, set forth a second time with enlargement, and translated into English by Sir Arthur Gorges: A book in which the Sages of former times are rendered more wise than it may be they were, by so dextrous an Interpreter of their
Fables. It is this book which Mr. Sandys means, in those words which he hath put before his Notes on the Metamorphoses of Ovid: ('Of Modern writers I have received the greatest light from Gyraldus, Pontanus, Ficinus, Comes, Scaliger, Sabinus, Pierius, and the crown of the latter, the Viscount of St. Albans.') The design of this book was Instruction in Natural and Civil matters, either couched by the Ancients under these Fictions, or rather made to seem so by his Lordship's wit in the opening and applying of them."

The author of the Life of Bacon in the Biographia Britannica, says, "That he might relieve himself a little from the Severity of these Studies, and, as it were, amuse himself with erecting a magnificent Pavilion, while his great Palace of Philosophy was building; he composed, and sent abroad in 1610, his celebrated Treatise Of the Wisdom of the Ancients, in which he shewed that none had studied them more closely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning. There have been very few books published in this or in any other Nation which either deserved or met with more general applause, and scarce any that are like to retain it longer; for, in this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave as singular proof of his capacity to please all parties in Literature, as in his political conduct he stood fair with all parties in the Nation. The admirers of Antiquity were charmed with this discourse, which seems expressly calculated to justify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their opposites were
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no less pleased with a piece, from which they thought they could demonstrate that the Sagacity of a modern Genius had found out much better meanings for the Ancients than ever were meant by them."

Mallet, in his meagre Life of Bacon, observes that "This work bears the fame stamp of an original and inventive genius with his other performances. Resolving not to tread in the steps of those who had gone before him, he strikes a new track for himself, and enters into the most secret recesses of this wild and shadowy region, so as to appear new on a known and beaten subject. Upon the whole, if we can bring ourselves readily to believe that there is all this moral and political meaning veiled under those Fables of Antiquity, which he has discovered in them, we must own that it required no common penetration to be mistaken with so great a degree of probability on his side. Though it still remains doubtful whether the Ancients were so knowing as he attempts to shew they were, the variety and depth of his own knowledge are in that very attempt unquestionable."

The learned reader need not be reminded of the various ingenious attempts of the Germans in recent times to unveil the hidden meanings of the Mythological Fables, but few have surpassed the ingenuity and keen perception of this early attempt of Bacon.

The principal editions of this work, which attained great popularity, are:
The translation of Sir Arthur Gorges has been given in the following pages, as it was published evidently under the sanction of the author, by one of his greatest admirers; and, although it would be possible to render the Latin more closely, it has been thought, that, by retaining this version, the volume as a whole, obtains more uniformity of style, carrying the reader back to the time of its production.

To dwell upon the Character and Writings of this great man would now be superfluous, after the eloquent and judicious appreciation of both in the Essay of Mr. Macaulay, and in the Literary History of Mr. Hallam. But one of the most striking evidences of how far the Odium Theologicum can be carried, occurs in the recent posthumous work "Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon," by the Count Joseph De Maistre, in which Bacon is depicted as a monster of iniquity and a propagator of all that is false in Philosophy and Theology!

This reminds us that Bacon thought such perversity incredible. "I make no haste [he says] to believe that the world should be grown to such
an extacy as to rejecl Truth in Philosophy because the author dissenteth in Religion.''

When we consider the great debt we owe to the man, of whom Aubrey says, "All that were great and good loved and honoured him," it seems impossible (says Dugald Stewart) for a candid mind not to feel a strong inclination to dwell rather on the fair than on the dark side of his character. It is evident, from the remarkable passage in his dedication of the Essays to his brother in 1597, how early he felt that his vocation was rather the private retirement of study than public life: "I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myself, that her Majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind, and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies for which I am fittest." Happy would it have been for his peace of mind had his life been so devoted, but we are reminded of Gray's lines, "Ambition this shall tempt to rise," &c. In his letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, accompanying the Advancement of Learning, Bacon had said: "Knowing myself, by inward calling, to be fitter to hold a Book, than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind." And in the affecting allusion to the errors and misfortunes of his public life, which occurs in the eighth book of the De Augmentis Scientiarum, he again recurs to this contravention of his destiny. "Ad literas potius quam ad aliud quicquam natus, ad res gerendas nescio quo fato contra genium suum abreptus."
This, as Dugald Stewart justly observes, if it does not atone for his faults, may at least have some effect in softening the asperity of our censures; especially when we consider with Cowley what he achieved—

"In his few years, divided 'twixt th' excess
Of low affliction and high happiness."

For, as Mr. Hallam has said, "we must give to written wisdom its proper meed;—and he may be compared to those liberators of nations, who have given them laws by which they may govern themselves, and retained no homage but their gratitude."

Nearly a century since the Honourable Charles Yorke, in a letter to Dr. Birch, thus expresses himself: "The foibles and vices of great men, celebrated for their parts and actions, too much exposed to view, only confirm and comfort the vulgar in the like conduct, without teaching to that vulgar the imitation of their virtues." In another part of the same letter, he says, "Though Sir Francis Bacon has been dead almost one hundred and forty years, yet I think his fame and his memory more recent, more living, and more bright than when he was alive. His faults are cast in the shade by the candour of posterity, and finer colours laid over his virtues, unfulfilled by envy and detraction (those busy and malignant passions of contemporaries), or even by his own weaknesses."

S. W. S.

Mickleham, August 21, 1856.
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ESSAYS.

1. Of Truth.

What is Truth? said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be that delight in Giddiness, and count it a Bondage to fix a Belief; affecting Free-will in Thinking as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing Wits, which are of the same Veins, though there be not so much Blood in them as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not only the Difficulty and Labour which Men take in finding out of Truth; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's Thoughts, that doth bring Lies in favour; but a natural, though corrupt, Love of the Lie itself. One of the later Schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love Lies, where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; nor for Advantage, as

1 S. John xviii. 38.
2 Most probably he refers to the New Academy.
with the Merchant; but for the Lie's sake. But I cannot tell: This same Truth is a naked and open Daylight, that doth not show the Masques and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily, as Candlelights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a Pearl, that showeth 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 add Pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Men's Minds vain Opinions, flattering Hopes, false Valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Minds of a Number of Men poor shrunken Things, full of Melancholy and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great Severity, called Poesy, 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 Mind, but the Lie that sinketh in and setteth in it, that doth the Hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in Men's depraved Judgements and Affections, yet Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth, that the Inquiry of Truth, which is the Love-making or Wooing of it; the Knowledge of Truth, which is the Presence of it; and the Belief of Truth, which is the enjoying of it; is the Sovereign Good of human Nature.

2 The allusion is probably to S. Jerome, in Epist. de duobus filiis, who says, "Daemonem cibus est carmina Poetarum," &c.
The first Creature of God, in the Works of the Days, was the Light of the Sense; the last was the Light of Reason; and his Sabbath Work, 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 inferior to the rest, faith yet excellently well; It is a Pleasure to stand upon the Shore, and to see Ships tost upon the Sea: a Pleasure to stand in the Window of a Castle, and to see a Battle, and the Adventures thereof below: but no Pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage Ground of Truth; (A Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and serene) and to see the Errors, and Wanderings, and Mistls, and Tempests, in the Vale below: So always that this Prospect be with Pity, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth to have a Man's Mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the Poles of Truth.

To pass from Theological and Philosophical Truth, to the Truth of civil Busines, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practice it not, that clear and round dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature, and that Mixture of Falsehood is like Alloy in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may

---

4 Lucretius, lib. i. ab init. It is superfluous to add that the passage is loosely paraphrased. Comp. Advancement of Learning, lib. i. p. 63.—Ed. 1640.

5 Beautified, i. e. embellished, set off to advantage.
make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth 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 that doth so cover a Man with Shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne faith prettily, when he enquired the reason why the Word of the Lie should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge?6 Saith he, If it be well weighed, to say that a Man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men: For a Lie faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the Wickedness of Falsehood and Breach of Faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last Peal to call the Judgements of God upon the Generations of Men: it being foretold that when Christ cometh, He shall not find Faith upon the Earth.7

6 See the 18th Essay on the second book Du Desmentir. Montaigne's words are, "C'est un vilain vice que le mentir, et qu'un ancien a peint bien honteusement, quand il dit, que 'c'est donner témoignage de mepriser Dieu, et quand et quand de craindre les hommes." Il n'est pas possible de représenter plus richement l'horreur, la vilenie et le défreglement: car que peut on imaginer plus vilain, que d'etre court a l'endroit des hommes, et brave a l'endroit de Dieu?"

The ancient referred to is Plutarch in the Life of Lyfander. It appears to me that Lord Bacon may have used Florio's version.

II. Of Death.

MEN fear Death as Children fear to go in the Dark: and as that Natural Fear in Children is encreased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of Death, as the Wages of Sin and Passage to another World, is holy and religious; but the Fear of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in religious Meditations there is sometimes Mixture of Vanity and of Superstition. You shall read, in some of the Friars' Books of Mortification, that a Man should think with himself what the Pain is, if he have but his Finger's end press'd, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the Pains of Death are, when the whole Body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times Death passeth with less pain than the Torture of a Limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of Sense. And by him that spake only as a Philosopher and Natural Man, it was well said; Pompa Mortis magnis terret, quàm Mors ipsa. Groans and Convulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blacks and Obsequies, and the like, shew Death Terrible.† It is worthy

† It has been supposed that the reference here is to Seneca, but it is undoubtedly to Montaigne, whose Essays were evidently much in Bacon's mind. The Latin is merely a version of Montaigne's thought:—"Je croy à la vérité que ce font ces mines et appareils effroyables, de quoy nous l'entourons qui nous font plus de peur
the observing, that there is no Passion in the Mind of Man so weak, but it mates and masters the Fear of Death: and therefore Death is no such terrible Enemy when a man hath so many Attendants about him, that can win the Combat of him. Revenge triumphs over Death; Love flies it; Honour aspireth to it; Grief flieeth to it; Fear pre-occupateth it: nay, we read, after Otho the Emperor had slain himself, Pity (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die out of mere Compassion to their Sovereign, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay, Seneca adds, Niceness and Satiety; Cogita quân diù eadem feceris; Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Mifer, sed etiam Fas-tidiosus potest. A Man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good Spirits the approaches of Death make; for they appear to be the same Men till the last Instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a Compliment: Livia, conjugii nostri mem orn vives, et vale. Tiberius in Dissimulation; as Tacitus faith of him; Jam Tiberium Viros, et Corpus, non Dissimulatio deferebant. Vespasian in a Jest; sitting upon the Stool,
Ut puto Deus fio. 6 Galba with a Sentence; Feri, 
și ex re fìt Populi Romani; 7 holding forth his Neck. 
Septimius Severus in Dispatch; Adeʃte, ʃi quid mihi 
restat agendum; 8 and the like. Certainly the Stoics 
bestowed too much Cost upon Death, and by their 
great preparations made it appear more fearful. 
Better faith he, Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter 
Munera ponit Natura. 9 It is as Natural to Die, 
as to be Born ; and to a little Infant perhaps, the 
one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an 
earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot 
Blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the Hurt; 
and therefore a Mind fixed and bent upon some-
what that is good doth avert the Dolours of Death. 
But above all, believe it, the sweetest Canticle is, 
Nunc dimittis; when a Man hath obtained worthy 
Ends and Expectations. Death hath this also, that 
it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguish-
eth Envy: 10

— Extintus amabitur idem. 11

6 Sueton. Vesp. Vit. c. 23. 7 Tacit. Hist. i. 41. 
6 Dio. Caff. 76. ad fin. 
9 Juv. Sat. x. 357. It is spatium vitæ in the poet. Lord Bacon 
has here quoted from memory, but has correctly given the sense of 
the passage. Spatium extremum, finem, vitæ, mortem imminetem. 
Gifford renders it,—"That reckons death a blessing." 
10 With respect to this Essay compare the hints given in the rho-
torical common places entitled Exempla Antithetorum in the Sixth 
Book De Augmentis Scientiarum, Art. XII. "Vita." 
11 Hor. Ep. II. i. 14.
III. Of Unity in Religion.

RELIGION being the chief Band of human Society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true Band of Unity. The Quarrels and Divisions about Religion were evils unknown to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the Religion of the Heathen consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies than in any constant Belief: for you may imagine what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, that he is a jealous God;¹ and therefore his worship and Religion will endure no Mixture nor Partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; and what the Means?

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 the Former, it is certain, that Heresies and Schisms are of all others the greatest Scandals; yea more than Corruption of Manners. For as in the Natural Body a Wound or Solution of Continuity is worse than a corrupt Humour; so in the Spiritual.

¹ Exodus xx. 5.
OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

So that nothing doth so much keep Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as Breach of Unity; and therefore, whenssoever it cometh to that pass, that one faith, Ecce in Deserto; another faith, Ecce in penetralibus;² that is, when some Men seek Christ in the Conventicles of Heretics, and others in an Outward Face of a Church, that Voice had need continually to found in Men's Ears, Nolite exire, Go not out. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) faith, If an Heathen come in, and hear you speak with several Tongues, will be not say that you are mad?³ And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists and profane Persons do hear of so many Discordant and Contrary Opinions in Religion, it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them to fit down in the Chair of the Scorners.⁴ It is but a light thing to be vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that, in his Catalogue of Books of a feigned Library, sets down this Title of a Book; The Morris-dance of Heretics.⁵ For indeed, every Sect of them hath a divers Posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move Derision in Worldlings and depraved Politickes,⁶ who are apt to contemn Holy Things.

As for the Fruit towards those that are within,

² Matth. xxiv. 26. ³ 1 Cor. xiv. 23.
⁴ Psalm i. 1. ⁵ Rabelais, Pantag. ii. 7.
⁶ Thus the original: the word was then used for politic persens.
it is Peace; which containeth infinite Blessings: it establiseth Faith; it kindleth Charity; the outward Peace of the Church distilleth into Peace of Conscience, and it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controversies into Treatises of Mortification and Devotion.

Concerning the Bounds of Unity; the true Placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two Extremes. For to certain Zealants all speech of Pacification is odious. Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me. Peace is not the Matter, but Following and Party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and Luke-warm Persons think they may accommodate Points of Religion by Middle Ways, and taking part of both, and witty Reconcilements; as if they would make an Arbitrement between God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two crofs Clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded; He that is not with us is against us: and again; He that is not against us is with us. That is, if the Points Fundamental and of Substance in Religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from Points not merely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing may seem to many a Matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

7 2 Kings ix. 18. 8 Rev. iii. 14. 16.
9 Matth. xii. 30. Comp. Adv. of Learning, ii. 25. 7.
OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

Of this I may give only this Advice, according to my small Model. Men ought to take heed 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 only by Contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the Fathers;¹⁰ Christ's Coat indeed had no seam, but the Church's Vesture was of divers colours. Whereupon he faith, In veste varietas fit, Scissura non fit; 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 become a Thing rather Ingenious than Substantial. A Man that is of Judgement and Understanding shall sometimes hear Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of Judgement, which is between Man and Man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the Heart, doth not discern that frail Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth 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 profanæ vocum Novitates, et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiae.¹¹ Men create Oppositions, which are not, and put them into new Terms so

¹¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20.
fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to govern the Term, the Term 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 Dark: the other, when it is pieced up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries in Fundamental Points. For Truth and Falsehood, in such things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay*, *in the Toes of Nebuchadnezzar's Image*; 12 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 do not dissolve and deface the Laws of Charity and of human Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians, the Spiritual, and Temporal; 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 Wars, or by sanguinary Persecutions to force Consciences; except it be in Cases of overt Scandal, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practice against the State; much less 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

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12 Dan. ii. 33.
could endure the Sacrificing of his own Daughter, exclaimed;

_Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum._

What would he have said, if he had known of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and Atheist than he was. For as the temporal Sword is to be drawn 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 be left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devil said, _I will ascend and be like the Highest_; but it is greater Blasphemy to perfonate 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 cruel and execrable Actions of Murdering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States and Governments? Surely, this is to bring Down the Holy Ghost, instead of the Likeness of a Dove, in the shape of a Vulture, or Raven; and to set, out of the Bark of a Christian Church, a Flag of a Bark of Pirates and _Assassins._ Therefore it is most necessary that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; and all Learnings, both Christian and Moral, as by their Mercury Rod do damn and send to Hell for ever,

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13 Lucret. i. 95.
15 The allusion is to the Caduceus, with which Mercury, as the messenger of the gods, summoned the souls of the dead to Hades.
those Facts and Opinions tending to the Support of the fame, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in Councils concerning Religion, that Counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed; Ira Hominis non implet Justitiam Dei. And it was a notable Observation, of a wife Father, and no less ingenuously confessed; That those which held and persuaded pressure of Consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

iv. Of Revenge.¹

REVENGE is a kind of Wild 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 superior: for it is a Prince's Part to pardon. And Solomon, I am sure, faith, It is the Glory of a Man to pass by an Offence.² That which is past, is gone and irre-vocable; and wise Men have enough to do with things present and to come: therefore, they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no Man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself Pro-

¹ James i. 20.
² Prov. xix. 11.

fit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man for loving himself better than me? And if any Man should do wrong merely out of ill nature; why, yet it is but like the Thorn or Briar, which prick and scratch because they can do 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 punifh: else, a Man's Enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take Revenge, are desirous the Party should know whence it cometh; 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 Dark. Cosmus Duke of Florence, had a desperate Saying againft Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those Wrongs were unpardonable: You shall read (faith he) that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; but you never read, that we are commanded to forgive our Friends. But yet the Spirit of Job was in a better tune; Shall we (faith he) take Good at God's Hands, and not be content to take Evil also? and so of Friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a Man that studieth Revenge keeps his own Wounds green, which otherwife would heal and do well. Public Revenges are for the most part fortunate: as that for the Death of Caesar; for the Death of Pertis.
nax;\textsuperscript{5} for the Death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private Revenues it is not so; nay rather, Vindicative Persons live the Life of Witches; who as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

\textbf{v. Of Adversity.}

\textit{It} was a high Speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), \textit{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.}\textsuperscript{1} Certainly, if Miracles be the command over Nature, they appear most in Adversity. It is yet a higher Speech of his, than the other, (much too high for a Heathen): \textit{It is true Greatness, to have in one the Frailty of a Man, and the Security of a God. Vere magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.}\textsuperscript{2} This would have done better in Poesy, where Transcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets, indeed, have been busy with it: for it is, in effect, the thing which is figured in that strange Fiction of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without Mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the State of a Christian: that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus, (by whom Human Nature is represented)

\textsuperscript{5} His. Aug. Script. vol. i. p. 578, ed. 1671.
\textsuperscript{1} Senec. ad Lucil. 66.
\textsuperscript{2} 1b. id. 53.
failed the length of the great Ocean in an Earthen Pot or Pitcher: lively describing Christian Resolution, that faileth in the frail Bark of the Flesh, thorough the Waves of the World. But to speak in a Mean: The Virtue of Prosperity is Temperance; the Virtue of Adversity is Fortitude; which in Morals is the more Heroical Virtue. 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 Harp, you shall hear as many hearfe-like Airs, as Carols: and the Pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the Afflictions of Job than the Felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many Fears and Diftastes; and Adversity is not without Comforts and Hopes. We see in Needleworks and Embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively Work upon a Sad and Solemn Ground, than to have a dark and melancholy Work upon a lightsome Ground: Judge, therefore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Virtue is like precious Odours, most fragrant when they are incensfed, or crushed; for Prosperity doth best discover Vice, but Adversity doth best discover Virtue.

3 Apollod. Deor. Orig. 11. Comp. what he says of this fable in "The Wisdom of the Ancients."

4 Mr. Macaulay has cited this fine passage (which, from the words "Prosperity is the blessing," was added in the edition of 1625,) as a proof that Bacon's fancy had not decayed in his later years, but had even become richer and softer.
VI. Of Simulation and Diffimulation.

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdom; for it asketh a strong Wit and a strong Heart to know when to tell Truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus faith, Livia sorted well with the Arts of her Husband, and Diffimulation of her Son: attributing Arts or Policy to Augustus, and Diffimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take Arms against Vitellius; he faith, _We rise not against the Piercing Judgement of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closeness of Tiberius._ These Properties of Arts or Policy, and Diffimulation or Closeness are, indeed, Habits and Faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a Man have that Penetration of Judgement, as he can discern what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at Half-lights, 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 Diffimulation is a Hindrance and a Poorness. But if a Man cannot obtain to that Judgement, then it

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1 See Antitheta, No. 32.  
2 Tacit. Ann. v. i.  
3 Tacit. Hist. ii. 76.  
4 See Tacit. Ann. iii. 70. and Ruperti’s note.
is left to him generally to be Clofe, and a Diffembler. For where a Man cannot choose or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in general; like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men that ever were have had all an Openness, and Frankness of dealing, and a name of Certainty and Veracity; but then they were like Horses well managed; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn: and at such times, when they thought the Case indeed required Dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former Opinion spread abroad of their good Faith and Clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this Hiding and Veiling of a Man’s Self. The first Clofenes, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a Man leaveth himself without Observation, or without Hold to be taken what he is. The second Dissimulation in the Negative; when a Man lets fall Signs and Arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third, Simulation in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously, and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy: It is indeed, the Virtue of a Confessor; and assuredly the Secret Man heareth many Confessions; for who will open himself to a Blab or a Babbler? But if a Man be thought Secret, it inviteth Discovery; as the more Clofe Air 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 Kind; while Men rather discharge their Minds than impart their Minds. In few words, Mysteries are due to Secrecy. Besides (to say Truth) Nakedness is uncomely, as well in Mind 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 vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, That an Habit of Secrecy is both Politic and Moral. And in this Part it is good that a Man's Face give his Tongue leave to Speak. For the Discovery of a Man's Self, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weakness and Betraying; by how much it is many times more marked and believed, than a Man's words.  

For the second, which is Diffimulation; it followeth many times upon Secrecy by a necessity: so that he that will be Secret must be a Dissembler in some degree. For Men are too cunning to suffer a Man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be Secret, without Swaying the Balance on either side. They will so beset a Man with Questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination one way; or if he do not,

5 The reader will be reminded of Sir Henry Wooton's Letter to Milton, prefixed to Comus in the ed. of 1645.  
"I & pensieri frettì il nifo feioltò will go fafely over the whole world."
SIMULATION & DISSIMULATION. 21

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 himself a little Scope of Dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Train of Secrecy.

But for the third Degree, which is Simulation and false Profession; that I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general Custom of Simulation (which is this last Degree) is a Vice rising either of a natural Falseness, or Fearfulness; or of a mind, that hath some main Faults: which, because a Man must needs disguise, it maketh him practice Simulation in other things, left his Hand should be out of use.

The Advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep Opposition, and to Surprise. 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 Self a fair Retreat: for if a man engage himself, by a manifest Declaration, he must go through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Mind of another. For to him that opens himself, Men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their Freedom of Speech to Freedom of Thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverb of the Spaniard; Tell a Lie and find a Truth.6 As if there were

6 The Spanish proverb is "Decir mentira para facar verdad." It is applied to those who simulate to know things of which they are
no way of Discovery but by Simulation. There be also three Disadvantages to set it even. The first, That Simulation and Diffimulation commonly carry with them a Show of Fearfulness, which, in any Business doth spoil the Feathers of round flying up to the Mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the Conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walk almost alone to his own Ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man of one of the most principal Instruments for Action, which is Trust and Belief. The best Composition and Temperature is to have Openness in Fame and Opinion; Secrecy in Habit; Diffimulation in seasonable use; and a Power to feign, if there be no Remedy.

vii. Of Parents and Children.¹

The Joys of Parents are secret, and so are their Grieves and Fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten Labours but they make Misfortunes more bitter:

¹ See Antitheta, No. 5.
They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; but Memory, Merit, and noble Works, are proper to Men: and surely a Man shall see the noblest Works, and Foundations, have proceeded from Childless 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 Raiseers of their Houses, are most indulgent towards their Children; beholding them as the Continuance, not only of their kind, but of their Work; and so both Children, and Creatures.

The difference in Affection of Parents towards their several Children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy; especially in the Mother; as Solomon faith; A wise Son rejoiceth the Father; but an ungracious Son shamest the Mother. A Man shall see, where there is a House full of Children, one or two of the Eldest respected, and the Youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are, as it were, forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The Illiberality of Parents, in allowance towards their Children, is an harmful Error; makes them base; acquaints them with Shifts; makes them fort with mean Company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to Plenty: and therefore the Proof is

2 It may not be superfluous to note that creatures here signifies things created, in the sense of the French créatures.

3 Prov. x. 1.
best when Men keep their Authority towards their Children, but not their Purse. Men have a foolish manner (both Parents, and Schoolmasters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers during Childhood, which many times forteth to Discord when they are Men, and disturbeth Families. The Italians make little difference between Children and Nephews, or near Kinsfolk; but so they be of the Lump they care not, though they pass not through their own Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature it is much a like matter; infomuch that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resemblenth an Uncle, or a Kinsman, more than his own Parent; as the Blood happens. Let Parents choose betimes the Vocations and Courses they mean their Children should take; for then they are most flexible: and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their Children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most Mind to. It is true, that if the Affection, or Aptness of the Children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the Precept is good; Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet Consuetudo.¹ Younger Brothers are commonly fortunate; but seldom or never where the Elder are disinherited.

¹ This Gnome occurs a little varied in Gruter's Florilegium Ethico-Politicum, T. i. p. 140.
Optimam vitam eligas; dulcescit consuetudine.
VIII. Of Marriage and Single Life.

E that hath Wife and Children, hath given Hostages to Fortune; for they are Impediments to great Enterprise, either of Virtue or Mischief. Certainly the best Works, and of greatest Merit for the Public, have proceeded from the unmarried or Childless Men; which, both in Affection and Means have married and endowed the Public. 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 talk; Such a 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;  

1 See Antitheta, No. 5.
especially in certain Self-pleasing and humorous Minds, which are so sensible of every Restraint, as they will go near to think their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends, best Masters, best Servants; but not always best Subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all Fugitives are of that Condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Churchmen; for Charity will hardly water the Ground where it must first fill a Pool. It is indifferent for Judges and Magistrates: for if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Servant five times worse than a *Wife*. For Soldiers, I find the Generals commonly, in their Hortatives, put Men in mind of their *Wives and Children*. And I think the Despising of Marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar Soldier more base. Certainly, *Wife* and *Children* are a kind of Discipline of Humanity; and *Single Men*, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Means are less exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted (good to make severe Inquisitors), because their Tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave Natures, led by Custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving *Husbands*; as was said of *Ulysses*; *Vetulam suam praetulit Immortalitati*.² Chaste Women are often proud and froward, 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 think her *Husband* wise; which she will never

do if she find him Jealous. Wives are young Men's Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Men's Nurses. So as a Man may have a Quarrel 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? —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 raiseth the Price of their Husbands' Kindness when it comes; or that the Wives take a Pride in their Patience. But this never fails, if the bad Husbands were of their own choosing, against their Friends' Consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own Folly.

IX. Of Envy.¹

There be none of the Affections which have been noted 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 Objects; which are the Points that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth Envy an Evil Eye:² and the Astrologers call the evil Influences of the Stars Evil

¹ Cf. Antitheta, No. 16. ² This perhaps refers to James iv. 5.
Aspects; so that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of Envy, an Ejaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay, some have been so curious 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 of the Person envied, do come forth most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) we will handle what Persons are apt to Envy others; what Persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the Difference between public, and private Envy.

A Man, that hath no Virtue in himself, ever envieth Virtue in others. For Men's Minds will either feed upon their own Good, or upon other's Evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and who so is out of Hope to attain to another's Virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's Fortune.

A Man that is Busy and Inquisitive is commonly Envious: for to know much of other Men's Matters cannot be because all that Ado may concern his own Estate: therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of Play-pleasure in looking upon the Fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own Business find much matter for Envy. For Envy is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not
OF ENVY.

keep 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 Deceit of the Eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed Persons and Eunuchs, and Old Men and Bastards are *Envious*; for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these Defects light upon a very brave and Heroical Nature, which thinketh to make his natural Wants part of his Honour; in that it should be said, that a Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; affecting the Honour of a Miracle: as it was in *Narjes* the Eunuch, and *Agestilas*, and *Tamerlane*, 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 the Times, and think other Men's Harms a Redemption of their own Sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many Matters, out of Levity and Vain-glory, are ever *Envious*; for they cannot want Work; it being impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpass them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperor, that mortally *envied Poets and Painters*, and *Artificers* in Works wherein he had a vein to excel.

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3 This is from the Stichus of Plautus, act ii. sc. 1. In some editions it is act iii. sc. 1. Cf. Plut. de Curios. 1.

4 Spartan Vit. Adrian. 15.
Lastly, near Kinsfolks and Fellows in Office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to Envy their Equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own Fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their Remembrance; and incurreth likewise more into the Note of others; 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 Nobody to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to Envy: First, Persons of eminent Virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied; for their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no Man envieth the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards and Liberality rather. Again, Envy is ever joined with the comparing of a Man's Self; and where there is no Comparison, no Envy; and therefore Kings are not envied but by Kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy Persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit are most envied when their Fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their Virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same Lustre; for fresh Men grow up that darken it.

Persons of Noble Blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but Right done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not so much added to their Fortune; and Envy is as the Sun Beams, that beat
hotter upon a Bank or steep rising Ground than upon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and per saltum.

Those that have joined with their Honour great Travels, Cares, or Perils, are less subject to Envy; for Men think that they earn their Honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and Pity ever healeth Envy; wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politque Persons, in their Greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a Life they lead, chanting a Quanta patimur: not that they feel it so; but only to abate the Edge of Envy. But this is to be understood of Business that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For Nothing increaseth Envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious Engrossing of Business: and nothing doth extinguish Envy more than for a great Person to preserve all other inferior Officers in their full Rights and Pre-eminences of their Places: for by that means, there be so many Screens between him, and Envy.

Above all, those are most subject to Envy which carry the Greatness of their Fortunes in an insolent and proud Manner: being never well, but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward Pomp, or by triumphing over all Opposition or Competition; whereas wise Men will rather do Sacrifice to Envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crost and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwith-
standing so much is true; that the Carriage of Greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy and Vain-glory) doth draw less Envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a Man doth but disavow Fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own Want in Worth, and doth but teach others to Envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part: as we said in the beginning, that the Act of Envy had somewhat in it of Witchcraft; so there is no other Cure of Envy but the cure of Witchcraft: and that is, to remove the Lot (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 the Envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon Ministers and Servants, sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates, and the like; and for that turn, there are never wanting some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who so they may have Power and Business, will take it at any Cost.

Now to speak of Public Envy: There is yet some good in Public Envy, whereas in Private, there is none. For Public Envy is as an Ostracism, that eclipseth Men when they grow too great: and therefore it is a bridle also to Great Ones to keep them within Bounds.

This Envy, being in the Latin word Invidia, goeth in the Modern Languages, by the name of Discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling Sedition. It is a Disease in a State like to
OF ENVY.

Infection; for as Infection spreadeth upon that which is found, 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 won by intermingling of plausible Actions: for that doth argue but a Weakness and Fear of Envy; which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in Infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This Public Envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal Officers or Ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the Envy upon the Minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the Envy be general, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the Envy (though hidden) is truly upon the State itself. And so much of Public Envy or Discontentment, and the Difference thereof from Private Envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general touching the Affectation of Envy; that of all other Affections it is the most importune and continual. For of other Affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said; Invidia festos dies non agit; for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that Love and Envy do make a Man pine, which other Affections do not; because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest Affectation, and the most depraved; for which Cause it is the proper Attrin-
bute of the Devil, who is called, *The Envious Man that soweth Tares amongst the Wheat by night.* As it always cometh to pass, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the dark; and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

x. Of Love.¹

THE Stage is more beholding to *Love* than 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 mischief; sometimes like a *Siren*, 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 been transported to the mad degree of *Love*; which shews, that great Spirits and great Business do keep out this weak Passion. You must except, nevertheless, *Marcus Antonius*, the half Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir* and Law-giver: whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous Man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise Man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that *Love* can find entrance, not only into an open Heart, but also into a Heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of *Epicurus*; *Satis magnum Alter Alteri*

² Matt. xiii. 24. ¹ See Antitheta, No. 36.
Theatrum sumus: as if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all Noble Objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little Idol, and make himself 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 Excess of this Passion; and how it braves the Nature and Value of Things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetual Hyperbole is comely in nothing but in Love. Neither is it merely in the Phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, That the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a Man's Self; certainly the Lover is more. For there was never proud Man thought so absurdly well of himself 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 Weakness appear to others only, 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 itself. As for the other Losses, the Poet’s Relation doth well figure them: That he that preferred Helena, quitted the Gifts of Juno and Pallas: for whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection quitteth both Riches and Wisdom. This Passion hath his Floods

4 Ovid Heroid. xvi. 163.
in the very times of Weakness; which are, great 
Prosperity and great Adversity; though this latter 
hath been less observed; both which times kindle 
Love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew 
it to be the Child of Folly. They do best, who, 
if they cannot but admit Love, yet make it keep 
Quarter; and fever it wholly from their serious 
Affairs, and Actions of life: for if it check once 
with Business, it troubleth Men’s Fortunes, and 
maketh Men that they can no ways be true to 
their own Ends. I know not how, but Martial 
Men are given to Love: I think it is, but as they 
are given to Wine; for Perils commonly ask 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 itself towards many; 
and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; 
as it is seen somet ime in Friars. Nuptial Love 
maketh Mankind; 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 Sovereign or State; 
Servants of Fame; and Servants of 
Business. So as they have no Free-
don, neither in their Persons nor in their Ac-

5 Aristotle makes the same observation, Polit. II. vi. 6, and adds 
that it was a truthful idea of the mythologist who first imagined the 
union of Mars and Venus.

1 See Antitheta, No. 7.
OF GREAT PLACE.

It is a strange desire, to seek Power and to lose Liberty; or to seek Power over others, and to lose Power over a Man's Self. The Rising unto Place is laborious; and by Pains Men come to greater Pains: and it is sometimes base; and by Indignities Men come to Dignities. The Standing is slippery, and the Regress is either a downfall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. Cum non fīs 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 privateness even in Age and Sickness, which require the shadow: like old Townsmen, that will be still sitting at their Street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly Great Persons had need to borrow other Men's Opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own Feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were, by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own Griefs; though they be the last that find their own Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their Health either of Body, or Mind.

Illi Mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi. ²

² Senec. Thyeft. ii. 401.
In Place there is License to do Good and Evil; whereof the latter is a Curse; for in Evil the best condition is not to Will; the Second not to Can. But Power to do good is the true and lawful End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men are little better than good Dreams, 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; and Conscience of the same is the Accomplishment of Man's Rest. For if a Man can be Partaker of God's Theatre, he shall likewise be Partaker of God's Rest. Et conversus Deus, ut adsipiceret Opera, quae fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nisi: and then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy Place set before thee the best Examples; for Imitation is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own Example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same Place: not to set off thyself by taxing their Memory; but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform therefore, without Bravery or Scandal of former Times and Persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good Precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first Institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate: but yet ask Counsel of both Times; of the Ancient Time

3 Genesis i. 31.
what is best; and of the Latter Time what is fittest. Seek to make thy Course regular; that Men may know beforehand what they may expect: but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the Right of thy Place, but stir not questions of Jurisdiction: and rather assume thy Right in Silence, and de facto, than voice it with Claims and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Rights of Inferior Places; and think it more Honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices touching the Execution of thy Place; and do not drive away such as bring thee Information as Meddlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of Authority are chiefly four: Delays, Corruption, Roughness, and Facility. For Delays; give easy Access; keep Times appointed; go through with that which is in hand; and interlace not business but of necessity. For Corruption; do not only bind thine own Hands or thy Servants' Hands from taking; but bind the Hands of Suitors also from offering. For Integrity used doth the one; but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of Corruption. Therefore, always, when thou changest thine Opinion or Course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal it. A Servant, or a Favourite, if he
be inward, and no other apparent Cause of Esteem, is commonly thought but a By-way to close Corruption. For Roughness; it is a needless cause of Discontent: Severity breedeth Fear, but Roughness breedeth Hate. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be Grave, and not Taunting. As for Facility, it is worse than Bribery. For Bribes come but now and then; but if Importunity or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall never be without. As Solomon faith; To respect Persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece 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: Omnium consensu capax Imperii, nisi imperasset, faith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he faith; Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius. Though the one was meant of Sufficiency, the other of Manners and Affection. It is an asfured Sign of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom Honour amends. For Honour is, or should be, the Place of Virtue; and as in Nature, Things move violently to their Place, and calmly in their Place; so Virtue in Ambition is violent, in Authority settled and calm. All Rising to Great Place is by a winding Stair; and if there be Facions, it is good to side a Man's self whilst he is in the Rising; and to balance Himself when he is placed. Use the Memory of thy

4 Proverbs xxviii. 21.
5 This refers to the celebrated Greek proverb ἄρχη ἄνερα δεικνυσι, which Plutarch tells us Epaminondas thus elegantly enlarged, Οὐ μόνον ἄρχη ἄνερα δεικνυσιν καὶ ἄρχην ἄνηρ. See Erasmus Adag. L. Bat. 1560, p. 398, and his Apophthegmata, L. v. 33.
Predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a Debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy Place in Conversation and private Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said, When he sits in Place he is another Man.

xii. Of Boldness.¹

It is a trivial Grammar School Text, but yet worthy a wise Man's Consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, What was the chief Part of an Orator? He answered, Action: What next? Action: What next again? Action.² He said it that knew it best; and had by nature himself no Advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Orator, which is but superficial, and rather the virtue 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

¹ See Antitheta, No. 33.

It has been doubted whether Bacon has rightly conceived the sense of the word aélis as used by Cicero in this anecdote; but do not the words of Cicero elsewhere lead to the same conclusion? "Est enim aélis quasi fermo corporis"—"quasi corporis eloquentiae." Cf. Quintil. I. O. xi. 3, et i. cap. 11.
plain. There is in Human Nature generally more of the Fool than of the Wife; and therefore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Men's Minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the Case of Boldness in Civil Business; What first? Boldness: What Second and Third? Boldness. And yet Boldness is a Child of Ignorance and Baseness, far inferior to other Parts. But nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in Judgement or weak in Courage, which are the greatest Part: Yea, and prevails with Wise Men at weak times; therefore we see it hath done wonders in Popular States, but with Senates and Princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of Bold Persons into Action, than soon after; for Boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are Mountebanks for the Natural Body, so are there Mountebanks for the Politique Body: Men that undertake great Cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science, and therefore cannot hold out: nay, you shall see a Bold Fellow many times do Mahomet's Miracle. Mahomet made the People believe that he would call a Hill to him, and from the Top of it offer up his Prayers for the Observers of his Law. The People assembled; Mahomet called the Hill to come to him again and again: and when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said; If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the Hill. So these Men, when they have promised great Matters and
failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of Boldness), they will but flight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly, to Men of great Judgement, Bold Persons are a Sport to behold; nay, and to the Vulgar also, Boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous: for if Absurdity be the Subject of Laughter, doubt you not but great Boldness is seldom without some Absurdity. Especially it is a Sport to see, when a Bold Fellow is out of Countenance; for that puts his Face into a most shrunken and wooden Posture, as needs it must; for in Bashfullness the Spirits do a little go and come; but with Bold Men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay, like a Stale at Chefs, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a Satire than for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed, that Boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not Dangers and Inconveniences: therefore it is ill in Counfel, good in Execution: so that the right Use of Bold Persons is, that they never command in Chief, but be Seconds, and under the Direction of others. For in Counfel it is good to see dangers; and in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

TAKE Goodness in this Sense, the affecting of the Weal of Men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word Humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the Habit, and Goodness of Nature the Inclination. This, of all Virtues and Dignities of the Mind is the greatest, being the Character of the Deity; and without it Man is a Busy, Mischievous, Wretched Thing, no better than a Kind of Vermin. Goodness answers to the Theological Virtue Charity, and admits no Excess but Error. The desire of Power in Excess caused the Angels to fall; the desire of Knowledge in Excess caused Man to fall: but in Charity there is no Excess; neither can Angel or Man come in danger by it. The Inclination to Goodness is imprinted deeply in the Nature of Man: insomuch, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living Creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel People, who nevertheless are kind to Beasts, and give Alms to Dogs and Birds: insomuch, as Busbechius¹ reporteth; A Christian Boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging, in

¹ Legationes Turcicae, Hanov. 1605, 12mo. p. 133. Bacon again quotes from memory; it was a Venetian goldsmith at Constantinople fond of fowling, who was threatened with the bastinado
a waggishnes, a long-billed Fowl. Errors, indeed, in this virtue of Goodness 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 Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing almost in plain terms: *That the Christian Faith had given up Good Men in prey to those, that are Tyrannical and Unjust.* Which he spake, because, indeed, there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion did so much magnify Goodness as the Christian Religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the Scandal and the Danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the Errors of a Habit so excellent. Seek the Good of other Men; but be not in bondage to their Faces or Fancies: for that is but Facility or Softness, which taketh an honest Mind Prisoner. Neither give thou *Æsop’s Cock a Gem,* who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barley-corn. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to shine, upon the Just, and Unjust;* but he doth not rain Wealth, nor shine Honour and Virtues 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 Divinity maketh the Love of our

because he suspended in sport a Caprimulgas or Goatfucker over his door with its wide mouth extended by a stick.


3 See the Apophthegms, No. 203, p. 222, edit. 1625.
Selves the Pattern, the Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou haft, and give it to the poor, and follow me:* but fell not all thou haft, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a Vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great: for otherwise, in feeding the Streams, thou drieft the Fountain. Neither is there only a Habit of Goodness directed by right Reason; but there is in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: as on the other side, there is a Natural Malignity. For there be that in their Nature do not affect the Good of Others. The lighter sort of Malignity turneth but to a Crossness or Forwardness, or Aptness to oppose, or Difficultness, or the like; but the deeper sort to Envy, and mere Mischiefs. 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 Practice to bring Men to the Bough, and yet have never a Tree for the purpose in their Gardens, as Timon had. Such Dispositions are the very Errors of Human Nature: and yet they are the fittest Timber to make great Politiques of: like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building Houses that shall stand firm. The

4 Mark x. 21.
5 i. e. the part which is most heavily laden.
6 See Shakspere’s Timon of Athens, act v. sc. 2.
7 i. e. politic persons.
Parts and Signs of Goodness are many: If a Man be gracious and courteous to Strangers, it shews he is a Citizen of the World, and that his Heart is no Island cut off from other Lands, but a Continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the Afflictions of others, it shews that his Heart is like the noble Tree that is wounded itself when it gives the Balm. If he easily pardons and remits Offences, it shews that his Mind is planted above Injuries; so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small Benefits, it shews that he weighs Men's Minds, and not their Trash. But above all, if he have St. Paul's Perfection, that he would wish to be an Anathema from Christ, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shews much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of Conformity with Christ himself.

xiv. Of Nobility.

We will speak of Nobility first as a Portion of an Estate; then as a Condition of Particular Persons. A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute Tyranny, as that of the Turks: for Nobility attempers Sovereignty, and draws the Eyes of the People somewhat aside from the Line Royal. But for Democracies they need

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8 Romans ix. 3.
1 This Essay has been entirely rewritten. See Antitheta, No. 1.
it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to Sedition, than where there are Stirps\(^2\) of Nobles; for Men's Eyes are upon the Business, and not upon the Persons; or if upon the Persons, it is for the Business' sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their Diversity of Religion and of Cantons; for Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The United Provinces of the Low Countries in their Government excel: for where there is an Equality the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerful. A great and Potent Nobility addeth Majesty to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; and putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when Nobles are not too great for Sovereignty nor for Justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the Insolency of Inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings. A Numerous Nobility causeth Poverty and Inconvenience in a State; for it is a Surcharge of Expense; and besides, it being of Necessity that many of the Nobility fall in time to be weak in Fortune, it maketh a kind of Disproportion between Honour and Means.

As for Nobility in particular Persons; it is a Reverend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle or Building not in decay; or to see a fair Timber Tree found and perfect; how much more to behold an Ancient Noble Family, which hath stood

\(^2\) This Latinism signifies a stock, trunk, or race.
against the Waves and Weathers of Time? For new Nobility is but the Act of Power; but Ancient Nobility is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to Nobility are commonly more Virtuous, but less Innocent, than their Descendants; for there is rarely any Rising but by a Commixture of good and evil Arts. But it is Reason the Memory of their virtues remain to their Posterity, 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 go 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 find 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.

HEPHERDS of People had need know the Calendars of Tempests in State, which are commonly greatest when Things grow to Equality; as Natural Tempests are greatest about the Equinoxia. And as there are certain hollow Blasts of Wind and
secret Swellings of Seas before a Tempest, so are there in States:

— **Ille etiam caeos 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 fort, false News often running up and down, to the Disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the Signs of Troubles. *Virgil*, giving the Pedigree of *Fame*, faith *She was sister to the Giants*:

*Illam Terra Paren, irâ irritata Deorum, Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem Progenuit.*

As if *Fames* were the Relics of *Seditious* past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of *Seditious* 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 shews the Envy great, as *Tacitus* faith, *Conflatâ magnâ Invidia, seu benê, seu malê, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames* are a Sign

1 *Virg. Georg. i. 465.*  
2 *Æneid. iv. 179.*  
3 *Tacit. Hist. i. 7.* The passage runs thus, "*Utraque caedes finiftre accepta, et invifo femel Principe feu bene feu male facta premunt.*" *(Ruperti.*)
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 kind of Obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected; Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallet Imperantium mandata interpretari, quam exsequi: dispute, excusing, caviling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking off the Yoke, and aslay of Disobedience: especially, if in those Disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly; and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and lean to a Side, it is as a Boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one Side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the third of France: for first himself entered League for the Extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after the same League was turned upon Himself. For when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there be other Bands that tie faster than the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also when Discords, and Quarrels, and Factions are Carried openly and audaciously, it is a Sign,

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4 Tacit. Hist. ii. 39. Bacon again quotes from memory: the passage is, "Miles alacer; qui tamen jutta ducum interpretari, quam exsequi mallet."
the Reverence of Government is loft. For the Motions of the greatest persons in a Government ought to be as the Motions of the Planets under *Primum Mobile*, according to the old Opinion, which is, that Every of them is carried swiftly by the Higheft Motion and softly in their own Motion. And, therefore, when great Ones in their own particular Motion move violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberius, quâm ut Imperantium meminissent*, it is a Sign the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God; who threatneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum*.5

So when any of the four Pillars of Government are mainly shaken, or weakened (which are *Religion, Justice, Counsel*, and *Treasure*), Men had need to pray for Fair Weather. But let us pass from this Part of Predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the *Materials of Seditions*; then of the *Motives* of them; and thirdly of the *Remedies*.

Concerning the *Materials of Seditions*, it is a Thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent *Seditions* (if the Times do bear it) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the Spark shall come that shall set it on Fire. The *Matter of Seditions* is of two kinds; *Much Poverty*, and *Much Discontentment*. It is certain, so many *Overthrown Estates*, so many Votes for

5 Job xii. 18. See also Isaiah xlv. 1.
Troubles. Lucan noteth well the State of Rome, before the Civil War;

\[ Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fænus, Hinc concussa Fides, et multis utile Bellum. \]

This same Multis utile Bellum is an assured and infallible Sign of a State disposed to Seditions and Troubles. And if this Poverty and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be joined with a Want and Necessity in the mean People, the danger is imminent and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst. As for Discontentments, they are in the Politic Body like to Humours in the Natural, 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 Just or Unjust; for that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own Good: nor yet by this; whether the Griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous Discontentments where the Fear is greater than the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things that provoke the Patience, do withal mate7 the Courage: but in Fears 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 Peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every Vapour, or Fume, doth not turn into a Storm; so it is nevertheless true, that Storms,

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6 Lucan, Pharf. i. 181. 7 Mate, i. e. check or daunt.
though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last: and as the Spanifh Proverb noteth well, The cord breaketh at the laft by the weakest pull. 8

The Causes and Motives of Seditions are, Innovation in Religion, Taxes, Alteration of Laws and Customs, Breaking of Privileges, General Oppref- sion, Advancement of unworthy Persons, Strangers, Dearths, Disbanded Soldiers, Factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending People joineth and knitteth them in a Common Cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general Preservatives, whereof we will speak; as for the just Cure, it must answer to the Particular Disease: and so be left to Counsel rather than Rule.

The first Remedy, or Prevention, is to remove by all means possible, that material Cause of Sedition whereof we spake; which is, Want and Poverty in the Estate. To which purpose serveth the Opening and well Balancing of Trade; the Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenes; the Reprefling of Waste and Exces by Sumptuary Laws; the Improvement and Hufbanding of the Soil; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the Population of a Kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars), do not exceed

8 I suspect he refers to the Spanifh proverb, "El hilo por lo mas delgado que brbra," which will hardly bear the construction put on it, but I can find nothing nearer to the fentence in any of the numerous collections. Our proverb, "The laft feather breaks the camel's back," corresponds to Lord Bacon's verfion. See Erafmus Adag. p. 275, Lugd. 1551, fol. where we have "Abrumpamus dum nimium tendimus runculum."
the Stock of the Kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the Population to be reckoned only by number: for a smaller Number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an Estate sooner than a greater Number that live lower and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity: and so doth likewise an overgrown Clergy; for they bring nothing to the Stock; and in like manner, when more are bred Scholars than Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, for as much as the increase of any Estate must be upon the Foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere loft), there be but three Things which one Nation selleth unto another; the Commodity as Nature yieldeth it; the Manufacture; and the Vesture or Carriage. So that if these three wheels go, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that Materiam superabit Opus; that the Work and Carriage is more worth than the Material, and enricheth a State more: as is notably seen in the Low-Country-men, who have the best Mines, above ground, in the World.

Above all things, good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Monies 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

⁹ Ovid. Metam. ii. 5.
ESSAYS.

chiefly by suppressing or, at the least, keeping a strict Hand upon the Devouring Trades of Usury, Engrossing, 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 Subjects, the Nobleste and the Commonalty. 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 do but wait for the Troubling of the Waters amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets feign that the rest of the Gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the Counsel of Pallas sent for Briareus with his hundred Hands to come in to his Aid. An Emblem, 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 Grievs and Discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great Infolency or Bravery), is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humours back, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign Ulcers, and pernicious Imposthumations.

10 By engrossing, what is now called foresalling or regrating is meant. Great pasturages refers to the conversion of arable land into pasture or meadow, which many statutes had been made to prevent. As early as 1597, Bacon had himself made a motion in the House of Commons "against inclosures, and depopulation of towns and houses, of husbandry and tillage." He also afterwards expatiates on this subject in his History of Henry VII.

The Part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus, in the case of Discontentments; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when Grieves and Evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottom of the Vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial Nourishing and Entertaining of Hopes, and Carrying Men from Hopes to Hopes, is one of the best Antidotes against the Poison of Discontentments. And it is a certain Sign 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 manner as no Evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some Outlet of Hope: which is the less hard to do, because both particular Persons and Factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the Foresight and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head whereunto Discontented Persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known but an excellent Point of Caution. I understand a fit Head to be one that hath Greatness and Reputation; that hath Confidence with the Discontented Party; and upon whom they turn their Eyes; and that is thought discontented in his own particular; which kind of Persons are either to be won 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, and
setting them at distance, 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 and sharp Speeches, which have fallen from Princes, have given fire to Seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite Hurt in that Speech; Sylla nescivit Literas, non potuit dicäre:¹² 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 himself by that Speech; Legi à se Militem, non emi:¹³ for it put the Soldiers out of Hope of the Donative. Probus likewise, by that Speech; Si vixero, non opus erit ampliús Romano Imperio militibus,¹⁴ a Speech of great Despair for the Soldiers; and many the like. Surely Princes had need, in tender Matters and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; especially in these short Speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events, not be without some Great Person, one or rather more, of Military Valour near unto them, for the Repressing of Seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in

Cæsar here sports with the word dicäre, which signifies both to dicature and to act the part of dictator.
¹³ Tacit. Hist. i. 5.
¹⁴ Prob. Flav. Vop. vit. 20
OF SEDITIONS & TROUBLES.

Court upon the first Breaking out of Troubles than were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that which Tacitus faith, Atque is habitus Animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur. But let such Military Persons be Assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good Correspondence with the other Great Men in the State; or else the Remedy is worfe than the Disease.

xvi. Of Atheism.

HAD rather believe all the Fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal Frame is without a Mind. And therefore, God never wrought Miracle to convince Atheism, because his Ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Man's Mind to Atheism; but depth in Philosophy bringeth Men's Minds about to Religion: for while the Mind of Man looketh upon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the Chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly

15 Tacit. Hist. i. 28.
1 The tenth discourse in the Meditationes Sacrae is "Of Atheism," the theme being "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God," but there is little resemblance between the two.
2 i.e. The Golden Legend, containing Lives and Miracles of Saints.
to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that School, which is most accused of Atheism, doth most demonstrate Religion; that is, the School of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four Mutable Elements and one Immutable Fifth Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God, than that an Army of Infinite small Portions, or Seeds unplaced, should have produced this Order and Beauty without a Divine Marshal. The Scripture faith, The Fool hath said in his Heart, there is no God: \(^3\) It is not said, The Fool hath thought in his Heart: so as he rather faith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those, for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that Atheism is rather in the Lip than in the Heart of Man, than by this; that Atheists will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted 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 of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for Atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such Thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were Blessed Natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having

\(^3\) Psalm xiv. 1.
OF ATHEISM.

respect to the Government of the World. Wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced; for his Words are Noble and Divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi Opiniones Diis applicare profanum.* Plato could have said no more. And although he had the Confidence to deny the Administration, he had not the Power to deny the Nature. The Indians of the West have Names for their particular Gods, though they have no name for God: as if the Heathens should have had the Names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the Word Deus; which shews 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 subtlest Philosophers. The Contemplative Atheist is rare; a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that Impugn a received Religion, or Superstition, are, by the adverse Part, branded with the Name of Atheists. But the great Atheists indeed are Hypocrites; which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The Causes of Atheism are; Divisions in Religion, if they be many; for any one main Division addeth Zeal to both Sides; but many Divisions introduce Atheism. Another is Scandal of Priests; when it is come to that which St. Bernard faith; *Non est jam dicere ut Populus sic*

4 Diog. Laert. x. 123.
Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos. A third is, Custom of Profane Scoffing in Holy Matters; which doth by little and little deface the Reverence of Religion. And laftly, Learned Times, specially with Peace and Prosperity: for Troubles and Adversities do more bow Men's Minds to Religion. They that deny a God destroy Man's Nobility: for certainly Man is of Kin to the Beasts by his Body; and if he be not of Kin to God by his Spirit, he is a base and ignoble Creature. It destroys likewise Magnanimity, and the raising of Human Nature: for take an Example of a Dog, and mark what a Generosity and Courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a Man; who to him is instead of a God, or Melior Natura; which courage is manifestly such as that Creature without that Confidence of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine Protection and Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith, which Human Nature in itself could not obtain. Therefore, as Atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human Nature of the Means to exalt itself above Human 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 hear what Cicero faith; \textit{Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus; tamen nec Numero Hispanos, nec Robore Gallos, nec}

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5 Divi Bernardi Opera, tom. i. fol. 1299 H. Paris, 1586. In his \textit{Sermo ad Pasiores in Synodo}, St. Bernard says: "Multi sunt catholici praedicando, qui haeretici sunt operando. Quod haeretici faciebant per prava dogmata, hoc faciunt plures hodie per mala exempla: fedu-
Calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Graecos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis et Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipfos et Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hac unà Sapientiā, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine omnia regi, gubernarique perfœximus, omnes Gentes, Nationesque superavimus.  

**xvii. Of Superstition.**

It were better to have no Opinion of God at all, than such an Opinion as is unworthy of him: for the one is Unbelief, the other is Contumely; and certainly Superstition is the Reproach of the Deity. Plutarch faith well to that purpose: Surely, faith he, I had rather a great deal Men should say there was no such Man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his Children as soon as they were born,¹ as the Poets speak of Saturn. And, as the Contumely is greater towards God, so the Danger is greater towards Men. Atheism leaves a Man to Sense; to Philosophy, to Natural Piety, to Laws, to Reputation; all which may be Guides to an outward Moral Virtue, though Religion were not; but Superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy in the Minds of Men.

¹ Cic. de Har. Resp. ix. ² Plut. de Superflit. x.
Therefore *Atheism* did never perturb *States*; for it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to *Atheism* (as the Time of *Augustus Caesar*) were civil Times. But *Superstition* hath been the Confusion of many States; and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheres of Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; and in all *Superstition* Wife Men follow Fools; and Arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed Order. It was gravely said by some of the Prelates in the *Council of Trent*, where the doctrine of the School-men bare great sway, *That the Schoolmen were like Astronomers, which did feign Eccentrics 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 *Axioms* and *Theorems* to save the practice of the Church. The *Causes of Superstition* are: Pleading and sensual Rites and Ceremonies; Excess of Outward and Pharisaical Holiness; Overgreat Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; the Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre: the Favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties; the taking an Aim at divine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; and lastly, Barbarous Times, especially joined with Calamities and Disasters.

2 i. e. Eccentric movements. Epicycles are circles within circles, small orbits carried round larger ones.
OF SUPERSTITION.

Superstition, without a veil, 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 Worms, so good Forms and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a Superstition in avoiding Superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the Superstition formerly received: therefore Care would be had that (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away with the Bad; which commonly is done when the People is the Reformer.

xviii. Of Travel.

RAVEL, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; in the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that travelleth into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to School, and not to Travel. That Young Men travel under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what Things are worthy to be seen in the Country where they go; what Acquaintances they are to seek; what Exercises or discipline the Place yieldeth. For else young Men shall go hooded, and look 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-Travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if Chance were fitter to be registered than Observation. 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 Ambassadors: the Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear Causes; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastic: the Churches and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant; the Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Towns, and so the Havens and Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruins; Libraries, Colleges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies; Houses, and Gardens of State and Pleasure, near great Cities; Armories, Arsenals, Magazines, Exchanges, Burfes, Warehousefes; Exercises of Horfemanfhip, Fencing, Training of Soldiers, and the like: Comedies, fuch whereunto the better Sort of Persons do resort; Treasuries of Jewels and Robes; Cabinets and Rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places where they go: after all which the Tu- tors or Servants ought to make diligent Enquiry. As for Triumphs, Masques, Feast$s, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and fuch Shows, 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 Travel into a little Room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do:
OF TRAVEL.

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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 Book describing the Country, where he travelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keep also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one City, or Town; more or less as the place deserveth, but not long: nay, when he stayeth in one City or Town, let him change his Lodging from one End and Part of the Town to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the Company of his Countrymen, and diet in such Places where there is good Company of the Nation where he travelleth. 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 Travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in Travel, that which is most of all profitable is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and Employed Men of Ambassadors; for so in Travelling in one Country he shall suck the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit Eminent Persons in all Kinds, which are of great Name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarrels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for Mistresses,
Healths, Place, and Words: and let a Man beware how he keepeth Company with Choleric and Quarrelsome Persons; for they will engage him into their own Quarrels. When a Traveller returneth home, let him not leave the Countries where he hath Travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a Correspondence by letters with those of his Acquaintance which are of most Worth. And let his Travel appear rather in his Discourse, than in his Apparel or Gesture: and in his Discourse let him be rather advised in his Answers than forward to tell Stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his Country Manners for those of Foreign Parts; but only prick in some Flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the Customs of his own Country.

xix. Of Empire.

It is a miserable State of Mind to have few Things to desire, and many Things to fear; and yet that commonly is the Case of Kings, who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Minds more languishing; and have many Representations of Perils and Shadows, which makes their Minds the less clear. And this is one Reason also of that Effect which the Scripture speaketh of; That the King's Heart is inscrutable.¹ For

¹ Proverbs xxv. 3.
Multitude of Jealousies, and Lack of some predominant Desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any Man's Heart hard to find or found. Hence it comes, likewise, that Princes many times make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon Toys: sometimes upon a Building; sometimes upon erecting of an Order; sometimes upon the advancing of a Person; sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand: as Nero for playing on the Harp; 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 Mind of Man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that Kings that have been fortunate Conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some Check or Arrest in their Fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy: as did Alexander the Great; Diocletian; and in our memory Charles the Fifth, and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak 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 interchange them. The answer of Appollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent Instruction: Vespasian
asked him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the Harp well, but in Government sometimes he used to wind the Pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that Nothing destroyeth Authority so much as the unequal and untimely Interchange of Power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the Wisdom of all these latter Times in *Princes' Affairs*, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded Courses to keep them aloof. 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 Spark, nor tell whence it may come. The Difficulties in *Princes’ Business*, are many and great; but the greatest Difficulty is often in their own Mind. For it is common with *Princes* (faith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contraria.* For it is the Solecism of Power to think to command the End, and yet not to endure the Mean.

*Kings* have to deal with their *Neighbours*, their *Wives*, their *Children*, their *Prelates* or *Clergy*, their *Nobles*, their *Second Nobles* or *Gentlemen*, their * Merchants*, their *Commons*, and their *Men of War*; and from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumvention be not used.

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3 This is from Sallust, B. J. 113, and not from Tacitus. It is again quoted in the Adv. of Learning, ii. xxii. 5, and there rightly given to Sallust.
OF EMPIRE.

First for their Neighbours; there can no general Rule be given (the Occasions are so variable,) save one, which ever holdeth; which is, that Princes do keep due Sentinel, that none of their Neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of Territory, by embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than 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 Eighth of England, Francis the First King of France, and Charles the Fifth Emperor, there was such a Watch kept that none of the Three could win a Palm of Ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a War: and would not in any wise take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League⁴ (which Guicciardini faith was the Security of Italy), made between Ferdinando King of Naples, Lorenzius Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforza, Potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the Opinion of some of the Schoolmen to be received, That a War cannot justify be made, but upon a precedent Injury or Provocation.⁵ For there is no Question but a just Fear of an imminent Danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful Cause of a War.

For their Wives; there are cruel Examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her Husband: Roxalana, Solyman's Wife, was the

⁴ See Guicciardini, lib. i. c. 1. The League was that of 1485.
⁵ Grotius, de Jure Belli et Pacis, ii. 1. §§ 2, 3, lays down the same doctrine.
Destruction of that renowned Prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his House and Succession: Edward the Second of England, his Queen had the principal hand in the Deposing and Murder of her Husband. This kind of Danger is then to be feared chiefly when the Wives have Plots for the raising of their own Children, or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their Children; the Tragedies likewise of Dangers from them, have been many: and generally the Entering of Fathers into Suspicion of their Children hath been ever Unfortunate. The Destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's Line, as the Succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange Blood; for that Selymus the Second, was thought to be supposititious. The Destruction of Crispus, a young Prince of rare Towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his House; for both Constantinus and Constance, his Sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other Son, did little better, who died indeed of Sickness, but after that Julianus had taken Arms against him. The Destruction of Demetrius Son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are; but few, or none where the Fathers had good by such Distress; except it were where the Sons were up in open Arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet: and the three Sons of Henry the Second King of England.

6 i. e. Constantine the Great's Father.
OF EMPIRE.

For their Prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also Danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their Crossiers did almost try it with the King's Sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The Danger is not from that State, but where it hath a Dependence of foreign Authority; or where the Churchmen come in and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their Nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a King more Absolute, but less Safe, and less able to perform 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 pass that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; for the Nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not cooperate with him in his Busineses. So that in effect, he was fain to do all things himself.

For their Second Nobles, there is not much Danger from them, being a Body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: besides, they are a Counterpoise to the Higher Nobility, that they grow not too Potent: and, lastly, being the most immediate in Authority with the Common People, they do best temper Popular Commotions.

For their Merchants, they are Vena Porta; and if they flourish not, a Kingdom may have good
Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts upon them do seldom good to the King's Revenue; for that that he wins in the Hundred he leaseth in the Shire; the particular Rates being increased, but the total Bulk of Trading rather decreased.

For 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 Customs, or Means of Life.

For their Men of War, it is a dangerous State, where they live and remain in a Body, and are used to Donatives; whereof we see Examples in the Janizaries and Praetorian Bands of Rome: but Trainings of Men, and Arming them in several places and under several Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to Heavenly Bodies, which cause good or evil Times; and which have much Veneration, but no Rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances: Memento quod es Homo; and Memento quod es Deus, or Vice Dei: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.
xx. Of Counsel.¹

The greatest Trust between Man and Man is the Trust of giving Counsel. For in other Confidences Men commit the parts of life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affair, but to such as they make their Counselors they commit the whole: by how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and Integrity. The wisest Princes need not think it any Diminution to their Greatness, or Derogation to their Sufficiency to rely upon Counsel. God himself is not without; but hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Son, The Counsellor.² Solomon hath pronounced that In Counsel is Stability.³ Things will have their first or second Agitation; if they be not tossed upon the Arguments of Counsel, they will be tossed upon the Waves of Fortune; and be full of Inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. Solomon’s Son⁴ found the Force of Counsel, as his Father saw the Necessity of it: for the beloved Kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill Counsel; upon which Counsel there are set for our Instruction the two Marks whereby Bad Counsel is for ever best discerned: that it was young Counsel for the Persons; and violent Counsel for the Matter.

¹ See Antitheta, No. 44. ² Isaiah ix. 6. ³ Proverbs xx. 18. ⁴ Rehoboam; v. 1 Kings xiv.
The ancient Times do set forth in Figure both the Incorporation and inseparable Conjunction of Counsel with Kings, and the wife and politic use of Counsel by Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifies Counsel; whereby they intend that Sovereignty is married to Counsel: the other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with Child; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself 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 Counsel of State: that first, they ought to refer Matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded and shaped in the Womb of their Council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their Council to go through with the Resolution and Direction, as if it depended on them; but take the Matter back into their own Hands, and make it appear to the World, that the Decrees and final Directions (which, because they come forth with Prudence and Power, are resembled to Pallas Armed) proceeded from themselves, and not only from their Authority, but (the more to add Reputation to themselves) from their Head and Device.

Let us now speak of the Inconveniences of Counsel, and of the Remedies. The Inconveniences, that

have been noted in calling and using Counsel are three. First, the Revealing of Affairs, whereby they become less Secret. Secondly, the Weakening of the Authority of Princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the Danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled: for which Inconveniences, the Doctrine of Italy, and Practice of France in some Kings' times, hath introduced Cabinet Councils; a Remedy worse than the Difease.

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 do, should declare what he will do: but let Princes beware that the unsecreting of their Affairs comes not from themselves. And as for Cabinet Councils, it may be their Motto, Plenus rimarum sum: one futile person that maketh it his glory to tell will do more Hurt than many that know it their Duty to conceal. It is true, there be some Affairs which require extreme Secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two Persons besides the King: neither are those Counsels unprosperous; for besides the Secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one Spirit of Direction without Distraction: but then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a Hand-Mill; and those inward Counsellors

6 By "Cabinet Councils" Bacon means private meetings of selected advisers in the privy chamber of the king.
7 Terent. Eun. i. ii. 25.
8 That is, without a complicated machinery of government.
had need also be Wise Men, and especially true and truyf to the King's Ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his grææft Business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton, and Fox.

For Weakening of Authority; the Fable 9 sheweth the Remedy. Nay the Majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the Chair of Council: neither was there ever Prince bereaved of his Dependencies by his Council, except where there hath been either an Overgreatness in one Counsellor, or an Overstrict Combination in divers; which are Things soon found and holpen.

For the last Inconvenience, that Men will Counfel with an Eye to themselves; certainly, Non inventet Fidem super terram, 10 is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons. There be that are in Nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direcl; not crafty and involved: let Princes, above all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, Counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one Counsellor keepeth Sentinel over another; so that if any do Counfel out of Faction or private Ends, it commonly comes to the King's Ear. But the best Remedy is, if Princes know their Counsellors, as well as their Counsellors know Them:

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos. 11

And on the other side, Counsellors should not be too

9 i. e. the fable of Jupiter and Metis.
11 Martial, viii. 15.
speculative into their Sovereign’s Person. The true Composition of a Counsellor is rather to be skilful in their Master’s Business, than in his Nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his Humour. It is of singular use to Princes if they take the Opinions of their Council 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 own Humours; and in comfort, Men are more obnoxious to others’ Humours; therefore it is good to take both: and of the inferior Sort rather in private, to preserve Freedom; of the greater, rather in comfort, to preserve Respect. It is in vain for Princes to take Counsel concerning Matters, if they take no Counsel likewise concerning Persons; for all Matters are as dead Images; and the Life of the Execution of Affairs retheth in the good Choice of Persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning Persons, secundum Genera, as in an Idea or Mathematical Description, what the Kind and Character of the Person should be; for the greatest Errors are committed, and the most Judgement is shown, in the choice of Individuals. It was truly said, Optimi Consiliarii mortui; Books will speak plain, when Counsellors blanch; therefore it is good to be conversant in them; specially the Books of such as themselves have been Actors upon the Stage.

12 Obnoxious to, i. e. liable to opposition from.
13 Alonzo of Arragon 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, No. 105.
14 To blanch or blench is to shy or shrink from anything.
The Councils at this Day in most places are but familiar Meetings, where Matters are rather talked on than debated: and they run too swift to the Order or Act of Council. 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 Days for Petitions: for both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; and it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may Hoc agere. In choice of Committees for ripening Business for the Council, it is better to choose Indifferent Persons than to make an Indifference by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also, Standing Commissions; as for Trade, for Treasure, for War, for Suits, for some Provinces: for where there be divers particular Councils, and but one Council of Estate (as it is in Spain) they are, in effect, no more than Standing Commissions; save that they have greater Authority. Let such as are to inform Councils out of their particular Professions (as Lawyers, Seamen, Mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before Committees; and then, as Occasion serves, before the Council. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour Councils not to inform them. A long Table and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seem Things of Form,

15 Ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή, Greek proverb.
16 A phrase in frequent use with the Romans for to attend to the business in hand.
OF COUNSEL.

but are Things of Substance; for at a long Table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the Business: but in the other Form there is more use of the Counsellors' Opinions that fit lower. A King, when he presides in Council, let him beware how he opens his own Inclination too much in that which he propoundeth: for else Counsellors will but take the Wind of him, and instead of giving free Counsel, sing him a Song of Placebo.

xxi. Of Delays.'

ORTUNE is like the Market; where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sybilla's Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For Occasion (as it is in the common Verfe) turneth a Bald Nodle after she hath presented her Locks in front, and no hold taken: or at least turneth the

1 See Antitheta, No. 41.
2 See Catonis Disticha, ii. 66.—Phædr. Fab. v. 8, but above all Erasmus, Adag. p. 296, ed. Lugd. 1550, fol. where, in explaining the proverb Nosce Tempus, after mentioning the mode in which Opportunity was represented by the ancients, he says, "Ad quod erudite femel et eleganter allusit quisquis is fuit, qui versiculum hunc conscriptit,

Fronte capillata, post haec Occasio calva." He then refers to the Epigram of Pofidippus (Anthol. Jacobs. ii. 49), of which he gives a paraphrase. Alciat has also paraphrased it, see his 121st Emblem, and Aufonius long before (Epigram xi) in which these lines occur:

Crine tegis faciem. Cognoce nolo. Sed heus tu!
Occipiti calvo es. Ne tenear fugiens.
Handle of the Bottle first to be received, and after the Belly which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater Wisdom than well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light: and more Dangers have deceived Men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approaches; for if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long Shadows (as some have been when the Moon was low and shone on their Enemies' Back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach Dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripeness or Unripeness of the Occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to Argus 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,³ which maketh the politick Man go invisible, is Secrecy in the Counsel, 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 Air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the Eye.

³ Hom. Il. l. v. s. 45.
E take *Cunning* for a sinister or crooked Wisdom; and certainly there is great difference between a *cunning* Man and a *wise* Man, not only in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can pack the Cards,¹ and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in Canvasses and Factions, that are otherwise weak Men. Again, 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 real Part of Business; which is the Constitution of one that hath studied Men more than Books. Such Men are fitter for practice² than for Counsel; and they are good but in their own Alley: turn them to new Men, and they have lost their Aim; so as the old Rule, to know a Fool from a Wise Man; *Mitter ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*;³ doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men* are like Haberdashers of small Wares,⁴ it is not amiss to set forth their Shop.

It is a Point of *Cunning* to wait upon him with whom you speak with your Eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept: for there be many Wise Men that

¹ To *pack the cards* was to so arrange them in shuffling as to secure a good hand, a common practice with cheats who were often inferior players.
² *Practice* here means *intrigue, confederacy*.
³ This is attributed to one of the philosophers in Apothegms, No. 225.
⁴ Retail dealers of any kind were formerly called *Haberdashers*. 
have secret Hearts and transparent Countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any Thing to obtain of present Dispatch, you entertain and amuse the Party with whom you deal with some other Discourse; that he be not too much awake to make Objections. I knew a Counsellor and Secretary that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with Bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some Discourse of Estate, that she might the less mind 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 cross a Business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

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

And because it works better when any Thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a Bait for a Question by showing another Visage and Countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give Occasion for the Party to ask what the Matter is of the Change, as Nehemiah did; And I had not before that time been sad before the King.5

In Things that are tender and unpleasing, it is

5 Nehem. ii. 1.
OF CUNNING.

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good to break the ice by some whose Words are of less 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.6

In Things, that a Man would not be seen in himself, it is a Point of Cunning to borrow the Name of the World; as to say, The World says, or, There is a Speech abroad.

I knew one that, when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Material in the Postcript, as if it had been a By-Matter.

I knew another that when he came to have Speech, he would pass over that that he intended most; and go forth and come back again, and speak 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 apposed7 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 own Name which he would have another Man learn and use, and thereupon take Advantage. I knew two that were Competitors, for the Secretary’s Place, in Queen Elizabeth’s time, and yet kept good Quarter between themselves;

6 Vid. Tacit. Ann. xi. 29. seq. It was rather the intrigue of Messalina and Silas. Narcissus was the freedman of Claudius, and his pander. On the disclosure Silas was put to death.

7 Apposed, i. e. questioned.
and would confer, one with another upon the Business; 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 discourse with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary in the Declination of a Monarchy. The first Man took hold of it, and found Means it was told the Queen; who hearing of a Declination of a Monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear 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 says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and to say Truth, it is not easy, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way, that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by Negatives; as to say, This I do not: as Tigillinus did towards Burrhus; Se non diversas spes, sed Incolmitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare. Some have in readiness so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of Cunning for a Man to shape the Answer he would have in his own Words and

8 It was originally no doubt "Cate in the pan," but thus popularly corrupted. The allusion is probably to the dexterous turning or shifting the side of a pancake by a sleight of hand familiar to cooks.

Propositions; for it makes the other Party flick
the less.
It is strange how long some Men will lie in
wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how
far about they will fetch; and how many other
Matters they will beat over to come near it; it
is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.
A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question doth
many times 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
straightways he looked back.
But these small Wares and petty Points of Cun-
ing are infinite; and it were a good deed to make
a Lift of them; for that nothing doth more hurt
in a State than that Cunning Men pass for Wise.
But certainly some there are that know the Re-
sorts and Falls of Business, that cannot sink into
the Main of it; like a House that hath convenient
Stairs and Entries, but never a fair Room. There-
fore you shall see them find out pretty Looses in
the Conclusion, but are no ways able to examine
or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take
advantage of their Inability, and would be thought
Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the
abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting
Tricks upon them, than upon Soundness of their
own Proceedings: but Salomon faith, Prudens
advertit ad Gressus suas: Stultus divertit ad Dolos.11

10 In the edition of 1612 is this remarkable variation, "Very
many are the differences between cunning and wisdom."
11 Prov. xiv. 15.
xxiii. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.

An Ant is a wise Creature for itself; but it is a shrewd Thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly Men that are great Lovers of Themselves waste the Publick. Divide with reason between Self-love and Society; and be so true to thy Self as thou be not false to Others; specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poor Centre of a Man's actions, Himself. It is right Earth. For that only stands fast upon his own Centre; whereas all Things that have Affinity with the Heavens move upon the Centre of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a Man's Self is more tolerable in a Sovereign Prince, because Themselves are not only Themselves, but their Good and Evil is at the peril of the publick Fortune. But it is a desperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatsoever Affairs pass such a Man's Hands, he crooketh them to his own Ends; which must needs be often Eccentric to the Ends of his Master or State. Therefore let Princes or States choose such Servants as have not this mark; except they mean their Service should be made but the Accesfiary. 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, Ambassadors, Generals, and other false and corrupt Servants; which set a Bias upon their Bowl, of their own petty Ends and Envies, to the overthrow of their Master’s great and important Affairs. And, for the most part, the Good such Servants receive is after the Model of their own Fortune; but the Hurt they fell for that Good is after the Model of their Master’s Fortune. And certainly it is the Nature of extreme Self-Lovers, as they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Eggs; 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 Affairs.

Wisdom for a Man’s Self is, in many Branches thereof, a depraved Thing: it is the Wisdom of Rats, that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the Wisdom of the Fox, that thrusts out the Badger, who digged and made Room for him. It is the Wisdom of Crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are Sui Amantes sine Rivali, are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to Themselves, they

1 It was one of the popular beliefs that the crocodile imitated the cry of a child to attract the mother in order to devour her. But see Eras. Adag. in Crocodili Lachrymæ, p. 553. Lugd. 1550.
2 Cicero ad Quint. Frat. iii. 8.
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become in the end themselves Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose Wings they thought by their Self-Wisdom to have pinioned.

xxiv. Of Innovations.¹

S 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 than 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 natural 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 Innovator: and if Time of course alter Things to the worse, and Wisdom and Counsel shall not alter them to the better; what shall be the End? It is true, that what is settled by Custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those Things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new Things piece not so well; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like Strangers, more admired,

¹ See Antitheta, No. 40.
and less favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a sroward Retention of Custom is as turbulent a Thing, as an Innovation; and they that reverence too much Old Times are but a Scorn to the New. It were good, therefore, that Men in their Innovations would follow the Example of Time itself, which indeed 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 pairs\(^1\) other: and he that is holpen takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also not to try Experiments in States, except the Necessity be urgent, or the Utility evident; and well to beware that it be the Reformation that draweth on the Change, and not the desire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the Novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a Suspect: and, as the Scripture saith, That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then look about us, and discover, what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.\(^2\)

\(^{1}\) *Pairs*, i.e. impairs.  
xxv. Of Dispatch.

*AFFECTED Dispatch* is one of the most dangerous things to Business 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, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore measure no *Dispatch* by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Business. And as in Races it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed; so in Business the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the Care of some only to come off speedily for the time; or to contrive some false Periods of Business, because they may seem *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one Thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off: and Business so handled at 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, 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 Business, as Money is of Wares: and Business is bought at a dear Hand where there is small *Dispatch*. The Spartans and

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1 See Antitheta, No. 27.
2 Sir Amias Paulet, See Apophthegmata, No. 76.
Spaniards have been noted to be of small Dispatch; Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna, Let my Death come from Spain, for then it will be sure to be long in coming.  

Give good Hearing to those that give the first Information in Business; and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his own Order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the Moderator is more troublesome than the Actor.

Iterations are commonly los of Time; but there is no such gain of Time as to iterate often the State of the Question; for it chaseth away many a Frivolous Speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious Speeches are as fit for Dispatch as a Robe or Mantle with a long Train is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wastes of Time; and though they seem to proceed of Modesty, they are Bravery. Yet beware of being too Material when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Men's Wills; for Pre-occupation of Mind ever requireth preface of Speech, like a Fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, Order, and Distribution, and Singling out of Parts, is the life of Dispatch; so

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9 The dilatory character of the Spaniards was notorious. See Bayle; Penfées fur les Comètes, § 243. For the same character of the Spartans, see Thucyd. i. 70. 84.
as the Distribution be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into Business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose Time is to save Time; and an unseasonable Motion is but beating the Air. There be three Parts of Business: the Preparation; the Debate or Examination; and the Perfection. Whereof, if you look for Dispatch, let the Middle only be the Work of Many, and the First and Last the Work of Few. The Proceeding upon somewhat conceived in Writing doth for the most part facilitate Dispatch: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of Direction than an Indefinite; as Ashes are more generative than Dust.

xxvi. Of Seeming Wise.

That hath been an Opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apostle faith of Godliness; Having a shew of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof; ¹ so certainly there are in Points of Wisdom and Sufficiency that do nothing or little very solemnly; Magna conatu Nugas.² It is a ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satire, to Persons of Judgement, to see

¹ 2 Timoth. iii. 5. ² Terent. Heaut. iii. 5. 8.
what shifts these Formalists have, and what Pros-
pectives to make Superficies to seem Body that
hath Depth and Bulk. Some are so close and re-
served as they will not shew their Wares but by a
dark Light, and seem always to keep back some-
what; and when they know within themselves
they speak of that they do not well know, would
nevertheless seem to others to know of that which
they may not well speak. Some help themselves
with Countenance and Gesture, and are wise by
Signs; as Cicero faith of Pisces, that when he an-
swered him he fetched one of his Brows up to his
Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin:
Respéndes, altero ad Frontem fublato, altero ad
Mentum depresso supercilio; Crudelitatem tibi non
placere. Some think to bear it by speaking a great
Word, and being peremptory; and go on, and
take by admittance that which they cannot make
good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach,
will seem to despise, or make light of it as im-
pertinent or curious; and so would have their
Ignorance seem Judgement. Some are never
without a Difference, and commonly by amusing
Men with a Subtilty Blanch the matter; of whom
Aulus Gellius faith, Hominem delirum, qui Verborum
Minutiis Rerum frangit Pondera. Of which kind

3 Cic. Orat. in Pifonem, 6.
4 Lord Bacon's memory was at fault here. Aulus Gellius it is
ture (xii. 2), but in other words says, something to the purport of
Seneca. In the Advancement of Learning, 1. iv. 5, we have this
repetition. "So that, as was said of Seneca, Verborum minutiss re-
rum frangit pondera; so a man may truly say of the schoolmen,
Questionem minutiss scientiarum frangunt soliditatem." The words are
memoriter from Quintilian, (Inll. Or. x. 1). Speaking of Seneca,
he says, "Si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non iregisset."
also Plato, in his Protagoras⁵ bringeth in Prodicus, in Scorn, and maketh him make a Speech that consisteth of Distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally such Men in all Deliberations find 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 Work: which false Point of Wisdom is the Bane of Business. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks to uphold the Credit of their Wealth, as these empty Persons have to maintain the Credit of their Sufficiency. Seeming-Wise men may make shift to get Opinion; but let no Man choose them for Employment; for certainly, you were better take for Business a Man somewhat absurd, than over formal.

xxvii. Of Friendship.

T' had been hard for him that spake it to have put more Truth and Untruth together in few Words, than in that Speech, Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild Beast, or a God.¹ For it is most true, that a natural and secret Hatred and

⁵ Plat. Protag. i. 337.
Averfation towards 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 sequester a Man’s Self for a higher Conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly 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 do Men perceive what Solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a Crowd is not Company, and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures, and Talk but a tinkling Cymbal where there is no Love. The Latin Adage meeteth with it a little; Magna Civitas, magna Solitudo,² because in a great Town Friends are scattered; so that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in less Neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable Solitude to want true Friends, without which the World is but a Wilderness: and even in this sense also of Solitude, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for Friendship, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principal Fruit of Friendship is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulness and Swellings of the

² See Erasmi Adag. p. 551. Lugd. 1550. It is a verse from a Greek comic poet, referring to the city of Megalopolis in Arcadia. Ἐρημία μεγάληστιν ἡ Μεγάληπόλις.
Heart, which Passions of all kinds do 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 Mind: You may take Sarza to open the Liver; Steel to open the Spleen; Flower of Sulphur for the Lungs; Causticum for the Brain; but no Receipt openeth the Heart but a true Friend, to whom you may impart Griefs, Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever liveth upon the Heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil Shrift or Confession.

It is a strange Thing to observe how high a Rate great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this Fruit of Friendship whereof we speak: so great as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own Safety and Greatness. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune from that of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this Fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be, as it were, Companions, and almost Equals to themselves; which many times forteth to inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto such Persons the name of Favourites, or Privadoes; as if it were matter of Grace or Conversation: but the Roman Name attaineth the true Use and Cause thereof, naming them Participes Curarum; for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate Princes only, but by the wicest and most politick that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their Servants, whom both them-
felves have called *Friends*, 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 *Great*) to that Height that *Pompey* vaunted himself for *Sylla*’s Overmatch. For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Friend of his, against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, *Pompey* turned upon him again and in effect bade him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the Sun rising, than the Sun setting.* With *Julius Cæsar*, *Decimus Brutus* had obtained that Interest, as he set him down in his Testament for Heir 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 Dream of *Calpurnia*, this Man lifted him gently by the Arm out of his Chair, telling him, he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate till his Wife had dreamt a better Dream. And it seemeth his Favour was so great, as *Antonius* in a Letter, which is recited *verbatim* in one of Cicero’s *Philippics*, calleth him *Venefica*—Witch; as if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of mean Birth) to that Height, *as when he consulted with *Mæcenas* about the Marriage of his-

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3 Plut. Vit. Pomp. 19, tells us that *Pompey* said this when *Sylla* refused to give him a Triumph.
5 Cic. Philip. xiii. 11.
Daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the Liberty to tell him, That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Caesar, Sejanus had ascended to that Height as they Two were termed and reckoned as a Pair of Friends. Tiberius, in a Letter to him, faith, Hæc pro Amicitia nostrâ non occultavi: and the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to Friendship, as to a Goddes, in respect of the great Dearness of Friendship between them Two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest Son to marry the Daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain 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 been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a Man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodness of Nature; but being Men so Wife, of such Strength and Severity of Mind, and so extreme Lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly, that they found their own Felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal Men) but as an Half Piece, except they might have a Friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were Princes that had Wives, Sons, Nephews; and yet all these could not supply the Comfort of Friendship.

7 This was L. Fulvius Plautianus and not Plantinianus, as Mr. Montagu prints it after the old copy. See Dio. Cassius, lxxv. 14.
OF FRIENDSHIP.

It is not to be forgotten what Comminus\(^8\) observeth of his first Master Duke Charles the Hardy, namely that he would communicate his Secrets with none; and least of all those Secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and faith, that towards his latter time, That Closenes did impair and a little perish his Understanding. Surely Comminus might have made the same Judgement also, if it had pleased him, of his second Master Louis the Eleventh, whose Closeness was indeed his Tormentor. The Parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true; Cor ne edito—Eat not the Heart.\(^9\) Certainly if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, those that want Friends to open themselves unto are Cannibals of their own Hearts: but one Thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first Fruit of Friendship), which is, that this communicating of a Man's self to his Friend works two contrary Effects; for it redoubleth \(\text{joys},\) and cutteth \(\text{grievess}\) in Halves. For there is no Man that imparteth his \(\text{joys}\) to his Friend, but he joyeth the more; and no Man, that imparteth his \(\text{griefs}\) to his Friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Man's Mind of like virtue as the \(\text{Alchymists}\) use to attribute to their Stone for Man's Body; that it worketh all contrary Effects, but still to the Good and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without Praying in Aid\(^{10}\) of \(\text{Alchymists},\) there is a manifest

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\(8\) Philip de Commines, Liv. i. c. 4.


\(10\) Praying in Aid is a forensic term in pleading, for petitioning the court to call in help from another person who is interested in the thing contended.
Image of this in the ordinary course of Nature. For in Bodies, Union strengtheneth and cherisfeth any natural Action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent Impression; and even so is it of Minds.

The second Fruit of Friendship is healthful and sovereign for the Understanding, as the first is for the Affections. For Friendship maketh indeed a fair Day in the Affections from Storm and Tempests; but it maketh Day-light in the Understanding, out of Darkness and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of Faithful Counsel, which a Man receiveth from his Friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whoever hath his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with Another: he tosteth his Thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into Words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself, and that more by an hour's Discourse than by a Day's Meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the King of Persia, That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the Imagery doth appear in Figure, whereas in Thoughts they lie but as in Packs.  

Neither is this second Fruit of Friendship, in opening the Understanding, restrained only to such Friends as are able to give a

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11 Plut. Vit. Themist. 28. The anachronism of Cloth of Arras Bacon shares with Sir Thomas North, who translated from Amyot. In the Latin translation of the Essays it is tapetibus, properly tapestry. The saying is repeated, Apophtegms, 99.
OF FRIENDSHIP.

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Man Counsel (they indeed are best): but even without that a Man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himself to a Statua or Picture, than to suffer his Thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second Fruit of Friendship complete, that other Point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar Observation; which is Faithful Counsel from a Friend. Heraclitus faith well in one of his Enigmas, Dry Light is ever the best. And certain it is, that the Light that a man receiveth by Counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own Understanding and Judgement; which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections and Customs. So as, there is as much difference between the Counsel that a Friend giveth, and that a Man giveth himself, as there is between the Counsel of a Friend and of a Flatterer: for there is no such Flatterer as is a Man's Self, and there is no such Remedy against Flattery of a Man’s Self as the Liberty of a Friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning Manners, the other concerning Business. For the First; the best Preservative to keep the Mind in Health is the faithful Admonition of a Friend. The calling of a Man’s Self to a strict Account is a Medicine sometime too

piercing and corrosive; reading good Books of Morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our Faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best Receipt (best I say, to work and best to take) is the Admonition of a Friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross Errors and extreme Absurdities many (especially of the greater Sort) do commit for want of a Friend to tell them of them; to the great damage both of their Fame and Fortune. For as S. James faith, They are as Men that look sometimes into a Glass and presently forget their own Shape and Favour.\(^{13}\) As for Business, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more than one; or, that a Gamester feeth always more than a Looker on; or, that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty Letters; or, that a Musket may be shot off as well upon the Arm as upon a Rest; and such other fond and high Imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the Help of good Counsel, is that which setteth Business straight; and if any Man think that he will take Counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking Counsel in one Business of one man, and in another Business of another man; it is well (that is to say, better perhaps than 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 Friend, to have Counsel given, but such as shall

\(^{13}\) Mr. Montagu omits the words are as men that.

\(^{14}\) James i. 23.
be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have Counsel given hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning) and mixt partly of Mischief 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 overthoweth your Health in some other kind; and so cure the Diseafe, and kill the Patient. But a Friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware by furthering any present Business, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon scattered Counsels: they will rather distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble Fruits of Friendship (Peace in the Affections, and Support of the Judgment,) followeth the last Fruit, which is like the Pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean Aid and bearing a Part in all Actions and Occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of Friendship is to cast and see how many things there are which a Man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, That a Friend is another himself: for that a Friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to Heart; the bestowing of a Child, the finishing of a Work, or the like. If a Man have a true

Friend, he may rest almost secure that the Care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; but where Friendship is, all Offices of Life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his Friend. How many things are there which a Man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A Man can scarce allege his own Merits with modesty, much less extol them: a Man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like; but all these things, are graceful in a Friend's Mouth, which are blushing in a Man's own. So again, a Man's person hath many proper Relations which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speak to his Son but as a Father; to his Wife but as a Husband; to his Enemy but upon Terms; whereas a Friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it forteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endles$: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his own Part; if he have not a Friend he may quit the Stage.
xxviii. Of Expence.

RICHES are for Spending; and Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore extraordinary Expense 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 Expense ought to be limited by a man’s Estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compas; and not subject to Deceit and Abuse of Servants; and ordered to the best Shew, that the Bills may be less than the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Even Hand, his ordinary Expenses ought to be but to the Half of his Receipts; and if he think to wax Rich, but to the third part. It is no Baseness for the Greatest to descend and look into their own Estate. Some forbear it, not upon Negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken; but Wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look 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 less subtile. He that can look into his Estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A Man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of Expense, to be as saving again in some other. As if he be plentiful in Diet, to be saving in Apparel:
if he be plentiful in the Hall, to be saving in the Stable: and the like: for he that is plentiful in Expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a Man’s Estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long: for hafty Selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of Straits, he will revert to his Customs: but he that cleareth by Degrees induceth a Habit of Frugality, and gaineth as well upon his Mind as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repair may not despise small things: and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty Charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A Man ought warily to begin Charges, which once begun will continue; but in Matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

xxix. Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.

The Speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise Observation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said, He could not

fiddle, but yet he could make a small Town a great City. These words (holpen a little with a Metaphor) may express two different Abilities in those that deal in Business of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken of Counsellors 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 found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a Small State great, as their Gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing Estate to Ruin and Decay. And, certainly, those degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellors and Governors gain both Favour with their Masters, and Esteimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better name than Fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the Weal and Advancement of the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellors and Governors which may be held sufficient, Nego-
tiis pares, able to manage Affairs, and to keep them from Precipices and manifest Inconveniences; which nevertheless, are far from the Ability to raise and amplify an Estate in Power, Means, and Fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the Work; that is, The true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates, and the Means 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 lose

themselves in vain Enterprizes; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous Counsels.

The Greatness of an Estate, in Bulk and Territory, doth fall under Measure; and the Greatness of Finances and Revenue doth fall under Computation. The Population may appear by Musters; and the Number and Greatness of Cities and Towns, by Cards and Maps; but yet there is not any thing amongst civil Affairs more subject to Error than the right Valuation and true Judgement concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The Kingdom of Heaven is compared, not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a Grain of Mustard-feed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a Property and Spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there States great in Territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small Dimension of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

Walled Towns, stored Arsenals and Armories, goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of War, 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 and warlike. Nay, Number itself in Armies importeth not much, where the People is of weak Courage; for (as Virgil faith) It never troubles a Wolf how many the sheep be. The Army of the Persians, in

3 Matth. xiii. 31.
4 Virg. Ecl. vii. 51. The sense of the passage in Virgil seems to be: After the shepherd has counted the sheep, the wolf is careless about deranging the reckoning.
the Plains of Arbela, was such a vast Sea of People as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in Alexander's Army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by Night; but he answered, He would not pilfer the Victory: and the Defeat was easy. 5 When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a Hill with four hundred thousand Men, discovered the Army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it and said; Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too few for a Fight. But before the Sun set, he found them enow to give him the Chase with infinite Slaughter. 6 Many are the examples of the great odds between Number and Courage: so that a Man may truly make a Judgement, that the principal Point of Greatness, in any State, is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinews of War (as it is trivially said) 7 where the Sinews of Men's Arms in base and effeminate People are failing. For Solon said well to Cæsarius (when in Oftentation he shewed him his Gold), Sir, if any other come that hath better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold. Therefore let any Prince or State think soberly of his Forces, except his Militia of Natives be of good and valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that have Subjects of martial Disposition, know

6 Plut. Vit. Lucil. 27.
7 Cicero (Phil. v. 2), says, "Nervi belli pecunia infinita." Macchiavelli Discorsi, ii. 20, also questions the truth of the dictum.
their own Strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary Forces (which is the Help in this Case), all Examples shew that, whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them, He may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The Blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; That the same People or Nation should be both the Lion's Whelp and the Ass between Burthens: neither will it be that a People overlaid with Taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true, that Taxes, levied by Consent of the Estate, do abate Men's Courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the Excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the Subsidies of England. For, you must note that we speak now of the Heart, and not of the Purse: so that, although the same Tribute and Tax, laid by Consent or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it works diversly upon the Courage. So that you may conclude, That no People over-charged with Tribute is fit for Empire.

Let States that aim at Greatness take heed how their Nobility and Gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common Subject grow to be a Peasant and base Swain, driven out of Heart, and, in effect, but the Gentleman's Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; If you leave your Staddles too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes. So in Coun-

8 Gen. xlix. 9, 14.
9 He repeats this simile in the Life of K. Henry VII. Staddles,
tries, if the Gentlemen be too many, the Commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an Helmet; especially as to the Infantry, which is the Nerve of an Army: and so there will be great Population and little Strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in Territory and Population, hath been (nevertheless) an Overmatch; in regard the Middle People of England make good Soldiers, which the Peasants of France do 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 Farms and houses of Husbandry of a Standard; that is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them as may breed a Subject to live in convenient Plenty, and no servile Condition; and to keep the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not mere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you shall attain to Virgil's Character, which he gives to Ancient Italy.

Terra potens Armis, atque ubere Glebae.\(^{10}\)

Neither is that State (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 mean the State of free Servants and Attendants upon Noblemen and Gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the are young trees left standing in a copse when the underwood is cut. In a statute of the 35 Hen. VIII. they are termed standils.

\(^{10}\) Virg. Æn. i. 535.
Yeomanry for Arms. And, therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of Noblemen and Gentlemen received into Custom, doth much conduce unto Martial Greatness: whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of Noblemen and Gentlemen causeth a Penury of Military Forces.

By all means, it is to be procured, that the Trunk of Nebuchadnezzar’s Tree of Monarchy be great enough to bear the Branches and the Boughs; that is, that the natural Subjects of the Crown or State bear a sufficient Proportion to the stranger Subjects that they govern. Therefore all States, that are liberal of Naturalization towards Strangers are fit for Empire. For to think that an Handful of People can, with the greatest Courage and Policy in the World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice People in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their Boughs were becoming too great for their Stem, they became a Windfall 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 Jus Civitatis), and to grant it in the highest Degree, that is, not only

11 Mr. Montagu alters this to Material.
12 Dan. iv. 10. sq. 13 Nice here signifies carefully cautious.
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Jus Commercii, Jus Connubii, Jus Hereditatis; but also, Jus Suffragii, and Jus Honorum; and this, not to singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families: yea, to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Add to this their Custom of Plantation of Colonies, whereby the Roman Plant was removed into the Soil 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 Greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large Dominions with so few Natural Spaniards: but sure the whole Compass of Spain is a very great Body of a Tree; far 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 Pragmatical Sanction now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door Arts, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger than the Arm) have in their Nature a Contrariety to a Military Disposition. And generally all Warlike People are a little idle, and love Danger better than Travail: 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. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain, the principal Bulk of the vulgar Natives within those three kinds; Tillers of the Ground, Free Servants, and Handy-crafts-Men of Strong, and Manly Arts, as Smiths, Mafons, Carpenters, &c. not reckoning Professed Soldiers.

But, above all, for Empire and Greatness it importeth most, that a Nation do profess Arms as their principal Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things which we formerly have spoken of, are but Habilitations towards Arms: and what is Habilitation without Intention and Act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign) sent a Present to the Romans, that above all they should intend\(^{14}\) Arms, and then they should prove the greatest Empire of the World,\(^{15}\) 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 Gauls, 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, only the

\(^{14}\) Intend is here used in one of its Latin senses for to take heed or look diligently to.

\(^{15}\) See Livy, i. 16; Plut. Vit. Rom., 28.
Spaniards. But it is so plain, That every Man pro-
fiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not
to be stood upon, it is enough to point at it; that no
Nation which doth not directly profess Arms, may
look to have Greatness fall into their Mouths.
And, on the other side, it is a most certain Oracle
of Time, that those States that continue long in
that Profession (as the Romans and Turks prin-
cipally have done) do wonders: and those that have
professed Arms but for an Age have notwithstanding
commonly attained that Greatness in that Age
which maintained them long after, when their Pro-
fession and Exercise of Arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is for a State to have those
Laws or Customs which may reach forth unto them
just Occasions (as may be pretended) of War. For
there is that Justice imprinted in the Nature of
Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so
many Calamities do ensue), but upon some at the
least Specious Grounds and Quarrels. The Turk
hath at hand, for Cause of War, the Propagation
of his Law or Sect, a Quarrel that he may always
Command. The Romans though they esteemed
the Extending the Limits of their Empire to be
great Honour to their Generals when it was done;
yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a
War. First therefore let Nations that pretend to
Greatness have this, that they be sensible of Wrongs,
either upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politick Min-
isters; and that they fit not too long upon a Pro-
vocation. Secondly, let them be prepr

16 Mr. Montagu, not understanding this archaism, altered it to
to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates; as it ever was with the Romans: insomuch, as if the Confederate had Leagues defensive with divers other States, and, upon Invasion offered, did implore their Aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the Wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of Party, or tacit Conformity of Estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a War for the Liberty of Græcia, or when the Lacedemonians and Athenians made Wars to set up or pull down Democracies and Oligarchies: or when Wars were made by Foreigners, under the pretence of Justice or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others from Tyranny 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 healthful without Exercise, neither Natural Body nor Politick: and, certainly to a Kingdom or Estate a Just and Honourable War is the true Exercise. A Civil War, indeed, is like the Heat of a Fever; but a Foreign War is like the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to keep the Body in Health; for in a Slothful Peace, both Courage will effeminate and Manners Corrupt; but howsoever it be for Happiness, without all

*pressed*, which is quite contrary to Bacon's meaning: *press* here signifies prompt. A similar error occurs in Shakespeare's Coriolanus, Act ii. sc. 2. where *blest* has been substituted for *press.*

"Which the rather
We shall be *blest* to do, if he remember
A kinder virtue of the people."
Question for Greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in Arms: and the Strength of a Veteran Army (though it be a chargeable Business) always on Foot, is that which commonly giveth the Law, or, at least, the Reputation amongst all neighbour States, as may well be seen in Spain; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Army almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score Years.

To be Master of the Sea is an Abridgment of a Monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey's Preparation against Caesar, saith, Concilium Pompeii planè Themisioceleum est: putat enim, qui Mari potitur, cum Rerum potiri; and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Caesar, if upon vain Confidence he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battles by Sea. The Battle of Actium decided the Empire of the World. The Battle of Lepanto arrested the Greatness of the Turk. There be many Examples, where Sea-Fights have been Final to the War; but this is when Princes or States have set up their Rest, upon the Battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the Sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the War as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by Land are many times nevertheless in great Straits. Surely, at this Day, with us of Europe, the Vantage of Strength at Sea (which is one of the Principal Dowries of this Kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because, most of the Kingdoms of

17 Cic. Ep. ad Att. i. 8.
Europe are not merely Inland, but girt with the Sea most part of their Compass; and because, the Wealth of both Indies seems, in great Part, but an accessory to the Command of the Seas.

The Wars of Latter Ages seem to be made in the Dark, in respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected upon Men from the Wars in Ancient Time. There be now, for Martial Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon Soldiers and no Soldiers; and some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutcheon, and some Hospitals for maimed Soldiers, and such like Things. But in Ancient Times, the Trophies erected upon the Place of the Victory; the Funeral Laudatives and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; the Crowns and Garlands personal; the Style of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; the Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return; the great Donatives and Largefles upon the Disbanding of the Armies, were things able to enflame all Men's Courages; but above all, that of the Triumph amongst the Romans was not Pageants or Gaudery, but one of the wifest and noblest Institutions that ever was. For it contained three Things; Honour to the General; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoils; and Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for Monarchies; except it be in the Person of the Monarch himself or his Sons; as it came to pass in the Times of the Roman Emperors, who did improperate the ac-
tual Triumphs to themselves and their Sons, for such Wars as they did achieve in Person; and left only for Wars achieved by Subjects some Triumphal Garments and Ensigns to the General.

To conclude: no Man can by Care-taking (as the Scripture faith) add a Cubit to his Stature, in this little Model of a Man’s Body; but in the great Frame of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, it is in the power of Princes or Estates to add Amplitude and Greatness to their Kingdoms. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customs as we have now touched, they may sow Greatness to their Posterity and Succession. But these Things are commonly not observed, but left to take their Chance.

xxx. Of Regimen of Health.¹

HERE is a wisdom in this, beyond the Rules of Physick: A Man’s own Observation, what he finds Good of, and what he finds Hurt of, is the best Physick to preserve Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say, This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it; than this, I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it. For Strength of Nature in Youth passeth over many Excellèses

¹ See Antitheta, No. 4.
which are owing a Man till his Age. Discern of the coming on of Years, and think not to do the same Things still; for Age will not be defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a Secret both in Nature and State, that it is safer to change Many Things than one. Examine thy Customs of Diet, Sleep, Exercise, Apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so as, if thou dost find any Inconvenience by the Change, thou come back to it again; for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own Body. To be free minded and cheerfully disposed at Hours 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 Mind; avoid Envy, anxious Fears, Anger, fretting inwards, subtile and knotty Inquisitions, Joys and Exhilarations in Excess, Sadness not communicated. Entertain Hopes, Mirth rather than Joy, variety of Delights rather than Surfeit of them; Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that fill the Mind with Splendid and Illustrious Objects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you fly Phystick in Health altogether, it will be too strange for your Body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary Effect when Sickness cometh. I commend rather some Diet for cer-
OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH. 123
tain Seasons, than frequent Use of Physick, except it be grown into a Custom; for those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new Accident in your Body, but ask 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 sharp, be cured only with Diet and Tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a Physician, had he not been a Wise Man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of Health and Fastings, that a Man do vary and interchange Contraries; but with an Inclination to the more benign Extreme: Use Fastings 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. 2 Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the Humour of the Patient, as they press not the true Cure of the Disease; and some other are so Regular in proceeding according to Art for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; or, if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

2 Celsus de Med. i. 1.
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 Mind, they lose Friends, and they check with Business, whereby Business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousy, Wife Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Brain, for they take Place in the Stoutest 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 they do small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted but with Examination, whether they be likely or no; but in fearful Natures, they gain Ground too fast. There is nothing makes a Man Suspict much, more than to Know little: and, therefore, Men should remedy Suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their Suspicious in Smother. What would Men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are Saints? Do they not think they will have their own Ends, and be truer to Themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better Way to

1 See Antitheta, No. 45.
OF SUSPICION.

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moderate Suspicions, than to account upon such Suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a Man ought to make use of Suspicions as to provide, as if that should be true that he Suspects, yet it may do him no Hurt. Suspicions that the Mind of itself gathers are but Buzzes; but Suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into Men’s Heads by the Tales and Whispers of others, have Stings. Certainly, the best Mean, to clear the Way in this same Wood of Suspicions is frankly to communicate them with the Party that he Suspects: for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the Truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that Party more circumspect, not to give further Cause of Suspicion; but this would not be done to Men of base Natures: for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says; Sospetto licentia fede; as if Suspicion did give a Passport to Faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

2 Another form of this proverbial saying is, “Sospetto di Tiranno fede non arma.”

3 The reader will no doubt remark how Shakespearean this use of the word kindle is. Thus, in As You Like It, “Then nothing remains but that I kindle the boy thither.” And in Macbeth, “That, trusted home, Might yet enkindle you unto the crown.”
OME in their Discourse desire rather Commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgement in discerning what is True: as if it were a Praise, to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some have certain Common-places and Themes, wherein they are good, and want Variety; which kind of Poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived ridiculous. The honourablest part of Talk is to give the Occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a Man leads the Dance. It is good in Discourse and Speech of Conversation, to vary and intermingle Speech of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons; asking of Questions with telling of Opinions; and Jest with Earnest: for it is a dull Thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade any thing too far. As for Jest, there be certain Things which ought to be privileged from it; namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, any Man's present Business of Importance, and any Case that deserveth Pity. Yet there be some that think their Wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;
And generally, Men ought to find the difference between Saltness and Bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others' Memory. He that questioneth much shall learn 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 himself shall continually 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 Turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on; as Musicians use to do 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. Speech of a Man's Self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew One, was wont to say in scorn, He must needs be a Wise Man, he speaks so much of Himself; and there is but one Café wherein a Man may commend himself with good Grace, and that is in commending Virtue in another; especially if it be such a Virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards others shoule be sparingly used;

1 Ovid, Met, ii. 127.
2 The Galliard was a light sprightly dance, as its name implies, and then much in fashion.
for Discourse ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two Noblemen, of the West Part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal Cheer in his House, the other, would ask of those that had been at the other's Table, Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry Blow given? to which the Guest would answer, Such and such a Thing passed. The Lord would say, I thought he would mar a good Dinner. Discretion of Speech, is more than Eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good Words, or in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slowness; and a good Reply, or second Speech, without a good settled Speech, sheweth Shallowness and Weakness. As we see in Beasts, that those that are weakest in the Course, are yet nimblest in the Turn; as it is betwixt the Greyhound, and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

xxxiii. Of Plantations.¹

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical Works. When the World was young it begat more Children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new Plantations

¹ Plantations was then the word for Colonies.
to be the Children of former Kingdoms. I like a *Plantation* in a pure Soil; that is, where People are not *displanted* to the end to *plant* in others: for else it is rather an *Extermination* than a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries is like *Planting* of Woods; for you must make account to *leese* almost Twenty Years Profit, and expect your Recompense in the end: for the principal Thing that hath been the *Destruction* of most *Plantations* hath been the base and hasty Drawing of Profit in the first Years. It is true, Speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblest Thing to take the Scum 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 work, but be lazy, and do Mischiefs, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their Country to the D*credit* of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant* ought to be Gardeners, Ploughmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joiners, Fishermen, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first look about what kind of Victual the Country yields of itself to hand; as Chestnuts, Walnuts, Pineapples, Olives, Dates, Plums, Cherries, Wild Honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what Victual or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as Parsnips, Carrots, Turnips, Onions,
Radish, Artichokes of Jerusalem, Maize, and the like. For Wheat, Barley, and Oats, they ask too much Labour: but with Peas and Beans you may begin; both because they ask less Labour, and because they serve for Meat as well as for Bread: and of Rice likewise cometh a great Increase, and it is a kind of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought Store of Biscuit, Oatmeal, Flour, Meal, 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, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House Doves, and the like. The Victual in Plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged Town; that is, with certain Allowance. And let the Main Part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn be to a common Stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some Spots of Ground that any particular Person will manure for his own Private. Consider likewise, what Commodities the Soil where the Plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the Charge of the Plantation: so it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice of the main Business: as it hath fared with Tobacco in Virginia.  

2 Mr. Montagu added the word ufe here, and has been followed by others; not perceiving the meaning of the archaism, which is to be found in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, act iii. sc. 4, where Malvolio ufs it for privy;
  "Go off: I discard you; let me enjoy my private."

3 The early colonists of Virginia are said to have almost exclusively cultivated tobacco. See Grahame's Hist. of N. America, vol. i. p. 67. This cenfure would not be displeasing to K. James who detested the divine weed, and levelled his counterblaf against it.
Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ure, and Streams whereupon to set the Mills, Iron is a brave Commodity where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: Pitch and Tar, where store of Firs and Pines are, will not fail. So Drugs and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great Profit. Soap Ashes, likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moil not too much under Ground; for the Hope of Mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the Planters lazy in other Things. For Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counfel: and let them have Commission to exercise martial Laws with some Limitation. And, above all, let Men make that profit of being in the Wildernefs, as they have God always and His Service before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the Plantation depend upon too many Counsellors and Undertakers in the Country that Planteth, but upon a temperate Number; and let those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen than Merchants: for they look ever to the present Gain. Let there be Freedoms from Cuftom, till the Plantation be of Strength: and not only Freedom from Cuftom, but Freedom to carry their Commodities where they may make their Best of them, except there be some special Cause of Caution. Cram 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 been 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 streams, than 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 Victuals when it shall be necessary. If you Plant where Savages are, do not only entertain them with Trifles and Gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient Guard nevertheless: and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the Country that Plants, that they may see a better Condition than their own, and commend it when they return. 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 pieced from without. It is the sinfullest Thing in the world to forfake or destitute a Plantation once in Forwardness: for besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinefs of Blood of many commiserable persons.

* Marish is the old form of the word Marsh or Marshy.
* Commiserable persons for persons to be commiserated is, I believe, peculiar to Bacon.
xxxiv. Of Riches.

CANNOT call Riches better than the Baggage of Virtue: the Roman Word is better, Impedimenta: for as the Baggage is to an Army, so is Riches to Virtue; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the March; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the Victory. Of great Riches there is no real Use, except it be in the Distribution; the rest is but Conceit. So faith Solomon, Where much is, there are Many to consume it; and what hath the Owner but the Sight of it with his Eyes? The personal Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feel 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. Do you not see what feigned Prices are set upon little Stones and Rarities? and what Works of OfFentation are undertaken, because there might seem 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 Solomon faith, Riches are as a strong Hold in the Imagination of the Rich Man. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in Imagination, and

1 See Antitheta, No. 6.
2 There is a remarkable anticipation of Bacon's phrase in a valuable old dictionary, "Baret's Alvearie," 1580, p. 78. "Baggage is borrowed of the French, and signifieth all such stuffe as may hinder us in warre or travelling, being not worth the carriage Impedimenta."
3 Eccles. v. 11.
4 Prov. x. 15. Cf. xxviii. 11.
not always in Fact: for, certainly, great Riches have fold more Men than they have bought out. Seek not Proud Riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor friarly Contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero faith well of Rabirius Posthumus, In studio rei amplificandae apparebat non Avaritiae prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati quæri. Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hafty Gathering of Riches: Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insens. The Poets feign that when Plutus (which is Riches,) is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of Foot: meaning, that Riches gotten by good Means and just Labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Devil: for when Riches come from the Devil (as by Fraud and Oppression and unjust Means,) they come upon speed. The Ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent: for it withholdeth Men from Works of Liberality and Charity. The Improvement of the Ground is the most Natural 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 do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth Riches exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in

5 Cic. pro Rabir. 2. 6 Prov. xxviii. 22.
England that had the greatest Audits of any Man in my Time: a great Grazier, a great Sheep-Master, a great Timber-Man, a great Collier, a great Corn-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 perpetual Importation. It was truly observed by one, "That himself came very hardly to a little Riches, and very easily to great Riches." For when a Man's Stock is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargains which for their Greatness are few Men's Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but increase mainly. The Gains of ordinary Trades and Vocations are honest; and furthered by two things, chiefly, by Diligence; and by a good Name for good and fair dealing. But the Gains of Bargains are of a more doubtful Nature; when Men shall wait upon others' Necessity, Broke by Servants and Instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practices, which are crafty and naught. As for the chopping of Bargains, when a Man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the Seller and upon the Buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the Hands be well chosen that

7 The obsolete verb to broke is not often met with. It signifies of course to deal by an agent. Shakespeare once uses it in All's Well that Ends Well, act iii. sc. 5. And here is another instance from Fanthaw's translation of the Lusiad:

"But we do want a certain necessary Woman to broke between them, Cupid said."
are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest Means of Gain, though one of the worst, as that, whereby a Man doth eat his Bread, *In sudore vultus alieni*: and, besides, doth Plough upon Sundays. But yet certain though it be, it hath Flaws; for that the Scriveners and Brokers do value unfound Men, to serve their own Turn. The *Fortune* in being the First in an *Invention*, or in a *Privilege*, doth cause sometimes a wonderful 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 *Gains certain* shall hardly grow to great *Riches*: and he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth often times break and come to Poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties* that may uphold losses. *Monopolies* and *Coemption of Wares* for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the Party have intelligence what Things are like to come into Request, and so store himself beforehand. *Riches* gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, feeding Humours, and other servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for *Fishing for Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* faith of *Seneca, Testamenta et Orbos, tanquam indagine capi*) it is yet worse but how much Men submit themselves to Meaner Persons than in *Service*. Believe not much them that seem to despise *Riches*;

8 *Tacit. Ann. xiii. 42.*
for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not Pennywise; 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 Publick: and moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heir, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in Years and Judgement. Likewise, glorious Gifts and Foundations are like Sacrifices without Salt; and but the painted Sepulchres of Alms, which soon will putrify and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure, and defer not Charities till Death: for certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather liberal of another Man's than of his Own.

xxxv. Of Prophecies.

MEAN not to speak of Divine Prophecies, nor of Heathen Oracles, nor of natural Predictions; but only of Prophecies that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul; To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me.¹ Homer hath these Verses.²

¹ 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.
² Thus the author's own edition. It has been usual to alter it to "Virgil has these verses from Homer." The lines are in Æn. ii. 97. This Essay is not in the Latin translation.
At Domus æneas cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:

A Prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman Empire.
Seneca the Tragedian hath these Verses.

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

A Prophecy of the Discovery of America. The Daughter of Polycrastes dreamed that Jupiter bathed her Father, and Apollo anointed him: and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain washed it. \(^4\) Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his Wife's Belly; whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren; but Aristander the Soothsayer, told him his Wife was with Child, because Men do not use to Seal Vessels that are empty. \(^5\) A Phantom that appeared to M. Brutus in his Tent, said to him, Philippis iterum me videbis. \(^6\) Tiberius said to Galba; Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis Imperium. \(^7\) In Vespasian's Time, there went a Prophecy in the East; That those that should come forth of Judea, should reign

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\(^3\) Sen. Med. ii. 385. The received reading is now Tethysque, which was first substituted by Florentius Christianus, who lays, "Tethysque novos detegit orbes non Typhysque."

\(^4\) Herodot. iii. 124.

\(^5\) Plut. Vit. Alex. 2.

\(^6\) Appian, Bell. Civil. iv. 134.

\(^7\) Suet. Vit. Gall. 4.

\(^8\) Thus Ed. 1625, Mr. Markby inadvertently prints "Judas."
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 Neck; and indeed, the Succession that followed him for many years made Golden Times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water, This is the Lad that shall enjoy the Crown for which we strive. When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious Arts, caused the King her Husband's Nativity to be calculated under a false Name; and the Astrologer gave a Judgement, that he should be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her Husband to be above Challenges and Duels: but he was slain, upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staff of Montgomery going in at his Beaver. The trivial Prophecy, which I heard when I was a Child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the Flower of her Years, was;

When Hempe is sponne

England's done.

Whereby, it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had reigned which had the principal Letters of that Word Hempe, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England

11 Catherine de Medicis, wife of Henry II.
12 Mr. Montagu, following others, in altering the orthography of this old verse, ruined the allusion.
should come to utter Confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the Change of the Name: for that the King's Style is now no more of England but of Britain. There was also another Prophecy, before the year of 88, which I do not well understand.

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugb and the May,
The Black Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone,
For after Wars shall you have None.

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

Oëtægesimus octavus mirabilis Annus; ¹³

Was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that ever swam upon the Sea. As for Cleon's Dream, ¹⁴ I think it was a Jest; it was, that he was devoured of a long Dragon, and it was expounded of a Maker of Sauages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include Dreams, and Predictions of Astrology: but I have set down these few only of certain Credit for example. My Judgement is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for

¹³ Concerning this prophecy, see Bayle Dict. article Stosler, note E, and article Bruchius, note E.
Winter Talk, by the Fire-side. Though when I say despised, I mean it as for Belief: for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much Mischief; and I see many severe Laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of Dreams. The second is, that probable Conjectures, or obscure Traditions many times turn themselves into Prophecies: while the Nature of Man, which coveteth Divination, thinks it no Peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all Sea: and adding thereto the Tradition in Plato's Timeus, and his Atlantis, it might encourage one to turn it to a Prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have been Impostures, and by idle and crafty Brains merely contrived and feigned after the Event past.

15 i. e. his Critias, in which the feigned Atlantis is discoursed of. This seems to indicate that Lord Bacon used the Latin translation of Plato by Cornarius, in which the Dialogue is entitled "Critias five Atlanticus."
AMBITION is like Choler, which is a Humour that maketh Men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have its Way, it becometh adust, and thereby malignant and venomous. So Ambitious Men, if they find the way open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checkt in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon Men and Matters with an evil Eye; and are best pleased when Things go backward; which is the worst Property in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use Ambitious Men, to handle it so as they be still progressive, and not retrograde: which, because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of Ambitious Natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what Cases they are of necessity. Good Commanders in the Wars must be taken, be they never so Ambitious: for the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a Soldier without Ambition is to pull off his Spurs. There
OF AMBITION.

is also great use of Ambitious Men in being Screens to Princes in Matters of Danger and Envy: for no Man will take that Part except he be like a f heed Dove,¹ that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of Ambitious Men in pulling down the Greatness of any Subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro² in the Pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such Cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous: there is less Danger of them if they be of mean Birth than if they be Noble; and if they be rather harsh of Nature than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning, and fortified in their Greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in Princes to have Favourites; but it is, of all others, the best Remedy against Ambitious Great-Ones; for when the way of Pleasing and Displeasing lieth by the Favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they; but then there must be some middle Counsellors to keep Things steady; for without that Ballast the Ship will roll 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 Ruin, if they be of fearful

¹ To feel the eyes of a hawk or other bird was to few up the eyelids. See the books of Falconry.
² Macro was a favourite of Tiberius, said to have been accessory to his murder by Nero. He was afterwards put to death by Caligula, to whom he had prostituted his wife.
Natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their Designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the Affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only Way is, the interchange continually of Favours and Disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a Wood. Of Ambitions, it is less harmful the Ambition to prevail in great Things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds Confusion, and mars Business; but yet, it is less danger to have an Ambitious Man stirring in Business, than Great in Dependencies. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able Men hath a great Task; but that is ever good for the Publick: but he that plots to be the only Figure amongst Ciphers is the decay of a whole Age. Honour hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to do good; the Approach to Kings and principal Persons; and the Raising of a Man's own Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest Man; and that Prince, that can discern 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 than of Rising; and such as love Business rather upon Conscience than upon Bravery: and let them Discern a busy Nature from a willing Mind.
XXXVII. Of Masques and Triumphs.

These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since Princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with Elegancy than daubed with Coft. Dancing to Song is a thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick; and the Ditty fitted to the Device. Acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme good Grace: I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing;) and the Voices of the Dialogue would be strong and manly (a Base and a Tenor, no Treble,) and the Ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several Quires placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches Anthem-wise, give great Pleasure. Turning Dances into Figure is a childish Curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those Things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the Sense, and not respect petty Wonderments. It is true, the Alterations of Scenes, so it be quietly and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty and Pleasure; for they feed and relieve the Eye before it be full of the same Object. 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 itself before their Coming down; for it draws the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the Songs be loud and cheerful, and not Chirpings or Pulings. Let the Musick likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The Colours that shew best by Candlelight are White, Carnation, and a kind of Sea-water Green; and Oes,¹ or Spangs, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for rich Embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the Suits of the Masquers be Graceful, and such as become the Person when the Vizors are off: not after Examples of known Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let Anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of Fools, Satyrs, Baboons, Wild Men, Anticks, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rustics, Cupids, Statuas moving, and the like. As for Angels, it is not comical 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 Musick of them be recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some Sweet Odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company as there is Steam and Heat, Things of great Pleasure and

¹ Here again Mr. Montagu, Dr. Spiers, and others, have altered ces, the reading of Bacon's own edition, to ouches, but we have the same word in Midsummer Nights Dream, iii. 2.

"Than all yon fiery ces and eyes of light."

i.e. the stars which he elsewhere likens to "spangles."
OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS. 147

Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety; but all is nothing, except the *Room* be kept clear and neat.

For *Jufts*, and *Tourneys*, and *Barriers*; the Glories of them are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; especially if they be drawn with strange Beasts, as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like: or in the Devices of their Entrance, or in the Bravery of their Liveries, or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses and Armour. But enough of these Toys.

**xxxviii. Of Nature in Men.**¹

*Nature* is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Return; Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* less importune, but Custom only doth alter and subdue *Nature*. He that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set himself too great nor too small Tasks: for the first will make him dejected by often Failings, and the second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And, at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers do with Bladders, or Rushes; but, after a time, let him practise with Disadvantages, as Dancers do with thick Shoes: for it breeds great Perfection if the Practice be harder

¹ See Antitheta, No. 10.
than the Use. Where Nature is mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be; first to stay and arrest Nature in time; like to him that would say over the four-and-twenty Letters, when he was angry: then to go less in quantity; as if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from drinking Healths to a draught at a Meal: and lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude and Resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best;

Optimus ille Animi Vindex, laedentia pectus
Vincla qui rupit, dedoluitque semel. 2

Neither is the ancient Rule amis, to bend Nature as a Wand, to a contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right: understanding it where the contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit upon himself with a perpetual Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause reinforce the new Onset; and if a Man that is not perfect be ever in Practice, he shall as well practice his Errors as his Abilities, and induce one Habit of both; and there is no Means to help this but by seasonable Intermissions. But let not a man trust his Victory over his Nature too far; for Nature will lie buried a great Time, and yet revive upon the Occasion, or Temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's Damfed, turned from a Cat to a Woman, who sat very demurely at the Board's End till a Mouse ran before her. Therefore, let

2 Ovid, Remed. Amor. 293.
a Man either avoid the Occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A Man’s Nature is best perceived in Privateness, 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 Custom leaveth him. They are happy Men whose Natures sort with their Vocations; otherwise they may say, Multūm Incola fuit Anima mea, when they converse in those Things they do not Affect. In Studies, whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himself, let him set Hours for it: but whatsoever is agreeable to his Nature, let him take no Care for any set Times; for his Thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the Spaces of other Business or Studies will suffice. A Man’s Nature runs either to Herbs or Weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the One, and destroy the Other.

xxxix. Of Custom and Education.¹

EN’s Thoughts are much according to their Inclination; their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning and infused Opinions; but their Deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore, as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil favoured Instance) there is no trusting to the Force

¹ See Antitheta, No. 10.
of Nature, nor to the Bravery of Words, except it be corroborate by Custom. His Instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate Conspiracy, a Man should not rest upon the Fiercenes of any man's Nature, or his resolute Undertakings; but take such a one as hath had his Hands formerly in Blood. But Machiavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravaillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Balthazar Gerard, yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible as Custom. Only Superstition is now so well advanced that Men of the first Blood are as Firm as Butchers by Occupation: and votary Resolution is made equipollent to Custom even in matter of Blood. In other Things, the Predominancy of Custom is everywhere visible; in so much, as a Man would wonder to hear Men profess, protest, engage, give great Words, and then do just as they have done before: as if they were dead Images and Engines moved only by the wheels of Custom. We see also the Reign or Tyranny of Custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the Sect of their Wise Men) lay themselves quietly upon a Stack 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

2 Discorsi sopra Livio, iii. 6.
3 Friar Clement asassinatated Henry III. (1589), Ravaillac, Henry IV. in 1610. Jaureguy attempted the life of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, in 1582, who was asassinatated by the fanatic Balthazar Gerard in 1581.
4 This alludes to the Gunpowder Plot.
Altar of Diana, without so much as Queching.\(^5\) I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish Rebel condemned put up a Petition to the Deputy that he might be hanged in a Withe, and not in a Halter, because it had been so used with former Rebels.\(^6\) There be Monks in Russia, for Penance that will fit a whole Night in a Vessel of Water, till they be engaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put of the Force of Custom, both upon Mind and Body. Therefore, since Custom is the principal Magistrate of Man's Life, let Men by all Means endeavour to obtain good Customs. Certainly Custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young Years: this we call Education; which is, in Effect, but an early Custom. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activity and Motions in Youth than afterwards; for it is true, that late Learners cannot so well take the Ply,\(^7\) except it be in some Minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual Amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the Force of Custom simple and separate be great, the Force of Custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater. For there Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickeneth, Glory

\(^5\) Queching, i.e. wincing, or flinching. The Latin translation renders it *vix ejulatu aut gemitu ulls emiss*.

\(^6\) See Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, in Biogr. Brit. p. 3468, note C. The rebel was Brian O'Rourke.

\(^7\) To *take the ply* is to be flexible and yielding.
raieth; so as in such Places the Force of 

Custom is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multi-
plication of Virtues upon human Nature resteth
upon Societies well ordained and disciplined. For
Commonwealths and good Governments do nour-
riph Virtue grown, but do not much mend the
Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most effectual
Means are now applied to the Ends leaft to be
desired.

xl. Of Fortune.¹

It cannot be denied but outward Acci-
dents conduce much to Fortune: fa-
vour, Opportunity, Death of Others,
Occasion fitting Virtue. But chiefly,
the Mould of a Man's Fortune is in his own hands.
Faber quisque Fortuna eae,² faith the Poet. And
the most Frequent of external Causes is, that the
Folly of one Man is the Fortune of Another. For
no man prospers so suddenly as by other's Errors.

Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.³

¹ See Antitheta, No. 11.
² This adage is repeated in the Advancement of Learning, and
is the theme of a section which is added to the Essays in some edi-
tions of the Latin version, under the title "Faber Fortunæ fiue de
Ambitu Vitæ." Bacon refers to Plautus, in the Trinummus, ii. 2;
as he calls him 'Comicus.' The passage in Sallust "de Republica
Ordinanda," "Sed res docuit, id v. rum esse, quod in carminibus Ap-
pius ait, Fabrum esse quemque fortunam," is referred to by Watts,
in the translation of the A. of L. Something similar is said by Cor-
nelius Nepos, in the life of Atticus, "Itaque hic fecit, ut vere dic-
tum videatur: sui cuique mores finguunt fortunam." See also Cicero,
Parad. 5. i.
³ This Proverb is, it appears, of Greek origin: "Οφις ὑν μὴ
Overt and apparent Virtues bring forth Praise; but there be secret and hidden Virtues that bring forth Fortune, certain Deliveries of a Man's Self, which have no Name. The Spanish Name, De-femboltura, partly expreseth them: when there be not Stonds nor Restiveness in a Man's Nature; but that the wheels of his Mind keep way with the wheels of his Fortune. For so Livy after he had described Cato Major 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 look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune: for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The Way of Fortune is like the Milken Way in the Sky; which is a Meeting or Knot of a Number of small Stars; not Seen afunder, but giving Light together. So are there a Number of little and scarce discerned Virtues, or rather Faculties and Cuftoms, that make Men Fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a Man would little think. When they speak of one, that cannot do amifs, they will throw in into his other Conditions, that he hath, Poco di Matto; and certainly, there be not two more Fortunate Properties, than to have a little of the Fool, and not too much of the Honest. There-

Which the Italians have also adopted thus: "Se'l serpente non mangiasse del serpente, e' non si sarebbe drago." The powerful thrive upon others' ruin. So Publius Minus:

"Lucrum sine damno alterius fieri non potest.
Bona nemine hora est, ut non alicui sit mala."

fore extreme Lovers of their Country or Masters were never Fortunate; neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own Way. A hafty Fortune maketh an Enterpriser and Remover; (the French hath it better, Entreprenant, or Remuant): but the exercised Fortune maketh the able Man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her Daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two Felicity breedeth: the first within a Man's Self; the latter in others towards Him. All wise Men, to decline the Envy of their own Virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is Greatness in a Man to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So Cæsar said to the Pilot in the Tempest, Cæsarem portas, et Fortunam ejus. So Sylla chose the Name of Felix, and not of Magnus. And it hath been noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their own Wisdom and Policy end Unfortunate. 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 undertook afterwards. Certainly there be whose Fortunes are like Homer's Verses, that have a Slide and Easiness more than the Verses of other Poets: as Plutarch faith of Timoleon's

6 For the anecdote of Timotheus, see Plutarch Apophthegmata, p. 82. ed. Oxon. 1768, and his life of Sylla, C. vi.
OF FORTUNE.

Fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a Man's Self.

XLI. Of Usury.¹

ANY have made witty Invectives against Usury. They say that it is Pity the Devil should have God's Part, which is the Tithe: that the Usurer is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday; that the Usurer is the Drone that Virgil speaketh of:

_Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent._²

That the Usurer breaketh the first Law, that was made for Mankind, after the Fall; which was, _In Sudore Vultús tui comedes Panem tuum_;³ not _In Sudore Vultús alieni_: that Usurers should have Orange-tawny Bonnets,⁴ because they do Judaize; that it is against Nature for Money to beget Money, and the like. I say this only, that Usury, is a _Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis_:⁵ for since there must be borrowing and lending, and Men are so

¹ The prejudice against taking _use_ or _interest_ for money was then stigmatized as Usury. It will be perceived how cautiously Bacon speaks of its 'commodities.' Selden rose above the prejudice, and says, 'I see no reason why I may not as well take use for my money as rent for my house.'—Table-Talk, p. 161, ed. 1856.
² Georg. iv. 68.
³ Gen. iii. 19.
⁴ The Jews were constrained in the middle ages to wear a cap of this colour, and to dwell in localities assigned to them in towns.
⁵ Matt. xix. 8.
hard of Heart as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some Others have made suspicious and cunning Propositions of Banks, Discovery of Men's Estates, and other Inventions; but few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to let before us the Incommodities and Commodities of *Usury*, that the Good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, 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 lazy Trade of *Usury*, Money would not lie still, but would in great Part be employed upon Merchandizing, which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes poor Merchants; for as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well if he sit at a great Rent, so the Merchant 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 Customs of Kings or States, which ebb or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realm 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 Box; and ever a State flourisheth when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats down the Price of Land: for the Employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Purchasing; and *Usury* waylays both. The Sixth,

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6 The great vessel or duct that conveys the blood to the liver after its enrichment by absorption of nutriment from the intestines.
OF USURY.

that it doth dull and damp all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be stirring, if it were not for this Slug. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruin of many Men's Estates, which in process of Time breeds a public Poverty.

On the other side, the Commodities of Usury are: First, that howsoever Usury in some respect hindreth 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 keep back his Money, there will ensue presently a great stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easy borrowing upon Interest, Men's Necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing; in that they would be forced to sell their Means (be it Lands or Goods) far 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 Pawns without Usé, or if they do, they will look precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed Man in the Country that would say, "The Devil take this Usury, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages and Bonds." The third and last is; That it is a Vanity 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.

7 Under foot, i.e. beneath its value.
Therefore to speak of the abolishing of Usury is idle. All States have ever had it in one kind of rate or other: so as that Opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now, of the Reformation and Regulation of Usury; how the Discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the Commodities retained. It appears, by the Balance of Commodities and Discommodities of Usury, two Things are to be reconciled; the one, that the Tooth of Usury be grinded, that it bite not too much: the other, that there be left open a Means to invite moneyed Men to lend to the Merchants, for the continuing and quickening of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several Sorts of Usury, a Less and a Greater; for if you reduce Usury to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seek for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most lucrative, may bear Usury at a good Rate; other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be Two Rates of Usury; the one Free and General for All; the other under License only to certain Persons, and in certain Places of Merchandizing. First, therefore, let Usury in general be reduced to Five in the Hundred, and let that Rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the State shut itself out to take any Penalty for the same. This will pre-

8 Reglement, i.e. Regulation. I believe this word is peculiar to Lord Bacon.
Borrowing from any general Stop or Dryness; this will ease infinite Borrowers in the Country; this will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteen Years’ Purchase will yield Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest yields but Five. This, by like reason will Encourage and edge industrious and profitable Improvements, because Many will rather venture in that kind than take Five in the Hundred, especially having been used to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be certain Persons licensed to Lend to known 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 easy, than that he used formerly to pay: for, by that Means all Borrowers shall have some ease by this Reformation, be he Merchant or whosoever. Let it be no Bank or Common Stock, but every Man be Master of his own 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 License, 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 took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred than give over his Trade of Usury, and go from certain Gains to Gains of Hazard. Let these licensed Lenders be in Number indefinite, but restrained to certain Principal Cities and Towns of Merchandizing: for then they will be
hardly able to colour other Men's Monies in the Country: so as the License of Nine will not suck away the current Rate of Five; for no Man will send his Monies far 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; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate Usury by Declaration than to suffer it to rage by Connivance.

xlii. Of Youth and Age.

MAN that is young in Years may be old in Hours, 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 than that of old; and Imaginations stream into their Minds 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 years: as it was with Julius Caesar and Septimus Severus. Of the latter of whom, it is said, Juventutem egit Erroribus, imò Furoribus, plenam: and yet he was the ablest Emperor almost of all the Rest. But

1 Juventam plenam furorum nonnunquam et criminum habuit. —Spartian vit. Sev.
OF YOUTH AND AGE.

repoused Natures may do well in Youth, as it is seen in Augustus Caesar, Cosmos Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, Heat and Vivacity in Age is an Excellent Composition for Business. Young Men are Fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for Execution than for Counsel; and fitter for new Projects than for settled Business. For the Experience of Age, in Things that fall within the compass of it, directs them; but in new Things abuses them. The Errors of young Men are the Ruin of Business; but the Errors of aged Men amount but to this; that more might have been done, or sooner. Young Men, in the conduct and Manage of Actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the End, without Consideration of the Means and Degrees; pursue some few Principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown Inconveniences; use extreme Remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all Errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready Horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of Age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive Business home to the full Period; but content themselves with a Mediocrity of Success. Certainly it is good to compound Employments of both; for that will be good for the Present, because the Virtues of either

2 Gaston de Foix was nephew to Louis XII.; he commanded the French armies in Italy with brilliant success, but was killed at the battle of Ravenna, in 1512. His portrait, by Giorgione, has been just added to the National Gallery, by the bequest of Mr. Rogers.
Age may correct the defects of both: and good for Succession, that Young Men may be Learners, while Men in Age are Actors: and, lastly, good for externe Accidents, because Authority followeth old Men, and Favour and Popularity Youth. But for the moral Part, perhaps Youth will have the pre-eminence, as Age hath for the Politick. A certain Rabbin, upon the Text, Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dream dreams, inferreth that young Men are admitted nearer to God than old, because Vision is a clearer Revelation than a Dream: and, certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; and Age doth profit rather in the Powers of Understanding than in the Virtues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an over-early Ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soon turned; such as was Hermogenes the Rhetorician, whose Books are exceeding subtile, who afterwards waxed stupid: a second Sort is of those that have some natural Dispositions, which have better Grace in Youth than in Age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant Speech; which becomes Youth well, but not Age; so Tully faith of Hortensius, Idem manebat, neque idem decebat. The third is of such as take too high a Strain at the First; and are magnanimous more than Tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy faith in effect; Ultima Primis cedebant.

3 Joel ii. 28; quoted in Actis ii. 17; Adv. of L. i. iii. 23.
4 Cic. Brut. 95. Adv. of L. i. xxiii. 28.
5 Livy, xxxviii. 53. The words are "Memorabilior prima pars
IRTUE is like a rich Stone, best plain set; and surely Virtue is best in a Body that is comely, though not of delicate Features; and that hath rather Dignity of Presence than Beauty of Aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful Persons are otherwise of great Virtue; as if Nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce Excellency: and therefore, they prove accomplished, but not of great Spirit; and Study rather Behaviour than Virtue. But this holds not always; for Augustus Caesar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great Spirits, and yet the most beautiful Men of their Times. In Beauty, that of Favour¹ is more than that of Colour; and that of decent and gracious Motion more than that of Favour. That is the best Part of Beauty which a Picture cannot express; no, nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no excellent Beauty, that hath not some Strangeness in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more Trifler; whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometrical Propor-

¹ *Favour* is general appearance.
tions; the other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces to make one Excellent:² such Personages, I think, would please nobody but the Painter that made them. Not but I think a Painter may make a better Face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of Felicity (as a Musician that maketh an excellent Air in Musick), and not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them Part by Part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal Part of Beauty is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvel, though Persons in Years seem many times more amiable; *Pulchrorum Autunnus Pulcher*: for no Youth can be comely but by Pardon, and considering the Youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as Summer Fruits, which are easy 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 again, if it light well, it maketh Virtues shine and Vices blush.

² The allusion in regard to Apelles may probably be to the story of Zeuxis in Cicero, De Invent. ii.
 xliv. Of Deformity.

**FORMED Persons** are commonly even with Nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, so do they by Nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture faith) void of natural Affection; and so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Mind, 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 Mind, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Stars of natural Inclination are sometimes obscured by the Sun of Discipline and Virtue; therefore it is good to consider of Deformity, not as a Sign which is more deceitful; but as a Cause which seldom faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person that doth induce Contempt, hath also a perpetual Spur in himself, to rescue and deliver himself from Scorn; therefore all *deformed Persons* are extreme bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn, but in Process of Time by a general Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the Weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their Superiors, it quencheth Jealousy towards them, as Persons that they think they may

1 Rom. i. 31; 2 Tim. iii. 3.
at pleasure despise: and it layeth their Competitors and Emulators asleep; 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 been as to good Spials and good Whisperers than good Magistrates and Officers: and much like is the Reason of deformed Persons. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorn; which must be either by Virtue, or Malice: and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent Persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the Son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca President of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV. Of Building.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let Use be preferred before Uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly Fabricks of Houses, for Beauty only, to the enchanted Palaces of the Poets, who build them with small Cost. He that builds a fair House upon an ill Seat
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committeth himself to Prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill Seat only where the Air is unwholesome, but likewise where the Air is unequal; as you shall see many fine Seats set upon a knap of Ground environed with higher Hills round about it; whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversity of Heat and Cold as if you dwelt in several Places. Neither is it ill Air only that maketh an ill Seat; but ill Ways, ill Markets; and, if you will consult with Momus, ill Neighbours. I speak not of many More; Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulness, and mixture of Grounds of several Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of level Grounds; Want of Places at some near Distance for Sports of Hunting, Hawking, and Races; too near the Sea, too remote; having the Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the Discommodity of their Overflowing; too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Business; or too near them, which lurcheth all Provisions, and maketh every Thing dear; where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scanty: all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a Man may take as many as he can: and if he have several Dwellings, that he fort them so that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who when he saw his Stately

1 i. e. if you are disposed to lead a pleasant life, Momus being the god of mirth.
Galleries and Rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his Houses, said, Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you in Winter? Lucullus answered, Why, do you not think me as wise as some Fowl are, that ever change their Abode towards the Winter?  

To pass from the Seat to the House itself we will do as Cicero doth in the Orator's Art, who writes Books De Oratore, and a Book he entitles Orator; whereof the Former delivers the Precepts of the Art, and the Latter the Perfection. We will therefore describe a Princely Palace, making a brief Model thereof: for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge Buildings as the Vatican and Escorial, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair Room in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect Palace, except you have two several Sides; a Side for the Banquet, as is spoken of in the Book of Esther, and a Side, for the Household: the one for Feasts and Triumphs, and the other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be not only Returns, but Parts of the Front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both Sides, of a Great and Stately Tower, in the midst of the Front, that as it were, joineth them together on either Hand. I would have, on the Side of the Banquet in Front, one only goodly Room above Stairs, of some Forty Foot high; and under it a Room, for a dressing or preparing Place at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which

3 Esther i. 6.
is the Household Side, I wish it divided at the first into a Hall and a Chapel (with a Partition between) both of good State and Bigness: and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a Winter and a Summer Parlour, both fair; and under these Rooms, a fair and large Cellar sunk under Ground; and likewise some privy Kitchens, with Butteries, and Pantries, and the like. As for the Tower, I would have it two Stories of Eighteen Foot high apiece above the two Wings; and a goodly Leads upon the Top railed with Statuas interposed; and the same Tower to be divided into Rooms, as shall be thought fit. The Stairs likewise to the upper Rooms, let them be upon a fair open Newel, and finely railed in, with Images of Wood, cast into a Brass Colour: and a very fair Landing Place at the Top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower Rooms for a Dining Place of Servants; for otherwise, you shall have the Servants' Dinner after your own: for the Steam of it will come up as in a Tunnel. And so much for the Front; only I understand the Height of the first Stairs to be Sixteen Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Room.

Beyond this Front is there to be a fair Court, but three Sides of it of a far Lower building than the Front. And in all the four Corners of that Court fair Stair 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
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ftriketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter; but only some Side Alleys with a Cross, and the Quarters to Graze, being kept Shorn, but not too near Shorn. The Row of Return 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 equal distance; and fine coloured Windows of several works. On the Household Side, Chambers of Presence and ordinary Entertainments, with some Bed-Chambers; and let all three Sides, be a double House, without thorough Lights on the Sides, that you may have Rooms from the Sun, both for Forenoon and Afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have Rooms both for Summer and Winter; Shady for Summer, and Warm for Winter. You shall have sometimes fair Houses so full of Glafs that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the Sun or Cold. For Embowed Windows I hold them of good Use (in Cities indeed, upright do better, in respect of the Uniformity towards the Street), for they be pretty Retiring Places for Conference; and besides, they keep both the Wind and Sun off; for that which would strike almost through the Room, doth scarce pass the Window. But let them be but few, Four in the Court, on the Sides only.

Beyond this Court, let there be an inward Court, of the fame 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 beautiful Arches, as High as the first Story. On the under Story, towards the Garden, let it be turned
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to a Grotto, or Place of Shade, or Estivation. And only have opening and Windows towards the Garden, and be level upon the Floor, no whit sunk under Ground, to avoid all Dampifhness. And let there be a Fountain, or some fair Work of Statuas, in the Midst of this Court; and to be paved as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for privy Lodgings on both Sides, and the End for privy Galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an Infirmary, if the Prince or any Special Person should be Sick, with Chambers, Bedchamber, Anti-camera, and Recamera, joining to it. This upon the Second Story. Upon the Ground Story, a fair Gallery, open, upon Pillars; and upon the Third Story likewise, an open Gallery upon Pillars, to take the Prospect and Freshness of the Garden. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Return, let there be two delicate or rich Cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline Glass, and a rich Cupola in the Midst; and all other Elegancy that can be thought upon. In the Upper Gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yield it, some Fountains running in divers Places from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances. And thus much for the Model of the Palace; save that you must have, before you come to the Front, three Courts: a Green Court Plain, with a Wall about it; a Second Court of the same, but more garnished with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, upon the Wall; and a Third Court, to make a Square with the Front, but

* Estivation, i. e. summer retreat.
not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with Terraces leaded aloft, and fairly 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 pass from them to the Palace itself.

**XLVI. Of Gardens.**

God Almighty first planted a Garden; and indeed, it is the purest of Human Pleasures. It is the greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; without which Buildings and Palaces are but gross Handyworks: and a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancy, Men come to Build Stately, sooner than to Garden finely; as if Gardening were the greater Perfection. I do hold it, in the royal Ordering of Gardens, there ought to be Gardens for all the Months in the Year; in which, severally, Things of Beauty may be then in Season. For December and January, and the Latter Part of November, you must take such Things as are Green all Winter; Holly, Ivy, Bays, Juniper, Cypress Trees, Yew, Pine-apple Trees,¹ Fir Trees, Rosemary, Lavender; Periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; Germander, Flags, Orange Trees, Lemon Trees, and

¹ i. e. The Pine, of which several sorts were then cultivated.
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Myrtles, if they be stoved; and Sweet Marjoram warm set. There followeth, for the latter Part of January, and February, the Mezereon Tree, which then blossoms; Crocus vernus, both the yellow, and the gray; Primroses, Anemones, the early Tulipa, Hyacinthus Orientalis, Chamairis, Fritellaria. For March there come Violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the Yellow Daffodil, the Daisy, the Almond Tree in blossom, the Peach Tree in blossom, the Cornelian Tree in blossom, Sweet Briar. In April follow the double white Violet, the Wallflower, the Stock Gilliflower, the Cowslip, Flower de Luces, and Lilies of all natures, Rosemary Flowers, the Tulipa, the Double Peony, the pale Daffodil, the French Honeysuckle, the Cherry Tree in blossom, the Damascene and Plum Trees in blossom, the Whitethorn in leaf, the Lilac Tree. In May, and June come Pinks of all sorts, specially the Blush Pink; Roses of all kinds, except the Musk, which comes later; Honeysuckles, Strawberries, Bugloss, Columbine, the French Marygold, Flos Africanus, Cherry Tree in Fruit, Ribes, Figs in Fruit, Raisps, Vine Flowers, Lavender in Flowers, the Sweet Satyrion, with the White Flower; Herba Muscari, Lilium Convallium, the Apple Tree in blossom. In July come Gilliflower of all varieties, Musk Roses, the Lime Tree in blossom, early Pears, and Plums in Fruit,

2 The edition of 1625 has stirred, which is altered to stoved in that of 1629, and that is the true reading as the Latin translation shows, which renders it "Si calidariis con ferventur."
Gennitings, Quodlins. In August, come Plums of all sorts in fruit, Pears, Apricocks, Barberries, Filberds, Musk-Melons, Monks Hoods of all colours. In September come Grapes, Apples, Poppies of all colours, Peaches, Melo-Cotones, Nectarines, Cornelians, Wardens, Quinces. In October and the beginning of November come Services, Medlars, Bullaces, Roses cut or removed to come late, Hollyoaks, 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 far Sweeter in the Air (where it comes and goes, like the Warbling of Music) than in the Hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the Flowers and Plants that do best perfume the Air. Roses, Damask and Red, are fast Flowers of their Smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their Sweetness; yea though it be in a Morning's Dew. Bays, likewise, yield no Smell as they grow; Rosemary little, nor Sweet Marjoram: that which,

3 Gennitings, an early apple, its true name June eating. Quodlins, i.e. Codlins, a boiling apple.
4 Melo-cotone, a kind of quince. Cornelians, the Cornel or Cornelian cherry-tree. Wardens, a keeping pear, by the French called Poire de garde.
5 In Mr. Montagu's edition this passage has been, I know not on what authority, altered in the following manner: "Thus if you will, you may have the Golden Age again, and a Spring all the year long." The allusion is probably to Virg. Geor. ii. 149.
above all others, yields the *Sweetest Smell* in the Air, is the Violet, specially the White double Violet, which comes twice a Year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the Musk Rose; then the Strawberry-Leaves dying, with a most excellent Cordial Smell; then the Flower of the Vines; it is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, which grows upon the Cluster in the first coming forth; then Sweet Briar; then Wallflowers which are very delightful to be set under a Parlour or lower Chamber Window; then Pinks, specially the Matted Pink, and Clove Gilliflower; then the Flowers of the Lime-Tree; then the Honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of Bean Flowers I speak not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which *Perfume* the Air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being *Trod*den upon and *crushed*, are three; that is Burnet, Wild Thyme, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleasure, when you walk or tread.

For Gardens (speaking of those, which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of Buildings), the Contents ought not well to be under Thirty Acres of Ground, and to be divided into three Parts; a Green in the Entrance, a Heath or Desert in the Going forth, and the Main Garden in the midst; besides Alleys on both Sides. And I like well that Four Acres of Ground be assigned to the Green;

7 Ed. 1625 *which*; Ed. 1629 *with*. The Latin has *"quae balitum emissunt plane cardiacum."*
Six to the Heath, Four and Four to either Side, and Twelve to the Main Garden. The Green hath two pleasures; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the Eye than green Grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair Alley in the midst; by which you may go in front upon a stately Hedge, which is to enclose the Garden. But because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Year, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the Garden, by going in the Sun through the Green; therefore you are of either Side the Green to Plant a Covered Alley, upon Carpenter's Work, about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may go in Shade, into the Garden. As for the making of Knots, or Figures, with divers coloured Earths, that they may lie under the Windows of the House on that Side which the Garden stands, they be but Toys: you may see as good Sights many times in Tarts. The Garden is best to be Square; encompassed on all the Four Sides with a Stately Arched Hedge the Arches to be upon Pillars of Carpenter's Work, 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 be an entire Hedge of some Four Foot High, framed also upon Carpenter's Work; 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 between the Arches some other little Figure, with broad Plates of round coloured Glass, gilt, for the Sun to Play upon. But this Hedge I intend to be raised...
upon a Bank, not steep, 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 covered Alleys of the Green may deliver you; but there must be no Alleys with Hedges at either End of this great Enclosure: not at the bither End, for letting your Prospect upon this fair Hedge from the Green; nor at the further End, for letting your Prospect from the Hedge through the Arches upon the Heath.

For the ordering of the Ground within the Great Hedge, I leave it to Variety of Device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first it be not too busy, or full of Work: wherein I, for my part, do not like Images cut out in Juniper or other Garden stuff; they be for Children. Little low Hedges round like Welts, with some pretty Pyramids, I like well; and in some Places, fair Columns upon Frames of Carpenter’s Work. I would also have the Alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer Alleys upon the side Grounds, but none in the main Garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair Mount, with three Ascents and Alleys, enough for Four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect Circles, without any Bulwarks or Embossments; and the whole Mount to be Thirty Foot high, and some fine Banqueting

8 Letting, i. e. impeding or bindering.
9 Welts are protuberant seams in which a cord is included to give them a round projection.
House, with some Chimneys neatly cast, and without too much Glass.

For Fountains, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment; but Pools mar all, and make the Garden unwholesome, and full of Flies and Frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two Natures: the One that sprinkleth or spouteth Water; the other a fair Receipt of Water, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the Ornaments of Images, gilt or of Marble, which are in use, do well: but the main Matter is so to convey the Water, as it never Stay, either in the Bowls or in the Cistern; that the Water be never by Rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any Mossiness 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 doth well. As for the other kind of Fountain, which we may call a Bathing Pool, it may admit much Curiosity and Beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the Bottom be finely paved, and with Images: the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured Glasses, and such things of Lustre; encompassed also with fine Rails of low Statuas. But the main Point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of Fountain; which is, that the Water be in Perpetual Motion, fed by a Water higher than the Pool, and delivered into it by fair Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground, by some equality of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices, of arching water without Spilling, and
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making it rife in several Forms (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to Health and Sweetness.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural Wildness. *Trees* I would have none in it, but some *Thickets* made only of *Sweet-briar* and *Honey-suckle*, and some *Wild Vine* amongst; and the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Primroses*; 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 *Molehills* (such as are in *Wild Heaths*), to be set, some with Wild Thyme, some with Pinks, some with Germander, that gives a good Flower to the Eye; some with Periwinkle, some with Violets, some with Strawberries, some with Cowslips, some with Daisies, some with red Roses, some with Lilium Convallium, some with Sweet-Williams red, some with Bearsfoot, and the like low Flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which *Heaps* to be with *Standards* of little *Bushes* pricked upon their top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be Roses, Juniper, Holly, Barberries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossom), Red Currants, Goose-berries, Rosemary, Bays, Sweet-briar, and such like: but these *Standards* to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Variety of Alleys*, Private, to give a full Shade;
some of them wherefoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged at both Ends, to keep out the Wind; and these closer Alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no Grass, because of going wet. In many of these Alleys likewise, you are to set Fruit Trees of all Sorts, as well upon the Walls as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the Borders wherein you plant your Fruit Trees be fair and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine Flowers, but thin and sparingly, left they deceive the Trees. At the End of both the Side Grounds I would have a Mount of some pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the Main Garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair Alleys ranged on both Sides with Fruit Trees; and some pretty Tufts of Fruit Trees, and Arbours with Seats set in some decent Order; but these to be by no Means set too thick, but to leave the Main Garden so as it be not close, but the Air open and free. For as for Shade, I would have you rest upon the Alleys of Side Grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the Heat of the Year or Day; but to make account that the Main Garden is for the more temperate parts of the Year; and in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning and the Evening, or Overcast Days.

10 Deceive, i. e. impede their nourishment.
For Aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that Largeness, as they may be Turfed, and have living Plants and Bushes set in them; that the Birds may have more Scope and natural Neatling, and that no Foulness appear in the Floor of the Aviary.

So I have made a Platform of a princely Garden, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing; not a Model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no Cost. But it is nothing for great Princes, that, for the most Part, taking advice with Workmen, with no less Cost set their Things together; and sometimes add Statuas, and such Things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure of a Garden.

xlvii. Of Negotiating.

It is generally better to deal by Speech than by Letter; and by the Mediation of a Third than by a Man's Self. Letters are good when a Man would draw an answer by Letter back again; or when it may serve for a Man's Justification afterwards to produce his own Letter; or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Pieces. To deal in Person is good when a Man's Face breedeth Regard, as commonly with Inferiors; or in tender Cases, where a Man's Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction how far to go: and, generally, where a
Man will reserve to himself Liberty, either to disavow or to expound. In choice of Instruments, it is better to choose Men of a plainer Sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other Men's Busines somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the Matter in Report, for Satisfaction' sake. Use also such Persons as affect the Business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such, as are Fit for the Matter; as bold Men for Expostulation, fair spoken Men for Persuasion, crafty Men for Enquiry and Observation, froward and absurd Men for Business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such, as have been lucky and prevailed before in Things wherein you have employed them, for that breeds Confidence; and they will strive to maintain their Prescription. It is better to found a Person, with whom one deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at First; except you mean to surprise him by some short Question. It is better dealing with Men in Appetite¹ than with those that are where they would be. If a Man deal with another upon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all: which a Man cannot reasonably demand, except either the Nature of the Thing be such which must go before; or else a Man can persuade the other Party, that he shall still need him in some other Thing; or else that he be counted the honester Man. All Practice is to discover or to work.

¹ In appetite, i.e. expectants not yet satisfied by promotion.
Men discover themselves in Trust, in Passion, at unawares; and of Necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt Pre-text. If you would work any Man, you must either know his Nature and Fashions, and so lead him; or his Ends, and so persuade him; or his Weakness and Disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so govern 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 look for. In all Negotiations of Difficulty, a Man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare Business, and so ripen it by Degrees.

XLVIII. Of Followers and Friends.

Mostly Followers are not to be liked; left while a Man maketh his Train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the Purse, but which are wearisome and importune in Suits. Ordinary Followers ought to challenge no higher Conditions than 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 com-
monly ensueth that ill Intelligence that we many times see between great Personages. Likewise glorious Followers, who make themselves as Trumpets of the Commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint Business through Want of Secrecy; and they export Honour from a Man, and make him a Return in Envy. There is a kind of Followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and bear Tales of them to others; yet such Men many times are in great Favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange Tales. The Following by certain Estates of Men, answerable to that which a great Person himself professeth (as of Soldiers to him that hath been employed in the Wars, and the like), hath ever been a Thing civil, and well taken even in Monarchies, so it be without too much Pomp or Popularity. But the most honourable kind of Following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance Virtue and Desire in all sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no eminent Odds in Sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable than with the more able; and besides, to speak Truth, in base Times active Men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in Government it is good to use Men of one Rank equally; for to countenance some extraordinarily is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a Due. But contrariwise in Favour, to use Men with much difference and election is good;

1 Glorious in the sense of the Latin gloriosus, vaunting or bragging.
for it maketh the Persons preferred more thankful, and the Rest more officious, because all is of Favour. It is good Discretion not to make too much of any Man at the first; because one cannot hold out that Proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by One is not safe; for it shews Softness and gives a Freedom to Scandal and Disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a Man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so 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, and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Friends is ever honourable; for Lookers on many times see more than Gamesters; and the Vale best discovereth the Hill. There is little Friendship in the World, and least of all between Equals, which was wont to be magnified. 2 That that is, is between Superior and Inferior, whose Fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

2 As in the ancient relations of friendship, such as Damon and Pythias, &c. Johnson, on the contrary, (in the Rambler, No. 64) says, "Friendship is seldom lasting but between equals, or where the superiority on one side is reduced by some equivalent advantage on the other." But Jeremy Taylor seems to incline to Bacon's opinion in his Measures and Offices of Friendship. "He only is fit to be chosen for a friend who can give counsel, or defend my cause, or guide me right, or relieve my need, or can and will, when I need it, do me good: . . . . My friend is a worthy person when he can become to me instead of a God, a guide or a support, an eye or a hand, a staff or a rule. . . . And when we consider that one man is not better than another, neither towards God nor towards man, but by doing better and braver things; we shall also see that that which is most beneficent is also most excellent, and therefore those friendships must needs be most perfect, where the friends can be most useful."
ANY ill Matters and Projects are undertaken; and private Suits do putrify the publick Good. Many good Matters are undertaken with bad Minds; I mean not only corrupt Minds, but crafty Minds, that intend not Performance. Some embrace Suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the Matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a Thank, or take a second Reward, or at least to make Use in the mean time of the Suitor's Hopes. Some take hold of Suits only for an Occasion to cross some other; or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext; without Care what become of the Suit when that Turn is served: or generally to make other Men's Business a kind of Entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake Suits with a full Purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse Party, or Competitor. Surely, there is in some sort a Right in every Suit; either a Right of Equity, if it be a Suit of Controverfy; or a Right of Desert, if it be a Suit of Petition. If Affection lead a Man to favour the wrong Side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance to compound the Matter than to carry it. If Affection lead a Man to favour the less Worthy in Desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better Deserver. In Suits which a man doth
not well understand, it is good to refer them to some Friend of Trust and Judgement, that may report whether he may deal in them with Honour: but let him choose well his Referendaries; for else he may be led by the Nose. *Suitors* are so dis-tasted with Delays and Abuses that plain Dealing in denying to deal in *Suits* at first, and reporting the Success barely, and in challenging no more Thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In *Suits* of Favour, the first coming ought to take little Place: So far forth Consideration may be had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, Advantage be not taken of the note but the Party left to his other Means; and in some sort recompensed for his Discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a *Suit* is Simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the Right thereof is Want of Conscience. Secrecy in *Suits* is a great Mean of Obtaining; for voicing them, to be in Forwardness may discourage some Kind of *Suitors*, but doth quicken and awake Others. But Timing of the *Suit* is the principal: Timing, I say, not only in respect of the Person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Mean, rather choose the fittest Mean than the greatest Mean; and rather them that deal in certain Things than those that are general. The Reparation of a Denial is sometimes equal to the first Grant; if a Man shew himself neither dejected nor discon-
tented. *Iniquum petas, ut Aequum feras;* is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour; but otherwise, a Man were better rise in his Suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the Suitor, will not, in the Conclusion, lose both the Suitor and his own former Favour. Nothing is thought so easy a Request to a great Person as his Letter; and yet, if it be not in a good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments than these general Contrivers of Suits: for they are but a kind of Poison and Infection to publick Proceedings.

L. Of Studies.  

**STUDIES** serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their chief Use for Delight is in Privateness and Retiring; for Ornament is in Discourse; and for Ability is in the Judgement and Disposition of Business. For expert Men can execute, and perhaps judge of Particulars, one by one; but the general Counsels, and the Plots and marshalling of Affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much Time in Studies is sloth; to use them too much for Ornament is

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1 Quintil. Inft. Or. iv. 5: "Nec omnino sine ratione eft, quod vulgo dicitur, Iniquo petendum, ut aequo feras." Erasimus thinks the proverb allusive to the custom of chapmen asking more for their goods than they are worth, in order eventually to accept the true value.

1 This forms the first Essay in the first and second Editions, 1597 and 8.
Affectation; to make Judgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholar. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience: for natural Abilities are like natural Plants, that need pruning by Study: and Studies themselves do give forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by Experience. Crafty Men contemn Studies; simple Men admire them; and wise Men use them: for they teach not their own Use; but that is a Wisdom without them, and above them, won by Observation. Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find Talk and Discourse; but to weigh and consider. Some Books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some Few to be chewed and digested: that is, some Books are to be read only in Parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some Books also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important Arguments, and the meaner Sort of Books: else distilled Books are like common distilled Waters, flashy Things. Reading maketh a full Man;

2 This Essay on Study stands first in the original edition of 1597, but in a tract printed in 1596, entitled "The Landgrave of Hefien his princely receiving of her Majesties Embassador," dedicated by the author, Edward Moneys, to Mary, Countess of Warwick, we have the following passage:—"It is education prince-like, generally known in all things, and excellent in many; seasoning his more important studies for ability in judgement, with studies of pastime for retiring; as in poeirie, musicke and the Mathematices: and for ornament in discourse in the languages, French, Italian, and English, wherein he is expert; reading much, conferring and writing much, he is a full man, a readie man, an exact man."

We can hardly suppose that this is an accidental resemblance,
Conference a ready Man; and Writing an exact Man. And, therefore, if a Man write little, he had need have a great Memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present Wit; and if he read little, he had need have much Cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make Men wise; Poets Witty; the Mathematicks subtile; natural Philosophy deep; moral Grave; Logick and Rhetorick able to contend. Abeunt studia in Mores; nay, there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by fit Studies: like as Diseases of the Body may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; gentle Walking for the Stomach; Riding for the Head, and the like. So if a Man’s Wit be wandering, let him Study the Mathematicks; for in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his Wit be not apt to dif-

and as we learn from Bacon’s dedication of the Effays to his brother, that MS. copies had got abroad, it is most probable that the writer of the tract had seen the Essay on Study, and being struck with the passage adopted it to his purpose.

But here is another flagrant adoption of Bacon’s words without acknowledgement of later date: “Nous voyons beaucoup d’hommes de lettres tres ignorans aux actions de la vie civile, pour ne scavoir pus se servir de leur talent; car encore due la lecture de l’Histoire puiss rendre l’homme prevoyant, celle des Poètes agreable, la Mathe-

matique ingenieux, la Rhetorique eloquent, la Dialectique subtil, la Phys-

ique speculatif, la Politique sociable, neantmoins toutes ces facultez
demeurent stupides ou inutiles, si elles ne font mis en oeuvre avec
jugement; leur application legitime depend plusot d’une puissance et d’une economie originelle, qui est née avec nous, que de leur lu-

miere propre.”—Testament ou Confsils fidelles d’un bon Père a ses En-
fans, par P. Fortin, Sieur de la Hoquette, 4me. Edit. Paris, 1651,

3 Ovid. Heroid. xvi. 83.
OF STUDIES.

4 If he be not apt to beat over Matters, and to call up one Thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the Lawyer's Cases; so every Defect of the Mind may have a special Receipt.

LI. Of Faction.

ANY have an Opinion not wise, that for a Prince to govern his Estate, or for a great Person to govern his Proceedings, according to the Respect of Factions, is a Principal Part of Policy: whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest Wisdom is either in ordering those Things which are general, and wherein Men of several Factions do 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. Mean Men, in their rising, must adhere; but great Men, that have Strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in Beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a Man of the one Faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best Way. The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in

4 i. e. Hair-splitters; Parte el Capello, Spanish. See note on Essay VI. Cf. Adv. of L. 1. vii. 7. It was applied by Dion Cassius to Antoninus Pius, and Aristotle, Eth. Nic. iv. 1. 39, applies the word κυμοπτιστης to a miserly person, or split-fog as we say.
Conjunction, and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number than are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between 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 down, Caesar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavius Caesar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time: but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavius brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals: but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered: for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have the first sure; and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when
they have often in their Mouth Padre commune, and take it to be a Sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the Greatness of his own House. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a Faction or Party: for Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an Obligation paramount to Obligation of Sovereignty, and make the King Tanquam unus ex nobis; as was to be seen in the League of France. When Factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a Sign of Weakness in Princes and much to the Prejudice both of their Authority and Business. The Motions of Factions under Kings ought to be like the Motions (as the Astronomers speak) of the inferior Orbs; which may have their proper Motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher Motion of Primum Mobile.

LII. Of Ceremonies and Respect.¹

E that is only real had need have exceeding great Parts of Virtue; as the Stone had need to be Rich that is set without Foil. But if a Man mark it well, it is in Praise and Commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gains; for the Proverb is true That light Gains make heavy Purfes; for light

¹ See Antitheta, No. 34.
Gains 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; whereas the Occasion of any great Virtue cometh but on Festivals; therefore it doth much add to a Man's Reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said) Like perpetual Letters commendatory, to have good Forms. To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a Man observe them in Others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their Grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some Men's Behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is measured: how can a Man comprehend great Matters that breaketh his Mind too much to small Observations? Not to use Ceremonies at all is to teach Others not to use them again; and so diminiseth Respect to himself: especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers and formal Natures: but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the Moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a Kind of Conveying of effectual and imprinting Passages amongst Compliments, which is of singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Man's Peers, a Man shall be sure of Familiarity; and therefore, it is good a little to keep State: amongst a Man's Inferiors,
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 Satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply One's Self to others is good; so it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon Regard and not upon Facility. It is a good Precept generally in seconding Another, yet to add somewhat of One's own: as if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; if you will follow his Motion, let it be with Condition; if you allow his Counsel, let it be with alleging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their Enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Virtues. It is loss also in Business, to be too full of Respects, or to be too curious in observing Times and Opportunities. Solomon saith, He that considereth the Wind, shall not sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reap. A wise Man will make more Opportunities than he finds. Men's Behaviour should be like their Apparel, not too ftrait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

3 Eccl. xi. 4.  
4 Point device is finically exact.
RAISE is the Reflection of Virtue; but it is as the Glass or Body which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain Persons than virtuous: for the Common People understand not many excellent Virtues: the lowest Virtues draw Praise from them; the middle Virtues work in them Astonishment, or Admiration; but of the highest Virtues they have no Sense or perceiving at all; but Shews, and Species Virtutibus similes serve best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things light and swollen, and drowns Things weighty and solid: but if Persons of Quality and Judgement concur, then it is, (as the Scripture faith) Nomen bonum instar Unguenti fragrantis; it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the Odours of Ointments are more durable than those of Flowers. There be so many false Points of Praise that a Man may justly hold it a suspect. Some Praises proceed merely of Flattery; and if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certain common Attri-

1 See Antitheta, No. 10.
2 The words as the are left out in Montagu's edition, who has been followed by others to the destruction of the sense of the passage, which runs thus in the Latin version.—“Laus virtutis reflectio est. Atque ut fit in speculis, trahit aliquid e natura corporis quod reflectione præbet.”
3 Ecclef. vii. 1.
OF PRAISE.

butes which may serve every Man; if he be a cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Man's Self; and wherein a Man think-eth best of himself, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most; but if he be an impudent Flatterer, look wherein a Man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of Countenance in himself, that will the Flatterer entitle him to perforce, Spretâ Conscientiâ. Some Praisescome of good Wishes and Respects, which is a Form due in Civility to Kings and Great Persons, Laudando præcipere; when by telling Men what they are, they represent to them what they shoulde. Some Men are praised maliciously to their Hurt, thereby to stir Envy and Jealousy towards them; Pessimum Genus Inimicorum Laudantium; Insomuch as it was a Proverb, amongst the Grecians, that, He that was praised to his Hurt, should have a Pusht rise upon his Nose; as we say, That a Blister will rise upon one's Tongue, that tells a lie. Certainly, moderate Praise, used with Opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the Good. Solomon faith, He that praiseth his Friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a Curse. Too much magnifying of Man or Matter doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Envy and Scorn. To praise a Man's Self cannot be decent, except it be in rare Cases: but to praise a Man's Office or Profession, he may do it with good Grace, and with a kind of Magnanimity. The Cardinals of Rome which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoolmen,

4 A pust is a pimple or pustule.  
5 Prov. xxvii. 14.
have a Phrase of notable Contempt and Scorn towards civil Business; for they call all temporal Business of Wars, Embassages, Judicature, and other Employments, Shirrerie; which is Under Sheriffries; as if they were but matters for Under Sheriffs and Catchpoles; though many times those Under Sheriffries do more good than their High Speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, I speak like a Fool; but speaking of his calling, he faith; Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.

IV. Of Vain-Glory.

It was prettily devised of Æsop; the Fly fate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot-wheel, and said, What a Dust do I raise! So are there some Vain Persons that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater Means, if they have never so little Hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are Glorious must needs be Factionis; for all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own 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

6 2 Cor. xi. 23. 7 Rom. xi. 13.

1 See Antitheta, No. 19.
Quality in civil Affairs: where there is an Opinion and Fame to be created, either of Virtue or Greatness, these Men are good Trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the Case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great Effects of cross Lies; as if a Man that negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to join in a War against the Third, doth extol the Forces of either of them above Measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between Man and Man raiseth his own Credit with Both, by pretending greater Interest than he hath in Either: and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out that Somewhat is produced of Nothing: for Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In military Commanders and Soldiers, Vain Glory is an essential Point; for as Iron sharpeneth 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 Business; and those that are of solid and sober Natures, have more of the Ballast than of the Sail. In Fame of Learning the Flight will be flow without some Feathers of Ostentation. Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were Men full of Ostentation. Certainly, Vain Glory helpeth to perpetuate a Man's Memory; and Virtue was never so beholding to
human 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 joined with some Vanity in themselves: like unto Varnish, that makes Ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of Vain Glory, I mean not of that Property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, Omnium, quae dixerat, feceratque, Arte quâdam Ostentator: for that proceeds not of Vanity, but of natural Magnanimity and Discretion: and, in some Persons, is not only comely but gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty itself, well governed, are but Arts of Ostentation: and amongst those Arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of Praise and Commendation to others, in that wherein a Man’s Self hath any Perfection. For faith Pliny very wittily, in commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Glorious Men are the Scorn of wise Men; the Admiration of Fools; the Idols of Parasites; and the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

4 Both Mr. Markby and Dr. Devey substitute its for his here and elsewhere, but it should be recollected that the neuter possessive pronoun had not then found its way into use, and, as we retain his in the Bible and in Shakespeare, there can be no reason for altering it here.


6 Plin. Epist. vi. 17. 7 Glorious here, as before, means boastful.
LV. Of Honour and Reputation.

The winning of Honour is but the revealing of a Man's Virtue and Worth without Disadvantage; for some in their Actions, do Woo and affect Honour, and Reputation; which Sort of Men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their Virtue in the Shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a Man perform that which hath not been attempted before; or attempted and given over; or hath been achieved, but not with so good Circumstance, he shall purchase more Honour than by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty or Virtue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them he doth content every Faction or Combination of People, the Musick will be the fuller. A Man is an ill Husband of his Honour that entereth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more than the Carrying of it through can Honour him. Honour, that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest Reflection; like Diamonds cut with Facets; and therefore let a Man contend to excel any Competitors of his in Honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own Bow. Discreet Followers and Servants help much to Reputation: Omnis Fama à
Domesticis emanat. Envoy, which is the Canker of Honour, is best extinguished, by declaring a Man's Self, in his Ends, rather to seek Merit than Fame: and by Attributing a Man's Successes rather to divine Providence and Felicity than to his own Virtue or Policy. The true marshalling of the Degrees of Sovereign Honour are these. In the First Place are Conditores Imperiorum, Founders of States, and Commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Caesar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the Second Place are Legis-latores, Lawgivers; which are also called Second Founders, or Perpetui Principes, because they govern by their Ordinances, after they are gone: such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the Siete Partidas. In the Third Place are Liberatores, or Salvatores; such as compound the long Miseries of civil Wars, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers or Tyrants; as Augustus Caesar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the Fourth Place, are Propagatores or Propugnatores Imperii, such as in honourable Wars enlarge their Territories, or make noble Defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place are Patres Patrice, which reign justly, and make the Times good wherein they live. Both which last Kinds need no examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of Honour in

2 Thus the edition of 1625, Mr. Markby, probably by inadvertence, prints distinguish'd. It is extinguitur in the Latin version.
3 i. e. Ottoman 1, the founder of the Turkish empire.
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Subjects are; first, Participes Curarum, those upon whom Princes do discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs; their Right Hands, as we call them. The next are, Duces Belli, Great Leaders; such as are Princes' Lieutenants, and do them notable Services in the Wars. The third are, Gratiosi, Favourites; such as exceed not this Scantling; to be Solace to the Sovereign, and harmless to the People. And the fourth, Negotiis pares; such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an Honour likewise which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely: that is, of such as Sacrifice themselves to Death or Danger for the Good of their Country: as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

LVI. Of Judicature.

Judges ought to remember that their Office is Jus dicere, and not Jus 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 stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by Shew of Antiquity to introduce Novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty; more reverend than

1 See the 44th Aphorism of the tract, "De Fontibus Juris," in the viii Book De Augm. Sc.
plausible; and more advised than confident. Above all Things, Integrity is their Portion and proper Virtue. *Curse (faith the Law) is he that removeth the Landmark.* The Mislayer of a *mere Stone* is to blame. But it is the Unjust Judge that is the capital Remover of Landmarks, when he defineth amiss of Lands and Property. One foul Sentence doth more Hurt than many foul Examples; for these do but corrupt the Stream; the other corrupteth the Fountain. So faith Solomon, *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 Clerks and Ministers of Justice underneath them; and to the Sovereign or State above them.

First, for the Causes or Parties that sue. There be (faith the Scripture) that turn Judgement into *Wormwood*; and surely there be also that turn it into *Vinegar*; for Injustice maketh it bitter, and Delays make it sour. The principal Duty of a Judge is to suppress Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more pernicious when it is open; and Fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfeit of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare his Way to a just Sentence, as God useth to prepare his Way, by raising Valleys and taking down Hills: so when there appeareth on either side a high Hand, violent Prosecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, great Counsel,
then is the Virtue of a Judge seen to make In-
equality equal; that he may plant his Judgement
as upon an even Ground. **Qui fortiter emungit, elicit Sanguinem;** and where the Wine-press is
hard wrought, it yields a harsh Wine, that tastes
of the Grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard
Constructions, and strained Inferences; for there
is no worse Torture than the Torture of Laws.
Specially in case of Laws penal, they ought to have Care that that which was meant for Terror be
not turned into Rigour; and that they bring not
upon the People that Shower whereof the Scrip-
ture speaketh, **Pluet super eos Laqueos:** for penal
Laws presed are a **Shower of Snares** upon the
People. Therefore let penal Laws, if they have
been Sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit
for the present Time, be by wise Judges confined
in the Execution;

**Judicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum,**
&c.  

In **Causes of Life and Death Judges** ought (as far
as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy; and to cast a severe Eye upon the Ex-
ample, but a merciful Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, for the **Advocates and Counsel that
plead:** Patience and Gravity of hearing is an essen-
tial Part of Justice; and an over-speaking Judge
is no well-tuned Cymbal. It is no Grace to a
Judge first to find that which he might have heard

5 Prov. xxx. 33.  
6 Ps. xi. 6.  
7 Ovid. Trist. i. i. 37.  
8 Ps. cl. 5. Prayer Book version.
in due time from the Bar; or to shew Quickness of Conceit in cutting off Evidence or Counsel too short; or to prevent Information by Questions, though pertinent. The Parts of a Judge in hearing are Four: To direct the Evidence; to moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate, the material Points of that which hath been said; and to give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much; and proceedeth, either of Glory and willingness to speak, or of Impatience to hear, or of Shortness of Memory, or of Want of a said and equal Attention. It is a strange Thing to see that the Boldness of Advocates should prevail with Judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose Seat they sit, who repriesth the Presumptuous, and giveth Grace to the Modest. But it is more strange, that Judges should have noted Favourites, which cannot but cause Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion of By-ways. There is due from the Judge to the Advocate some Commendation and Gracing, where Causes are well handled and fair pleaded; especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the Client the Reputation of his Counsel, and beats down in him the Conceit of his Cause. There is likewise due to the Publick a Civil Reprehension of Advocates, where there appeareth cunning Counsel, gross Neglect, flight Information, indiscreet Pressing, or an over-bold Defence. And let not the Counsel at the Bar chop with the Judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the Cause anew after the Judge hath de-
declared his Sentence; but, on the other side, let not the Judge meet the Cause half way, nor give occasion to the Party to say, His Counsel or Proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns Clerks and Ministers. The Place of Justice is an hallowed Place; and therefore not only the Bench, but the Footpace and Precincts and Purprise thereof ought to be preserved without Scandal and Corruption; for, certainly, Grapes (as the Scripture faith) will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles;³ neither can Justice yield her Fruit with sweetness amongst the Briars and Brambles of catching and polling Clerks and Ministers. The Attendance of Courts is subject to Four bad Instruments. First, certain Persons that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those that engage Courts in Quarrels of Jurisdiction, and are not truly Amici Curiae, but Parasiti Curiae; in puffing a Court up beyond her bounds for their own Scraps and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those that may be accounted the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of nimble and finister Tricks and Shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct Courses of Courts, and bring Justice into oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is the Poller and Exacter of Fees; which justifies the Common Resemblance of the Courts of Justice to the Bush, whereunto while the Sheep flies for defence in Weather, he is sure to lose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an

³ Matt. vii. 16.
antient Clerk, skilful in Precedents, wary in Proceeding, and understanding in the Business of the Court, is an excellent Finger of a Court, and doth many times point the way to the Judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the Sovereign and Estate. Judges ought above all to remember the Conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables, Salus Populi suprema Lex;¹⁰ and to know, that Laws, except they be in order to that end, are but Things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is a happy Thing in a State, when Kings and States do often consult with Judges; and again, when Judges do often consult with the King and State: the one, when there is Matter of Law intervenient in Business of State; the other, when there is some Consideration of State intervenient in Matter of Law; for many times, the Things deduced to Judgement may be Meum and Tuum, when the Reason and Consequence thereof may trench to Point of Estate. I call Matter of Estate, not only the parts of Sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great Alteration, or dangerous Precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive that just Laws, and true Policy, have any Antipathy: for they are like the Spirits, and Sinews, that one moves with the other. Let Judges also remember, that, Solomon's Throne was

¹⁰ This is not from the Laws of the XII Tables, but among those which Cicero has set down in his book de Legibus, iii. 3, for the government of his imaginary Republic. It is remarkable that Selden seems to have made the same mistake. See Table Talk, article People, p. 112, Ed. 1856, and my note there.
supported by Lions on both sides; let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; being circumspect, that they do not check, or oppose any Points of Sovereignty. Let not Judges also be so ignorant of their own Right as to think there is not left to them, as a principal Part of their Office, a wise Use and application of Laws; for they may remember what the Apostle faith of a Greater Law than theirs; _Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime_.

LVII. Of Anger.

O seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a Bravery of the Stoicks. We have better Oracles: _Be angry, but sin not:_ _Let not the Sun go down upon your Anger._ Anger must be limited and confined, both in Race and in Time. We will first speak how the natural Inclination and Habit, _to be angry_, may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, how the particular Motions of Anger may be repressed, or at least restrained from doing Mischief. Thirdly, how to raise Anger or appease Anger in another.

For 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 do this is to look back upon Anger when the Fit is thoroughly over. _Seneca faith well That_

11 1 Kings x. 19, 20.  
12 1 Tim. i. 8.  
Anger is like Ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls. The Scripture exhorteth us To possess our Souls in Patience; whosoever is out of Patience is out of Possession of his Soul. Men must not turn Bees; — Animasque in vulnere ponunt.

Anger is certainly a kind of Baseness; as it appears well in the Weakness of those Subjects in whom it reigns: Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Only Men must beware that they carry their Anger rather with Scorn than with Fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the Injury than below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himself in it.

For the second Point; the Causes and Motives of Anger are chiefly three. First, to be too Sensible of Hurt; for no Man is angry that feels not himself 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 Injury offered, to be in the Circumstances thereof full of Contempt; for Contempt is that which putteth an edge upon Anger, as much, or more than the Hurt itself: and therefore, when Men are ingenious in picking out Circumstances of Contempt, they do kindle their Anger much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Man's Reputation doth multiply and

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sharp *em Anger: wherein the Remedy is that a Man should have as Consalvo was wont to say, Telam Honoris crassiorum. But in all refrainings of Anger, it is the best Remedy to win Time; and to make a Man's self believe that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come: but that he foresees a Time for it; and so to still himself in the meantime, and reserve it.

To contain Anger from Mischief, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things whereof you must have special Caution: The one, of extreme Bitterness of Words; especially if they be aculate and proper; for communia Maleficia are nothing so much: and again, that in Anger, a Man reveal no Secrets: for that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any Business in a Fit of Anger: but howsoever you shew Bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing Anger in another; it is done chiefly by choosing of Times, when Men are frowardeft and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find 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 Business; for the first Impression is much: and the other is to fever, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury from the Point of Contempt: imputing it to Misunderstanding, Fear, Passion, or what you will.

LVIII. Of Vicissitudes of Things.

SOLOMON faith; There is no new Thing upon the Earth.¹ So that as Plato had an Imagination that all Knowledge was but Remembrance;² so Solomon giveth his Sentence that all Novelty is but Oblivion; whereby you may see that the River of Lethe runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an absurduse Astrologer that faith; If it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the Fixed Stars ever stand at like distance, one from another, and never come nearer together nor go further asunder; the other, that the Diurnal Motion perpetually keepeth Time), no Individual would last one Moment. Certain it is, that the Matter is in a perpetual Flux,³ and never at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets that bury all Things in Oblivion are two; Deluges, and Earthquakes. As for Conflagrations and great Droughts, they do not merely dispeople, and destroy. Phæton's Car went but a day; and the Three Years' Drought in the time of Elias⁴ was but particular and left People alive. As for the great Burnings by Lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two Destructions, by

¹ Eccl. i. 9.  
² See Dedication to Adv. of L. and Plato's Phædo.  
³ Adv. of L. ii. v. 3.  
⁴ See 1 Kings xvii. 1; xviii. 1.
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Deluge and Earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People which hap to be re-

served are commonly ignorant and mountainous People, that can give no Account of the Time past: so that the Oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the People of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger People than the People of the Old World; and it is much more likely, that the Destruction that hath heretofore been there was not by Earthquakes (as the Egyptian Priest told Solon concerning the Island of Atlantis,\(^5\) That it was swallowed by an Earthquake,) but rather, that it was desolated by a particular Deluge: for Earthquakes are seldom in those Parts. But, on the other side, they have such pouring Rivers, as the Rivers of Asia and Africa and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or Mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the Remnants of Generations of Men were in such a particular Deluge saved. As for the Observation that Machiavel hath, that the Jealousy of Sects doth much extinguish the Memory of Things;\(^6\) traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I do not find, that those Zeals do any great Effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the Succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The Vicissitude, or Mutations, in the Superior

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\(^5\) See Plato, Tim. iii. 24. sq.

\(^6\) Macchiavelli Discorsi sopra Livio, ii. 5.
Globe, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be Plato's great Year,7 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 Celestial Bodies have more accurate Influences upon these Things below than indeed they have), but in gros. Comets, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect over the Gross and Mass of Things: but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey than wisely observed in their Effects; specially in their respective Effects; that is, what Kind of Comet for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beams, placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kind 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 Thirty Years the same kind and suit of Years and Weathers comes about again: as great Frosts, great Wet, great Droughts, warm Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: and they call it the Prime. It is a Thing, I do 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 Rock; the Rest

are toft upon the Waves of Time. To speak therefore, of the Causes of new Sects, and to give some Counsel concerning them, as far as the Weakness of human Judgement can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the Religion formerly received is rent by Discords; and when the Holiness of the Professors of Religion is decayed and full of Scandal; and withal 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 himself Author 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 establishted: for nothing is more Popular than 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 Arians, and now the Arminians) though they work mightily upon Men's Wits, yet they do not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Help of civil Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of new Sects: by the Power of Signs and Miracles: by the Eloquence and Wisdom of Speech and Persuasion: and by the Sword. For Martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst Miracles; because they seem to exceed the Strength of human Nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable Holiness of Life. Surely there is no better Way to stop the rising of new Sects and
Schisms than to reform Abuses; to compound the smaller Differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary Persecutions; and rather to take off the principal Authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by Violence and Bitterness.

The Changes and Vicissitude in Wars are many, but chiefly in three Things; in the Seats or Stages of the War, in the Weapons, and in the Manner of the Conduct. Wars in ancient Time seemed more to move from East to West: for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the Invaders), were all Eastern People. It is true, the Gauls were Western; but we read but of two Incursions of theirs; the one to Gallo-Grecia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain Points of Heaven; and no more have the Wars, either from the East or West, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed: and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the Northern Tract of the World is in Nature the more martial 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 aught that is known, is almost all Sea; or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the Northern Parts, which is that which without Aid of Discipline doth make the Bodies hardeft, and the Coursages warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great State
and Empire you may be sure to have Wars: for great Empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting Forces: and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, 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 Feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great Accessions and Unions of Kingdoms do likewise stir up Wars: for when a State grows to an Over-power, it is like a great Flood that will be sure to overflow: as it hath been seen, in the States of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the World hath fewest barbarous Peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost every where at this day except Tartary), there is no Danger of Inundations of People: but when there be great Shoals of People which go 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 do by Lot: casting Lots what Part should stay at home, and what should seek their Fortunes. When a Warlike State grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a War; for commonly such States are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a War.
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 Oxidraces in India; and was that which the Macedonians called Thunder and Lightning, and Magic. And it is well known that the use of Ordnance hath been in China above two thousand Years. The Conditions of Weapons, and their Improvement are; first, the Fetching afar off; for that outruns the Danger; as it is seen in Ordnance and Muskets. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion, wherein likewise Ordnance do exceed all Arietations and ancient Inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them: as that they may serve in all Weathers; that the Carriage may be light and manageable; and the like.

For the Conduct of the War: At the first, Men rested extremely upon Number: they did put the Wars likewise upon main Force and Valour; pointing Days for pitched Fields, and so trying it out upon an even Match: and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their Battles. After they grew to rest upon Number, rather Competent than Vaft; they grew to Advantages of Place, cunning Diversions, and the like: and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their Battles.

In the Youth of a State Arms do flourish; in the Middle Age of a State, Learning; and then both of them together for a time: in the Declining Age of a State, mechanical Arts and Merchandize.

Arietations, i. e. applications of the Aries or battering ram.
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 Years, when it is solid and reduced; and lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning Wheels of Vicissitude left we become giddy. As for the Philology of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.
APPENDIX TO ESSAYS.

I. A Fragment of an Essay of Fame.

HE 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 Voices, 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 flieth most by night; that she mingleth Things done with Things not done; and that she is a Terror to great Cities; but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the *Earth*, mother of the Giants that made war against *Jupiter*, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth *Fame*, for certain it is that Rebels figured by the Giants and seditious Fames, and Libels, are but Brothers and Sisters, masculine and feminine: but now if a

1 Published by *Dr. Rawley* in his *Resuscitatio*.  

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1 Published by *Dr. Rawley* in his *Resuscitatio*.  

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Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the Style of the Poets. To speak now in a sad and serious Manner, there is not in all the Politics a Place less handled, and more worthy to be handled than this of Fame: we will therefore speak of these points: what are false Fames; and what are true Fames; and how they may be best discerned; how Fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of Fame. Fame is of that Force as there is scarcely any great Action wherein it hath not a great Part, especially in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a Fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in Purpose to remove the Legions of Syria into Germany, and the Legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the Legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed.\(^2\) Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided; and laid asleep his Industry and Preparations by a Fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own Soldiers loved him not; and, being wearied with the Wars and laden with the Spoils of Gaul, would forfake him as soon as he came into Italy.\(^3\) Livia settled all things for the succession of her Son Tiberius by continual giving out that her Husband Augustus was upon Recovery and Amendment;\(^4\) and it is a usual thing with the Bashaws,

\(^2\) Tacit. Hist. ii. 80.  
\(^3\) Cæs. de Bell. Civ. i. 6.  
\(^4\) Tacit. Ann. i. 5.
to conceal the Death of the Great Turk from the Janizaries and Men of War, to save the Sacking of Constantinople and other Towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, King of Persia, post space out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a Purpose to break his Bridge of Ships which he had made athwart Hellepont.\(^5\) There be a thousand such like Examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where: therefore let all wise Governors have as great a Watch and Care over Fames as they have of the Actions and Designs themselves.

\[\text{The Rest of this Essay was not finished.}\]

\section*{II. Of a King.}

1. \textit{KING} is a Mortal God on Earth, unto whom the living \textit{God} hath lent his own Name as a great Honour; but withal told him he should die like a Man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself that \textit{God} hath with his Name imparted unto him his Nature also.

2. Of all kind of Men \textit{God} is the least beholden unto them; for he doth most for them and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A King that would not feel his Crown too

heavy for him, must wear it every day; but if he think it too light he knoweth not of what Metal it is made.

4. He must make Religion the Rule of Government, and not to balance the Scale; for he that casteth in Religion only to make the Scales even, his own weight is contained in those Characters, "Mene, mene, tekel, upharfin, He is found too light, his Kingdom shall be taken from him."

5. And that King, that holds not Religion the best Reason of State, is void of all Piety and Justice, the Supporters of a King.

6. He must be able to give Counfel himself, but not rely thereupon; for though happy Events justify their Counfels, yet it is better that the evil Event of good Advice be rather imputed to a Subject than a Sovereign.

7. He is the Fountain of Honour, whichshould not run with a waste Pipe, left the Courtiers fell the Water, and then, as Papifts say of their holy Wells, it loses the Virtue.

8. He is the Life of the Law, not only as he is lex loquens himself, but because he animateth the dead Letter, making it active towards all his Subjects praemio et poena.

9. A wise King must do less in altering his Laws than he may; for new Government is ever dangerous. It being true in the Body Politic as in the Corporal, that omnis subita immutatio est periculosa; and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearful Apprehension; for he that changeth the Fundamental Laws of a Kingdom,
thinketh there is no good Title to a Crown but by Conquest.

10. A King that sitteth to Sale Seats of Justice oppreßeth the People; for he teacheth his Judges to sell Justice; and \textit{pretio parata pretio venditur justitia}.

11. Bounty and Magnificence are Virtues very regal, but a prodigal King is nearer a Tyrant than a Parsimonious; for Store at home draweth not his Contemplations abroad: but Want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way: a King herein must be wise, and know what he may justly do.

12. That King which is not feared is not loved; and he that is well seen in his craft must as well study to be feared as loved; yet not loved for Fear, but feared for Love.

13. Therefore, as he must always resemble Him whose great Name he beareth, and that as in manifesting the sweet Influence of his Mercy on the severe Stroke of his Justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a Man of Death to live; for besides that the Land doth mourn, the Restraint of Justice towards Sin doth more retard the affection of Love than the extent of Mercy doth inflame it: and sure where Love is [ill] bestowed, Fear is quite lost.

14. His greatest Enemies are his Flatterers; for though they ever speak on his side, yet their Words still make against him.

15. The Love which a King oweth to a Weal Public should not be overstrained to any one particular; yet that his more special Favour do reflect
upon some worthy Ones is somewhat necessary, because there are few of that capacity.

16. He must have a special Care of five Things, if he would not have his Crown to be but to him infelix Felicitas.

First, that simulata Sanétitas be not in the Church; for that is duplex iniquitas.

Secondly, that inutilis Equitas fit not in the Chancery; for that is inepta Misericordia.

Thirdly, that utilis Iniquitas keep not the Exchequer; for that is crudele latrocinium.

Fourthly, that fidelis Teneritas be not his General; for that will bring but seram Pænitentiam.

Fifthly, that infidelis Prudentia be not his Secretary; for that is anguis sub viridi herba.

To conclude: as he is of the greatest Power, so he is subject to the greatest Cares, made the Servant of his People, or else he were without a Calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not is next an Atheist, wanting the Fear of God in his Heart.

iii. An Essay on Death.

I HAVE often thought upon Death, and I find it the least of all Evils. All that which is past is as a Dream; and he that hopes or depends upon Time coming, dreams waking. So much of our Life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those
Hours which we share, even from the breasts of our Mother, until we return to our Grandmother, the Earth, are part of our dying Days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as Others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to Others.

2. Physicians, in the name of Death include all Sorrow, Anguish, Disease, Calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the Life of Man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these Things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

3. I know many wise Men that fear to die; for the Change is bitter and Flesh would refuse to prove it: besides the Expectation brings Terror and that exceeds the Evil. But I do not believe, that any Man fears to be dead, but only the Stroke of Death; and such are my Hopes, that, if Heaven be pleased, and Nature renew but my Lease for twenty-one Years more, without asking longer Days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge, without mourning, that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the Highway, though she go per alta; this is Strength and the Blood to Virtue, to contemn Things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

4. Why should Man be in love with his Fetters, though of Gold? Art thou drowned in Security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy Soul is buried within thee, and thy good Angel either forfares his guard or
sleeps. There is Nothing under Heaven, saving a true Friend (who cannot be counted within the number of Moveables), unto which my Heart doth lean. And this dear Freedom hath begotten me this Peace, that I mourn not for that End which must be, nor spend one Wish to have one Minute added to the uncertain Date of my Years. It was no mean Apprehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in his Travels through Hell he knew not the Kings of the Earth from other Men, but only by their louder Cryings and Tears, which was fostered in them through the remorseful Memory of the good Days they had seen, and the fruitful Havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his Portion, and was loth to forfake his Farm; and Others, either minding Marriages, Pleasures, Profit, or Preferment, desired to be excused from Death's Banquet: they had made an Appointment with Earth, looking at the Blessings, not the Hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked Ornaments they were arrayed.

5. But were we Servants of the Precept given, and Observers of the Heathens' rule, memento mori, and not become benighted with this seeming Felicity, we should enjoy it as Men prepared to lose, and not wind up our Thoughts upon so perishing a Fortune: he that is not starkly strong (as the Servants of Pleasure,) how can he be found unready to quit the Veil and false Visage of his Perfection? The Soul, having shaken off her Flesh, doth then
set up for herself, and, contemning Things that are under, shews what Finger hath enforced her; for the Souls of Idiots are of the same piece with those of Statesmen, but now and then Nature is at a fault, and this good Guest of ours takes Soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her Wonders, like an excellent Musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective Instrument.

6. But see how I am swerved and lose my Course, touching at the Soul that doth least hold Action with Death, who hath the surest Property in this frail Act; his Stile is, the End of all Flesh and the Beginning of Incorruption.

This Ruler of Monuments leads Men for the most part out of this World with their Heels forward, in token that he is contrary to Life, which, being obtained, sends Men headlong into this wretched Theatre, where being arrived their first language is that of Mourning. Nor in my own Thoughts can I compare Men more fitly to any thing than to the Indian Fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his Branches down to the Earth, whereof she conceives again, and they become Roots in their own stock.

So Man having derived his Being from the Earth, first lives the Life of a Tree, drawing his Nourishment as a Plant, and made ripe for Death, he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his Mother the Earth, where he perisheth not but expects a quickening.
7. So we see Death exempts not a Man from Being, but only presents an Alteration; yet there are some Men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. *Death* finds not a worse Friend than an *Alderman*, to whose Door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate Guest and will not be said *Nay*.

And though they themselves shall affirm that they are not within, yet the Answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their Fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their Flesh, but are not wise of the Payment-day: which sickly Uncertainty is the Occasion that (for the most part) they step out of this World unfurnished for their general Account, and being all unpovided, desire yet to hold their Gravity, preparing their Souls to answer in Scarlet.

Thus I gather, that Death is unagreeable to most Citizens, because they commonly die intestate; this being a Rule, that when their Will is made they think themselves nearer a Grave than before: now they, out of the Wisdom of thousands, think to scare Destiny, from which there is no Appeal, by not making a Will, or to live longer by Protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this World, (accounting their Treasure by Legions, as Men do Devils,) their Fortune looks toward them and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire if it be possible to put the evil Day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing Period.

No, these are not the Men which have bespoken
ON DEATH.

Death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

8. Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in Darkness, or lie heavy burthened with Grief and Irons; to the poor Christian that sits bound in the Galley; to despairful Widows, penfive Prisoners, and deposed Kings; to them whose Fortune runs back, and whose Spirits mutiny: unto such Death is a Redeemer, and the Grave a place for Retiredness and Rest.

These wait upon the Shore of Death and wait unto him to draw near, wishing above all others to see his Star that they might be led to his Place; wooing the remorseless Sistres to wind down the Watch of their Life, and to break them off before the Hour.

9. But Death is a doleful Messenger to a Usurer, and Fate ultimately cuts their Thread; for it is never mentioned by him but when Rumours of War and civil Tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many Hands are armed and the Peace of a City in disorder, and the Foot of the common Soldiers sounds an Alarum on his Stairs, then perhaps such a One (broken in thoughts of his Monies abroad, and cursing the Monuments of Coin which are in his house,) can be content to think of Death, and, being hafty of Perdition, will perhaps hang himself left his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his Study, surrounded with Wealth to which his eye sends a faint and languishing Salute even upon the turning
off; remembering always, that he have Time and Liberty, by writing to depute himself as his own heir; for that is a great Peace to his End, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

10. Herein we all dally with ourseves, and are without Proof of Necessity. I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain Glory, and I hold such to be but Feat-boldness and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think Nature should do me great Wrong if I should be so long in dying as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no Man knows the Lifts of his own Patience; nor can divine how able he shall be in his Sufferings, till the Storm come, the perfectest Virtue being tried in Action; but I would, out of a Care to do the best Business well, ever keep a Guard, and stand upon keeping Faith and a good Conscience.

11. And if Wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my Mind often and my Body once; that is, I would prepare for the Messengers of Death, Sickness, and Affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the Violence of Pain.

Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold Grief no Evil, but Opinion and a Thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest Passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our Resolve and Readiness to die than the quieted Conscience, strengthened with Opinion

1 Attempted, i.e. tempted.
ON DEATH.

that we shall be well spoken of upon Earth by those that are just and of the Family of Virtue; the opposite whereof is a Fury to Man, and makes even Life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil Fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse Days, than he that yet living doth follow at the Funerals of his own Reputation?

I have laid up many Hopes that I am privileged from that kind of Mourning, and could wish the like Peace to all those with whom I wage love.

12. I might say much of the Commodities that Death can fell a Man; but briefly, Death is a Friend of ours; and he that is not ready to entertain him is not at Home. Whilst I am, my Ambition is not to foreflow the Tide; I have but to make my Interest of it as I may account for it; I would wish Nothing but what might better my Days, nor desire any greater Place than the Front of good Opinion. I make not Love to the Continuance of Days, but to the Goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my Hour, which the great Dispenser of all Things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered* for the first Fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the Evening of my Age; that Extremity of itself being a Disease, and a mere Return into Infancy; so that if Perpetuity of Life

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2 Suffered, i. e. punished. So in 2 K. Henry VI. aët v. sc. 1.

"A hot o'erweening cur
Who being suffer'd with the bear's fell paw
Hath clapp'd his tail between his legs, and cried."
might be given me, I should think what the Greek Poet said, "Such an age is a mortal Evil." And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine Enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold; but before my Friends.

The Night was even now; but that Name is lost; it is not now late but early. Mine Eyes begin to discharge their Watch and compound with this fleshly Weakness for a Time of perpetual Rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few Hours as I had died the first Hour I was born.

3 The allusion may be to the well known fragment of Menander, or to the following Epigram of Lucian. (Jacobs x. 28.)

Τοῖς μὲν ἐν πράττονσιν ὕπαξ ὁ βίος βραχὺς ἐστίν.
Τοῖς ἕκακοῖς, μία νύξ ἀπλετός ἐστι χρόνος.
THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

Written in Latin by the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Baron of Verulam, and Lord Chancellor of England.

Done into English by Sir Arthur Gorges, Knight.
This Translation was first printed in 12mo, "London, Imprinted by John Beale, 1619," and dedicated to Elizabeth, daughter of K. James, wife of the unfortunate Elector Palatine.

The poet Spenfer wrote his "Daphnaida, an Elegy," upon the death of Lady Douglas Howard, daughter and heir of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Bindon, and wife of Arthur Gorges, Esq. In the dedication to Helena, Marquess of Northampton, he says, "The occasion why I wrote the fame, was as well the great good fame which I heard of her deceased, as the particular good will which I bear unto her husband Master Arthur Gorges, a lover of learning and virtue; whose house, as your Ladyship by marriage hath honoured, so do I find the name of them, by many notable records, to be of great antiquity in this realm; and such as have ever borne themselves with honourable reputation to the world, and unspotted loyalty to their prince and country: besides so lineally are they descended from the Howards, as that the Lady Anne Howard, elde
daughter to John Duke of Norfolk, was wife to Sir Edmund, mother to Sir Edward, and grandmother to Sir William and Sir Thomas Gorges, knights. And therefore I do assure myself that no due honour done to the white Lion but will be most grateful to your Ladyship, whose husband and children do so nearly participate with the blood of that noble family.”
DEDICATION.

To the High and Illustrious Princess the Lady Elizabeth of Great Britain, Duchess of Baviere, Countess Palatine of the Rhine, and chief Electress of the Empire.

Madam,

Among many the worthy Chancellors of this famous Isle, there is observed in Sir Thomas More, and Sir Francis Bacon an admirable sympathy of wit and humour: witness those grave monuments of invention and learning wherewith the world is so plentifully enriched by them both. I will instance only in the conceived Utopia of the one, and the revealed Sapientia Veterum of the other. Whereof the first, under a mere idea of a perfect State government, contains an exact discovery of the vanities and disorders of real countries; and the second, out of the folds of Poetical Fables, lays open those deep Philosophical mysteries which had been so long locked up in the casket of Antiquity: so that it is hard to judge to
whether of these two worthies Policy and Morality is more beholding. I make no question therefore but this observation touching the parallel of their spirits, shall pass current to exceeding ages; that it will be said of them, as in former times pronounced of Xenophon, and Plato,—Fuere Equales. And for this Book, that I humbly present to your Highness, which so eminently expresseth its own perfection, in me it would seem no less a vanity to give it attributes of glory and praise, than if I should lend spectacles to Lynx, or an Eye to Argus: Knowing it needless to waste gilding on pure gold, which is ever best valued by its own true touch and lustre. But to descend to myself, that do now lay before your princely censure the Translation of these excellent and judicious discourses—so barely wrapt up in my harsh English phrase, that were by the author so richly attired in a sweet Latin style; I must therein fly to the sanctuary of your gracious acceptance. In which hope securing my doubts, [I] do with all reverence kiss your princely hands: Remaining ever ready to approve myself

Your Highness'

Most dutiful and devoted servant,

Arthur Gorges.
The Latin Original is dedicated to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and the following address to the University of Cambridge is subjoined:

**Almæ Matri**

**Inclytæ**

**Academiae Cantabrigiensis.**

...
fortasse radices agere, aut certe magis proceras et frondosus evadere. Neque vos (ut arbitror) ipsi nostis quàm late pateant Veftra, quamque ad multa pertineant. Æquum est tamen omnia vobis attribui, atque in vestrum honorem cedere, cùm Acceffiones quàeque Principiis magnà ex parte debantur. Neque verò ab homine occupato, aliquid exquisitum, aut otii miracula et prærogativas requiretis; fed et hoc Amori meo summo erga vos et veftra, tribuetis; quód inter rerum civilium spinas, hac non prorsùs perierint, fed vobis veftra servata sint. Valete.

Alumnus Vefter, 
amantissimus

Fra. Baconus.
THE PREFACE.

THE Antiquities of the first Age (except those we find in Sacred Writ) were buried in Oblivion and Silence: Silence was succeeded by Poetical Fables; and Fables again were followed by the Records we now enjoy. So that the Mysteries and Secrets of Antiquity were distinguished and separated from the Records and Evidences of succeeding Times by the Veil of Fiction, which interposed itself, and came between those Things which Perished, and those which are Extant. I suppose some are of Opinion that my Purpose is to write Toys and Trifles, and to usurp the same Liberty in applying, that the Poets assumed in feigning, which I might do (I confess) if I lifted, and with more serious Contemplation intermix these Things to delight either myself in Meditation, or others in Reading. Neither am I ignorant how Fickle and Inconstant a Thing Fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great the commodity of Wit and Discourse is, that is able to apply Things well, yet so as never meant by the first Authors. But I remember that this Liberty hath
been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the Reverence of Antiquity to their own Inventions and Fancies, have for the same Intent laboured to wrest many Poetical Fables. Neither hath this old and common Vanity been used only of late or now and then: for even Chryfippus long ago did (as an Interpreter of Dreams) ascribe the Opinions of the Stoicks to the Ancient Poets; and more fottishly do the Chymicks\(^1\) appropriate the Fancies and Delights of Poets in the Transformation of Bodies, to the Experiments of their Furnace. All these Things, I say, I have sufficiently considered and weighed, and in them have seen and noted the general Levity and Indulgence of Men's Wits about Allegories; and yet for all this I relinquish not my Opinion.

For first, it may not be that the Folly and Loose-ness of a few should altogether detract from the respect due to the Parables: for that were a Conceit which might favour of Profaneness and Presumption: for Religion itself doth sometimes delight in such Veils and Shadows: So that who so Exempts them, seems in a manner to interdict all Commerce between Things Divine and Human. But concerning Human Wisdom, I do indeed ingenuously and freely confess that I am inclined to imagine, that under some of the Ancient Fictions lay couched certain Mysteries and Allegories, even from their first Invention. And I am persuaded (whether ravished with the Reverence of Antiquity, or because in some Fables I find such singular Proportion between the Similitude and the Thing signified; and such apt

\(^1\) i. e. The Alchymists.
and clear coherence in the very Structure of them, and propriety of Names wherewith the Persons or Actors in them are inscribed and entitled) that no Man can constantly deny but this Sense was in the Authors Intent and Meaning when they first invented them, and that they purposely shadowed it in this sort. For who can be so Stupid and Blind in the open Light, as (when he hears how Fame, after the Giants were destroyed, sprang up as their youngest Sister) not to refer it to the Murmurs and Seditious Reports of both sides, which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the suppressing of Insurrections? Or when he hears how the Giant Typhon having cut out and brought away Jupiter's Nerves, which Mercury stole from him and restored again to Jupiter; doth not presently perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerful Rebellions, which take from Princes their Sinews of Money and Authority; but so that by affability of Speech and wise Edicts (the Minds of their Subjects being in time, privily, and as it were by stealth reconciled) they recover their Strength again? Or when he hears how (in that memorable Expedition of the Gods against the Giants) the braying of Silenus his Ass, conduced much to the profligation⁴ of the Giants, doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to shew how the greatest Enterprizes of Rebels are oftentimes dispersed with vain Rumours and Fears.

Moreover, to what Judgement can the Conformity and Signification of Names seem obscure? Seeing

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² Profligation is here of course used in its Latin sense of putting to flight. The Latin is "ad prosligandos."
Metis, the Wife of Jupiter, doth plainly signify Counsel; Typhon, Insurrection; Pan, Universality; Nemesis, Revenge, and the like. Neither let it trouble any Man if sometimes he meet with Historical Narrations or Additions for Ornament's sake, or confusion of Times, or something transferred from one Fable to another to bring in a new Allegory: for it could be no otherwise, seeing they were the Inventions of Men which lived in divers Ages and had also divers Ends: some being ancient, others neoterical; some having an Eye to Things Natural, others to Moral.

There is another Argument, and that no small one neither, to prove that these Fables contain certain hidden, and involved Meanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd and foolish in the very relation that they shew, and as it were proclaim a Parable afar off. For such Tales as are probable, they may seem to be invented for delight, and in imitation of History; and as for such as no Man would so much as imagine or relate, they seem to be sought out for other Ends. For what kind of Fiction is that wherein Jupiter is said to have taken Metis to Wife; and, perceiving that she was with Child, to have devoured her; whence himself conceiving brought forth Pallas armed out of his Head? Truly, I think there was never Dream (so different to the course of Cogitation, and so full of Monstrocity,) ever hatched in the Brain of Man. Above all Things, this prevails most with me and is of singular Moment; that many of these Fables seem not to be invented of

3 Neotrical, i. e. more recent. The Latin has recentiores.
those by whom they are related and celebrated, as by Homer, Hesiod and others: for if it were so that they took beginning in that Age, and from those Authors by whom they are delivered and brought to our Hands: My Mind gives me there could be no great or high Matter expected or supposed to proceed from them in respect of these Originals. But if with attention we consider the Matter it will appear that they were delivered and related as Things formerly believed and received, and not as newly invented and offered unto us. Besides, seeing they are diversly related by Writers that lived near about one and the self-same time, we may easily perceive that they were common Things derived from precedent Memorials; and that they became various, by reason of the divers Ornaments bestowed on them by particular Relations: And the consideration of this must needs increase in us a great Opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects of the Times or inventions of the Poets, but as sacred Reliques or abstracted Airs of better Times, which by Tradition from more Ancient Nations fell into the Trumpets and Flutes of the Graecians. But if any do obstinately contend, That Allegories are always adventitiously and as it were by Constraint, never naturally and properly included in Fables, we will not be much troublesome, but suffer them to enjoy that gravity of Judgement, which I am sure they affect, although indeed it be but Lumpish and almost Leaden. And (if they be worthy to be taken notice of,) we will begin afresh with them in some other Fashion.

There is found among Men, (and it goes for cur-
a twofold use of Parables, and those, (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary Ends; conducing as well to the folding up and keeping of Things under a Veil, as to the enlightening and laying open of Obscurities. But omitting the former, (rather than to undergo wrangling, and assuming ancient Fables as Things vagrant and composed only for Delight,) the latter must questionless still remain as not to be wrested from us by any violence of Wit; neither can any that is but meanly Learned hinder, but it must absolutely be received as a Thing grave and sober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable, and necessary to all Sciences. This is it, I say, that leads the Understanding of Man by an easy and gentle Passage through all novel and abstruse Inventions which any way differ from common received Opinions. Therefore in the first Ages (when many human Inventions and Conclusions, which are now common and vulgar, were new and not generally known,) all Things were full of Fables, Enigmas, Parables, and Similes of all sorts; by which they sought to teach and lay open, not to hide and conceal Knowledge; especially seeing the Understandings of Men were in those Times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any Subtilties; such Things only excepted, as were the Object of Sense; for as Hieroglyphicks preceded Letters, so Parables were more ancient than Arguments. And in these Days also he that would illuminate Men's Minds anew in any old Matter, and that not with disprofit and harshness, must absolutely take the same Course, and use the help of Similes. Wherefore,
all that hath been said, we must thus conclude
The Wisdom of the Ancients, was either much,
or happy: Much, if these Figures and Tropes were
invented by Study and Premeditation; Happy, if
they (intending nothing less) gave Matter and Oc-
casion to so many worthy Meditations.

As concerning my Labours, (if there be any Thing
in them which may do good,) I will on neither part
count them ill bestowed, my purpose being to illustrate
either Antiquity, or Things themselves. Neither am I
ignorant that this very Subject hath been attempted
by others: But to speak as I think, and that freely
without Oftentation, the Dignity and Efficacy of the
Thing is almost lost by these Men's Writings, though
voluminous and full of Pains, whilst not diving into
the depth of Matters but skilful only in certain com-
mon Places, [they] have applied the Sense of these
Parables to certain vulgar and general Things, not
so much as glancing at their true Virtue, genuine
Propriety, and full Depth. I (if I be not deceived,)shall be new in common Things: wherefore, leaving
such as are plain and open, I will aim at farther and
richer Matters.
TO THE BOOK.

Rich mine of Art; Minion of Mercury;
True Truch-man of the mind of Mystery:

Invention's storehouse; Nymph of Helicon;
Deep Moralist of Time's tradition:

Unto this Paragon of Brutus' race
Present thy service, and with cheerful grace

Say, (if Pythagoras believ'd may be)
The soul of "Antient Wisdom" lives in thee.
THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

I. Cassandra, or Divination.

The Poets Fable, that Apollo being enamoured of Cassandra, was by her many Shifts and cunning Sleights still deluded in his Desire; but yet fed on with hope, until such times as she had drawn from him the Gift of Prophefying; and having, by such her Dissimulation, in the end attained to that which from the beginning she sought after; at last flatly rejected his Suit. Who finding himself so far engaged in his Promise, as that he could not by any means revoke again his rash Gift, and yet inflamed with an earnest desire of Revenge, highly disdainful to be made the scorn of a crafty Wench, annexed a Penalty to his Promise, to wit, that she should ever foretell the Truth, but never be believed. So were her Divinations always faithful, but at no time regarded; whereof she still found the Experience, yea, even in the ruin of her own Country, which she had often forewarned them of; but they
neither gave Credit nor Ear to her Words. This Fable seems to intimate the unprofitable Liberty of untimely Admonitions and Counsels: For they that are so over-weened with the sharpness and dexterity of their own Wit and Capacity, as that they disdain to submit themselves to the Documents of Apollo, the God of Harmony, whereby to learn and observe the Method and Measure of Affairs, the Grace and Gravity of Discourse, the differences between the more judicious and more vulgar Ears, and the due times when to speak, and when to be silent; be they never so sensible and pregnant, and their Judgements never so profound, and profitable; yet in all their Endeavours either of persuasion, or perforce, they avail nothing, neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage Matters; but do rather hasten on the Ruin of all those that they adhere, or devote themselves unto. And then at last, when Calamity doth make Men feel the event of Neglect, then shall they too late be reverenced as deep, foreseeing, and faithful Prophets. Whereof a notable Instance is eminently set forth in Marcus Cato Uticensis, who, as from a Watch-tower, discovered afar off, and, as an Oracle, long foretold the approaching Ruin of his Country, and the plotted Tyranny hovering over the State, both in the first Conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the Civil Contention between Cæsar and Pompey, and did no good the while, but rather harmed the Commonwealth, and hastened on his Country's Bane; which M. Cicero wisely observed, and writing to a familiar Friend, doth in
CASSANDRA, OR DIVINATION. 253

thefe Terms excellently describe, Cato optime sentit, 
 fed nocet interdum Reipublicae: Loquitur enim tan-
 quam in Reipublica Platonis, non tanquam in fæce 
 Romuli. Cato (faith he) judgeth profoundly, but 
in the mean time damnifies the State; for he speaks 
in the Commonwealth of Plato, and not as in the 
Dregs of Romulus.

II. Typhon, or a Rebel.

UNO being vexed (fay the Poets) that 
Jupiter had begotten Pallas by him-
sely without her, earnestly pressed all 
the other Gods and Goddesses that she 
might also bring forth of herself alone without him; 
and having by violence, and importunity obtained 
a Grant thereof, she smote the Earth, and forth-
with sprang up Typhon, a huge, and horrid Monfter. 
This strange Birth she commits to a Serpent, (as 
a Foster-Father,) to nourish it; who no sooner 
came to ripeness of Years, but he provokes Jupiter 
to Battle. In the Confli( the Giant getting 
the upper hand, takes Jupiter upon his Shoulders, 
carries him into a remote and obscure Country, 
and (cutting out the Sinews of his Hands and 
Feet) brought them away, and so left him miser-
ably mangled and maimed. But Mercury recovering 
these Nerves from Typhon by fæthalth, restored them 
again to Jupiter. Jupiter being again by this 
means corroborated, affaults the Monfter afresh,
and at the first strikes him with a Thunderbolt, from whose Blood Serpents were engendered. This Monster at length fainting, and flying, Jupiter casts on him the Mount Etna, and with the Weight thereof crushed him.

This Fable seems to point at the variable Fortune of Princes, and the rebellious insurrection of Traitors in a State: For Princes may well be said to be married to their Dominions, as Jupiter was to Juno; but it happens now and then, that being deboshed by the long custom of Empiring, and bending towards Tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themselves, and (contemning the Counsel of their Nobles and Senators) hatch Laws in their own Brain; that is, dispose of Things by their own Fancy, and absolute Power. The People (repining at this) study how to create, and set up a Chief of their own Choice. This Project, by the secret instigation of the Peers and Nobles, doth for the most part take his beginning; by whose Conivance the Commons being set on Edge, there follows a kind of Murmuring or Discontent in the State, shadowed by the Infancy of Typhon, which being nursed by the natural Pravity and clown-ish Malignity of the vulgar sort, (unto Princes as infeftuous as Serpents,) is again repaired by a renewed Strength, and at last breaks out into open Rebellion, which (because it brings infinite Mischiefs upon Prince and People) is represented by the monftrous Deformity of Typhon: His hundred Heads signify their divided Powers; his fiery Mouths, their inflamed Intents; his serpentine
Circles, their pestilent Malice in besieging; his Iron Hands, their merciless Slaughters; his Eagle's Talons, their greedy Rapines; his plumed Body, their continual Rumours, and Scouts, and Fears, and such like. And sometimes these Rebellions grow so Potent, that Princes are enforced (transported as it were, by the Rebels, and forsaking the chief Seats and Cities of the Kingdom) to contract their Power, and (being deprived of the Sinews of Money and Majesty,) betake themselves to some remote and obscure Corner within their Dominions. But in process of Time, (if they bear their Misfortunes with Moderation,) they may recover their Strength, by the virtue and industry of Mercury; that is, they may (by becoming Affable, and by reconciling the Minds and Wills of their Subjects with grave Edicts and gracious Speech,) excite an Alacrity to grant Aids, and Subsidies, whereby to strengthen their Authority anew. Nevertheless, having learned to be wise and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of Fortune by War, and yet study how to suppress the Reputation of the Rebels by some famous Action, which if it fall out answerable to their Expectation, the Rebels finding themselves weakened, and fearing the Success of their broken Projects, betake themselves to some flight and vain Bravadoes, like the hissing of Serpents, and at length in despair betake themselves to Flight; and then when they begin to break, it is safe and timely for Kings to pursue and oppress them with the Forces and Weight of the Kingdom, as it were with the Mountain Ætna.
III. The Cyclops, or the Ministers of Terror.

They say that the Cyclopes, for their fierceness, and Cruelty, were by Jupiter cast into Hell, and there doomed to perpetual Imprisonment; but Tellus persuaded Jupiter that it would do well if, being set at liberty, they were put to forge Thunderbolts, which being done accordingly, they became so Painful and Industrious, as that Day and Night they continued Hammering out in laborious Diligence Thunderbolts, and other Instruments of Terror. In process of time Jupiter having conceived a Displeasure against Æsculapius, the Son of Apollo, for restoring a dead Man to life by Physick; and concealing his Dislike, (because there was no just Cause of Anger, the Deed being pious and famous,) secretly incensed the Cyclopes against him, who without delay flew him with a Thunderbolt. In revenge of which Act, Apollo, (Jupiter not prohibiting it) Shot them to Death with his Arrows.

This Fable may be applied to the Projects of Kings, who having cruel, bloody, and exacting Officers, do first punish and displace them; afterwards by the Council of Tellus, that is of some base and ignoble Person, and by the prevailing respect of Profit they admit them into their Places
again, that they may have Instruments in a readiness, if at any time there should need either Severity of Execution, or Acerbity of Exaction. These servile Creatures being by Nature Cruel, and by their former Fortune exasperated, and perceiving well what is expected at their Hands, do shew themselves wonderful Officious in such kind of Employments; but being too Rash and precipitate in seeking Countenance and creeping into Favour, do sometimes take occasion from the secret Beckonings and ambiguous Commands of their Prince, to perform some hateful Execution. But Princes (abhoring the Fact, and knowing well, that they shall never want such kind of Instruments,) do utterly forfake them, turning them over to the Friends and Allies of the wronged, to their Accusations and Revenge, and to the general Hatred of the People; so that with great Applause, and prosperous Wishes and Acclamations towards the Prince, they are brought rather too late, than undeservedly, to a miserable End.

iv. Narcissus; or, Self-Love.

They say, That Narcissus was exceeding Fair and Beautiful, but wonderful Proud and Disdainful; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary Life in the Woods and Chases with a few Followers, to whom he alone was all in all; among the rest there follows him the
Nymph Echo. During his Course of Life, it fatally so chanced that he came to a clear Fountain, upon the Bank whereof he lay down to repose himself in the Heat of the Day: and having espied the shadow of his own Face in the Water, was so besotted, and ravished with the Contemplation and Admiration thereof, that he by no means possible could be drawn from beholding his Image in this Glass; insomuch that, by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at last turned into a Flower of his own Name, which appears in the beginning of the Spring and is sacred to the infernal Powers, Pluto, Proserpina, and the Furies.

This Fable seems to shew the Dispositions and Fortunes of those, who, in respect either of their Beauty or other Gift wherewith they are adorned and graced by Nature, without the help of Industry, are so far besotted in themselves, as that they prove the Cause of their own Destruction. For it is the property of Men infected with this Humour, not to come much abroad, or to be Conversant in Civil Affairs, especially seeing those that are in publick Place, must of necessity encounter with many Contempts and Scorns, which may much deject and trouble their Minds; and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure Life, attended on with a few Followers, and those, such as will adore and admire them, and like an Echo flatter them in all their Sayings, and applaud them in all their Words. So that being by this Custom seduced and puffed up, and, as it were, stupified
with the Admiration of themselves, they are pos-
sessed with so strange a Sloth and Idleness, that
they grow in a manner benumbed, and defective
of all Vigour and Alacrity. Elegant doth this
Flower, appearing in the beginning of the Spring,
represent the likeness of these Men’s Dispositions,
who, in their Youth do flourish, and wax famous;
but being come to ripeness of Years, they deceive
and frustrate the good Hope that is conceived of
them. Neither is it impertinent that this Flower
is said to be consecrated to the infernal Deities,
because Men of this Disposition become unprofit-
able to all Human Things: For whatsoever pro-
duceth no Fruit of itself, but passeth, and vanisheth
as if it had never been, (like the way of a Ship in
the Sea,) that the Ancients were wont to dedicate
to the Ghosts and Powers below.

v. Styx, or Leagues.

THE Oath by which the Gods were
wont to oblige themselves, (when they
meant to ratify any Thing so firmly as
never to revoke it,) is a Thing well
known to the Vulgar, as being mentioned almost
in every Fable; which was when they did not in-
voke or call to witness any Celestial Majesty, or
Divine Power, but only the River Styx, that with
crooked and Meandry Turnings encircleth the
Palace of the infernal Dis. This was held as the
only manner of their Sacramento; and, besides it,
not any other Vow to be accounted firm and inviolable; and therefore the Punishment to be inflicted (if any did perjure themselves,) was, that for certain Years they should be put out of Commons, and not to be admitted to the Table of the Gods.

This Fable seems to point at the Leagues and Pacts of Princes, of which, more truly than opportunely, may be said, That be they never so strongly confirmed with the Solemnity and Religion of an Oath, yet are, for the most part, of no validity; insomuch that they are made rather with an Eye to Reputation and Report, and Ceremony; than to Faith, Security, and Effect. Moreover, add to these the Bond of Affinity, as the Sacraments of Nature, and mutual Deserts of each Part, and you shall observe, that with a great many, all these Things are placed a degree under Ambition and Profit, and the licentious desire of Domination; and so much the rather, because it is an easy Thing for Princes to defend and cover their unlawful Desires and unfaithful Vows with many outwardly seeming fair Pretexts; especially seeing there is no Umpire or Moderator of Matters concluded upon, to whom a Reason should be tendered. Therefore there is no true and proper Thing made choice of, for the confirmation of Faith, and that no celestial Power neither, but is indeed Neceffity (a great God to great Potentates,) the Peril also of State, and the Communication of Profit. As for Neceffity, it is elegantly represented by Styx, that fatal and irremeable River; and this Godhead did Iphi-
cretes, the Athenian, call to the Confirmation of a League; who because he alone is found to speak plainly that which many hide covertly in their Breasts, it would not be amiss to relate his Words. He observing how the Lacedemonians had thought upon, and propounded divers Cautions, Sanctions, Confirmations and Bonds pertaining to Leagues, interposed thus: Unum Lacedemonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum et securitatis ratio esse poffit; si plane demonstraretis, vos ea nobis concessisse, et inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas lærendi nos, si maxime velletis, minime suppeditare poffit. There is one Thing (O Lacedæmonians) that would link us unto you in the Bond of Amity, and be the occasion of Peace and Security; which is, if you would plainly demonstrate, that you have yielded up, and put into our Hands, such Things as that, would you Hurt us never so fain, you should yet be disfurnished of Means to do it. If therefore the Power of Hurting be taken away, or if by breach of League there follow the danger of the Ruin or Diminution of the State or Tribute; then indeed the Leagues may seem to be ratified and established, and as it were confirmed by the Sacrament of the Stygian Lake; seeing that it includes the fear of Prohibition and Suspension from the Table of the Gods, under which Name the Laws and Prerogatives, the Plenty and Felicity of a Kingdom were signified by the Ancients.
VI. Pan, or Nature.

The Ancients have exquisitely described Nature under the Person of Pan, whose original they leave doubtful; for some say that he was the Son of Mercury; others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common Offspring of Penelope's Suitors, upon a Suspicion that every one of them had to do with her; which latter Relation doubtless gave occasion to some after Writers to Entitle this ancient Fable with the Name of Penelope, a Thing very frequent amongst them, when they apply old Fictions to young Persons and Names, and that many times absurdly and indiscreetly, as may be seen here: for Pan, being one of the Ancient Gods, was long before the time of Ulysses and Penelope. Besides (for her Matronal Chastity) she was held venerable by Antiquity. Neither may we pretermit the third Conceit of his Birth: For some say, that he was the Son of Jupiter and Hybris, which signifies contemptuously or disdain. But howsoever begotten, the Parcae (they say) were his Sistors. He is portrayed by the Ancients in this Guise; on his Head a pair of Horns that reach to Heaven, his Body Rough and Hairy, his Beard long and shaggy, his Shape biformed, above like a Man, below like a Beast, his Feet like Goat's hoofs, bearing these Ensigns
of his Jurisdiction, to wit, in his Left-hand a Pipe of seven Reeds, and in his Right a Sheep-hook, or a Staff crooked at the upper end, and his Mantle made of a Leopard's Skin. His Dignities and Offices were these: He was the God of Hunters, of Shepherds, and of all Rural Inhabitants: Chief President also of Hills and Mountains, and, next to Mercury, the Ambassador of the Gods. Moreover, He was accounted the Leader and Commander of the Nymphs, which were always wont to Dance the Rounds, and Frisk about him; he was accosted by the Satyrs and the old Sileni. He had Power also to strike Men with Terrors, and those especially Vain and Superstitious, which are termed Panick Fears. His Acts were not many, for aught that can be found in Records, the chiefest was, that he challenged Cupid at Wrestling, in which Conflict he had the Foil. The Tale goes too, how that he caught the Giant Typhon in a Net and held him fast. Moreover, where Ceres (grumbling and chafing that Proserpina was ravished) had hid herself away, and that all the Gods took Pains (by dispersing themselves into every Corner) to find her out, it was only his good Hap (as he was hunting) to light on her, and acquaint the rest where she was. He presumed also to put it to the Trial who was the better Musician he or Apollo, and by the Judgement of Midas was indeed preferred. But the wise Judge had a pair of Afs's Ears privately chopped to his Noddle for his Sentence. Of his Love-tricks, there is nothing reported, or at least not much, a Thing to be won-
dered at, especially being among a Troop of Gods so profusely amorous. This only is said of him, that he loved the Nymph Echo (whom he took to Wife) and one pretty Wench more called Sirynx, towards whom Cupid (in an angry and revengeful Humour, because so audaciously he had challenged him at a Wrestling) inflamed his Desire. Moreover, he had no Issue (which is a Marvel also, seeing the Gods, especially those of the Male kind, were very Generative) only he was the reputed Father of a little Girl called Iambe, that with many pretty Tales was wont to make Strangers Merry; but some think that he did indeed beget her by his Wife Iambe. This (if any be) is a noble Tale, as being laid out and big-bellied with the Secrets and Mysteries of Nature.

Pan (as his Name imports) represents and lays open the All of Things or Nature. Concerning his Original there are two only Opinions that go for Current; for either he came of Mercury, that is, the Word of God, which the Holy Scriptures without all Controversy affirm, and such of the Philosophers as had any smack of Divinity assented unto; or else from the confused Seeds of Things. For they that would have one simple Beginning, refer it unto God; or if a materiate Beginning, they would have it various in Power. So that we may end the Controversy with this Diftribution, That the World took Beginning, either from Mercury, or from the Seeds of all Things.
Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coastra.
Semina terrarumque, animaeque, marisque fuissent,
Et liquidi simul ignis: Et his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit Orbis.¹

For rich-vein’d Orpheus sweetly did rehearse
How that the Seeds of Fire, Air, Water, Earth,
Were all pack’d in the vast void Universe:
And how from these, as Firstlings, all had Birth,
And how the Body of this Orbick frame,
From tender Infancy so big became.

But, as touching the third Conceit of Pan’s Original, it seems that the Grecians (either by intercourse with the Ægyptians, or one way or other) had heard something of the Hebrew Mysteries; for it points to the State of the World, not considered in immediate Creation, but after the Fall of Adam, exposed and made subject to Death and Corruption: For in that State it was (and remains to this Day) the Offspring of God and Sin. And therefore all these Three Narrations concerning the manner of Pan’s Birth may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between Things and Times. For this Pan or Nature (which we suspect, Contemplate, and Reverence more than is fit) took beginning from the Word of God by the means of confused Matter, and the entrance of Prevarication and Corruption. The Destinies may well be thought the Sifters of Pan or Nature, because the Beginning and Continu-

¹ Virg. Eclog. 6.
ances and Corruptions and Depressions, and Dif-
solutions, and Eminences, and Labours, and Fel-
licities of Things, and all the Chances which can
happen unto anything are linked with the Chain
of Causes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him, because Horns
are broad at the Root and sharp at the Ends, the
Nature of all Things being like a Pyramis, sharp
at the Top. For individual or singular Things
being infinite, are first collected into Species, which
are many also; then from Species into Generals,
and from Generals (by ascending) are contracted
into Things or Notions more general; so that at
length Nature may seem to be contracted into an
Unity. Neither is it to be wondered at, that
Pan toucheth Heaven with his Horns, seeing the
height of Nature or Universal Ideas do, in some
fort, pertain to Things Divine, and there is a
ready and short Passage from Metaphysic to natu-
ral Theology.

The Body of Nature is elegantly and with
deep Judgement depainted Hairy, representing the
Beams or Operations of Creatures; for Beams
are as it were the Hairs and Bristles of Nature,
and every Creature is either more or less Beamy,
which is most apparent in the faculty of Seeing,
and no less in every Virtue and Operation that
effectuates upon a distant Object, for whatsoever
works upon any Thing afar off, that may rightly
be said to dart forth Rays or Beams.

Moreover, Pan's Beard is said to be exceeding
long, because the Beams or Influences of Celestial
Bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all; and the Sun, when his higher half is shadowed with a Cloud, his Beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were Bearded.

_Nature_ is also excellently set forth with a biformed Body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior Creatures. For the one part by reason of their Pulcritude, and Equableness of Motion, and Constancy and Dominion over the Earth and Earthly Things, is worthily set out by the shape of Man: And the other part in respect of their Perturbations and unconstant Motions, (and therefore needing to be moderated by the Celestial) may be well fitted with the Figure of a Brute Beast. This Description of his Body pertains also to the Participation of _Species_, for no natural Being seems to be simple, but as it were participating and compounded of two. As for Example, Man hath something of a Beast; a Beast something of a Plant; a Plant something of an inanimate Body, of that all natural Things are in very Deed biformed, that is to say, compounded of a superior and inferior _Species._

It is a witty Allegory, that fame of the Feet of the Goat, by reason of the upward tending Motion of Terrestrial Bodies towards the Air and Heaven, for the Goat is a climbing Creature, that loves to be hanging about the Rocks and steep Mountains; and this is done also in a wonderful manner, even by those Things which are destinated to this inferior Globe, as may manifestly appear in Clouds and Meteors.
The two Ensigns which *Pan* bears in his Hands, do point, the one at Harmony, the other at Empire: For the Pipe consisting of seven Reeds, doth evidently demonstrate the Consent and Harmony, and discordant Concord of all inferior Creatures, which is caused by the Motion of the Seven Planets: And that of the Sheep-hook may be excellently applied to the order of Nature, which is partly right, partly crooked: This Staff therefore or Rod is specially crooked in the upper end, because all the Works of Divine Providence in the World are done in a far-fetched and circular manner, so that one Thing may seem to be affected, and yet indeed a clean contrary brought to pass; as the selling of *Joseph* into *Egypt*, and the like. Besides, in all wise Human Government, they that sit at the Helm do more happily bring their Purposes about, and infinuate more easily into the Minds of the People, by pretexts and oblique Courses, than by direct Methods: So that all Sceptres and Maces of Authority ought in very Deed to be crooked in the upper end.

*Pan'*s Cloak or Mantle is ingeniously feigned to be a Skin of a Leopard, because it is full of Spots: So the Heavens are spotted with Stars, the Sea with Rocks and Islands, the Land with Flowers, and every particular Creature also is for the most part garnished with divers Colours about the Superficies, which is as it were a Mantle unto it.

The Office of *Pan* can be by nothing so lively conceived and expressed, as by feigning him to be the God of Hunters, for every natural Action, and
so by consequence, Motion, and Progression, is nothing else but a Hunting. Arts and Sciences have their Works, and Human Counsels their Ends which they earnestly hunt after. All natural Things have either their Food as a Prey, or their Pleasure as a Recreation which they seek for, and that in most expert and sagacious manner.

Torva Leæna Lupam sequitur, Lupus ipse Capellam. Florentem Citysum sequitur lasciva Capella.²

The hungry Lioness, (with sharp desire) Pursues the Wolf, the Wolf the wanton Goat: The Goat again doth greedily aspire To have the Trifoil Juice pass down her Throat.

Pan is also said to be the God of the Country-Clowns, because Men of this Condition lead lives more agreeable unto Nature, than those that live in the Cities and Courts of Princes, where Nature by too much Art is corrupted: So as the saying of the Poet (though in the sense of Love) might be here verified:

— Pars minima est ipsa puella fui.³

The Maid so tricked herself with Art, That of herself she is least part.

He was held to be Lord President of the Mountains, because in the high Mountains and Hills, Nature lays herself most open, and Men most apt to View and Contemplation.

² Virgil Buc. 2. ³ Martial Ep.
Whereas *Pan* is said to be (next unto *Mercury*) the Messenger of the Gods, there is in that a Divine Mystery contained, for next to the Word of God, the Image of the World proclaims the Power and Wisdom Divine, as sings the Sacred Poet, *Psal. xix. 1.* Cæli enarrant Gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat Firmamentum. The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament sheweth the Works of his Hands.

The *Nymphs,* that is, the Souls of Living Things take great delight in *Pan.* For these Souls are the Delights or Minions of *Nature,* and the Direction or Conduct of these *Nymphs* is with great Reason attributed unto *Pan,* because the Souls of all Things Living, do follow their natural Dispositions as their Guides, and with infinite variety every one of them after his own Fashion doth leap, and frisk and dance with incessant Motions about her. The *Satyrs* and *Sileni* also, to wit, Youth and Old Age, are some of *Pan's* Followers: For of all natural Things, there is a lively, jocund, and (as I may say) a dancing Age, and an Age again that is dull, blirling, and reeling. The Carriages and Dispositions of both which Ages, to some such as *Democritus* was, (that would observe them duly,) might peradventure seem as ridiculous and deformed, as the gambols of the *Satyrs,* or the gestures of the *Sileni.*

Of those Fears and Terrors which *Pan* is said

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4 *Birling* is here used in the sense of *tottering.* The Latin is:
"Omnium enim rerum est ætas quaedam hilaris et saltatrix: atque rursùs ætas tarda et bibula."
to be the Author, there may be this wise Con-
struction made: Namely, that Nature hath bred
in every Living Thing a kind of Care and Fear
tending to the Preservation of its own Life and
Being, and to the repelling and shunning of all
Things hurtful. And yet Nature knows not how
to keep a Mean, but always intermixes vain and
empty Fears with such as are discreet and profit-
able: So that all Things (if their insides might be
seen) would appear full of Panick Frights: But
Men especially in hard, fearful, and diverse Times,
are wonderfully infatuated with Superstitition, which
indeed is nothing else but a Panick Terror.

Concerning the Audacity of Pan in challenging
Cupid at Wrestling: The meaning of it is, that
Matter wants not Inclination and Desire to the
relapsing and dissolution of the World into the old
Chaos, if her Malice and Violence were not re-
strained and kept in order, by the prepotent Unity
and Agreement of Things signified by Cupid, or
the God of Love; and therefore it was a happy
turn for Men, and all Things else, that in their
Conflict Pan was found too weak, and overcome.

To the same Effect may be interpreted his
catching of Typhon in a Net: For howsoever
there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted
Tumours (as the Name of Typhon imports) either
in the Sea or in the Air, or in the Earth, or else-
where! yet Nature doth intangle it in an intricate
Toil, and curb and restrain, as it were with a Chain
of Adamant, the Excesses and Infolencies of this
kind of Bodies.
But forasmuch as it was Pan's good Fortune to find out Ceres as he was Hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other Gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously; it gives us this true and grave Admonition, That we expect not to receive Things necessary for Life and Manners from Philosophical Abstractions, as from the greater Gods; albeit they applied themselves to no other Study; but from Pan, that is, from the discreet Observation and Experience, and the universal Knowledge of the Things of this World; whereby (oftentimes even by Chance, and as it were going a Hunting) such Inventions are lighted upon.

The Quarrel he made with Apollo about Music, and the Event thereof contains a wholesome Instruction, which may serve to restrain Men's Reasons and Judgements with the Reins of Sobriety, from Boasting and Glorifying in their Gifts. For there seems to be a twofold Harmony, or Music; the one of Divine Providence, and the other of Human Reason; the Administration of the World and Creatures therein, and the more secret Judgments of God, found very hard and harsh; which Folly, albeit it be well set out with Asses' Ears; yet notwithstanding these Ears are secret, and do not openly appear, neither is it perceived or noted as a Deformity by the Vulgar.

Lastly, It is not to be wondered at, that there is nothing attributed unto Pan concerning Loves, but only of his Marriage with Echo: For the World or Nature doth enjoy itself, and in itself all
Things else. Now he that Loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough, there is no Place left to desire. Therefore there can be no wanting Love in Pan, or the World, nor desire to obtain anything (seeing he is contented with himself) but only Speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the Nymph Echo; or if more quaint by Syrinx. It is an excellent Invention that Pan, or the World is said to make choice of Echo only (above all other Speeches or Voices) for his Wife: For that alone is true Philosophy which doth faithfully render the very Words of the World; and it is written no otherwise than the World doth Dictate, it being nothing else but the Image or reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and resounds. It belongs also to the Sufficiency or Perfection of the World, that he begets no Issue: For the World doth generate in respect of its Parts, but in respect of the whole, how can it generate, seeing without it there is no Body? Notwithstanding all this, the tale of that tattling Girl fathered upon Pan, may in very Deed, with great Reason, be added to this Fable: For by her are represented those vain and idle Paradoxes concerning the Nature of Things which have been frequent in all Ages, and have filled the World with Novelties; Fruitlefs, if you respect the Matter; Changelings if you respect the Kind; sometimes creating Pleasure, sometimes Tediumness with their overmuch Prattling.

5 Ovid. Metam. i. 691. The reference appears to be to the reed being formerly used as a pen.
vii. Perseus, or War.

Perseus is said to have been employed by Pallas for the destroying of Medusa, who was very infectuous to the Western Parts of the World, and especially about the utmost Coasts of Hibernia. A Monster so dire and horrid, that by her only Aspect she turned Men into Stones. This Medusa alone of all the Gorgons was Mortal, the rest not subject to Death. Perseus therefore preparing himself for this noble Enterprise, had Arms and Gifts bestowed on him by three of the Gods: Mercury gave him Wings annexed to his Heels, Pluto a Helmet, Pallas a Shield and a Looking-Glass. Notwithstanding (although he were thus furnished) he went not directly to Medusa, but first to the Grecæ, which by the Mother's side were SISTERS to the Gorgons. These Grecæ from their Birth were Hoar-headed, resembling old Women. They had but one only Eye, and one Tooth among them all; both which, she that had occasion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This Eye and Tooth they lent to Perseus; and so, finding himself thoroughly furnished for the effecting of his Design, hastens towards Medusa. Her he found Sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his Face towards her, lest she should awake; but turning his Head aside, beheld her in Pallas's Glass, and (by this means directing his
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Blow) cut off her Head; from whose Blood gushing out, instantly came Pegafus, the Flying-Horse. Her head thus smote off, Perseus bestows on Pallas her Shield, which yet retained this Virtue, that whosoever looked upon it, should become as stupid as a Stone, or like one Planet-stricken.

This Fable seems to direct the Preparation and Order, that is to be used in making of War; for the more apt and considerate Undertaking whereof, three grave and wholesome Precepts (favouring of the Wisdom of Pallas) are to be observed.

First, That Men do not much trouble themselves about the Conquest of Neighbour Nations, seeing that private Possessions and Empires are enlarged by different Means: For in the Augmentation of private Revenues, the vicinity of Men’s Territories is to be considered; but in the Propagation of Public Dominions, the occasion and facility of making War, and the Fruit to be expected ought to be instead of Vicinity. Certainly the Romans, what time their Conquests towards the West scarce reached beyond Liguria, did yet in the East bring all the Provinces as far as the Mountain Taurus within the compass of their Arms and Command; and therefore Perseus, although he were Bred and Born in the East, did not yet refuse to undertake an Expedition even to the uttermost Bounds of the West.

Secondly, There must be a care had that the Motives of War be just and honourable, for that begets an Alacrity, as well in the Soldiers that Fight, as in the People that afford Pay; it draws on and
procures Aids, and brings many other Commodities besides. But there is no Pretence to take up Arms more Pious than the suppressing of Tyranny; under which Yoke the People lose their Courage, and are cast down without Heart and Vigour, as in the fight of Medusa.

Thirdly, it is wisely added, that seeing there were three Gorgons (by which Wars are represented) Perseus undertook her only that was Mortal; that is, he made choice of such a kind of War as was likely to be effected and brought to a Period, not pursuing vast and endless Hopes.

The furnishing of Perseus with Necessaries was that which only advanced his Attempt, and drew Fortune to be of his side; for he had speed from Mercury, concealing of his Counsels from Orcus, and Providence from Pallas.

Neither is it without an Allegory, and that full of Matter too, that those Wings of Celerity were fastened to Perseus his Heels, and not to his Ankles; to his Feet, and not to his Shoulders; because Speed and Celerity is required, not so much in the first Preparations for War, as in those Things which second and yield Aid to the first; for there is no Error in War more frequent, than that Prosecutions and Subsidiary forces do fail to answer the Alacrity of the first Onsets.

Now for that Helmet which Pluto gave him, powerful to make Men invisible, the Moral is plain; but that twofold Gift of Providence, (to wit, the Shield and Looking-Glass) is full of Morality; for that kind of Providence, which like a Shield
avoids the force of Blows, is not alone needful, but that also by which the Strength and Motions, and Counsels of the Enemy are descried, as in the Looking-Glafs of Pallas.

But Perseus, albeit he were sufficiently furnished with Aid and Courage, yet was he to do one Thing of special Importance before he entered the Lifts with this Monster, and that was to have some Intelligence with the Grecæ. These Grecæ are Treasons which may be termed the Sifters of War not descended of the same Stock, but far unlike in Nobility of Birth; for Wars are generous and heroic, but Treasons are base and ignoble. Their Description is elegant, for they are said to be Gray-headed, and like old Women from their Birth; by reason that Traitors are continually vexed with Cares and Trepidations. But all their Strength (before they break out into open Rebellions) consists either in an Eye or in a Tooth; for every Faction alienated from any State, contemplates and bites. Besides, this Eye and Tooth is as it were common; for whatsoever they can learn and know, is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of Faction. And as concerning the Tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same Song; so that hear one, and you hear all. Perseus therefore was to deal with these Grecæ for the loan of their Eye and Tooth. Their Eye to discover, their Tooth to sow Rumours and stir up Envy, and to molest and trouble the Minds of Men. These Things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the Action of
War, and sets upon Medusa as she slept; for a wife Captain will ever assault his Enemy when he is unprepared and most secure; and then is there good use of Pallas her Glass: For most Men, before it come to the Push, can acutely pry into and discern their Enemies’ Estate; but the best use of this Glass is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered, as that the Terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this Glass with the Face turned from Medusa.

The Monster’s Head being cut off, there follow two Effects. The first was, the procreation and raising of Pegasus, by which may evidently be understood Fame, that (flying through the World) proclaims Victory. The second is the bearing of Medusa’s Head in his Shield; to which there is no kind of defence for Excellency comparable; for the one famous and memorable Act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the Motions and Insolencies of Enemies, and makes Envy herself silent and amazed.

VIII. Endymion, or a Favourite.

T is said, That Luna was in Love with the Shepherd Endymion, and in a strange and unwonted manner bewrayed her Affection: For he lying in a Cave framed by Nature under the Mountain Latmus, she oftentimes descended from her Sphere
to enjoy his Company as he slept; and after he had kissed him, ascended up again. Yet notwithstanding this his Idleness and sleepy Security, did not any way impair his Estate or Fortune; for Luna brought it so to pass, that he alone (of all the rest of the Shepherds) had his Flock in best Plight, and most Fruitful.

This Fable may have reference to the Nature and Disposition of Princes; for they being full of Doubts, and prone to Jealousy, do not easily acquaint Men of prying and curious Eyes, and as it were of vigilant and wakeful Dispositions, with the secret Humours and Manners of their Life; but such rather as are of quiet and observant Natures, suffering them to do what they list without further Scanning, making as if they were Ignorant, and perceiving nothing but of a stupid Disposition, and possest with Sleep, yielding unto them simple Obedience, rather than fly Compliments; For it pleaseth Princes now and then to descend from their Thrones or Majesty (like Luna from the superior Orb) and laying aside their Robes of Dignity (which always to be cumbered with, would seem a kind of Burthen) familiarly to Converse with Men of this Condition, which they think may be done without Danger; a Quality chiefly noted in Tiberius Caesar, who (of all others) was a Prince most severe; yet such only were gracious in his Favour, as being well acquainted with his Disposition did yet constantly Dismble, as if they knew nothing. This was the Custom also of Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, a cautious and wily Prince.
Neither is it without Elegancy, that the cause of Endymion is mentioned in the Fable, because it is a Thing usul with such as are the Favourites of Princes to have certain pleasant retiring Places, whither to invite them for Recreation both of Body and Mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to their Fortunes also. And indeed these kind of Favourites are Men commonly well to pass; for Princes, although peradventure they promote them not ever to Places of Honour, yet do they advance them sufficiently by their Favour and Countenance: Neither do they affect them thus, only to serve their own turn; but are wont to enrich them now and then with great Dignities, and Bounties.

IX. The Sifter of the Giants, or Fame.

T is a Poetical Relation that the Giants, begotten of the Earth, made War upon Jupiter and the other Gods; and, by the force of Lightning, they were refisted and overthrown. Whereat the Earth being excitated to Wrath, in Revenge of her Children brought forth Fame, the youngest sister of the Giants.

Illam terra parens ira irritata Deorum,  
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sorræm  
Progenuit

Virg. Æn. IV. 178.
THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS. 281

Provoked by wrathful Gods, the Mother Earth Gives Fame, the Giants’ youngest Sister, Birth.

The meaning of the Fable seems to be thus: By the Earth is signified the Nature of the Vulgar, always swoln and malignant, and still broaching new Scandals against Superiors, and having gotten fit Opportunity, stirs up Rebels and Seditious Persons, that with impious Outrage do molest Princes, and endeavour to subvert their Estates; but being suppreft, the same natural Disposition of the People still leaning to the viler fort, (being impatient of Peace and Tranquillity,) spread Rumours, raise malicious Slanders, repining Whisperings, infamous Libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in Authority: So as Rebellious Actions, and Seditious Reports, differ nothing in Kind and Blood, but as it were in Sex only; the one fort being Masculine, the other Feminine.

x. Actæon and Pentheus, or a Curious Man.

HE Curiosity of Men, in prying into Secrets, and coveting with an undiscreeet Desire to attain the knowledge of Things forbidden, is set forth by the Ancients in two other Examples: The one of Actæon, the other of Pentheus.

Actæon having unawares, and as it were by
chance beheld Diana naked, was turned into a
Stag, and devoured by his own Dogs.

And Pentheus climbing up into a Tree, with a
desire to be a spectator of the hidden Sacrifices of
Bacchus, was stricken with such a kind of Frenzy,
as that whatsoever he looked upon, he thought it
always double, supposing (among other Things)
he saw two Suns, and two Thebes; insomuch that
running towards Thebes, spying another Thebes,
instantly turned back again, and so kept still run-
ning forward and backward with perpetual Unreft.

Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus,
Et Solem geminum, duplices se ostendere Thebas.¹

Pentheus amazed, doth troops of Furies spy;
And Sun, and Thebes, seem double to his Eye.

The first of the Fables pertains to the secrets
of Princes, the second to Divine Mysteries. For
those that are near about Princes, and come to the
knowledge of more Secrets than they would have
them, do certainly incur great Hatred. And
therefore, (suspecting that they are Shot at and
Opportunities watched for their Overthrow) do
lead their Lives like Stags, fearful and full of sus-
picion. And it happens oftentimes that their Ser-
vants, and those of their Household, (to insinuate
into the Prince's Favour) do accuse them to their
Destruction; for against whomsoever the Prince's
Displeasure is known, look how many Servants
that Man hath, and you shall find them for the
most part so many Traitors unto him, that his End
may prove to be like Aëleon's.

¹ Virg. Æn. iv. 469.
The other is the Misery of Pentheus: For they that by the height of Knowledge and Nature in Philosophy, having climbed, as it were into a Tree, do with rash Attempts (unmindful of their Frailty) pry into the Secrets of Divine Mysteries, and are justly plagued with perpetual Inconstancy, and with wavering and perplexed Conceits: For seeing the light of Nature is one thing, and of Grace another; it happens so to them as if they saw two Suns. And seeing the Actions of Life and decrees of Will do depend on the Understanding, it follows that they doubt, and are inconstant no less in Will than in Opinion; and so in like manner they may be said to see two Thebes: For by Thebes (seeing there was the Habitation and refuge of Pentheus) is meant the end of Actions. Hence it comes to pass that they know not whither they go, but, as distracted and unresolved in the Scope of their Intentions, are in all Things carried about with sudden Passions of the Mind.

xi. Orpheus, or Philosophy.

The Tale of Orpheus, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every Point. It may seem to represent the Image of Philosophy: For the Person of Orpheus (a Man Admirable and Divine, and so excellently skilled in all kinds of Harmony, that with his sweet ravishing Musick
he did as it were charm and allure all Things to follow him) may carry a singular Description of Philosophy: For the Labours of Orpheus do so far exceed the Labours of Hercules in Dignity and Efficacy, as the Works of Wisdom, excel the Works of Fortitude.

Orpheus for the Love he bare to his Wife, snatched, as it were, from him by untimely Death, resolved to go down to Hell with his Harp, to try if he might obtain her of the Infernal Powers. Neither were his hopes frustrated: For having appeased them with the melodious sound of his Voice and Touch, prevailed at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this Condition, that she should follow him, and he not to look back upon her, till he came to the Light of the upper World; which he (impatient of, out of Love and Care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all Danger) nevertheless violated, insomuch that the Covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into Hell. From that time Orpheus falling into a deep Melancholy became a Contemner of Womankind, and bequeathed himself, to a solitary Life in the Deserts; where, by the same Melody of his Voice and Harp, he first drew all manner of wild Beasts unto him, who forgetful of their Savage fierceness, and casting off the precipitate Provocations of Lust and Fury, not caring to satiate their Voracity by hunting after Prey, as at a Theatre, in fawning and reconciled Amity one towards another, stand all at the Gaze about him, and at-
tentively lend their Ears to his Musick. Neither is this all; for so great was the Power and alluring Force of this Harmony, that he drew the Woods, and moved the very Stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent Fashion about him. These Things succeeding happily and with great Admiration for a time; at length certain Thracian Women (possessed with the Spirit of Bacchus,) made such a horrid and strange Noise with their Cornets, that the sound of Orpheus's Harp could no more be heard, insomuch as that Harmony which was the Bond of that Order and Society being dissolved, all Disorder began again; and the Beasts (returning to their wonted Nature) pursued one another unto Death as before: Neither did the Trees or Stones remain any longer in their Places: and Orpheus himself was by these Female Furies torn in Pieces, and scattered all over the Desert. For whose cruel Death the River Helicon (sacred to the Muses) in horrible Indignation hid his Head under Ground and raised it again in another Place.

The meaning of this Fable seems to be thus: Orpheus's Musick is of two sorts, the one appeasing the Infernal Powers, the other attracting Beasts and Trees; the first may be fitly applied to Natural Philosophy, the second to Moral or Civil Discipline.

The most noble Work of Natural Philosophy, is the Restitution and Renovation of Things corruptible; the other (as a lesser degree of it) the Preservation of Bodies in their Estate, detaining
them from Dissolution and Putrefaction; and, if this Gift may be in Mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite Temper of Nature, as by the melody and delicate Touch of an Instrument. But seeing it is of all Things most difficult, it is seldom or never attained unto; and in all likelihood for no other Reason, more than through curious Diligence and untimely Impatience. And therefore Philosophy hardly able to produce so excellent an Effect, in a pensive Humour, (and not without cause) busies herself about Human Objects, and by Persuasion and Eloquence, insinuating the love of Virtue, Equity, and Concord in the Minds of Men, draws Multitudes of People to a Society, makes them subject to Laws, obedient to Government, and forgetful of their unbridled Affections, whilst they give Ear to Precepts, and submit themselves to Discipline; whence follows the building of Houses, erecting of Towns, planting of Fields and Orchards with Trees, and the like; insomuch that it would not be amiss to say, that even thereby Stones and Woods were called together and settled in Order. And after serious Trial made and frustrated about the restoring of a Body Mortal, this care of Civil Affairs follows in his due Place: Because by a plain Demonstration of the inevitable necessity of Death, Men's Minds are moved to seek Eternity by the fame and glory of their Merits. It is also wisely said in the Fable, that Orpheus was averse from the love of Women and Marriage, because the delights of Wedlock and the love of
Children do for the most part hinder Men from enterprising great and noble Designs for the public Good, holding Posterity a sufficient step to Immortality without Action.

Besides, even the very Works of Wisdom (although amongst all Human Things they do most excel) do nevertheless meet with their Periods. For it happens that (after Kingdoms and Commonwealthis have flourished for a time) even Tu-mults and Seditions and Wars arise; in the midst of which Hurly-burly, first Laws are silent, Men return to the pravity of their Natures; Fields and Towns are wasted and depopulated; and then (if their Fury continue) Learning and Philosophy must needs be dismembered; so that a few Fragments only, and in some Places, will be found like the scattered Boards of Shipwreck, so as a barbarous Age must follow; and the Streams of Helicon being hid under the Earth, (until the Vicissitude of Things passing) they break out again, and appear in some other remote Nation, though not perhaps in the same Climate.

xii. Cœlum, or Beginnings.

E have it from the Poets by Tradition, that Cœlum was the Ancientest of the Gods, and that his Members of Generation were cut off by his Son Saturn. Saturn had many Children, but devoured them as soon as they were Born; Jupiter only escaped,
who being come to Man's Estate, thrust *Saturn* his Father into Hell, and so usurp'd the Kingdom. Moreover he pared off his Father's Genitals with the same Falchion that *Saturn* dismembered *Cælum*, and cast them into the Sea; from whence came *Venus*. Not long after this, (*Jupiter* being scarce settled and confirmed in this Kingdom) was invaded by two memorable Wars. The first of the *Titans*, in the suppressing of which *Sol* (who alone of all the *Titans*, favouring *Jupiter*'s side) took exceeding great Pains. The second was of the Giants, whom *Jupiter* himself destroyed with Thunder-bolts: and so all Wars being ended, he Reigned secure.

This Fable seems enigmatically to shew from whence all Things took their Beginning, not much differing from that Opinion of Philosophers, which *Democritus* afterwards laboured to maintain, attributing Eternity to the first Matter, and not to the World. In which he comes somewhat near the truth of Divine Writ, telling us of a huge deformed Mafs, before the beginning of the six days' Work.

The meaning of the Fable is this: by *Cælum* may be understood that vast Concavity or vaulted Compass that comprehends all Matter: And by *Saturn* may be meant the Matter itself which takes from his Parent all power of Generating; for the univerfality or whole Bulk of Matter always remains the same, neither increasing or diminishing in respect of the quality of its Nature: But by the divers Agitations and Motions of it were first produced imperfect and ill agreeing Compositions of
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Things, making as it were certain Worlds for Proofs or Essays, and so, in Process of Time, a perfect Fabrick or Structure was framed which should still retain and keep his Form. And therefore the Government of the first Age was shadowed by the Kingdom of Saturn, who for the frequent Dissolutions and short Continuances of Things was aptly feigned to devour his Children. The succeeding Government was deciphered by the Reign of Jupiter, who confirmed those continual Mutations unto Tartarus, a Place signifying Perturbation. This Place seems to be all that middle space between the lower Superficies of Heaven and the Centre of the Earth; in which all Perturbation and Fragility, and Mortality or Corruption are frequent. During the former Generation of things in the time of Saturn's Reign, Venus was not Born: for so long as in the universality of Matter Discord was better and more prevalent than Concord, it was necessary that there should be total Dissolution or Mutation, and that in the whole Fabrick. And by this kind of Generation were creatures produced before Saturn was deprived of his Genitals. When this ceased, that other which wrought by Venus immediately came in, consisting in settled and prevalent Concord of Things, so that Mutation should be only in respect of the Parts, the universal Fabrick remaining whole and inviolate.

Saturn, they say, was deposed and cast down into Hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguished, because there was an Opinion that the World should relapse into the old Chaos and interregnum.
again, which Lucretius prayed might not happen in his Time:

*Quod procul à nobis fleçat fortuna gubernans:*
*Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa.*

Oh guiding Providence be gracious,
That this Doomday be far removed from us;
And grant, that by us it may be expected,
Rather than on us in our Times effected.

For afterwards, the World should subsist by its own quantity and power. Yet from the beginning there was no rest: For in the Celestial Regions there first followed notable Mutations, which by the Power of the Sun (predominating over superior Bodies) were so quieted, that the state of the World should be conserved: and afterwards (in inferior Bodies) by the suppressing and dissipating of Inundations, Tempests, Winds, and general Earthquakes, a more peaceable durable Agreement and Tranquillity of Things followed. But of this Fable it may convertibly be said, that the Fable contains Philosophy, and Philosophy again the Fable: For we know by Faith, that all these Things are nothing else but the long since ceasing and failing Oracles of Sense, seeing that both the Matter and Fabrick of the World are most truly referred to a Creator.
XIII. Proteus, or Matter.

The Poets say that *Proteus* was Neptune's Herdsman, a grave Sire, and so excellent a Prophet, that he might well be termed thrice excellent; for he knew not only Things to come, but even Things past as well as present; so that besides his Skill in Divination, he was the Messenger and Interpreter of all Antiquities and hidden Mysteries. The Place of his Abode was a huge vast Cave, where his Custom was every Day at Noon to count his Flock of Sea-calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover he that desired his Advice in anything, could by no other means obtain it, but by catching him in Manacles, and holding him fast therewith; who nevertheless, to be at liberty, would turn himself into all manner of Forms and Wonders of Nature; sometimes into Fire, sometimes into Water, sometimes into the shape of Beasts, and the like; till at length he were restored to his own Form again.

This Fable may seem to unfold the secrets of Nature, and the properties of *Matter*. For under the Person of *Proteus*, the first Matter (which next to God is the ancientest Thing) may be represented: for Matter dwells in the concavity of Heaven, as in a Cave.

He is Neptune's Bondman, because the Operations and Dispenfations of Matter are chiefly exercised in liquid Bodies.
His Flock or Herd seems to be nothing but the ordinary Species of sensible Creatures, Plants, and Metals, in which Matter seems to diffuse and as it were spend itself; so that after the forming and perfecting of these Kinds, (having ended as it were her Task,) she seems to Sleep, and take her Rest, not attempting the Composition of any more Species. And this may be the Moral of Proteus's counting of his Flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the Morning, nor in the Evening, but at Noon; to wit, atsuch time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of Species out of Matter, duly prepared and predisposed, and in the middle, as it were, between their Beginning and Declinations, which we know sufficiently (out of the Holy History) to be done about the time of the Creation: For then by the power of that Divine Word (Producat,) Matter at the Creator's Command did congregate itself (not by Ambages or Turnings, but instantly) to the Production of its Work into an Act and Constitution of Species. And thus far have we the Narration of Proteus (free and unrestrained) together with his Flock complete: For the univerfality of Things, with their ordinary Structures and Compositions of Species, bears the Face of Matter, not limited and constrained, and of the Flock also of Material Beings. Nevertheless if any expert Minister of Nature, shall encounter Matter by main force, vexing and urging her with Intent and Purpose to reduce her to nothing; she contrariwise (seeing Annihilation and
absolute Destruction cannot be effected but by the Omnipotency of God) being thus caught in the straits of Necessity, doth change and turn herself into divers strange Forms and Shapes of Things, so that at length (by fetching a Circuit as it were) she comes to a Period, and (if the Force continue) betakes herself to her former Being. The reason of which Constraint or Binding will be more facile and expedite, if Matter be laid hold on by Manacles, that is, by Extremities.

Now whereas it is feigned that Proteus was a Prophet, well skilled in three differences of Times, it hath an excellent Agreement with the Nature of Matter: for it is necessary that he that will know the Properties and Proceedings of Matter should comprehend in his Understanding the sum of all things which have been, which are, or which shall be, although no Knowledge can extend so far as to singular and individual Beings.

xiv. Memnon, or a Youth too forward.

The Poets say, that Memnon was the Son of Aurora, who (adorned with beautiful Armour, and animated with popular Applause,) came to the Trojan War; where in rash Boldness hastling unto, and

1 The Montagu edition omits the word but here, thus rendering the passage absurd. There are in other places omissions and perverisons, but it is unnecessary to point them all out.
thirsting after Glory, he enters into single Combat with Achilles, the valiantest of all the Grecians, by whose powerful Hand he was there slain. But Jupiter pitying his Destruction, sent Birds to modulate certain lamentable and doleful Notes at the Solemnization of his Funeral Obsequies. Whose Statue also (the Sun reflecting on it with his Morning Beams) did usually, as is reported, send forth a mournful Sound.

This Fable may be applied to the unfortunate Destinies of hopeful young Men, who, like the Sons of Aurora, (puffed up with the glittering shew of Vanity and Ostracism,) attempt Actions above their Strength, and provoke, and press the most valiant Heroes to combat with them; so that, meeting with their overmatch, [they] are vanquished, and destroyed: whose untimely Death is oft accompanied with much Pity and Commiseration. For among all the Disasters that can happen to Mortals, there is none so lamentable, and so powerful to move Compassion as the flower of Virtue cropped with too sudden a Mischance. Neither hath it been often known that Men in their green Years become so loathsome, and odious, as that at their Deaths either Sorrow is stinted, or Commiseration moderated; but that Lamentation and Mourning do not only flutter about their Obsequies, like those Funeral Birds; but this pitiful Commiseration doth continue for a long space, and especially by Occasions, and new Motions, and beginning of great Matters, as it were by the Morning Rays of the Sun, their Passions and Desires are renewed.
xv. Tithonus, or Satiety.

It is elegantly feigned that Tithonus was the Paramour of Aurora, who (desirous to enjoy his Company) petitioned Jupiter that he might never die; but (through Womanish oversight) forgetting to insert this Clause in her Petition, that he might not withal grow old, and feeble; it followed that he was only freed from the condition of Mortality; but for old Age, that came upon him in a marvelous and miserable fashion, agreeable to the state of those who cannot die, yet every Day grow weaker and weaker with Age: Insomuch that Jupiter (in commiseration of this his Misery,) did at length metamorphose him into a Grasshopper.

This Fable seems to be an ingenious Character, or Description of Pleasure, which in the Beginning and, as it were, in the Morning, seems to be pleasant and delightful, that Men desire they might enjoy and monopolize it for ever unto themselves, unmindful of that Satiety and Loathing, which (like old Age,) will come upon them before they be aware. And so at last, (when the use of Pleasure leaves Men, the Desire and Affection not yet yielding unto Death,) it comes to pass that Men please themselves only by talking, and commemorating those things which brought Pleasure unto them in the flower of their Age, which may be observed in libidinous Persons, and also in Men of
Military Professions; the one delighting in beastly Talk, the other boasting of their valorous Deeds, like Grasshoppers, whose Vigour consists only in their Voice.

xvi. Juno's Suitor, or Baseness.

The Poets say, that Jupiter, to enjoy his lustful Delights, took upon him the shape of sundry Creatures, as of a Bull, of an Eagle, of a Swan, and of a Golden Shower; but being a Suitor to Juno, he came in a Form most ignoble and base, an Object full of Contempt and Scorn, resembling indeed a miserable Cuckoo weather-beaten with Rain and Tempest, numbed, quaking, and half dead with Cold.

This Fable is wise, and seems to be taken out of the Bowels of Morality; the Sense of it being this: That Men boast not too much of themselves, thinking by Oftentation of their own Worth, to insinuate themselves into Estimation and Favour with Men. The Success of such Intentions being for the most part measured by the Nature and Disposition of those to whom Men sue for Grace; who, if of themselves they be endowed with no Gifts and Ornaments of Nature, but are only of haughty and malignant Spirits, (intimated by the Person of Juno,) then are Suitors to know that it is good Policy to omit all kind of Appearance that may any way shew their own least Praise or
Worth, and that they much deceive themselves in taking any other Course. Neither is it enough to shew Deformity in Obsequiousness, unless they also appear even abject and base in their very Persons.

XVII. Cupid, or an Atom.

That which the Poets say of Cupid, or Love, cannot properly be attributed to one and the same Person; and yet the Difference is such, that (by rejecting the Confusion of Persons,) the Similitude may be received.

They say, that Love is the ancientest of all the Gods, and of all things else, except Chaos, which they hold to be a Contemporary with it. Now as touching Chaos, that by the Ancients was never dignified with Divine Honour, or with the Title of the God. And as for Love, they absolutely bring him in without a Father; only some are of opinion, that he came of an Egg that was laid by Nox; and that on Chaos he begot the Gods and all things else. There are four things attributed unto him, perpetual Infancy, Blindness, Nakedness, and Archery. There was also another Love, which was the youngest of the Gods, and he, they say, was the Son of Venus. On this also they bestow the Attributes of the elder Love, as in some sort well apply unto him.

This Fable tends, and looks to the Cradle of
Nature, Love seeming to be the Appetite or Desire of the first Matter, or (to speak more plain) the natural motion of the Atom, which is that Ancient and only Power that Forms and Fashions all things out of Matter, of which there is no Parent, that is to say, no Cause, seeing every Cause is as a Parent to its Effect. Of this Power or Virtue there can be no Cause in Nature (as for God, we always except him,) for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient Cause of it. Neither was there any thing better known to Nature, and therefore neither Genus nor Form. Wherefore whatsoever it is, positive it is, and but inexpressible. Moreover, if the manner and proceeding of it were to be conceived, yet could it not be by any Cause, seeing that (next unto God,) it is the Cause of Causes, it self only without any Cause. And per-chance there is no likelihood that the manner of it may be contained or comprehended within the narrow compass of human Search. Not without reason therefore it is feigned to come of an Egg which was laid by Nox. Certainly the Divine Philosopher grants so much.

Eccl. 3. 11. Cuncta fecit tempestatibus suis pulchra, et mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus a principio ad finem.

That is, he hath made every thing beautiful in their Seasons, also he hath set the World in their Meditations; yet cannot Man find the Work that God hath wrought from the Beginning even to the End: For the principal Law of Nature, or Power
of this Desire, created (by God,) in these parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together, (from whose Repetitions and Multiplications all Variety of Creatures proceeded and were composed) may dazzle the Eyes of Men's Understandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The Greek Philosophers are observed to be very acute and diligent in searching out the material Principles of things; but in the beginnings of Motion (wherein consists all the efficacy of Operation,) they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle they seem to be altogether blind and hammering; for the Opinion of the Peripateticks concerning the appetite of Matter caused by Privation, is in a manner nothing else but Words, which rather found than signify any Reality. And those that refer it unto God, do very well; but then they leap up, they ascend not by degrees; for doubtless there is one chief Law subordinate to God, in which all natural things concur and meet, the same that in the forecited Scripture is demonstrated in these Words, \textit{Opus quod operatus est Deus \textit{a principio usque ad finem;}} the Work that God hath wrought from the Beginning even to the End. But Democritus, which entered more deeply into the Consideration of this Point, after he had conceived an \textit{Atom} with some small Dimension and Form, he attributed unto it one only Desire or first Motion simply, or absolutely, and another comparatively or in respect; for he thought that all things did properly tend to the Centre of the World, whereof those Bodies which were more material,
descend with swifter Motion, and those that had less Matter, did, on the contrary, tend upward. But this Meditation was very shallow, containing less than was expedient; for neither the turning of the Celestial Bodies in a round, nor shutting and opening of things, may seem to be reduced or applied to this Beginning. And as for that opinion of Epicurus, concerning the casual Declination and Agitation of the Atom, it is but a mere Toy, and a plain Evidence that he was ignorant of that Point. It is therefore more apparent (than we could wish,) that this Cupid, or Love, remains as yet clouded under the shades of Night. Now as concerning his Attributes, He is elegantly described with perpetual Infancy, or Childhood; because compound Bodies they seem greater, and more stricken in Years: Whereas the first Seeds of things, or Atoms, they are little and diminute, and always in their Infancy.

He is also well feigned to be naked, because all compound Bodies, to a Man rightly judging, seem to be apparelled and clothed, and nothing to be properly naked but the first Particles of things.

Concerning his Blindness, the Allegory is full of Wisdom; for this Love, or Desire (whatsoever it be) seems to have but little Providence, as directing his Pace and Motion by that which it perceives nearest; not unlike blind Men that go by feeling: More admirable then, must that chief divine Providence be, which (from things empty and destitute of Providence, and as it were blind), by a constant and fatal Law, produceth so excellent an Order and Beauty of Things.
CUPID, OR AN ATOM.

The last thing which is attributed to Love, is Archery; by which is meant, that his Virtue is such, as that it works upon a distant Object; because that whatsoever operates afar off, seems to shoot, as it were, an Arrow. Wherefore whosoever holds the Being both of Atoms and Vacuity, must needs infer that the Virtue of the Atom reacheth to a distant Object: for if it were not so there could be no Motion at all, by reason of the Interposition of Vacuity, but all things would stand stone still, and remain immovable.

Now as touching that other Cupid or Love, he may well be termed the youngest of the Gods, because he could have no Being before the Constitution of Species. And in his Description the Allegory may be applied and traduced to Manners: Nevertheless he holds some kind of Conformity with the Elder; for Venus doth generally stir up a desire of Conjuction and Procreation, and Cupid her Son doth apply this Desire to some individual Nature; so that the general Disposition comes from Venus, the more exact Sympathy from Cupid: the one derived from Causes more near, the other from Beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder Cupid, of whom every exquisite Sympathy doth depend.
xviii. Diomedes, or Zeal.

Diomedes flourishing with great Fame and Glory in the Trojan Wars, and in high favour with Pallas, was by her instigated (being indeed forwarder than he should have been) not to forbear Venus a jot, if he encountered with her in Fight; which very boldly he performed, wounding her in the right Arm. This presumptuous Fact he carried clear for a while; and being honoured and renowned for his many heroick Deeds, at last returned into his own Country, where finding himself hard bested with domestic Troubles, fled into Italy, betaking himself to the Protection of Foreigners, where in the beginning he was fortunate and royally entertained by King Daunus with sumptuous Gifts, raising many Statues in honour of him throughout his Dominions. But upon the very first Calamity that happened unto this Nation, whereunto he was fled for Succour, King Daunus enters into a conceit with himself that he had entertained a wicked Guest in his Family, and a Man odious to the Gods, and an Impugner of their Divinity, that had dared, with his Sword, to assault and wound that Goddes, who in their Religion, they held it Sacrilege so much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his Country’s Guilt, (nothing respecting the Duties of Hospitality, when the Bonds of Religion tied him with a more reve-
rent regard) suddenly flew Diomede, commanding withal that his Trophies and Statues should be abolished and destroyed. Neither was it safe to lament this miserable Destiny; but even his Companions in Arms, whilst they mourned at the Funeral of their Captain, and filled all the Places with Plaints and Lamentations, were suddenly metamorphosed into Birds like unto Swans, who, when their Death approacheth, sing melodious and mournful Hymns.

This Fable hath a most rare and singular Subject: for in any of the Poetical Records, wherein the Heroes are mentioned, we find not that any one of them, besides Diomedes, did ever with his Sword offer Violence to any of the Deities. And indeed, the Fable seems in him to represent the Nature and Fortune of Man, who of himself doth propound, and make this as the end of all his Actions, to worship some Divine Power, or to follow some Sect of Religion, though never so vain and superstitious, and with Force and Arms to defend the same: For although those bloody Quarrels for Religion were unknown to the Ancients, (the Heathen Gods not having so much as a touch of that Jealousy, which is an Attribute of the true God,) yet the Wisdom of the Ancient Times seems to be so copious and full, as that, what was not known by Experience, was yet comprehended by Meditations and Fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any Sect of Religion, (though vain, corrupt, and infamous, shadowed by the person of Venus,) not by the force of Argu-
ment and Doctrine, and Holiness of Life, and by the weight of Examples and Authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by Fire and Sword, and Tortures, are encouraged, it may be, therunto by Pallas; that is, by the Acrity of Prudence, and Severity of Judgement, by whose Vigour and Efficacy, they see into the Falsity and Vanity of these Errors: And by this their hatred of Pravity, and good zeal to Religion, they purchase of themselves great Glory, and by the Vulgar (to whom nothing moderate can be grateful) are esteemed and honoured as the only Supporters of Truth and Religion, when others seem to be luke-warm and full of Fear. Yet this Glory and Happiness doth seldom endure to the end, seeing every violent Prosperity, if it prevent not alteration by an untimely Death, grows to be unprosperous at last: For if it happen that by a change of Government, this banished and depressed Sect get Strength, and so bear up again, then these zealous Men, so fierce in opposition before, are condemned, their very Names are hateful, and all their Glory ends in Obloquy.

In that Diomedes is said to be murdered by his Host, it gives us to understand that the difference of Religion breeds Deceit and Treachery, even among nearest Acquaintance.

Now in that Lamentation and Mourning was not tolerated but punished; it puts us in mind, that let there be never so nefarious an Act done, yet there is some place left for Commiseration and Pity, that even those that hate Offences should
yet in Humanity commiserate Offenders, and pity their Distress, it being the Extremity of Evil when Mercy is not suffered to have Commerce with Misery. Yea, even in the Cause as well of Religion as Impiety, many Men may be noted and observed to have been compassionate. But on the contrary the Complaints and Moans of Diomedes' Followers, that is, of Men of the same Sect and Opinion, are wont to be shrill and loud, like Swans or the Birds of Diomedes. In whom also that part of the Allegory is excellent to signify that the last Words of those that suffer Death for Religion, like the Songs of dying Swans, do wonderfully work upon the Minds of Men, and strike and remain a long time in their Senses and Memories.

xix. Dædalus, or Mechanick.

Mechanical Wisdom and Industry, and in it unlawful Science perverted to wrong ends is shadowed by the Ancients under the person of Dædalus, a Man ingenious, but execrable. This Dædalus (for murdering his Fellow-servant that emulated him) being banished, was kindly entertained during his Exile in many Cities and Princes' Courts: for indeed he was the Raiser and Builder of many goodly Structures, as well in Honour of the Gods, as for the Beauty and Magnificence of Cities, and other public Places, but for his Works of Mischiefs he is most notorious. It is he that framed the
Engine which *Pasiphae* used to satisfy her Lust in company with a Bull; so that by his wretched Industry, and pernicious Device, that Monster *Minotaur* (the Destruction of so many hopeful Youths) took his accursed and infamous Beginning, and studying to cover and increase one Mischief with another, for the Security and Preservation of this Monster he invented and built a Labyrinth, a Work for intent and use most nefarious and wicked, for Skill and Workmanship famous and excellent. Afterward, that he might not be noted only for Works of Mischief, but be sought after as well for Remedies as for Instruments of Destruction, he was the Author of that ingenious Device concerning the Clew of Thread, by which the Labyrinth was made passable without any let. This *Daedalus* was persecuted by *Minos* with great Severity, Diligence, and Inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and escape his Tyranny. Lastly, he taught his Son *Icarus* to fly, but the Novice, in Ostentation of this Art, soaring too high, fell into the Sea and was drowned.

The Parable seems to be thus: In the beginning of it may be noted that kind of Envy or Emulation that lodgeth and wonderfully sways and domineers amongst excellent Artificers, there being no kind of People more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly hatred than they.

The Banishment also of *Daedalus* (a Punishment inflicted on him against the Rules of Policy and Providence) is worth the noting: For Artificers have this Prerogative to find entertainment and
welcome in all Countries, so that Exile to an excellent Workman can hardly be termed a Punishment, whereas other Conditions and States of Life can scarce live out of their own Country. The Admiration of Artificers is propagated and increased in foreign and strange Nations, seeing it is a natural and inbred Disposition of Men to value their own Country-men (in respect of Mechanical Works) less than Strangers.

Concerning the use of Mechanical Arts, that which follows is plain. The Life of Man is much beholding to them, seeing many things (conducing to the Ornament of Religion, to the Grace of Civil Discipline, and to the beautifying of all Human Kind) are extracted out of their Treasuries: And yet notwithstanding from the same Magazine or Store-house are produced Instruments both of Luft and Death; for to omit the Wiles of Bawds, we well know how far exquisite Poisons, Warlike Engines, and such like Mischiefs (the Effects of Mechanical Inventions) do exceed the Minotaur himself in Malignity and savage Cruelty.

Moreover that of the Labyrinth is an excellent Allegory, whereby is shadowed the Nature of Mechanical Sciences; for all such handicraft Works as are more ingenious and accurate, may be compared to a Labyrinth in respect of Subtilty and divers intricate Passages, and in other plain Resemblances, which by the Eye of Judgement can hardly be guided and discerned, but only by the Line of Experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which
invented the intricate Nooks of the Labyrinth, did also shew the Commodity of the Clew: For Mechanical Arts are of Ambiguous use, serving as well for hurt as for Remedy, and they have in a manner Power both to loose and bind themselves.

Unlawful Trades, and so by consequence, Arts themselves are often persecuted by Minos, that is, by Laws, which do condemn them and prohibit Men to use them. Nevertheless they are hid and retained every where, finding lurking Holes and places of Receipt, which was well observed by Tacitus of the Mathematicians and Figure-flingers of his time, in a thing not so much unlike: Genus Hominum quod in Civitate nostra semper et retinebitur et vetabitur.¹ There is a kind of Men that will always abide in our City, though always forbidden. And yet notwithstanding unlawful and curious Arts of what kind soever, in tract of time when they cannot perform what they promise, do fall from the good Opinion that was held of them, (no otherwise than Icarus fell down from the skies,) they grow to be contemned and scorned, and so perish by too much Oftentation. And to say the Truth, they are not so happily restrained by the Reins of Law, as bewrayed by their own Vanity.

¹ Tacit. Hift. I. xxii.
xx. Ericthonius, or Imposture.

The Poets fable that *Vulcan* solicited *Minerva* for her Virginity, and impatient of denial, with an inflamed Desire offered her Violence, but in struggling his Seed fell upon the Ground, whereof came *Ericthonius*, whose Body from the middle upward, was of a comely and apt Proportion, but his Thighs and Legs like the Tail of an Eel, small and deformed. To which Monstrosity he being conscious, became the first Inventor of the use of Chariots, whereby that part of his Body which was well proportioned might be seen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This strange and prodigious Fiction may seem to shew that Art which (for the great use it hath of Fire) is shadowed by *Vulcan*, although it labour by much striving with corporeal Substances to force Nature, and to make her subject to it, (she being for her industrious Works rightly represented by *Minerva*;) yet seldom or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great Pains (wrestling as it were with her) comes short of its Purpose, and produceth certain imperfect Births and lame Works, fair to the Eye, but weak and defective in use, which many Impostors, (with much Subtilty and Deceit) set to View, and carry about, as it were in Triumph, as may for the most part be noted in Chemical Productions, and other Me-
chanical Subtilties and Novelties, especially when (rather persecuting their Intent, than reclining their Errors) they rather strive to overcome Nature by force, than sue for her Embrace ments by due Obsequiousness and Observance.

xxi. Deucalion, or Restitution.

HE Poets say, that the People of the Old World being destroyed by a general Deluge, Deucalion and Pyrrha were only left alive; who praying with fervent and zealous Devotion, that they might know by what means to repair Mankind, had answer from an Oracle that they should obtain what they desired, if taking the Bones of their Mother, they cast them behind their Backs; which at first struck them with great Amazement and Despair, seeing (all things being defaced by the Flood) it would be an endless work to find their Mother's Sepulchre, but at length they understood that by Bones the Stones of the Earth (seeing the Earth was the Mother of all things) were signified by the Oracle.

This Fable seems to reveal a secret of Nature, and to correct an Error familiar to Men's Conceits: For through want of Knowledge Men think that things may take Renovation and Restoration from their Putrefaction and Dregs, no otherwise than the Phoenix from the Ashes, which in no case can be admitted, seeing such kind of Materials, when
they have fulfilled their Periods, are unapt for the beginnings of such things: We must therefore look back to more common Principles.

xxii. Nemesis, or the Vicissitude of Things.

*EMESIS* is said to be a Goddess Venerable unto all, but to be feared of none but Potentates and Fortune's Favourites. She is thought to be the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Nox*. She is portrayed with wings on her Shoulders, and on her Head a Coronet; bearing in her Right Hand a Javelin of *Aph*, and in her Left a Pitcher with the Similitudes of *Ethiopians* engraven on it; and lastly, she is described sitting on a Hart.

The Parable may be thus unfolded. Her Name *Nemesis* doth plainly signify Revenge or Retribution, her Office and Administration being (like a Tribune of the People) to hinder the constant and perpetual Felicity of happy Men, and to interpose her Word, *veto*, I forbid the Continuance of it; that is, not only to chastise Insolency, but to intermix Prosperity (though harmless and in a mean) with the Vicissitudes of Adversity, as if it were a Custom, that no mortal Man should be admitted to the Table of the Gods but for Sport. Truly when I read that Chapter, wherein *Caius Plinius* hath collected his Misfortunes and Miseries of *Au-
gustus Caesar, whom of all Men I thought the most Happy, who had also a kind of Art to use and enjoy his Fortune, and in whose Mind might be noted neither Pride, nor Lightness, nor Niceness, nor Disorder, nor Melancholy, (as that he had appointed a time to die of his own accord,) I then deemed this Goddes to be great and powerful, to whose Altar so worthy a Sacrifice as this was drawn.

The Parents of this Goddes were Oceanus and Nox, that is, the Vicissitude of things and Divine Judgement obscure and secret: For the Alterations of things are aptly represented by the Sea, in respect of the continual Ebbing and Flowing of it, and hidden Providence is well set forth by the Night: For even the Nocturnal Nemesis (seeing Human Judgement differs much from Divine) was seriously observed by the Heathen.

— Cadit et Ripheus justissimus unus,
Quo fuit ex Teucris, et servantissimus æqui.
Diis aliter visum.—Virgil. Æneid. lib. 2.

That Day, by Greekish Force, was Ripheus slain
So just and strict Observer of the Law,
As Troy within her Walls, did not contain
A better Man: Yet God then good it saw.

She is described with Wings, because the Changes of things are so sudden, as that they are seen before foreseen: For in the Records of all Ages, we find it for the most part true, that great Potentates, and wise Men, have perished by those Misfortunes which they most contemned; as may be observed
in *Marcus Cicero*, who being admonished by *De ceius Brutus* of Octavius Caesar’s hypocritical Friendship and Hollow-heartedness towards him, returns him this Answer, *Te autem, mi Brute, sicut debo, amo, quod istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluiisti: I must ever acknowledge myself (Dear Brutus) beholden to thee in Love, for that thou hast been so careful to acquaint me with that which I esteem but as a needless Trifle to be doubted.*

*Nemesis* is also adorned with a Coronet, to shew the envious and malignant Disposition of the Vulgar, for when Fortune’s Favourites and great Potentates come to ruin, then do the common People rejoice, setting, as it were, a Crown upon the Head of Revenge.

The Javelin in her right Hand points at those whom she actually strikes and pierceth through.

And before those, whom she destroys not in their Calamity and Misfortune, she ever presents that black and dismal Spectacle in her left Hand: For questionless to Men sitting as it were upon the Pinnacle of Prosperity, the thoughts of Death and painfulness of Sickness and Misfortunes, perfidiousness of Friends, treachery of Foes, change of Estate, and such like, seem as ugly to the Eye of their Meditations, as those *Æthiopians* pictured in *Nemesis* her Pitcher. *Virgil*, in describing the Battle of *Aegium*, speaks thus elegantly of *Cleopatra*.

*Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro, Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues.*

1 *Æneid.* viii. 696.
The Queen amidst this hurly-burly stands,
And with her Country-Timbrel calls her Bands;
Not spy ing yet, where crawl’d behind her Back,
Two deadly Snakes with Venom speckled black.

But not long after, which way for ever she turned,
Troops of E thiopians were still before her Eyes.
Lastly, It is wisely added, That Nemesis rides
upon a Hart, because a Hart is a most lively Creature. And albeit, it may be, that such as are cut
off by Death in their Youth, prevent and shun the
Power of Nemesis; yet doubtless such, whose Prosperity and Power continue long, are made subject
unto her, and lie as it were trodden under her Feet.

xxiii. Achelous, or Battle.

T is a Fable of Antiquity, that when Hercules and Achelous as Rivals contended for the Marriage of Deianira,
the matter drew them to Combat, wherein Achelous took upon him many divers shapes, for so was it in his Power to do, and amongst others, transforming himself into the likeness of a furious wild Bull, assaults Hercules and provokes him to fight. But Hercules, for all this, sticking to his old Human Form, courageously encounters him, and so the Combat goes roundly on. But this was the event, That Hercules tore away one of the Bull’s Horns, wherewith he being mightily daunted and grieved, to ransom his Horn again,
was contented to give Hercules, in exchange thereof, the Amalthean-Horn, or Cornu-Copia.

This Fable hath relation unto the Expeditions of War, for the Preparations thereof on the defensive part (which expressed in the Person of Achelous) is very diverse and uncertain. But the invading part is most commonly of one sort, and that very single, consisting of an Army by Land, or perhaps of a Navy by Sea. But for a King that in his own Territory expects an Enemy, his occasions are infinite. He fortifies Towns, he assembles Men out of the Countries and Villages, he raiseth Citadels, he builds and breaks down Bridges, he disposeth Garrisons, and placeth Troops of Soldiers on Passages of Rivers, on Ports, on Mountains, and Ambushes in Woods, and is busied with a multitude of other Directions, insomuch, that every day he prescribeth new Forms and Orders; and then at last having accommodated all things complete for Defence, he then rightly represents the form and manner of a fierce fighting Bull. On the other side, the Invader's greatest care is, the fear to be distressed for Victuals in an Enemy-Country; and therefore affects chiefly to hasten on Battle: For if it should happen, that after a Field fought, he prove the Victor, and as it were, break the Horn of the Enemy, then certainly this follows, that his Enemy being stricken with Terror, and abased in his Reputation, presently bewrays his weakness, and seeking to repair his loss, retires himself to some stronghold, abandoning to the Conqueror the spoil and sack of his Country.
and Cities: which may well be termed a Type of the Amalthean-Horn.

XXIV. Dionysus, or Passions.

HEY say that Semele, Jupiter’s Sweetheart, (having bound her Paramour, by an irrevocable Oath to grant her one Request which she would require) desired that he would accompany her in the same form wherein he accompanied Juno: Which he granting (as not able to deny) it came to pass, that the miserable Wench was burnt with Lightning. But the Infant which she bare in her Womb, Jupiter, the Father, took out, and kept it in a Gash which he cut in his Thigh, till the Months were complete that it should be born. This burden made Jupiter somewhat to limp, whereupon the Child (because it was heavy and troublesome to its Father while it lay in his Thigh) was called Dionysus. ¹ Being born it was committed to Proserpina for some Years to be Nurs’d, and being grown up, it had such a maiden Face, as that a Man could hardly judge whether it were a Boy or Girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterward revived: Being but a Youth, he invented and

¹ Bacon does not follow the common etymology, but that pointed out in the Mythology of Noel le Comte, "Vocatus fuit autem Dionysius, quia pupugerit Jovis femur cum nutus effet cornutus.—At Demarchus in Lib. ix. Dionysiacorum eum vocatum fuiffe Dionysium scribit, quia Jupiter claudus effet cum illum affutum semori gestaret . . . et ab ipfo Jove gefum fuiffe, et femorum affutum. —V. Nonn. Dionys. ix. v. 18-24.
taught the planting and dressing of Vines, the making also, and use of Wine; for which, becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the World, even to the uttermost bounds of India. He rode in a Chariot drawn with Tigers. There danced about him certain deformed Hobgoblins called Cohali. Acratus and others, yea, even the Muses also were some of his Followers. He took to Wife Ariadne, forsaken and left by Theseus. The Tree sacred unto him was the Ivy. He was held the Inventor and Institutor of Sacrifices and Ceremonies, and full of Corruption and Cruelty. He had power to strike Men with Fury or Madness; for it is reported, that at the celebration of his Orgies, two famous Worthies, Pentheus and Orpheus, were torn to Pieces by certain frantic Women, the one because he got upon a Tree to behold their Ceremonies in these Sacrifices; the other for making melody with his Harp: And for his gefts, they are in a manner the same with Jupiter's.

There is such excellent morality couched in this Fable, as that moral Philosophy affords not better; for under the Person of Bacchus is described the nature of Affection, Passion or Perturbation, the Mother of which (though never so hurtful) is nothing else but the Object of apparent good in the Eyes of Appetite. And it is always conceived in an unlawful desire, rashly propounded and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when

2 It will scarcely be credited that the Montagu Edition substituted Gods here for gefts, i. e. actions—res gettas— in the Latin original.
it begins to grow, the Mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth. Nevertheless (whilst yet it is an imperfect Embryo) it is nourished and preserved in the Human Soul (which is as it were a Father unto it, and represented by Jupiter) but especially in the inferior part thereof, as in a Thigh, where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindered and lam'd thereby; and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks out as it were into act, it remains yet a while with Proserpina, as with a Nurse, that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and, as it were, Caves under Ground, until (the Reins of Shame and Fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousness) it either takes the pretext of some Virtue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement Passion is of a doubtful Sex, as being Masculine in the first Motion, but Feminine in Prosecution.

It is an excellent Fiction that of Bacchus's reviving; for Passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead Sleep, and as it were utterly extinct, but we should not think them to be so indeed, no, though they lie, as it were, in their Grave; for let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of Wine is wittily ascribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings Nourishment unto it; and indeed, of all things known to Men, Wine
is most powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle Passions of what kind for ever, as being in a manner a common Nurse to them all.

Again, his conquering of Nations, and undertaking infinite Expeditions is an elegant device; for Desire never rests content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unsatiable Appetite still covets and gapes after more.

His Chariot also is well said to be drawn by Tigers: for as soon as any affection shall, from going a-foot, be advanced to ride in a Chariot, and shall captivate Reason, and lead her in a Triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that those ridiculous Hobgoblins are brought in dancing about his Chariot; for every Passion doth cause in the Eyes, Face, and Gesture, certain indecent and ill-seeming, atipth, and deformed Motions; so that they who in any kind of Passion, as in anger, arrogance, or love, seem glorious and brave in their own Eyes, do yet appear to others misshapen and ridiculous.

In that the Muses are said to be of his company, it shews that there is no affection almost which is not soothened by some Art, wherein the indulgence of Wits doth derogate from the glory of the Muses, who (when they ought to be the Mistresses of Life) are made the Waiting-maids of Affections.

Again, where Bacchus is said to have loved Ariadne, that was rejected by Theseus; it is an Allegory of special observation; for it is most certain, that Passions always covet and desire that which
Experience forfakes; and they all know (who have paid dear for serving and obeying their Lusts) that whether it be Honour, or Riches, or Delight, or Glory, or Knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers Men, in all ages, after experience had, utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a Mystery, that the *Ivy* was sacred to *Bacchus*; for the Application holds, First, In that the *Ivy* remains green in Winter: Secondly, In that it sticks to, embraceth and overtoppeth so many divers Bodies, as Trees, Walls and Edifices. Touching the first, every passion doth by resistence and reluctation, and as it were by *Antiperistasis* (like the *Ivy* of the cold Winter) grow fresh and lusty. And as for the other, every predominate Affection doth again (like the *Ivy*) embrace and limit all Human Actions and Determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that superstitious Rites and Ceremonies were attributed unto *Bacchus*, seeing every giddy-headed humour keeps in a manner Revel-rout in false Religions; or that the cause of Madness should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection is by Nature a short fury, which (if it grow vehement, and become habitual) concludes in Madness.

Concerning the rending and dismembering of *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, the Parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and severe, and against curious inquiry, and wholesome and free admonition.
Lastly, That by confusion of Jupiter and Bacchus, their Persons may be well transferred to a Parable, seeing noble and famous Acts, and remarkable and glorious Merits, do sometimes proceed from Virtue and well ordered Reason and Magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret Affection and hidden Passion, which are so dignified with the celebrity of Fame and Glory, that a Man can hardly distinguish between the Acts of Bacchus, and the Gests of Jupiter.  

xxv. Atalanta, or Gain.

Atalanta, who was reputed to excel in swiftness, would needs challenge Hippomenes at a match in Running. The conditions of the Prize were these: That if Hippomenes won the Race, he should espouse Atalanta; if he were out-run, that then he should forfeit his Life. And in the Opinion of all, the victory was thought assured of Atalanta's side, being famous, as she was, for her matchless and unconquerable speed, whereby she had been the bane of many. Hippomenes therefore bethinks him how to deceive her by a Trick, and in that regard provides three Golden Apples or Balls, which he purposely carried about him. The Race is begun, and Atalanta gets a good start before him. He seeing himself thus cast be-

3 Here again the Montagu Edition in consummate ignorance prints "the Gests of Jupiter!"
hind, being mindful of his device, throws one of his Golden Balls before her, and yet not outright, but somewhat of the one side, both to make her linger and also to draw her out of the right course: She, out of a Womanish desire, (being thus enticed by the Beauty of the Golden Apple) leaving her direct Race runs aside, and stoops to catch the Ball. *Hippomenes* the while holds on his course, getting thereby a great start, and leaves her behind him: But she by her own natural swiftness, recovers her lost time, and gets before him again. But *Hippomenes* still continues his sleight, and both the second and third time casts out his Balls, those enticing delays; and so by craft, and not by his activity, he wins the Race and Victory.

This Fable seems Allegorically to demonstrate a notable conflict between Art and Nature; for Art signified by *Atalanta* in its work (if it be not letted and hindered) is far more swift than Nature, more speedy in pace, and sooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifest almost in every effect: As you may see it in Fruit-trees, whereof those that grow of a Kernel are long ere they bear, but such as are grafted on a Stock a great deal sooner. You may see it in Clay, which in the generation of Stones, is long ere it become hard; but in the burning of Bricks is very quickly effected. Also in Moral Passages you may observe, that it is a long time ere (by the benefit of Nature) sorrow can be assuaged, and comfort attained; whereas, Philosophy (which is, as it were, Art of Living) tarries not the leisure of time, but doth it instantly and
out of hand; and yet this Prerogative and singular agility of Art is hindered by certain Golden Apples to the infinite prejudice of Human proceedings: For there is not any one Art or Science which constantly perseveres in a true and lawful course till it comes to the proposed End or Mark; but ever and anon makes stops after good beginnings, leaves the Race and turns aside to Profit and Commodity, like Atalanta.

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Who doth her course forsake,
The Rolling Gold to take.

And therefore it is no wonder that Art hath not the Power to conquer Nature, and, by Pact or Law of Conquest, to kill and destroy her; but on the contrary it falls out, that Art becomes subject to Nature, and yields the obedience as of a Wife to her Husband.

xxvi. Prometheus, or the Statue of Man.

The Ancients deliver, that Prometheus made a Man of Clay, mixed with certain parcels taken from divers Animals, who studying to maintain this his Work by Art, (that he might not be accounted a founder only, but Propagator of Human kind) stole up to Heaven with a bundle of Twigs, which
he kindling at the Chariot of the Sun, came down again, and communicated it with Men: And yet they say, (That notwithstanding this excellent work of his,) he was requited with Ingratitude, in a treacherous Conspiracy: For they accused both him and his Invention to Jupiter, which was not so taken as was meet it should, for the Information was pleasing to Jupiter and all the Gods. And therefore in a merry Mood, granted unto Mer, not only the use of Fire, but perpetual youth also, a Boon most acceptable and desirable. They being, as it were, over-joyed, did foolishly lay this Gift of the Gods upon the back of an Ass, who being wonderfully oppressed with Thirst, and near a Fountain, was told by a Serpent (which had the custody thereof) that he should not drink, unless he would promise to give him the Burthen that was on his Back. The silly Ass accepted the condition, and so the restoration of Youth (sold for a draught of Water) past from Men to Serpents. But Prometheus full of Malice, being reconciled unto Men after they were frustrated of their Gift, but in a Chase yet with Jupiter, feared not to use deceit in Sacrifice: For having killed two Bulls, and in one of their Hides wrapped up the Flesh and Fat of them both, and in the other only the Bones, with a great shew of Religious Devotion, gave Jupiter his choice, who (detesting his Fraud and Hypocrisy, but taking an occasion of Revenge) chose that which was stuffed with Bones, and so turning to Revenge when he saw that the Insolency of Prometheus would not be repressed but
by laying some grievous Affliction upon Mankind, in the forming of which he so much bragged and boasted, commanded Vulcan to frame a goodly beautiful Woman, which being done, every one of the Gods bestowed a Gift on her; whereupon she was called Pandora. To this Woman they gave, in her hand, a goodly Box full of all Miseries and Calamities, only in the bottom of it they put Hope; with this Box she comes first to Prometheus, thinking to catch him, if peradventure he should accept it at her hands, and so open it; which he nevertheless, with good Providence and Foresight refused. Whereupon she goes to Epimetheus (who though Brother to Prometheus yet was of a much differing disposition) and offers this Box unto him, who without delay took it, and rashly opened it; but when he saw that all kind of Miseries came fluttering about his Ears, being wise too late, with great speed and earnest endeavour clapped on the Cover, and so with much ado retained Hope sitting alone in the bottom.

At last Jupiter laying many and grievous Crimes to Prometheus's charge, (as that he had stolen Fire from Heaven, that in contempt of his Majesty he sacrificed a Bull's Hide stuffed with Bones, that he scornfully rejected his Gift, and besides all this that he offered violence to Pallas) cast him into Chains, and doomed him to perpetual Torment: And by Jupiter's Command, was brought to the Mountain Caucasus, and there bound fast to a Pillar that he could not stir; there came an Eagle

1 i. e. The gift by Pandora.
also, that every day fat tyring upon his Liver and wafted it, but as much as was eaten in the day grew again in the Night, that Matter for Tor-
ment to work upon might never decay. But yet they fay there was an end of this Punishment: For Hercules croffing the Ocean in a Cup which the Sun gave him, came to Caucasus and fet Prometheus at liberty by fhooteing the Eagle with an Arrow. Moreover in some Nations there were inftituted in the honour of Prometheus, certain Games of Lamp-bearers, in which they that striving for the Prize, were wont to carry Torches lighted; which whofo suffered to go out yielded the Place and Victory to thofe that followed, and fo caft back themselves; fo that whofoever came firft to the Mark with his Torch burning, got the Prize.

This Fable demonstrates and prefleth many true and grave Speculations, wherein fome things have been heretofore well noted, others not fo much as touched.

Prometheus doth clearly and elegantly signify Providence: For in the Univerfality of Nature, the Fabrick and Constitution of Man only was by the Ancients picked out and choafen, and attributed unto Providence, as a peculiar Work. The rea-
fon of it feems to be, not only in that the Nature of Man is capable of a mind and understanding, which is the Seat of Providence; and therefore it would feem fo strange and incredible, that the rea-
fon and mind fhould proceed and flow from dumb and deaf Principles, that it fhould [almost] necef-
farily be concluded the Soul of Man to be endued
with Providence, not without the example, intention, and stamp of a greater Providence. But this also is chiefly propounded, that Man is as it were the Centre of the World, in respect of final Causes, so that if Man were not in Nature, all things would seem to stray and wander without purpose, and like scattered Branches (as they say) without inclination to their ends: for all things attend on Man, and he makes use of, and gathers Fruit from all Creatures: for the revolutions and periods of Stars make both for the distinctions of Times, and the distribution of the World's site. **Meteors** also are referred to presages of Tempefts; and Winds are ordained as well for Navigation, as for turning of Mills and other Engines: And Plants, and Animals of what kind soever, are useful either for Men's Houses, and Places of shelter, or for Raiment, or for Food, or Medicine, or for ease of Labour, or in a word, for delight and solace; so that all things seem to work, not for themselves, but for Man.

Neither is it added without consideration that certain Particles were taken from divers living Creatures, and mixed and tempered with that clayey Mafs, because it is most true that of all things comprehended within the compass of the Universe, Man is a thing most mixed and compounded, insomuch that he was well termed by the Ancients, a little World; for although the Chymicks do, with too much Curiosity, take and wrest the elegance of this Word (**Microcosm**) to the Letter, contending to find in Man all Minerals, all Vegetables and
the rest, or any thing that holds proportion with them; yet this proposition remains sound and whole, that the Body of Man, of all material beings, is found to be most compounded and most organi-
cal, whereby it is endued and furnished with most admirable Virtues and Faculties. And as for sim-
ple Bodies, their Powers are not many, though certain and violent, as existing without being weak-
ened, diminished, or stinted by mixture; for the multiplicity and excellency of Operation have their residence in mixture and composition, and yet nevertheless, Man in his Originals seems to be a thing unarmed and naked, and unable to help it-
self, as needing the aid of many things; therefore Prometheus made haste to find out Fire, which suppeditates and yields comfort and help in a man-
ner to all human Wants and Necessities: so that if the Soul be the Form of Forms, and if the Hand be the Instrument of Instruments; Fire deserves well to be called the Succour of Succours, or the Help of Helps, which infinite ways affords aid and assistance to all Labours and Mechanical Arts, and to the Sciences themselves.

The manner of stealing this fire is aptly described, even from the nature of the thing: It was, they say, by a bundle of Twigs held to touch the Chariot of the Sun: For Twigs are used in giving Blows or Stripes, to signify clearly that fire is engendered by the violent percussion and mutual collision of Bodies, by which their material Substances are at-
tenuated and set in Motion, and prepared to receive the heat or influence of the Heavenly Bodies; and
so in a clandestine manner, and as it were by stealth, may be said to take and snatch Fire from the Chariot of the Sun.

There follows next a remarkable part of the Parable, that Men instead of Gratulation and Thanksgiving, were angry, and expostulated the Matter with Prometheus, insomuch that they accused both him and his Invention unto Jupiter, which was so acceptable to him, that he augmented their former Commodities with a new Bounty. Seems it not strange, that Ingratitude towards the Author of a Benefit (a Vice that in a manner contains all other Vices) should find such Approbation and Reward? No, it seems to be otherwise: For the meaning of the Allegory is this, that Men's outcries upon the defects of Nature and Art, proceed from an excellent disposition of the Mind, and turn to their good, whereas the silencing of them is hateful to the Gods, and redounds not so much to their Profit: For they that infinitely extol Human Nature, or the knowledge they profess, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring also those Sciences they profess, would have them be accounted perfect; they do first of all shew little Reverence to the divine Nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own Defects with God's Perfection. Again, they are wonderfully injurious to Men, by imagining they have attained the highest step of knowledge, (resting themselves contented) seek no further. On the contrary, such as bring Nature and Art to the Bar with Accusations, and Bills of Complaint
againft them, are indeed of more true and moderate Judgements; for they are ever in Action, seeking always to find out new Inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the foolish and inconsiderate Dispositions of some Men, who (making themselves Bond-slaves to the Arrogancy of a few) have the Philosophy of the Peripateticks (containing only a Portion of Græcian Wisdom, and that but a small one neither) in so great esteem, that they hold it, not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of Imperfection upon it. I approve rather of Empedocles' Opinion (who like a Mad-man, and of Democritus' Judgement, who with great moderation complained how that all things were involved in a Mift) that we knew nothing, that we discerned nothing, that Truth was drowned in the depths of Obscurity, and that false things were wonderfully joined and intermixed with true (as for the new Academy that exceeded all measure) than of the confident and pronunciative School of Aristotle. Let Men therefore be admonished, that by acknowledging the Imperfections of Nature and Art, they are grateful to the Gods, and shall thereby obtain new Benefits and greater Favours at their bountiful Hands; and the Accusation of Prometheus their Author and Master (though bitter and vehement) will conduce more to their profit, than to be effus'd in the Congratulation of his Invention: For, in a Word, the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest Causes of having too little.
Now as touching the kind of Gift which Men are said to have received in reward of their Accusation (to wit, an ever-fading Flower of Youth) it is to shew that the Ancients seemed not to despair of attaining the Skill by Means and Medicines, to put off Old Age, and to prolong Life, but this to be numbered rather among such things as (having been once happily attained unto) are now through Men’s Negligence and Carelessness, utterly perished and lost; than among such as have been always denied and never granted: For they signify and shew, that by affording the true use of Fire, and by a good and stern Accusation and Conviction of the Errors of Art, the Divine Bounty is not wanting unto Men in the obtaining of such Gifts, but Men are wanting to themselves in laying this Gift of the Gods upon the back of a filly slow-paced Afs, which may seem to be Experience, a stupid thing, and full of Delay; from whose leisurely and Snail-like pace, proceeds that Complaint of Life’s Brevity, and Art’s Length. And to say the Truth, I am of this opinion, that those two Faculties, Dogmatical and Empirical, are not as yet well joined and coupled together, but as new Gifts of the Gods imposed either upon Philosophical Abstractions, as upon a flying Bird, or upon slow and dull Experience, as upon an Afs. And yet methinks, I would not entertain an ill Conceit of this Afs, if it meet not with the accidents of Travel and Thirst: For I am persuaded that who so constantly goes on, by the Conduct of Experience as by a certain Rule and Method, and not covets to meet
with such Experiments by the way, as conduce either to Gain or Offentation, (to obtain which, he must be fain to lay down and sell this Burthen) may prove no unfit Porter to bear his new addition of divine Munificence.

Now, in that this Gift is said to pass from Men to Serpents, it may seem to be added to the Fable for Ornament's sake in a manner, unless it were inserted to shame Men, that having the use of that Coelestial Fire, and of so many Arts, are not able to get unto themselves such things as Nature itself bestows upon many other Creatures.

But that sudden Reconciliation of Men to Prometheus, after they were frustrated of their Hopes, contains a profitable, and wise Note, shewing the Levity and Temerity of Men in new Experiments; for if they have not present Success, answerable to their Expectation, [they] with too sudden haste desist from that they began, and with Precipitancy returning to their former Experiments, are reconciled to them again.

The State of Man, in respect of Arts, and such things as concern the Intellect, being now described, the Parable passeth to Religion: For after the planting of Arts, follows the setting of Divine Principles, which Hypocrify hath over-spread and polluted. By that twofold Sacrifice therefore is elegantly shadowed out the Persons of a true Religious Man, and a Hypocrite. In the one is contained Fattness, (which by reason of the Inflammation and Fumes thereof,) is called, The Portion of God; by which his Affection and Zeal, (tending to God's
Glory, and ascending towards Heaven) is signified. In him also are contained the Bowels of Charity, and in him is found that good and wholesome Flesh. Whereas in the other there is nothing but dry and naked Bones; which nevertheless, do stuff up the Hide, and make it appear like a fair and goodly Sacrifice. By this may be well meant those external and vain Rites and empty Ceremonies by which Men do oppress and fill up the sincere Worship of God, things composed rather for Ostentation, than any way conducing to true Piety. Neither do they hold it sufficient to offer such mock Sacrifices unto God, except they also lay them before him, as if he had chosen and bespoke them. Certainly the Prophet in the Person of God, doth thus expostulate concerning this Choice, Isà. lviii, 5. Num tandem hoc est illud jejunium quod ELEGI, ut homo animam suam in diem unum affigat, et caput in flar junci demittat? Is it such a Fast, that I have chosen, that a Man should afflict his Soul for a Day, and bow down his Head like a Bulrush?

Having now touched the State of Religion, the Parable converts itself to the Manners and Conditions of Human Life. And it is a common but apt Interpretation, by Pandora to be meant Pleasure and Voluptuousness; which (when the civil Life is pampered with too much Art and Culture, and Superfluity,) is engendered, as it were, by the efficacy of Fire, and therefore the work of Voluptuousness is attributed unto Vulcan, who also himself doth represent Fire. From this do infinite
Miseries, together with too late Repentance, proceed, and overflow the Minds and Bodies, and Fortunes of Men, and that not only in respect of particular Estates, but even over Kingdoms and Commonwealths; for from this Fountain have Wars, Tumults, and Tyrannies derived their Original.

But it would be worth the Labour to consider how elegantly and proportionably this Fable doth delineate two Conditions; or (as I may say) two Tables or Examples of Human Life, under the Persons of Prometheus or Epimetheus; for they that are of Epimetheus his Sect, are improvident, not foreseeing what may come to pass hereafter; esteeming that best which seems most sweet for the present; whence it happens that they are overtaken with many Miseries, Difficulties, and Calamities, and so lead their Lives almost in perpetual Affliction; but yet notwithstanding they please their Fancy, and out of Ignorance of the Passages of things, do entertain many vain hopes in their Mind, whereby they sometimes (as with sweet Dreams) solace themselves, and sweeten the Miseries of their Life. But they that are Prometheus his Scholars, are Men endued with Prudence, foreseeing things to come, warily shunning, and avoiding many Evils and Misfortunes. But to these their good Properties, they have also annexed, that they deprive themselves, and defraud their Genius of many lawful Pleases, and divers Recreations, and (which is worse,) they vex, and torment themselves with Cares and Troubles, and intestine Fears; for being chained to the Pillar of Necessity,
they are afflicted with innumerable Cogitations, (which, because they are very swift, may be fitly compared to an Eagle,) and those griping, and, as it were, gnawing and devouring the Liver, unless sometimes, as it were by Night, it may be they get a little Recreation and ease of Mind; but so, as that they are again suddenly assaulted with fresh Anxieties and Fears.

Therefore this Benefit happens to but a very few of either Condition, that they should retain the Commodities of Providence, and free themselves from the Miseries of Care and Perturbation; neither indeed can any attain unto it, but by the assistance of Hercules, that is, Fortitude, and Constancy of Mind, which is prepared for every Event and armed in all Fortunes, foreseeing without Fear, enjoying without loathing, and suffering without Impatience. It is worth the noting also, that this Virtue was not natural to Prometheus, but adventitious, and from the Indulgence of another; for no in-bred and natural Fortitude is able to encounter with these Miseries. Moreover, this Virtue was received and brought unto him from the remotest part of the Ocean, and from the Sun, that is, from Wisdom, as from the Sun; and from the Meditation of Inconstancy, or of the Waters of Human Life, as from the falling upon the Ocean; which two Virgil hath well conjoined in these Verses;

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas:
Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.²

² Georg. ii. 490.
Happy is he that knows the causes of things:
And that with dauntless courage treads upon
All Fear and Fates, relentless Threatenings,
And greedy Throat of roaring Acheron.

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the Consolation and Confirmation of Men's Minds, that this noble Hero crossed the Ocean in a Cup or Pan, left peradventure, they might too much fear that the straits and frailty of their Nature will not be capable of this Fortitude and Constancy. Of which very thing Seneca well conceived, when he said, Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis, et securitatem Dei. It is a great matter for Human Frailty and Divine Security to be at one and the self-same time, in one and the self-same Subject.

But now we are to step back a little to that, which by Premeditation we passed over, left a Breach should be made in those things that were so linked together. That therefore which I could touch here, is that last Crime imputed to Prometheus, about seeking to bereave Minerva of her Virginity: For questionless, it was this heinous Offence that brought that Punishment of devouring his Liver upon him; which is nothing else but to shew, that when men are puffed up with too much Learning and Science, they go about oftentimes to make even Divine Oracles subject to Sense and Reason; whence most certainly follows a continual Distraction, and restless gripping of the Mind; we must therefore with a sober, and humble Judgement, distinguish between Humanity and
Divinity, and between the Oracles of Sense and the Mysteries of Faith, unless a Heretical Religion, and a commentitious Philosophy be pleasing unto us.  

Lastly, it remains that we say something of the Games of *Prometheus*, performed with burning Torches, which again hath reference to Arts and Sciences, as that Fire, in whose Memory, and Celebration, these Games were instituted, and it contains in it a most wise Admonition, that the perfection of Sciences is to be expected from Succession, not from the Nimbleness and Promptness of one only Author; for they that are nimblest in Course, and strongest in Contention, yet haply have not the luck to keep Fire still in their Torch; seeing it may be as well extinguished by running too fast, as by going too slow.  

And this running and contending with Lamps, seems long since to be intermitted, seeing all Sciences seem even now to flourish most in their first Authors, *Aristotle*, *Galen*, *Euclid* and *Ptolemy*; Succession having neither effected, nor almost attempted any great Matter. It were therefore to be wished that these Games, in honour of *Prometheus* or Human Nature were again restored, and that Matters should receive Success by Combat and Emulation, and not hang upon any one Man's sparkling and shaking Torch. Men therefore are to be admonished to

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*Vide* De Augm. Scient. sec. xxviii.

*Mr. Devey refers to Plato de Legibus, b. vi, and observes that Lucretius has the same metaphor:—*

"Et quasi cursores vita lampada tradunt."
rouse up their Spirits, and try their Strengths and
Turns, and not to refer all to the Opinions and
Brains of a few.

And thus have I delivered that which I thought
good to observe out of this so well known and
common Fable; and yet I will not deny but that
there may be some things in it which have an
admirable Consent with the Mysteries of Christian
Religion, and especially that failing of Hercules in
a Cup, (to set Prometheus at liberty,) seems to re-
present an Image of the Divine Word coming in
Flesh, as in a frail Vessel, to redeem Man from
the Slavery of Hell. But I have interdicted my
Pen all Liberty in this kind, lest I should use strange
Fire at the Altar of the Lord.

xxvii. Scylla and Icarus, or the
Middle Way.

MEDIOCRITY, or the Middle-way, is
most commended in Moral Actions;
in Contemplative Sciences not so ce-
lebrated, though no less profitable and
 commodious; but in Political Employments to
be used with great heed and Judgement. The
Ancients, by the way prescribed to Icarus, noted
the Mediocrity of Manners; and, by the Way, be-
tween Scylla and Charybdis (so famous for Diffi-
culty and Danger,) the Mediocrity of intellec-
tual Operations.

Icarus being to cross the Sea by flight, was
commanded by his Father that he should fly nei-
ther too high nor too low; for his Wings being joined with Wax, if he should mount too high it was to be feared left the Wax should melt by the heat of the Sun; and if too low, left misty Vapours of the Sea would make it less tenacious; but he in a youthful Jollity soaring too high, fell down headlong and perished in the Water.

The Parable is easy and vulgar; for the way of Virtue lies in a direct Path between Excess and Defect. Neither is it a wonder that Icarus perished by Excess, seeing that Excess, for the most part, is the peculiar Fault of Youth, as Defect is of Age, and yet, of two evil and hurtful ways, Youth commonly makes choice of the better, Defect being always accounted worst; for whereas Excess contains some Sparks of Magnanimity, and, like a Bird, claims kindred of the Heavens, Defect only, like a base Worm, crawls upon the Earth. Excellently therefore said Heraclitus, Lumen secum, optima Anim: a dry Light is the best Soul; for if the Soul contract moisture from the Earth, it becomes degenerate altogether. Again, on the other side there must be Moderation used, that this Light be subtilized by this laudable Siccity, and not destroyed by too much Fervency. And this much every Man for the most part knows.

Now they that would sail between Scylla and Charybdis must be furnished, as well with the Skill, as prosperous Success in Navigation: For if their Ships fall into Scylla they are split on the Rocks: If into Charybdis they are swallowed up of a Gulf.

The Moral of this Parable (which we will but briefly touch, although it contain Matter of infinite
Contemplation) seems to be this: That in every Art and Science, and so in their Rules and Axioms, there be a mean observed between the Rocks of Distinctions and the Gulfs of Universalities; which two are famous for the Wrack both of Wits and Arts.

**xxviii. Sphynx, or Science.**

They say that *Sphynx* was a Monster of divers Forms, as having the Face and Voice of a Virgin, the Wings of a Bird, and the Talons of a Griffin. Her abode was in a Mountain near the City of *Thebes*, she kept also the Highways, and used to lie in Ambush for Travellers, and so to surprize them: To whom (being in her Power) she propounded certain dark and intricate Riddles, which were thought to have been given and received of the Muses. Now if these miserable Captives were not able instantly to resolve and interpret them in the midst of their Difficulties and Doubts, she would rend and tear them in pieces. The Country groaning a long time under this Calamity, the Thebans at last propounded the Kingdom as a Reward unto him that could interpret the Riddles of *Sphynx*, there being no other way to destroy her: Whereupon *Œdipus* (a Man of piercing and deep Judgement, but Maimed and Lame by reason of Holes bored in his Feet,) moved with the hope of so great a Reward, accepted the Condition, and determined to put it to the hazard; and so
with an undaunted and bold Spirit, presented himself before the Monster; who asked him what Creature that was which after his Birth went first upon four Feet, next, upon two, then upon three, and lastly, upon four Feet again, answered forthwith, that it was Man; which in his Infancy, immediately after Birth crawls upon all four, scarce venturing to creep, and not long after stands upright upon two Feet; then growing old, he leans upon a Staff wherewith he supports himself, so that he may seem to have three Feet; and at last in decrepit Years, his Strength failing him, he falls grovelling again upon four, and lies bedrid. Having therefore by this true Answer gotten the Victory, he instantly slew this Sphynx, and laying her Body upon an Ass, led it, as it were, in Triumph; and so, according to the Condition, was created King of the Thebans.

This Fable contains in it no less Wisdom than Elegancy, and it seems to point at Science, especially that which is joined with Practice, for Science may not absurdly be termed a Monster, as being by the ignorant and rude Multitude always held in Admiration. It is diverse in Shape and Figure, by reason of the infinite variety of Subjects, wherein it is conversant. A Maiden Face and Voice is attributed unto it for its gracious countenance and volubility of Tongue. Wings are added, because Sciences and their Inventions do pass and fly from one to another, as it were, in a moment, seeing that the Communication of Science, is as the kindling of one Light at another. Elegantly
also it is feigned to have sharp and hooked Talons, because the Axioms and Arguments of Science do so fasten upon the Mind, and so strongly apprehend and hold it, as that it cannot stir or evade, which is noted also by the Divine Philosopher, Eccles. xii, 12. *Verba sapientum (faith he) sunt tanquam aculei et veluti clavi in altum defixi.* These words of the Wise are like Goads or Nails driven far in.

Moreover, all Science seems to be placed in steep and high Mountains; as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon Ignorance with a scornful Eye. It may be observed and seen also a great way, and far in compass, as things set on the tops of Mountains.

Furthermore, Science may well be feign'd to beset the Highways, because which way forever we turn in this Progress and Pilgrimage of Human Life, we meet with some matter or occasion offered for Contemplation.

*Sphynx* is said to have received from the Muses divers difficult Questions and Riddles, and to propound them unto Men, which remaining with the Muses, are free (it may be) from savage Cruelty; for so long as there is no other end of Study and Meditation, than to know, the Understanding is not racked and imprisoned, but enjoys Freedom and Liberty, and even Doubts and Variety find a kind of Pleasure and Delectation: But when once these Enigmas are delivered by the Muses to Sphynx, that is, to Practice, so that if it be solicited and urged by Action and Election, and Determination; they begin to be troublesome and raging; and
unless they be resolved and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the Minds of Men, distracting, and in a manner rending them into sundry Parts.

Moreover, there is always a twofold Condition propounded with Sphynx her Enigmas: To him that doth not expound them, distraction of Mind; and to him that doth, a Kingdom; for he that knows that which he sought to know, hath attained the end he aimed at, and every Artificer also commands over his Work.¹

Of Sphynx her Riddles, they are generally two kinds; some concerning the Nature of things, others touching the Nature of Man. So also there are two kinds of Emperias, as Rewards to those that resolve them. The one over Nature, the other over Men; for the proper and chief end of true Natural Philosophy is to commend and sway over Natural Beings; as Bodies, Medicines, Mechanical Works, and infinite other things; although the School (being content with such things as are offered, and priding itself with Speeches) doth neglect Realities and Works, treading them, as it were, under foot. But that Enigma propounded to Oedipus (by means of which he obtained the Theban Empire) belonged to the Nature of Man: For whosoever doth thoroughly consider the Nature of Man, may be in a manner the Contriver of his own Fortune, and is born to command, which is well spoken of the Romans' Arts:

¹ The reader will be reminded of the maxim Bacon so frequently urges, that “Knowledge is power.”
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
Hæ tibi erunt Artes² ——

Roman, remember, that with Sceptres' awe
Thy Realms thou rule. These Arts let be thy Law.

It was therefore very apposite, that Augustus Cæsar (whether by Premeditation or by a Chance) bare a Sphynx in his Signet: For he (if ever any) was famous not only in Political Government, but in all the course of his Life; he happily discovered many new Enigmas concerning the Nature of Man, which if he had not done with Dexterity and Promptness, he had oftentimes fallen into imminent Danger and Destruction.

Moreover, it is added in the Fable, that the Body of Sphynx, when she was overcome, was laid upon an Ass; which indeed is an elegant Fiction, seeing there is nothing so acute and abstruse, but (being well understood, and divulged,) may be well apprehended by a slow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that Sphynx was overcome by a Man lame in his Feet; for when Men are too swift of Foot and too speedy of Pace in hastening to Sphynx’s Enigmas, it comes to pass that (she getting the upper hand) their Wits and minds are rather distracted by Disputations, than that ever they come to command by Works and Effects.

² Aeneid vi. 351.
XXIX. Proserpina, or Spirit.

LUTO, they say, being made King of the Infernal Dominions, (by that memorable Division,) was in despair of ever attaining any one of the Superior Goddesses in Marriage, especially if he should venture to court them, either with Words, or with any amorous Behaviour: so that of Necessity he was to lay some Plot to get one of them by Rape: Taking therefore the Benefit of Opportunity, he caught up Proserpina (the Daughter of Ceres, a beautiful Virgin,) as she was gathering Narcissus-Flowers in the Meadows of Sicily, and carried her away with him in his Coach to the Subterranean Dominions; where she was welcomed with such Respect, as that she was styled the Lady of Dis. But Ceres, her Mother, when in no place she could find this her only beloved Daughter, in a sorrowful Humour, and distracted beyond measure, went compassing the whole Earth, with a burning Torch in her hand, to seek, and recover this her lost Child. But when she saw that all was in vain, supposing peradventure that she was carried to Hell, she importuned Jupiter with many Tears and Lamentations that she might be restored unto her again; and at length, prevailed thus far, That if she had tasted of nothing in Hell, she should have leave to bring her from thence. Which Condition was as good as a Denial to her Petition, Proserpina having
already eaten three Grains of a Pomegranate: And yet for all this, Ceres gave not over her Suit, but fell to Prayers and Moans afresh: Wherefore, it was at last granted, that (the Year being divided) Proserpina should, by alternate Courses, remain one six Months with her Husband, and other six Months with her Mother. Not long after this, Theseus and Perithous, in an over-hardy Adventure, attempted to fetch her from Pluto's Bed; who, being weary with Travel and sitting down upon a stone in Hell to rest themselves, had not the power to rise again; but sat there for ever. Proserpina therefore remained Queen of Hell, in whose Honour there was this great privilege granted, That although it were enacted, that none that went down to Hell, should have the power ever to return from thence; yet was this singular exception annexed to this Law, That if any presented Proserpina with a Golden Bough, it should be lawful for him to go and come at his Pleasure. Now there was but one only such a Bough in a spacious and shady Grove, which was not a Plant neither of itself, but budded from a Tree of another kind, like a Rope of Gum, which being plucked off, another would instantly spring out.

This Fable seems to pertain to Nature, and to dive into that rich and plentiful efficacy and variety of subterraneal Creatures, from whom whatsoever we have is derived, and to them doth again return.

By Proserpina, the Ancients meant that Ethereal Spirit, (which being separated from the upper
Globe) is shut up and detained under the Earth (represented by Pluto) which the Poet well expressed thus:

Sive recens Tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto Äthere, cognati retinebat femina Cæli.¹

Whether the Youngling Tellus (that of late Was from the high-reared Äther separate) Did yet contain her Teeming Womb within The living Seeds of Heaven her nearest kin.

This Spirit is feigned to be rapted by the Earth, because nothing can withhold it, when it hath time and leisure to escape. It is therefore caught and staid by a sudden Contraction, no otherwise than if a Man should go about to mix Air with Water, which can be done by no means, but by a speedy and rapid Agitation, as may be seen in Froth, wherein the Air is rapted by the Water.

Neither is it inelegantly added, that Proserpina was rapt as she was gathering Narcissus’s Flowers in the Valleys, because Narcissus hath his Name from Slowness or Stupidity: For indeed then is this Spirit most prepared and fitted to be snatched by Terrestrial Matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and becomes as it were flow.

Rightly is Proserpina honoured more than any of the other Gods’ Bedfellows, in being stiled the Lady of Dis, because this Spirit doth rule and sway all things in those lower Regions, Pluto abiding stupid and ignorant.

¹ Ovid Metam. i. 80.
WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

This Spirit the Power Celestial (shadowed by Ceres) strives, with infinite Sedulity, to recover and get again: For that Brand or burning Torch of Aether (which Ceres carried in her Hand) doth doubtless signify the Sun, which enlighteneth the whole Circuit of the Earth, and would be of greatest moment to recover Proserpina, if possibly it might be.

But Proserpina abides still; the Reason of which is accurately, and excellently propounded in the Conditions between Jupiter and Ceres: For, first, it is most certain there are two ways to keep Spirit in solid and terrestrial Matter; the one by Conspiration, and Obstruction, which is mere Imprisonment and Constraint; the other, by Administration, or proportionable Nutriment, which it receives willingly, and of its own accord: For after that the included Spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it makes no haste to be gone; but is as it were, linked to its Earth: And this is pointed at by Proserpina eating of a Pomegranate; which if she had not done, she had long since been recovered by Ceres with her Torch compassing the Earth. Now as concerning that Spirit which is in Metals and Minerals, it is chiefly perchance restrained by the solidity of Mass: But that which is in Plants and Animals, inhabits a porous Body, and hath open Passage to be gone, in a manner as it lifts, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reason of the Relish it finds in its Entertainment. The second Condition concerning the six Months' Custom, it is no other than an elegant Description
of the Division of the Year; seeing this Spirit mixed with Earth appears above ground in Vegetable Bodies during the Summer Months, and in the Winter sinks down again.

Now as concerning Theseus and Perithous, and their Attempt to bring Proserpina quite away, the meaning of it is, that it oftentimes comes to pass that some more subtile Spirit descending with divers Bodies to the Earth, never come to suck of any subterraneous Spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and so to bring it away. But on the contrary are coagulated themselves, and never rise more, that Proserpina should be by that means augmented with Inhabitants and Dominion.

All that we can say concerning that Sprig of Gold, is hardly able to defend us from the Violence of the Chymicks, if in this regard they set upon us, seeing they promise by that their Elixir to effect Golden Mountains, and the restoring of Natural Bodies, as it were, from the Portal of Hell. But concerning Chymistry, and those perpetual Suitors for that Philosophical Elixir, we know certainly that their Theory is without Grounds, and we suspect that their Practice is also without certain Reward. And therefore (omitting these) of this last part of the Parable, this is my Opinion: I am induced to believe by many Figures of the Ancients, that the Conservation and Restoration of Natural Bodies, in some sort, was not esteemed by them as a thing impossible to be attained, but as a thing abstruse and full of Difficulties; and so they seem to intimate in this place, when they re-
port that this one only Sprig was found among infinite other Trees in a huge and thick Wood, which they feigned to be of Gold, because Gold is the Badge of Perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inserted, because this Effect is to be rather hoped for from Art, than from any Medicine, or simple or natural means.

xxx. Metis, or Counsel.

HE Ancient Poets report that Jupiter took Metis to Wife, whose Name doth plainly signify Counsel, and that she by him conceived. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her Deliverance, devours both her and that which she went withal, by which means Jupiter himself became with Child, and was delivered of a wondrous Birth; for out of his Head or Brain came forth Pallas Armed.

The Sense of this Fable (which at first Apprehension may seem monstrous and absurd) contains in it a Secret of State, to wit, with what Policy Kings are wont to carry themselves towards their Counsellors, whereby they may not only preserve their Authority and Majesty free and entire, but also that it may be the more extolled and dignified of the People: For Kings being as it were tied and coupled in a Nuptial Bond to their Counsellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the Affairs of greatest Importance do yet detract nothing from their own Majesty. But
when any Matter comes to be cenfured or decreed (which is as a Birth) there do they confine and re- strain the liberty of their Counfellors; left that which is done should seem to be hatched by their Wisdom and Judgement. So as at last Kings (except it be in such Matters as are diftabteleful and malign'd, which they always will be sure to put off from themselves) do assume the Honour and Praise of all Matters that are ruminated in Coun cil, and, as it were, formed in the Womb, whereby the Resolution and Execution (which because it proceeds from Power, and implies Necessity, is elegantly shadowed under the Figure of Pallas Armed) shall seem to proceed wholly from themselves. Neither sufficeth it, that it is done by the Authority of the King, by his mere Will and free Applaufe, except withal, this be added and appropriated as to issue out of his own Head or Brain, intimating, that out of his own Judgement, Wisdom, and Ordinance, it was only invented and derived.

xxxI. The Syrens, or Pleasures.

The Fable of the Syrens seems rightly to have been applied to the pernicious Allurements of Pleasure, but in a very vulgar and gross manner. And therefore to me it appears, that the Wisdom of the Ancients have with a farther reach or insight strained deeper Matter out of them, not unlike to Grapes
ill pressed; from which, though some Liquor were drawn, yet the best was left behind. These Syrens are said to be the Daughters of Achelous, and Terpsichore one of the Muses; who, in their first being, were winged, but after rashly entering into Contention with the Muses, were by them vanquished, and deprived of their Wings. Of whose plucked out Feathers the Muses made themselves Coronets, so as ever since that time all the Muses have attired themselves with plumed heads, except Terpsichore only, that was Mother to the Syrens. The Habitation of the Syrens was in certain pleasant Islands, from whence as soon as out of their Watch-Tower they discovered any Ships approaching, with their sweet Tunes they would first entice and stay them, and having them in their Power would destroy them. Neither was their Song plain and single, but consisting of such variety of melodious Tunes, so fitting and delighting the Ears that heard them, as that it ravished and betrayed all Passengers. And so great were the Mischiefs they did, that these Isles of the Syrens, even as far off as Man could ken them, appeared all over white with the Bones of unburied Carcasses. For the remedying of this Misery a double Means was at last found out; the one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses (to make experiment of his Device) caused all the Ears of his Company to be stopped with Wax, and made himself to be bound to the Main-Mast, with special Commandment to his Mariners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But Orpheus neglecting and
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disdaining to be so bound, and with a shrill and sweet Voice, singing Praises of the Gods to his Harp, suppressed the Songs of the Syrens, and so freed himself from their Danger.

This Fable hath relation to Men's Manners, and contains in it a manifest and most excellent Parable: For Pleasures do for the most proceed out of the abundance and superfluity of all things, and also out of the Delights and jovial Contentments of the Mind; the which are wont suddenly, as it were, with winged Inticements to ravish and rapt Mortal Men: But Learning and Education brings it so to pass, as that it restrains and bridles Man's Mind, making it so to consider the ends and events of Things, as that it clips the Wings of Pleasure. And this was greatly to the Honour and Renown of the Muses; for after that by some Examples, it was made manifest, that by the Power of Philosophy, vain Pleasures might grow Contemptible; it presently grew to great esteem, as a thing that could raise and elevate the Mind aloft, that seemed to be base and fixed to the Earth; make the cogitations of the Men (which do ever reside in the Head,) to be ethereal, and as it were winged. But that the Mother of the Syrens was left to her Feet, and without Wings; that no doubt is no otherwise meant, than of light and superficial Learning, appropriated and defined only to Pleasures, as were those which Petronius devoted himself unto, after he had received his fatal Sentence; and having his Foot, as it were, upon the Threshold of Death, sought to give himself all delightful Contentments;
insomuch, as when he had caused Consolatory Letters to be sent him, he would peruse none of them, (as Tacitus reports, that should give him Courage and Constancy) but only read fantastical Verses, such as these are:

\[
\begin{align*}
Vivamus, & \textit{Mea Lesbia, atque amemus,} \\
Rumoresque & \textit{Senum severiorum,} \\
\textit{Omnes unius estimemus Affis}. \textsuperscript{1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

My Lesbia, let us live and love;  
Though wayward Dotards us reprove,  
Weigh their Words light for our behove.

And this also:

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{Jura Senes norint, et quid fit fasque nefasque,} \\
\textit{Inquirant triplex, Legumque examina servent.} \textsuperscript{2} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Let doting Grandfires know the Law,  
And right and wrong observe with awe;  
Let them in that strict Circle draw.

This kind of Doctrine would easily persuade to take these plumed Coronets from the Muses, and to restore the Wings again to the Syrens. These Syrens are said to dwell in remote Isles; for that Pleasures love Privacy and retired Places, shunning always too much Company of People. The Syren's Songs are so vulgarly understood, together with the Deceits and Danger of them, as that they need no Exposition. But that of the Bones appearing like white Cliffs, and described afar off, hath more Acuteness in it; for thereby is signified, that

\textsuperscript{1} Catull. Eleg. v. \quad \textsuperscript{2} Ovid. Metam. ii. 550.
albeit the Examples of Afflictions be manifest and eminent; yet do they not sufficiently deter us from the wicked Enticements of Pleasures.

As for the Remainder of this Parable, though it be not over-myistical, yet it is very grave, and excellent: For in it are set out three Remedies for this violent, enticing Mischief; to wit, Two from Philosophy, and one from Religion. The first Means to shun these inordinate Pleasures, is to withstand, and resist them in their Beginnings, and seriously to shun all Occasions that are offered, to debauch and entice the Mind, which is signified in that stopping of the Ears; and that Remedy is properly used by the meaner and bafer sort of People, as it were Ulysses’ Followers or Mariners; whereas more Heroick and Noble Spirits may boldly Converse even in the midst of these seducing Pleasures, if with a resolved Constancy they stand upon their Guard, and fortify their Minds; and so take greater Contentment in the trial and experience of this their approved Virtue; learning rather thoroughly to understand the Follies and Vanities of those Pleasures by Contemplation, than by Submission: Which Solomon avouched of himself, when he reckoned up the multitude of those Solaces and Pleasures wherein he Swam, doth conclude with this Sentence,

*Sapientia quoque perseverabat mecum.*

Wisdom also continued with me.

Therefore these Heroes, and Spirits of this excellent Temper, even in the midst of these enticing Pleasures, can shew themselves constant and in-
vincible, and are able to support their own virtuous inclination against all heady and forcible Persuasions whatsoever; as by the Example of Ulysses, that so peremptorily interdicted all pestilent Counsels, and Flatteries of his Companions, as the most dangerous and pernicious Poisons to captivate the Mind. But of all other Remedies in this Case, that of Orpheus is most Predominant: For they that chant and resound the Praises of the Gods, confound and dissipate the Voices and Incantations of the Syrens; for Divine Meditations do not only in Power subdue all sensual Pleasures; but also far exceed them in Swiftness and Delight.
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